A Systemic Functional Exploration of Translation: An Appraisal Corpus-Linguistic Approach

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Abstract

The work presented here has different kinds of original contributions:

Firstly, by building on the missing, limited, misleading, ambiguous, and sometimes erroneous translations of some power-related appraisal adjectives found in English-Arabic dictionaries, the present study aims to contribute to the field of lexicography, and to serve as a guiding image to help translators and language tutors in understanding or choosing appraisal adjectives in English and Arabic. From even a quick glance through dictionaries, one can see that most common words have dozens of meanings and that it is impossible to try all of these meanings each time we read a word. This study offers some helping clues in uncovering patterns of usage and variation that cannot be obtained from consulting reference resources such as dictionaries and grammars.

Secondly, this thesis is the first corpus-based study of its kind that adds a different scope to what might be called 'appraisal theory' applied to the Arabic language. It is surprising that linguistic researchers have not attempted to analyse 'appraisal' in the Arabic language given that there are a rich variety of Arabic lexical words available for describing evaluation. Though Arabic and English are two distinct languages, the study reveals remarkable similarities with respect to degree adverbs.

Thirdly, the study also explores some crucial issues regarding 'possibility' and 'necessity' as two basic elements in the study of 'modality' – a major carrier of appraisal/evaluation. It is argued that translating the meaning of 'modality' has not been as comprehensively documented as most researchers have assumed. This thesis presents different choices for translating 'possibility' and 'necessity'. In other words, this study provides different realizations at the level of modal meanings in Arabic, e.g. verbs, adverbs, adjectives and articles.

Tables of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Key to Abbreviations

Adj.	Adjective
Al-H	Al-Hayat Corpus
AMMD	Al-Mawrid: A Modern English-Arabic Dictionary
BNC	British National Corpus
CL	Corpus Linguistics
COED	The Compact Oxford On-line English-English Dictionary
EMD	Elias Modern Dictionary: English-Arabic
I-AR	Internet Arabic Corpus
I-EN	Internet English Corpus
J	Joint (number of occurrences)
LACD	Longman Active Study Dictionary of English
LLS	Loglikelihood Score
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SOC	Story of Civilization
WCD	Webster Concise English-English Dictionary

Arabic Transliteration System

'Transliteration' is defined as the practice of converting a text from one writing system into another in a systematic way. There are many Arabic transliteration systems that can be followed. Among them are: The British Standard (BS 4280), The International Convention of Orientalist Scholars in 1936, the United States Library of Congress, and the American Library Association.

The transliteration system adopted in this study is that of the United States Library of Congress orthographic transliteration system for Arabic consonants and vowels. This system is adopted because it is considered to be the most common system of Arabic transliteration. It is easy to use for both Arabic and English speakers and makes the utmost use of the English alphabet (see Elewa 2004).

I want to emphasise that this study will transliterate every word separately, i.e. regardless of its nominative, accusative, or genitive case. However, in some cases, the context of the sentence may require تنوين 'nunation'[1], which should appear in the transliteration. In other chapters (e.g. chapter seven), my concern is with adjectival lexical entries that do not require declension. Similarly, in the case of the Arabic definite article *al* 'the', and as a result of phonological rules, the definite article is fully pronounced when assimilated to one of the الحروف القمرية 'Moon letters', and not pronounced when assimilated to one of the الحروف الشمسية 'Sun letters'. In order to avoid confusion, I will transliterate *al* without any sort of assimilation.

Since the Arabic language has a complex system of endings, 'the sakkin taslam' approach will be adopted in this study. This approach is simply about dropping short vowels and all case endings except in a few cases where omitting them would sound odd to Arabic native speakers, e.g. قَاسٍ *qāsin* (see chapter 7). In addition, قَوِيٌّ *qawi*[2] is transliterated, according to the system adopted, without the final shaddah. In terms of همزة *hamzah* أ or ء, the

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[1] Nunation is the adding of a letter ن *nūn* to the end of a noun in order to make it in the indefinite state. It is realized by doubling the mark of the case sign on the last letter.
[2] According to the transliteration system adopted in this study (The American Library Association - Library of Congress (ALA-LC), this letter is romanized ī, and not īy, without regard to the presence of ّ shaddah. See: www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/arabic.pdf, p. 3-4

transliteration symbol (ʾ) will be highlighted when it comes in medial or final position. However, in initial position the symbol is not represented (e.g. أولائك *ulāʾika*). In addition, in order to show شدة *shaddah* 'emphasis' or 'stress' on the Arabic letter, the letter itself is doubled in transliteration, e.g. ب *bb* in *jabbār* (There are exceptions, e.g. *qawī* that we mentioned previously). For further details, the following chart, [3] adopted from the US library of congress transliteration system, displays the Arabic transliteration system for Arabic consonants and vowels:

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[3] The transliteration of the Arabic letter ط is ṯ

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
أ	a	ط	t
ء	'	ظ	ẓ
ب	b	ع	ᶜ
ت	t	غ	gh
ث	th	ف	f
ج	j	ق	q
ح	ḥ	ك	k
خ	kh	ل	l
د	d	م	m
ذ	dh	ن	n
ر	r	ه	h
ز	z	و	w
س	s	ي	y
ش	sh		
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḍ		

Arabic short-long vowels and case endings:

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
آ	ā	ً	-an
ُ	ū	ٌ	-un
ـِي	ī	ٍ	-in
َ	a		
ُ	u		
ِ	i		

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Goals: 'The Search for Meaning'

In the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the search for meaning disappeared from the agenda of the newly established corpus research (Teubert and Cermakova 2007; Stubbs 1996; McEnery and Wilson 2001). This thesis explores the 'above' and 'beyond' hidden meanings in the clause – the main facets of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) – see section 3. 4. 1.

With respect to Arabic linguistics, this research represents the first attempt to combine the two main aspects of SFL. That is, this study explores how grammar works in practice. One way of doing this is to look above the clause at the phenomenon of coordination and subordination. A second way is to look beyond the clause at the phenomenon of possibility and necessity.

However, it must be noted that this is not the first study to question the syntactic phenomena of coordination and subordination in English and Arabic. This study builds on Dickins et al. (2002) and Othman's (2004) accounts of coordination and subordination by analysing the two phenomena through adopting a corpus-based approach in order to explore the different prosodic meanings of coordination and subordination and their functional usage in English and Arabic.

The study also highlights some crucial issues regarding possibility and necessity with regards to their status as two basic elements in the study of modality – a major carrier of appraisal/evaluation. This thesis will argue that translations of the meaning of modality have not been documented as comprehensively as most researchers have assumed. The analysis will present various choices for translating possibility and necessity within two scales that summarise the different degrees of possibility and necessity in the two languages. The two scales indicate that both the semantic and the pragmatic

functions of these terms depend mainly on the grammatical features of the sentence.

This thesis also analyses the prosodic meanings of 'synonymy' at the collocational level in order to provide the most authentic translation possible. Moreover, this study will adopt a corpus-linguistic analysis, drawing upon data from two distinctly different languages – English and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). It is the first study to analyse Arabic-English power-related collocational synonymy from the scope of the appraisal linguistic approach, as chapter seven will explain.

One of the most important goals of the current study is to provide some implications for translators, language tutors, and Arab learners of English as a second language. It reflects the extent to which collocation and semantic prosody of appraisal adjectives are really problematic in English-Arabic-English translation, especially if we consider dictionaries as reliable sources for denotational meanings.

The current study is concerned with how assumed synonymous words, like the power-related Arabic adjectives *jabbār*, *qawī* and *qāsin*, are not necessarily collocationally interchangeable, as their meanings can be entirely different and even contradictory. Therefore, this study aims to help dictionary users to understand the contextual restrictions of near synonyms, and thus to use dictionary information more effectively.

1.2 Methodology

Concordance tools will be used in order to investigate meanings above and beyond the clauses in the English and Arabic corpora. A concordance is a technique through which a researcher can search and organise data in order to obtain certain types of information. Teubert (2007: 140) defines 'concordance' as "a list of lines (texts) containing a node word, nowadays generated by computer as the principal output of a search of a corpus showing the words in its contexts and thus representing a sum of its usage". A 'node' word is the selected word that appears in the centre of the screen. The concordance programe presents every instance of the selected word or phrase, together with the words that come before and after it (to the left and right). Al-Sulaiti (2004:

65) believes that concordancing is very useful and valuable: "A concordance programme became an essential tool for searching as it saves time and presents the data very neatly".

1.3 Why These Corpora?

More Data is Better Data

As Partington (1998: 4) explains: "The sheer wealth of authentic examples that corpora provide enable dictionary compilers to have a more accurate picture of the usage, frequency and, as it were, social weight of a word or word sense". A corpus has become an established tool for linguistic analysis. It can go far beyond individual experiences, providing powerful tools that can reveal the regularities of actual behaviour. The current study analyses the concordance lines of British National Corpus (BNC) and the Internet Corpus (I-EN) in English, on the one hand, and Al-Hayat (Al-H) and Arabic Internet Corpus (I-AR) on the other.

There are three main reasons for adopting these corpora. Firstly, the BNC is designed to represent as wide a range of the modern British English of the late 20th century as possible (see section 2.4). It holds around 100 million words. As Aston and Burnard (1998: 94) explain: "The BNC is a collection of over 4,000 samples of modern British English, both spoken and written, stored in electronic form and selected so as to reflect the widest possible variety of users and uses of the language".

Secondly, the Al-Hayat Arabic corpus has 140MB of data, and has been updated to 50 million words. Moreover, Al-Hayat stands for high standards in Arab journalism. Al-Hayat is a newspaper, i.e. it contains a limited number of text types. Al-Hayat data have been distributed to seven subject-specific databases: general, car, computer, news, economics, science, and sport. Mellor (2005: 80) believes that:

> *Al-Hayat* has an increasing importance…The Lebanese-Saudi *Al-Hayat* has regular, weekly supplements directed at different reader segments – young people, business, travel… and this type of news is also integrated in the daily paper. Moreover, the press is now regarded as a catalyst for raising public awareness on global issues.

Thirdly, while Partington (1998: 4) says that 'there's no "standard size" for corpora', Thomas (2009: 191) reminds us that 'size is related to purpose'. Corpora are much more useful and reliable in linguistic analysis when they are large. As Al-Sulaiti and Atwell (2003: 3) say: "In order to achieve a reliable result in most linguistic studies, the investigation has to be based upon a large corpus, which can be considered as balanced and as representative as possible of the linguistic community". In addition, Channell (2000: 40) and Sharoff (2006: 435) justify the use of large corpora on the basis that many pragmatic phenomena cannot be visible from the study of single example. They make it clear that corpora can be reliable only if they are sufficiently large and varied.

In addition, the *Internet corpora* used in this study – whether in Arabic or English – cover more topics, and hence give a broader sample of language use. These corpora are also freely accessible and available for research. However, one problem in using Internet corpora – especially I-AR – is that it includes various colloquial and irrelevant hits (see the adj. *jabbār* in chapter seven). It has more informal speech in comparison to well-controlled newswires, i.e. Al-H. The following table lists the corpora used in the present study:

Name of corpus	Source/material	Size
British National Corpus (BNC)	A collection of over 4,000 samples of modern British English.	100m
Internet English (I-EN)	Random queries to Google.	150m
Al-Hayat (Al-H)	A collection from Al-Hayat newspaper data (1999-2001), compiled by the LDC, published in London under Saudi ownership.	50m
Internet Arabic (I-AR)	Random queries to Google.	100m

Table 1: The corpora used in the study.

In addition to the corpora mentioned in table 1, the study (mainly chapter 3 and 5) will also analyse data from *Story of Civilization* (SOC), the first 500 pages from the first volume *Our Oriental Heritage*. Will Durant's[4] *The Story of Civilization* was translated into Arabic as *Qiṣṣat Al-Ḥaḍāra*h in the 1940s and 1950s under the supervision of the Arab League cultural commissioner Ahmed Amin. The translators include such leading intellectuals as Zaki Naguib Mahmoud, Abdel-Hamed Younis and Mohamed Badran among others[5].

1.4 Span and Statistics

Though a span of 3:3 or 4:4 is widely used by corpus linguists (Stubbs 2001: 29 and Elewa 2004: 102), Bartsch (2004: 69) states that:

> There's no ideal span setting to the left and right of the search word…but it appears that for collocations across the phrase boundary, a span setting of up to 5 words to the left and right (denoted as 5:5) yields satisfactory results whereas for many collocations the span can safely be lowered to 3:3 … by delimiting the span setting, the amount of noise (i.e. irrelevant information) can be reduced to improve the quality of the statistical results.

Moreover, it is not only 'the amount of noise' mentioned in the above quotation that counts in favour of delimiting the span in this study to 3:0 or 3:3, but also that the nature of the structural pattern of the Arabic sentence does not usually exceed this span. As chapter seven will illustrate, the words modified in Arabic adjectival sentences, for example, are usually situated to the left of the adjective, unlike the case in English. Thus, I will work on flexible spans to match the Arabic expressions that might stretch over the average span. That is, I will start by analysing a span of one word to the left of the node and zero to the right of the node (1:0), in order to analyse the immediate left collocates (usually the appraised elements in the study). I will then widen the span to 3:0 and 3:3 when analysing any further collocates.

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[4] Will Durant was a philosopher with a holistic view of civilisation, and his open attitude towards other cultures and civilisations is one that contains lessons for modern doomsday theorists like Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama. He was not trained as a historian but as a philosopher and his lifelong study of civlisations took him all over the globe. Will and Ariel Durant were awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the tenth volume.
[5] http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/570/cu1.htm

The present study will also adopt log-likelihood statistics, which provide the most reliable method for highlighting words accurately, and have proved to be effective in corpus analysis (Rayson and Garside 2000: 1-6). Moreover, using log-likelihood scores provides a significant statistical result in the analysis of collocation. Anagnostou and Weir (2006: 1) describe log-likelihood as the "measure that was found to be the most robust and accurate for collocation identification". Petrovic (2007: 13) also confirms the reliability of the log-likelihood measure in collocation induction as follows:

> Loglikelihood is a widely used measure for extracting collocations, often giving very good results. Dunning (1994) introduced the measure, using it for detecting composite terms and for the determination of domain specific terms.

Finally, McEnery et al. (2006: 217) consider themselves as 'lucky' to have such a statistic in the BNCWeb: "Once again, we are fortunate in that BNCWeb provides this statistic, and hence users do not need to resort to statistics packages like SPSS to calculate the LL score".

Moreover, the researcher does not make use of other statistical tests, such as 'Mutual Information' (MI) as it is considered a statistical formula borrowed from information theory and depends on technical terms. Therefore, as Hunston (2002: 72) suggests, MI score "is not always reliable in identifying meaningful collocations".

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter two surveys the history of corpus linguistics and explains what a corpus can do, and what types of corpora will be used in this thesis. Chapter three discusses the link between corpus linguistics and Systemic Functional Linguistic theory (SFL). Whereas SFL is regarded as a theory of language, corpus linguistics is a method for investigating language. Both are complementary to each other, as they look at language from different angles. This chapter also sets out to apply SFL to 'Coordination' and 'Subordination', which belong to Halliday's parataxis and hypotaxis (above the clause).

Chapter four presents appraisal theory as an extension of Halliday's SFL. It also handles the area of emotion talk. Although it is commonly held that most linguistic studies do not analyse emotional meanings in a systematic way, SFL is regarded as an exceptional theory – one that is well suited to the study of emotion talk with its multi-functions of language (i.e. textual, ideational and interpersonal). 'Emotion Talk' is also an area that has been neglected, at least in Arabic Linguistics. While chapter three examines Halliday's 'above the clause', chapter four and chapter five correspond to Halliday's 'beyond or around the clause'. Chapter five discusses modality as a way of achieving appraisal. This chapter also explores the different meanings of English and Arabic modal verbs, particularly focussing on modals that indicate 'possibility' and 'necessity' in the English and Arabic languages.

Chapter six gives a brief account of the concepts of synonymy and collocation in English and Arabic. This chapter also highlights some of the problems that bilingual English-Arabic and Arabic-English dictionaries have in dealing with emotional adjectives. Chapter seven presents a corpus analysis of power-related appraisal emotional adjectives in English and Arabic. The analysis reveals some problematic areas concerning both Arabic and English translations in different dictionaries. This chapter also gives a snapshot of Arabic adjectives and how they differ from their English counterparts. Finally, chapter eight provides the conclusions of this thesis, and the implications that this work has for translators, learners, and language tutors.

Chapter Two

Corpus Linguistics

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will take a closer look at corpus linguistics. I will begin by describing the origin of the word 'corpus' and its different definitions in 2.2. Section 2.3 handles the history of Corpus Linguistics from the 1960s onward. I then present a brief overview of English and Arabic Corpus Linguistics in sections 2.4 & 2.5. Section 2.6 demonstrates the necessity of using the corpus-based approach in translation studies, and the relation between corpora and empirical data. I then outline the main features of the modern corpus in 2.7. The following two sections 2.8 & 2.9 then discuss the benefits and drawbacks of using corpora, as well as the different types of corpora available.

2.2 What is a Corpus?

'Corpus' is a Latin word that means 'body'. Any collection of more than one text can be called a corpus, hence a corpus is any body of text. But when the term 'corpus' is used in modern linguistics, i.e. 'corpus linguistics', it refers to more specific connotations than this simple definition. Kennedy (1998: 1) states that a 'corpus', in the language sciences, is a:

> body of a written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and descriptions. Over the last three decades the compilation and analysis of corpora stored in computerized databases have led to a new scholarly enterprise known as corpus linguistics.

Other linguists[6] have cited different, but compatible definitions of 'corpus'. For example:

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[6] http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/~schulte/Teaching/ESSLLI-07/Slides/intro.pdf

- Any collection of more than one text (McEnery & Wilson 2001).

- A large body of linguistic evidence typically composed of attested language use (McEnery 2003).

- A collection of electronic texts built according to explicit design criteria for a specific purpose (Atkins et al. 1992).

- A corpus is a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria, in order to be used as a sample of the language (Sinclair 1996).

However, this study will adopt Hunston's (2002: 2) definition of 'corpus', in terms of both its form and purpose. First, linguists used the word 'corpus' to describe a collection of occurring examples of language. These examples can be a few sentences, a collection of written texts, or even tape recordings that have been collected for linguistic research. Then, after the rapid development of computer technology, the word 'corpus' came to also be used for any collections of texts that are stored and accessed electronically. Therefore, the information stored in electronic corpora is larger than the paper-based collections that were previously used to study different aspects of language. The purpose of corpora depends mainly on the type of data collected. For example, a corpus can be diachronic, pedagogic, specialised or general (cf. 2.10). Hunston believes that one purpose of a corpus is to put the texts in order so that they can be read. This feature distinguishes a 'corpus' from an 'archive'. An archive is an unordered, unstructured collection of data, whereas a corpus is a principled, systematic, planned, and structured linguistic snapshot of language at a certain point in time (Leech 1991: 11; Hunston 2002: 2). However, Hunston makes it clear that preserving texts is not the primary purpose of a corpus. Instead, there is a linguistic purpose for collecting certain kinds of texts. Corpora have been used to discover patterns of usages and to support a particular theory of language.

2.3 The History of Corpus Linguistics

2.3.1 Chomskyan Approach (intuition) vs. Corpus Approach (empiricism)

Corpus linguistics is considered to be a new approach to language. It emerged in the 1960s, at the same time as Noam Chomsky made his contribution to modern language studies. Chomsky criticized corpus linguistics severely: "The corpus could never be a useful tool for the linguist, as the linguist must seek to model language 'competence' rather than 'performance'" (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 6). His *Syntactic Structures* appeared in 1957, and while it became a widely discussed text, it was only the publication of his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* in 1965 that caused a revision of the standard paradigm in theoretical linguistics. With the increasing interest in language as a universal phenomenon, other linguists became more dissatisfied with the descriptions they found for the variety of languages they dealt with. They, in turn, criticised Chomskyan linguistics that does not accept experimentation or corpus evidence. Sinclair (2004: 2) claims that Chomskyan approach displays

> no interest in language beyond the level of the sentence, there is no recognition that authentic data is of any significance and there is no acceptance that studies of large corpora or real language in use play any part in descriptive theories of language. Most significantly, too, there is a clear sense that the analysis of meaning is not a primary purpose.

The first large-scale project to collect language data for empirical grammatical research was Randolph Quirk's Survey of English Usage, which later led to what became the standard English grammar for many decades: *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985). However, at that time, the survey did not consider computerising the data. This happened much later, in the mid-1980s, through Quirk and Greenbaum's project known as the 'International Corpus of English' (ICE).[7]

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[7] http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice

There was a mixture of spoken and written data in Quirk's survey, with about 500,000 words of spoken English out of a total of one million words. The spoken component was actually the first to be put on computer, by Jan Svartvik, and became the London Lund Corpus in the late 1970s. This was the first spoken corpus to be widely available for use, and was published as a book. This Survey was mostly interested in grammar rather than meaning, and it became increasingly difficult to find acceptance of this kind of data-oriented language research in the 1960s. Later, in the 1970s, this kind of research was taken up by a number of Scandinavian linguists, most of them based in Bergen, Lund and Oslo.

The Brown Corpus was the second data-oriented project in the 1960s, and was named after Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, where it was compiled by Nelson Francis and Henry Kucera. This corpus consists of one million words, taken in samples of 2,000 words from 500 American texts belonging to 15 text categories. The corpus was carefully organised and very easy to use. A similarly composed corpus of British English was the LOB (Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen). Later, both corpora were manually tagged with part-of-speech information. At that time it was hoped that these corpora would be able to answer questions in grammar and lexicon, but it was soon realised that a corpus of one million words could not contain more than a tiny fraction of vocabulary. When the Brown Corpus was compiled, and the proofreading was completed, it seemed that linguists lost interest in it, as it played a very small role in Anglo-Saxon linguistics (although it became a popular resource in European linguistics). The LOB Corpus was exploited in corpus studies, especially for grammar and, more importantly, for word frequency, but not for meaning.

Nelson Francis was the first person to apply the term 'corpus' to his electronic collection of texts. Teubert and Cermakova (2007: 53) point out that John Sinclair believes that this is how the new usage may have originated:

> There is a story that Jan Svartvik tells about him [Nelson Francis] coming to London with a tape containing the Brown Corpus or part of it and meeting Randolph Quirk there in the mid sixties. Nelson threw this rather large and heavy container, as tapes were then, on

Quirk's desk and said: 'Habeas corpus'. Francis also uses *corpus* in the title of his collection of texts, i.e. the Brown University Corpus, and as such it is referred to in the OSTI Report.
(Interview with John Sinclair in Krishnamurthy 2004)

The third and most important early corpus was English Lexical Studies, begun in Edinburgh in 1963, and completed in Birmingham. The principal investigator of this project was John Sinclair. He was the first person to use a corpus specifically for lexical investigation, and to use the concept of 'collocation' (introduced in the 1930s by Harold Palmer and A.S. Hornby in their *Second Interim Report on English Collocation* [1933], and then used by J.R. Firth in his paper 'Modes of meaning' [Firth 1957]) in this field of study. Sinclair's project investigated the meaning of 'lexical items', a category that included collocation, on the basis of a very small electronic text sample of spoken and written language.

Compiling corpora, especially larger ones, posed a large number of problems and questions (mostly technical). For example, was there a corpus that could be said to represent the discourse? Was it possible to define the text types? How important was the size of a corpus? And finally, what was the role of special corpora (Teubert and Cermakova 2007; Stubbs 1996; McEnery and Wilson, 2001).

2.4 English Corpus Linguistics

Kennedy (1998: 13) suggests that there are three categories of English corpora:
a) Pre-electronic Corpora (biblical and literary studies, early dictionaries, etc.)
b) 1st -generation Major Corpora (Brown, LOB, LLC, Kolhapur, Willington, etc.)
c) 2nd -generation Mega-corpora (COBUILD, British National Corpus (BNC), Internet English Corpus (I-EN) British News Corpus, ICE-GB, American National Corpus (ANC), etc.)

Pre-electronic corpora emerged before the 1960s, when there was a number of corpus-based linguistic research projects that used the Bible as a corpus. Other

pre-electronic corpora relied on lexicography, grammatical, and/or dialect literary studies. Although the first generation major corpora held only one million words (or even less), they captured a variety of texts in various fields. However, these corpora were notably small for research analysis, especially in the field of semantic and lexical analysis. Later on, the rapid development of computer technology "made bigger corpora possible, so that by the 1990s corpora of 100 million words or more became available" (ibid: 46).

In this study, I will focus on the third category of Kennedy's mentioned above, i.e. BNC and I-EN corpora (see chapter one). I-EN, a 150 million words internet corpus, is collected by Serge Sharoff, Leeds University. It holds random queries to Google.[8] BNC, on the other hand, includes many different styles and varieties and is not limited to any particular field. The BNC corpus deals with modern British English, but not other languages used in Britain. However, both non-British English and foreign language words do occur in the corpus.[9]

2.5 Arabic Corpus Linguistics

Arabic is a major world language. It is one of the six official languages of the United Nations and the mother tongue of more than three hundred million people. Yet, and in spite of the important status of the Arabic language, it does not receive much attention in the field of corpus linguistics. Khoja (2003: 1) argues that:

> Arabic is the official language of twenty Middle East and African countries, and is the religious language of all Muslims, regardless of their origin. It is therefore surprising that very little work has been done on Arabic corpus linguistics.

Al-Sulaiti and Atwell (2003: 1) agree with Khoja (2003) that the English language has received the greatest attention among the research community: "At present, corpus-based research in Arabic lags far behind that of modern European languages [...] most studies on Arabic up to now have been based on rather limited data".

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[8] See http://wackybook.sslmit.unibo.it
[9] For more information on English corpora see: http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/index.xml

Similarly, Elewa (2004: 33) compares the situation of Arabic computational Linguistics with that of European languages:

> Work in Arabic computing did not start as early as European languages. Attempts have been made, but due to some technical problems[10] with Arabic script (orthography) and grammar there is far less development than in English and languages written with the Roman alphabet.

Since 1995, when the first Arabic newspaper was launched online www.asharqalawsat.com, the number of Arabic websites has dramatically increased: "By 2000 there were about twenty thousand Arabic sites on the web" (Abdelali et al. 2004). Accordingly, Arabic has become "an exciting – yet challenging – language for scholars because many of its linguistic properties have not been fully described" (Farghaly 2010).

The Gigaword Arabic Corpus is considered the most comprehensive archive of newswire text data, and has been acquired from Arabic news sources by the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) at the University of Pennsylvania. LDC is an open consortium of universities, companies, and government research laboratories. It creates, collects, and distributes speech and text databases, lexicons, and other resources for research and development purposes. Graff (2003) states that there are four distinct sources of Arabic newswire: (a) Agence France Press; (b) Al-Hayat News Agency; (c) Al-Nahar News Agency; and (d) Xinhua News Agency. All of these news services use Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). *Al-Hayat* is originally a Lebanese news service, and has been based in London during the entire period represented in this archive. Sometimes, it is referred to as a Saudi news service as its owners reside in Saudi Arabia.

There are other Arabic corpora, such as: Buckwalter Arabic corpus (1986-2003) by Tim Buckwalter, which consists of 2.5 – 3 billion words; Nijmegen Corpus (1996), by Nijmegen University, which consists of more than 2 million words; CLARA (1997), by Charles University, which consists of 50 million

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[10] More details about the difficulties of analysing Arabic computationally can be acquired from Goweder and Roeck (2001), Khoja, Garside, and Knowles (2001), Van Mol (2002), Elewa (2004), and Al-Sulaiti (2004).

words; and EA Parallel Corpus (2003), by the University of Kuwait, which consists of 3 million words.[11]

2.6 Corpus in Use

The study of corpora has emerged and revolutionised the study of language and its applications over the last few decades. This is largely the result of the continually improving accessibility of computers, which has changed corpus study from being a subject for specialists to one that is open to all. Consequently, the importance of corpora for researchers has increased, since corpora allow them to not only count categories and phenomena, but also to observe linguistic features that have not been noticed before (Hunston 2002: 1).

McEnery and Wilson (2001: 103) highlight the relation between corpora and empirical data. They believe that corpora and empirical data are strongly related:

> Empirical data enable the linguist to make statements which are objective and based on language as it really is rather than statements which are subjective and based upon the individual's own internalised cognitive perception of the language.

They also believe that the use of empirical data implies the study of language varieties such as dialects, or earlier periods in a language. Therefore, the use of corpora has a basic importance for language studies. This research will focus on the roles that corpora play in linguistic studies (mainly in terms of syntax), as well as translation studies. Abdelali et al. (2004: 31) illustrate that: "A corpus to a linguist is very valuable because it allows statements to be made about language in a very convincing fashion".

Hunston (2002) believes that the use of linguistic corpora in applied linguistics has expanded rapidly over the past twenty years for two reasons: first the advent of improved and more accessible systems of electronic storage and analysis, and secondly because of an ever-growing appreciation of the huge potential of corpus work.

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[11]For more information on Arabic Corpora see: http://www.comp.leeds.ac.uk/eric/latifa/arabic

Moreover, Baker (1995: 235) believes that the rise of corpus linguistics has had a substantial impact on the study of translation. She holds that corpus linguistics is important for translation studies because:

> Large corpora will provide theorists of translation with a unique opportunity to observe the object of their study and to explore what it is that makes it different from other objects of study, such as language in general or indeed any other kind of cultural interaction. It will also allow us to explore, on a larger scale than was ever possible before, the principles that govern translational behaviour and the constraints under which it operates.

Similarly, Laviosa (1998: 101) and Tymoczko (1998: 1) highlight the value of corpus translation studies for enabling the researchers to retrieve vast quantities of data from a storage device: "more data than any single human being could ever manage to gather or examine in a productive lifetime without electronic assistance" (ibid).

Laviosa (ibid) agrees with Baker and Tymoczko on the necessity of using a corpus-based approach, and says:

> A growing number of scholars in translation studies have begun to seriously consider the corpus based approach as a viable and fruitful perspective within which translation and translating can be studied in a novel and systematic way.

In the same way, Olohan (2004: 23) and Malmkjaer (2003: 119) draw attention to what corpus linguistics can do. They make it clear that the analysis of corpus data can make a contribution to the study of translation:

> The use in translation studies of methodologies inspired by corpus linguistics has proved to be one of the most important gate-openers to progress in the discipline…(Malmkjaer 2003: 119 as cited in Olohan 2004: 23).

Yet, despite the great importance of corpora, Hunston (2002) states that a corpus can do nothing at all by itself, since it is just a store of used language. It does not contain new information about language, but provides packages of

data through the software. This kind of data in corpora can be manipulated through:

(a) Collocation   (b) Frequency   (c) Phraseology

'Collocation' is defined as the habitual, meaningful co-occurrence of two or more words (see chapter six for more details). 'Frequency' and 'Phraseology', are the other two aspects through which corpora can be analysed. The importance of using frequency in analysing corpora is that accurate frequency helps in identifying all possible differences between corpora. Following Flowerdew (2009: 394), frequency is used as a step towards the identification of meaningful units. Swain (1998: 66) points out that there are levels of 'noticing', one of which is that: "learners may simply notice a form in the target language due to the frequency or salience of the features themselves". For example, the use of the present perfect form of 'focus' has revealed that this tense is used when previous research is introduced or to set up a critical evaluation of this work marked by 'however' (Flowerdew 2009: 401). Through concordancing lines we can deal with a corpus, and observe regularities in use that remain unobserved when the same words and phrases are met in their normal contexts, and thus phraseology can be observed through concordances (Hunston 2002: 9).

Phraseology is referred to as the investigation of phrases. Phraseology differs from grammars in that it prefers syntagmatic patterns to paradigmatic ones. In other words, phraseology is not just a group of neat small lexical patterns. Phraseology is a pragmatic dimension of linguistic analysis that sets up related phrases and form meaning by their combination. Hunston (2006: 242) asserts that:

> One of the key points about phraseology is that it is closely connected to meaning. Corpus-driven lexicology has indicated that where a word has two or more distinct meanings, each will tend to occur in a specific phraseology.

Therefore, the study of phraseology involves the identification of specific collocations and idioms. It considers the relation between the expression and the environments within which it has been created (Gledhill 2000: 202).

This study sheds light on the way 'collocation', 'frequency', and 'phraseology' are used to analyse grammar through corpora (mainly above and beyond the clause, which will be discussed in chapters three, four, five and seven).

2.7 Features of Corpora

There are four main characteristics of the modern corpus: (a) finite size, (b) machine-readable form, (c) sampling and representativeness, and (d) a standard reference. These features are discussed below.

(a) Finite size: The term 'corpus' tends to imply a body of text of a finite size, for example, one million words. However, this is not the case universally, as McEnery and Wilson (2001) point out. For example, at Birmingham University, John Sinclair's COBUILD team have been engaged in the construction and analysis of a collection of texts known as *monitor corpus*. Sinclair's team calls this type of corpus a 'collection of texts', rather than a 'corpus': "it is an open-ended entity. Texts are constantly being added to it, so that it gets bigger and bigger as more samples are added" (ibid: 29).

(b) Machine-readable form: Another important feature of a corpus is that it is almost always 'machine-readable'. This was not the case in the early days of corpora, as the term 'corpus' could be used only in reference to printed text. Nowadays, things have changed, and the printed corpus has become the exception rather than the rule. Svartvik and Quirk (1980) provide an example of a printed corpus: a *Corpus of English Conversation*, which represents the original London-Lund corpus. The texts included in this corpus are also available in a machine-readable form in the London-Lund corpus. This corpus is regarded as one of the very few corpora available in book format.

McEnery and Wilson (2001: 64) state two advantages of machine-readable corpora over the original written or spoken format. The first and most important is that machine-readable corpora can be searched easily and through simple methods, which are not possible to use with the written format. For example, by using concordancing software, it may take a few minutes to extract all instances of a certain word. But a corpus book format would need to be read from cover to cover to obtain the required results. The second advantage is that

a machine-readable corpus can easily have additional information added to it, i.e. through the use of 'annotation'.

(C) Sampling and Representative: McEnery et al. (2006: 13) claim that being representative is another important characteristic to be added to the features of corpora. Representative is a feature that distinguishes a corpus from an archive (i.e., a random collection of texts). A corpus represents different text types of a particular language, whereas an archive does not. Sampling, on the other hand, refers to the techniques (i.e., how the text is selected). In order to achieve representativeness, we have to sample language. Sampling a corpus is essential since it is impossible to describe every single utterance or sentence in a given language. For a living language like English, it is notable that the total text population is huge, and the number of utterances is constantly increasing and theoretically infinite. Consequently, to analyse every utterance in such a language would be an impossible task. That is why McEnery and Wilson (2001) suggested the importance of building a sample of the language variety in which one is interested.

(D) Standard reference: having a standard reference for a language variety in a corpus is essential for corpus researchers. The advantage of a widely available corpus is that it provides a standard measurement for studies to follow. Thus the data in a corpus should be sampled in order to be maximally representative of the language variety under consideration.

2.8 Corpora: Benefits and Drawbacks

Stubbs (1996: 231) marks an interesting similarity between the period immediately following the invention of the microscope and the telescope, and the period after the invention of the computer. He says that the microscope and telescope allowed scientists to observe things that had never been seen before. In the same way, computers and software programs have allowed linguists to see phenomena and discover patterns that were not previously suspected. Hunston (2002: 20) cites Stubbs' (1999) defence of the role of corpora, stating that:

> Just as it is ridiculous to criticise a telescope for not being a microscope, so it is pointless to criticise corpora for not allowing some methods of investigation. They are invaluable for doing what they do, and what they do not do must be done in another way.

Stubbs (1999) concludes that the effect and power of corpus methods is no longer in doubt. The main argument in favour of using a corpus is that it is a more reliable guide to language-use than native speaker intuition is. For example, a native speaker language teacher is often unable to explain why a particular phrase is to be preferred in one particular context to another. Yet, and despite the usefulness of corpora in describing how a language works and what language can show about the context in which it is used, there are certain limitations of using corpora that should be considered. Hunston (2002: 22-23) has summarised these limitations as follows:

1- A corpus cannot give information about whether something is possible or not. A corpus can say whether something is frequent or not.
2- A corpus can show nothing more than the contents it has.
3- A corpus can provide researchers with evidence, but cannot give information.
4- A corpus masks some of the features of the texts by presenting concordance lines, in which the structure of the original is lost.

2.9 Types of Corpora

There are many types of corpora, and each type is designed for a particular purpose. The most commonly used corpus types are:

(1) Specialised Corpus

This type of corpus consists of a particular type of text, such as history/geography textbooks, academic articles on a certain subject, lectures, etc. The aim of this corpus is to represent a given type of text and analyse specific type of language, for example, the language of newspaper articles that deal with bringing up English children, or language taking place in a café. Some of the famous specialised corpora include the five million word Cambridge and

Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE), and the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE).

(2) General Corpus

This type of corpus is much larger than a specialised corpus. Unlike the specialised corpus, it is made up of texts of many types. For instance, it may include written or spoken language, or both. Sometimes, this corpus is known as a *reference corpus*, as it can be used to produce reference materials for language learning or translation. It can also be used for the purpose of comparison with specialised corpora. The most famous general corpora include the British National Corpus and the Bank of English. Both of these corpora include a variety of sub-corpora from different sources.

(3) Learner Corpus

This is a collection of texts produced by the learners of a language. The main purpose of this corpus is to identify how learners' language differs from that of each other and from the language of native speakers. One example of a learner corpus is The International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE), which has a collection of corpora of 20,000 words each.

(4) Pedagogic Corpus

This is very useful for teachers as it consists of, for example, all the course books and tapes that learners have used. It is also used to help learners by collecting all the words and phrases they have come across in different contexts.

(5) Historical or Diachronic Corpus

As its name suggests, this is a corpus of texts collected from different periods of time, and is used to trace the development of aspects of a language over time. One good example of a historical corpus of English is the Helsinki Corpus.

Baker (1995) makes another distinction between two further types of corpora: **'Parallel Corpora'** and **'Comparable Corpora'**. While parallel corpora consist of original, source-language texts in a certain language and their translated versions in other languages, comparable corpora refer to texts in two languages that are similar in content, but are not translations. Comparable

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corpora of varieties (such as: newspaper texts, novels, formal conversations, etc.) of the same language can be used to compare those varieties. Yet, comparable corpora of different languages can be used by both translators and researchers to identify differences and equivalences in each language (Hunston 2002; Baker 1995).

The corpora used in this study are general corpora since they consist of many types of texts. The aim of general corpora is to show language in its broadest sense. A general corpus contains language samples from a wide range of genres, including both fiction and nonfiction texts.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has given a brief account of the basic issues in corpus linguistics. I began this chapter by defining the term *corpus*, and then provided a brief review of the history of corpus linguistics. This chapter presented a brief discussion of the debate over the Chomskyan approach vs. the corpus approach. Features, forms, types, advantages, and disadvantages of corpora were then described.

Chapter Three

Translation between System and Corpus

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to examine the relation between different (but related) trends that the thesis revolves around, i.e. corpus linguistics (CL) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The chapter aims to replace our traditional conceptions of grammar. In other words, instead of analysing syntactic patterns of coordination and subordination (for example, as governed by strict grammatical rules), this chapter will analyse the two syntactic phenomena as systematically structured through repeated patterns of use.

This chapter also provides insights concerning the relevance of theory and practice to translation (see 3.2). Section 3.3 explains to what extent SFL and CL are two complementary approaches. The relation between SFL and translation studies will be revealed in 3.4. I follow this by providing the reasons for adopting SFL in this study (see 3.4.1). The rest of the chapter is then dedicated to applying SFL to English and Arabic in the areas of adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts.

3.2 Translation between Theory and Practice

Translation is sometimes claimed to be an ambiguous field of study as a result of the complexity involved in reaching a definitive conclusion about its meaning. Hewson and Martin (1991: 3) believe that 'translation is an ill-defined term'. They add that a conclusive definition of translation is not attainable because:

> It has never been made quite clear whether that word refers to the actual cognitive operations involved in the production of a translated text, or to some instrumental process meant to achieve the same result, or to a combination of both (ibid).

Larson (1991: 1) states that: "Good theory is based on information gained from practice. Good practice is based on carefully worked-out theory. The two are interdependent". Therefore, 'theory' corresponds significantly to 'practice', and vice versa. EL-Shiyab (2000: 41) indicates the importance of combining the two approaches, as "theory of translation makes students of translation aware of language complexities; it gives them a sense of creativity and intellect". Following Larson and EL-Shiyab, I believe that translation theory and practice complement each other effectively in understanding a text[12].

3.3 System and Corpus: A Happy Union

In Mishra's (2009: 449) review of Thompson and Hunston's work on CL and SFL, he makes it clear that both approaches are complementary:

> Since SFL is essentially a theory of language, CL is essentially a method for investigating language, and both are concerned with naturally occurring language as text, they are complementary, if not productively synergic […] If corpus linguists are simply those who focus on corpus data […] then being an SFL corpus linguist is unproblematic.

Thus, while CL is a method that approaches language automatically, SFL is a theory that analyses text systematically. Following Thompson and Hunston (2000), Hoey (2003) highlights the interaction between CL and SFL. He argues that there is an explicit relation between the two approaches in that a lexical item is likely to occur with a certain semantic prosody, with certain syntactic functions, and in a particular position in a text. Hoey's work provides ways of applying 'choice' in SFL.

3.4 SFL Approach to Translation Studies

Translation Studies was formerly dismissed as a second-rate activity. Munday (2001: 5) believes that "the study of translation as an academic subject has only really begun in the past fifty years". It has been considered as a sub-discipline of other fields. Gradually, Translation Studies has become a discipline in its own

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[12] http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/modernlanguages/postgraduate/taught/translation/research/

right, and it has been described as "a house of many rooms" (Hatim 2001:8; cited in Manfredi 2008: 28). Translation Studies has been interwoven with many other fields, such as SFL. Despite the fact that SFL's role in Translation Studies has not been seriously tackled, SFL has proved itself to be a useful instrument for translation theory and practice. Taylor and Baldry (2001: 277) state that:

> Interest in the role that systemic-functional linguistics might play in translation studies has never been feverish [has not been seriously tackled], though a number of articles have been written on the subject (Newmark 1988; Ventola 1994; Steiner 1996) […] and seminars have been held and whole sections of conferences given over to the subject.

3.4.1 Why SFL?

SFL is a theory of grammar that was originally developed by Michael Halliday in the 1960s. As its name suggests, the theory is 'systemic' in that it looks at language as a "network of systems, or interrelated sets of options for making meaning" (Halliday 1994: 15). At the same time, the theory is described as 'functional' – which is radically opposite to Chomskyan 'formal grammar' – as its main concern is the practical functional contextualised usage to which language is put. Systemic functional grammar or systemic functional linguistics focuses on the lexical and sentence structure of language as well as how these interact largely with syntax (form), semantics (meaning) and pragmatics (use). Therefore, it describes the relationship between texts and their context of use.[13]

In this study I have chosen to use the Hallidayan model of SFL because its main linguistic core revolves around the concept of meaning-making. In the process of translating, the translator is inevitably engaging with the issue of meaning. Halliday (1985, 1994: 15) puts it as follows:

> Grammar is the central processing unit of language, the powerhouse where meanings are created; it is hardly conceivable that the systems by which these meanings are expressed should have evolved along lines significantly different from the grammar itself.

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[13] https://sites.google.com/site/2011introling1/chapter-4-functional-grammar

Conveying meaning is the prime concern of a translator. The systemic functional approach views language as "a system of 'meaning potential'", i.e. "a resource for making meaning" (see Halliday 1978: 39; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 23). In terms of meaning, Matthiessen and Halliday (1997) indicate three general directions of approach to any system of grammar: 'from below', 'from around/beyond', and 'from above', as seen in the figure below.
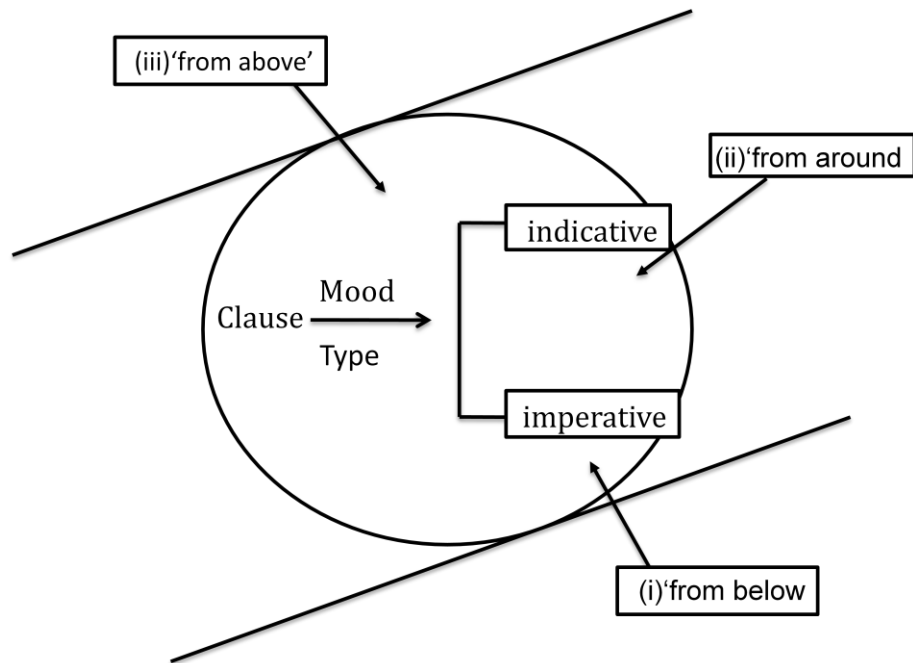
Figure 1: Perspectives on a system as cited in Matthiessen and Halliday (1997)

Figure 1 presents a wider perspective to the clause in English. 'Below' the clause indicates word classes and group functions from the phonological side, which falls outside the scope of this study. 'Above' the clause refers to the clause complexes and the type of relationships between clauses. The grammar is doing a lot of organisational work in the relationship between clause complexes – i.e. 'taxis: parataxis and hypotaxis' (although here we may enter murky waters between constituency and dependency). This type of clause will be handled in the next section (3.5). 'Beyond/around' the clause is concerned with the metaphorical mode of expressions that are represented in appraisal theory and modality (see chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7). This study will focus on these

two perspectives of clause, as they are very much related to the nature of translation.

Therefore, SFL is a theory that sets out to take a different perspective to the traditional concept of grammar. Manfredi (2008: 9) refers to the old notion of grammar as: "the die-hard myths surrounding the study of grammar that see it as a boring, or even elitist, enterprise, one that is basically meaningless". SFL theory provides a model within which semantics (meanings) and lexicogrammar (wordings) are typically related in foregrounding the choice of meaning. As Halliday (1973: 67) states:

> In the study of language in a social perspective we need both to pay attention to what is said and at the same time to relate it systematically to what might have been said but was not. Hence we do not make a dichotomy between knowing and doing; instead we place 'does' in the environment of 'can do', and treat language as speech potential.

In Hallidayan functional grammar, three fundamental areas of meaning, called 'metafunctions', are identified: *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*. Every specific function can be related to these general functions, and hence these broad functions are referred to as 'metafunctions' or 'metalanguages'. The three metafunctions are concerned mainly with the meanings that we express in our language. These three areas of meanings are dealt with equally within the grammatical system as figure 2 illustrates below.
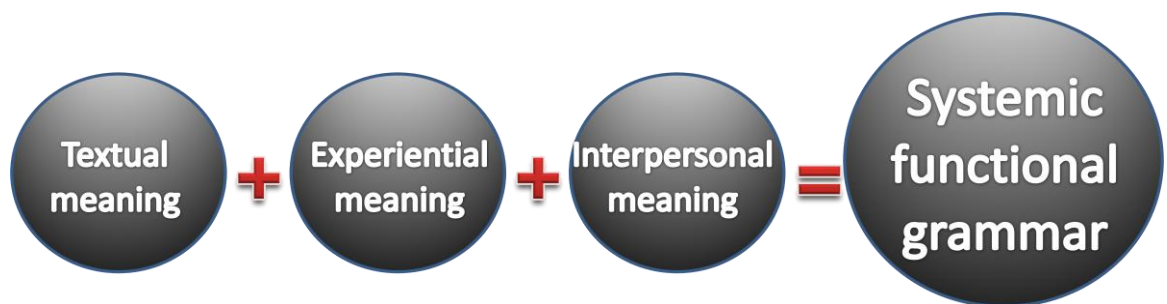
Figure 2: The mutual relation between Halliday's metafunctions.

Each of these metafunctions relates to a certain type of meaning, as summarised by Thompson (2004: 30) below:

1. **Experiential/Ideational Function: (representations)** "We use language to talk about our experience of the world, including the worlds in our own

minds, to describe events and state the entities involved in them". This ideational or experiential metafunction focuses mainly on the kinds of activities that are undertaken in the discourse. It looks at clauses as *representations*. Halliday identifies this metafunction as the 'content function of language' (2007: 183)[14]. It also involves the description and classification of the participants.

2. **Interpersonal Function: (exchanges)** "We also use language to interact with other people, to establish and maintain relations with them, to influence their behaviour, to express our own viewpoint on things in the world, and to elicit or change theirs" (Thompson 2004: 30). In other words, the interpersonal metafunction sets up the relationship between 'text producer' (writer) and 'text consumer' (reader). Halliday (ibid: 184) describes the interpersonal function as the 'participatory function of language'. It involves the expression of attitudes and appraisal that are realised by mood and modality (see chapter 5).

3. **Textual Function: (messages)** "In using language, we organise our messages in ways that indicate how they fit in with the other messages around them and with the wider context in which we are talking or writing" (ibid). Halliday (ibid) indicates that both ideational and interpersonal meanings are 'actualised' in the textual function (see 5.7.5).

As mentioned earlier in this section, all of these three functions are relevant to each other. Halliday (1970: 145) points out that they have equal status:

> The speaker does not first decide to express some content and then go on to decide what sort of message to build out of it…Speech acts involve planning that is continuous and simultaneous in respect to all the functions of language.

Consider the following example:

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[14]For more information see: www.cadaad.org/glossary/metafunctions

(1) [Adjunct: textual] However [Adjunct: interpersonal] unfortunately we cannot
     meet [Adjunct: experiential/location] at noon.[15]

Therefore, adjuncts can be experiential (circumstances), textual (conjunctives),
or interpersonal (modal adjuncts or comment adjuncts).

In terms of the discussion so far, these are the three generalised
categories of functions in which we can say things. However, the focus of the
next section will be on 'how we can say or describe things', that is to say, the
role of grammar in offering appropriate 'wordings' to express meanings. It is
also important to make clear that the speaker does not go through these three
metafunctions in successive steps. These three broad functions of our language
use usually occur at the same time, whether consciously or unconsciously.
Thompson (2004: 31-32) explains that:

> We unpack the choices for analytical purposes, but the choices are
> usually all made – consciously or, in the main, unconsciously – at
> the same time. There are times when the process may become
> more staged and more conscious; for example, in redrafting written
> text I sometimes find myself deciding that a new starting point will
> make the sentence fit in more clearly, which may mean that I also
> have to alter the wording in the rest of the sentence. But typically a
> functional description brings to light and separates closely
> interwoven decisions that we are not aware of making about how to
> word what we want to say.

By unpacking the different choices of meaning, we can decide which choice
matches which meaning, either in the same language or when translating to
another language.

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[15] This example is quoted from http://minerva.ling.mq.edu.au/resource/virtual
library/Glossary/sysglossary.htm

3.5 Enacting Systemic Functional Linguistics: (Above the clause)

3.5.1 Coordination (disjuncts) and Subordination (adjuncts): An Introduction

As was noted in Chapter one, this is not the first study to analyse coordination and subordination. In a study on coordination and subordination in English and Arabic, Othman (2004) recommends the use of large computerised corpora: "In longer research projects, more extended texts could be surveyed and analysed through the use of massive amounts of computerised collections of texts that are currently available on the Internet". In this study, I will adopt Othman's recommendation, and apply the analysis to large corpora in English and Arabic. I will focus on English and Arabic as two distinct languages in their preference for syntactic relations, most importantly in their use of subordination and coordination.

In other words, this chapter considers syntactic and denotative similarities and differences between English and Arabic in respect of junction. The chapter aims to show how these two syntactic relations, i.e. subordination (adjuncts) and coordination (disjuncts) are used in English and Arabic. In order to do this, I shall use original English texts (I-EN and BNC) and original Arabic texts (I-AR and Al-H). The analysis will also depend mostly on translated data from SOC.

Before analysing these two syntactic features, I will give a brief introduction to English and Arabic adverbials in general, following Quirk et al. (1985) – the currently most widely used grammar of English – and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) as well as Hasselgard's (2010) classification of the English adverbials. On the other hand, Ryding (2005) and Beeston's (1970) classification of the Arabic adverbials will be studied.

3.5.1.1 Why adverbs?

Jackendoff (1972: 47) asserts that "The adverb is perhaps the least studied and most maligned part of speech". A similar complaint has been voiced by Chomsky (1965: 219) who noticed that "adverbials are a rich and as yet

relatively unexplored system, and therefore anything we say about them must be regarded as quite tentative". In contrast to the other major parts of speech (i.e. nouns and verbs), adverbs have a much less homogeneous, consistent and a standardized category. Quirk et al. (1985: 438) comment on the status of adverbs as:

> Because of its great heterogeneity, the adverb class is the most nebulous and puzzling of the traditional word classes. Indeed, it is tempting to say simply that the adverb is an item that does not fit the definitions for other word classes.

Vendler (1984:304-6) agrees with Quirk et al. (ibid) and illustrates further the 'great heterogeneity' of adverbs and how they serve many functions in language:

 a. He rang the bell LOUDLY (event)

b. He danced GRACEFULLY (manner)

c. He solved the problems EASILY (facility)

d. He spilled the tea ACCIDENTALLY (moral)

e. He applied LATE (timing)

f. STUPIDLY, he quit his job (sentence)

g. HOPEFULLY, he'll not return (illocutionary)

Given this diversity of meaning, adverbs are regarded as both motivating and interesting linguistic phenomenon in their own right.

Despite the fact that adverbs are very common in both spoken and written discourse, Ryding (2005: 276) asserts that adverbs in Arabic have not received much attention from linguists compared to the other major classes like nouns and verbs. Furthermore, Cowan (1964: 63) and Badawi et al. (2004: 56) observe that few Arabic words are intrinsically adverbs and, accordingly, Cowan describes the Arabic language as 'exceedingly poor in adverbs', while Badawi et al. express the class of pure adverbs in Arabic as 'extremely small'.

On the other hand, Haywood and Nahmad (1962: 426) not only regard Arabic as rather poor in adverbs, but also they assert that "Arabic has *no adverbs*, properly speaking" (emphasis in original). However, they clarify that this lack is due to the intrinsic flexibility and expressiveness of the language.

Similarly, Al-Shurafa (2005: 85) argues that "Adverbs and adverbials have not been given much attention in the field of linguistics in Arabic compared to the quite rich literature in other languages such as Germanic and Romance". Finally, adverbials – probably better than any other grammatical categories – illustrate the interdependency between grammar and meaning (Hasselgard 2010: 20) – one major aim of this thesis (see Chapter 1).

3.5.2 Adverbs and adverbials

Adverbs and adverbials are very closely related terms. However, Hasselgard (2010: 14) asserts that a basic distinction should be drawn between adverb and adverbial as "There is some vacillation in English grammars as to the use of the terms *adverb* and *adverbial*, presumably because many studies of adverbials, e.g. Jacobson (1964) and Ernst (2002), have focused on adverbials realised by adverbs". In other words, adverbs are adverbials, but adverbials are not necessarily adverbs, i.e. adverbials can take a number of forms and can be found in a range of locations within a sentence (see figure 3).

While an adverb is generally recognised as a single word class like nouns, verbs and adjectives, an adverbial is a syntactic clause element like subjects and objects. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 445), adverbs tell us how, when, where and to what degree something is happening. Adverbs constitute a heterogenous word class, i.e. they function in a variety of ways at phrase level. For example, an adverb can modify an adjective (*very accurate*), it can be used to modify an adverb (*rather quickly*), it can form the headword of an adverb phrase (*luckily for him*).

As for Arabic grammar, it is important to draw attention to the fact that traditional as well as Arab grammarians do not make a distinction between adverbial - as a syntactic clause element – and adverb – as a word class, i.e. they do not consider the different realizations of functional adverbials as English grammarian do. Mukattash and Kawar (1997: 1751) say that:

> This is due to the fact that, in their endeavour to classify language categories formally, in particular according to inflections, they group together elements/categories that are only superficially similar but functionally different. Another consequence of their reliance on inflections as a criterion for classification was their inability to group

together the different realizations which a certain function (e.g. adverbial) may have.

The functions of Arabic adverbials compared to their English counterparts will be illustrated later in the following sections.

According to Quirk et al. (1985) and Hasselgard (2010), the three main categories of adverbials are distinguished on the basis of syntactic and semantic features (see 3.5.3 and 3.5.4).
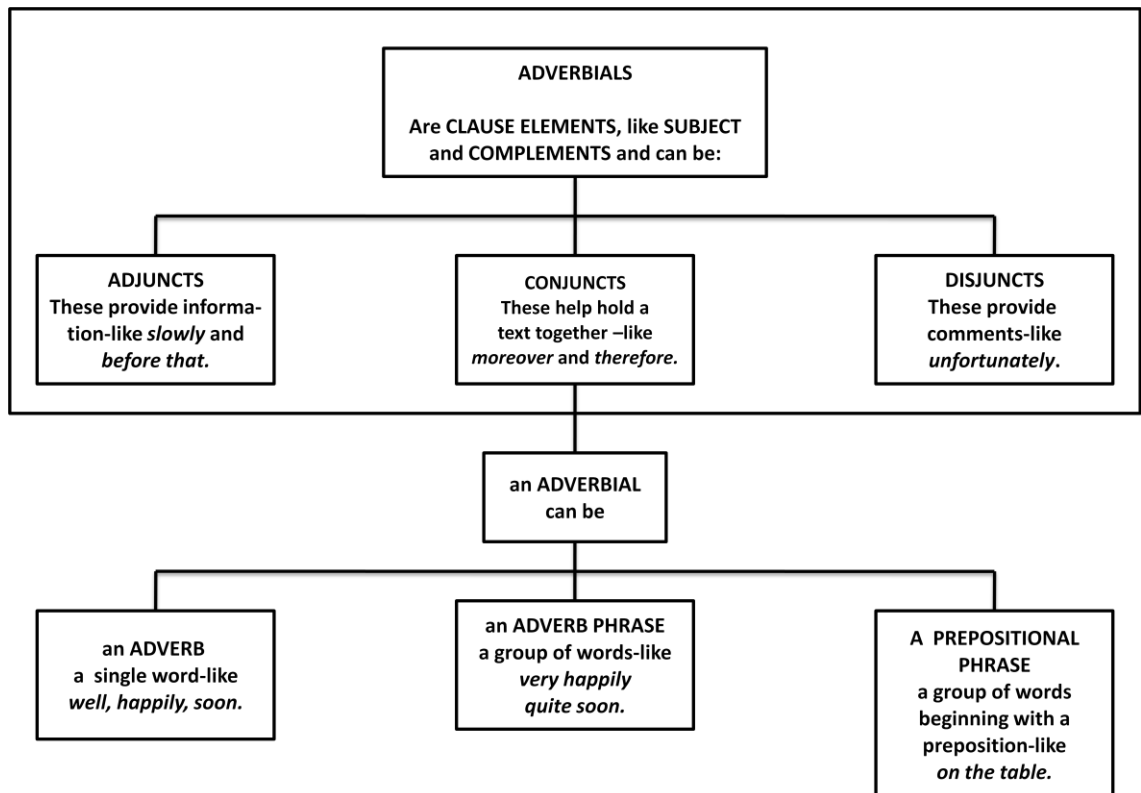
Figure 3: Adverbs and adverbials as illustrated by Seely (2006).

3.5.3 Syntactic functions of adverbials

As shown in figure 3 above, there are three broad categories of adverbials: adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts. However different labels for adverbial categories have been recognized by different linguists as shown in figure 4 below.

Labels for adverbial categories

Quirk et al. (1985)	Halliday (1994)	Hengeveld (1997)	Biber et al. (1999)
Adjunct	Experiential adjunct	Representational satellite	Circumstance adverbials
Disjunct	Interpersonal adjunct	Interpersonal satellite	Stance adverbials
Conjunct	Textual adjunct	Rhetorical satellite	Linking adverbials
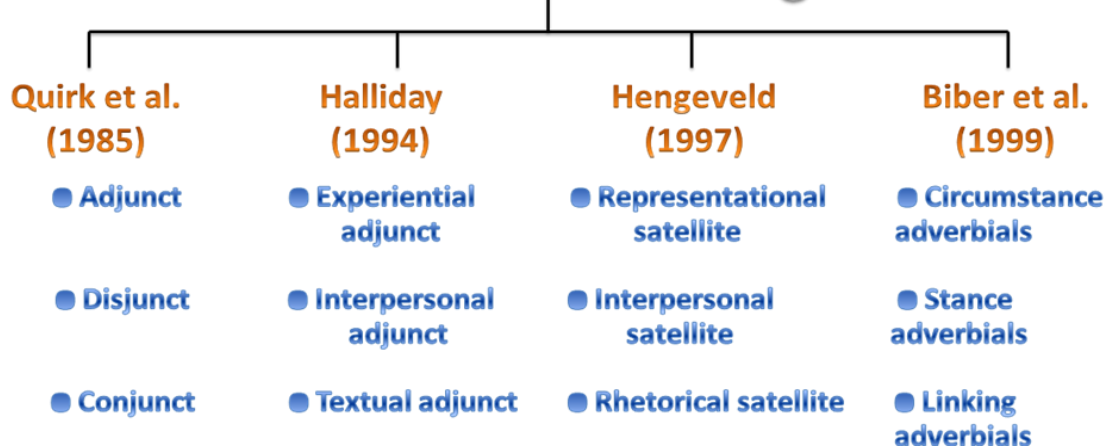
Figure 4: Different labels for adverbial categories

The above figure shows that three categories of adverbials have been classified in terms of their centrality or peripherality[16] ('adjunct' as most integrated and 'disjunct' as least integrated). Quirk et al. (1985: 1068) have labeled the most integrated category as adjunct. Halliday (1994), Hengeveld (1997) and Biber et al. (1999) state corresponding terms, namely – in order – experiential adjunct, representational satellite and circumstance adverbials. However, the definitions of these categories do not contradict Quirk et al.'s (1985). This category includes adverbials that add information or tell circumstances about the action in the clause such as when, where, how or why an activity took place. Examples of these adverbials are *in July*, *next to the window*, *quickly*, *because of the rain*, etc.

The second category represents those adverbials that have a superordinate role in relation to the sentences and convey the speaker's comments on what is being said (content) or on how it is being said (style) (Biber et al. 1999: 764). The labels which reflect this category are disjunct, interpersonal adjunct, interpersonal satellite and stance adverbials as shown in figure 4. Adjuncts and disjuncts are regarded as two basic functions of adverbial clauses (Quirk et al. 1985: 1048). Mondorf (2004: 77) also asserts that adverbial

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[16] Subjuncts – as a subclass of adverbials – have been disregarded here as they are not relevant to the subsequent analysis. Quirk et al. (1985: 1069) describe subjuncts as generally not realised by clause except viewpoint subjuncts.

clauses function predominantly as adjuncts, which are central in the clause structure, and disjuncts, which are peripheral to the clause structure.

Finally, the third category indicates those linking adverbials that are considered to be the least integrated in the clause and serve a connective function. Examples of this category are: *firstly*, *secondly*, *however*, *furthermore*, etc.

The present study will concentrate on Quirk et al.'s labels for adverbials as being the most comprehensive and related to the study. Moreover, since this study adopts a functional perspective (see 3.4.1), this chapter will also focus on Halliday's labels that reflect the integration of adverbials as shown in figure 4. This section provides a general introduction to the three major categories of adverbials in English and Arabic, i.e. adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts.

3.5.3.1 Adjuncts in English and Arabic

Al-Jayrudy (2011: 95) states that adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts are defined similarly in Arabic and English. In Quirk et al.'s (1985: 1070-1074) view, adjuncts indicate circumstances of the situation in the main clause and add information about the action happening. In the same way, Abdul Fattah (2010: 43) describes adjuncts in Arabic as elements that add extra adverbial information of different types. He also states that adjuncts are realized by nominal or prepositional phrases in any type of Arabic clauses (see current section, adjuncts in Arabic). The adverb is called adjunct when it is integrated into the flow of a sentence.

Quirk et al. (1985: 1070 - 1074) and Hasselgard (2010: 99) assert that adjuncts can be divided into two main groups: predicational adjuncts and sentential adjuncts as shown in figure 5 below.
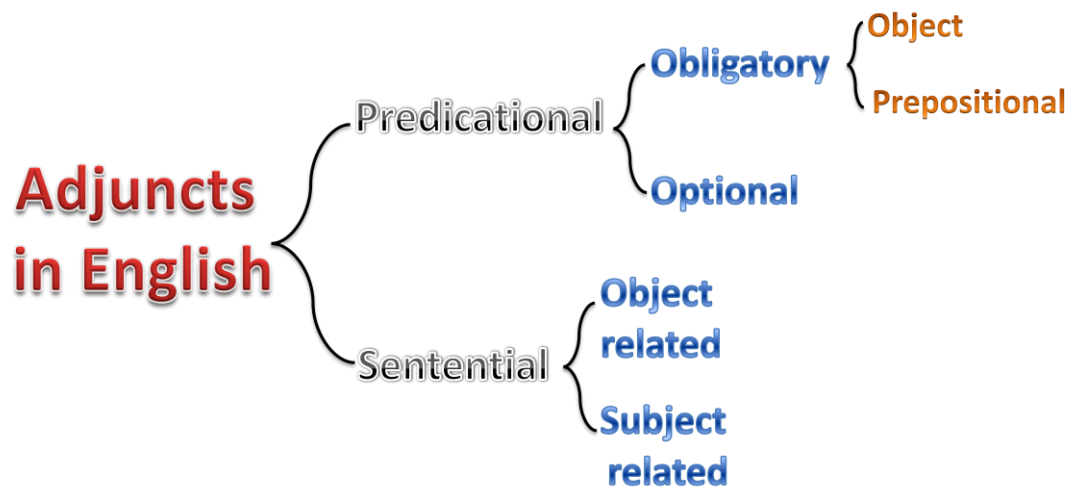
Figure 5: Adjuncts in English

As shown from figure 5 above predicational adjuncts are either obligatory or optional. They resemble direct objects and subject complements in providing complementation to the verb. Obligatory predicational adjuncts are placed in end position and can be presented by a prepositional phrase as in example 2.

(2) "even when they live mainly <u>on cereals, vegetables and milk</u>" (SOC, 9)

or an object as shown in example 3 below:

(3) "he does not love <u>society so much as he fears solitude</u>" (SOC, 21)

An optional predicational adjunct, on the other hand, and as its name suggests, is optional, since its presence or absence does not affect the grammaticality of the clause. See examples 4, 5 and 6.

(4) It plays.

(5) It plays <u>a large role</u>.

(6) "it plays <u>a large role in the code of Hammurabi</u>" (SOC, 27)

Therefore, predicational adjuncts (obligatory or optional) are generally postverbal, i.e. they occur most naturally in the predicate (cf. Hasselgard 2010: 124).

Sentential adjuncts, on the other hand, are always optional, i.e. they do not depend on the verb/predication in the clause. They may occur initially or

36

finally (Quirk et al. 1985: 511-512; Hasselgard: ibid) as examples 7 and 7a illustrate below.

(7) "From the bamboo, he made shafts, knives, needles and bottles; out of branches he made tongs, pincers and vices…" (SOC, 12)

(7a) He made shafts, knives, needles and bottles from the bamboo; he made tongs, pincers and vices out of branches.

In the terms of Quirk et al. (1985), the underlined elements in both versions of examples 7 and 7a indicate the two kinds of sentence adjunct, i.e. subject related as in 7 and object related as in 7a. In both examples the adjunct has span over the whole clause and not just the predication. Crompton (2006: 246) believes that such variation is meaningful at a level that is larger than the clause, i.e. the discourse.

Similarly, Quirk et al. (ibid: 512) conclude that initial sentence adjuncts have: "The potentiality to relate to the whole sentence, even where the sentence comprises two coordinate clauses, while the same E-placed [end-placed] adjunct will normally be interpreted as predicational and hence related only to the clause in which it is placed". In addition, Quirk et al. illustrate their view by providing the following example:

(8) In Australia, he travelled a great deal and eventually settled down.

(8a) He travelled a great deal and eventually settled down in Australia.

Therefore, the difference between sentential adjunct and predicational adjunct lies in their relative freedom to occur at the beginning or at the end. In other words, sentential adjuncts have a more peripheral nature than predicational adjunct.

In much the same way, adjuncts in Arabic sentences (i.e. nominal or verbal) may occur initially, medially or finally such as 'at Boghaz Keui' in the following examples:

(9) "اتخذ الحيثيون عاصمتهم عند بوغاز كوى"

(SOC, 606)

ittakhadha	al-ḥaythiyūn	‘āṣimatahum	‘inda	būghāz kūy
they made	The Hittites	their capital	at	Boghaz Keui

"The Hittites made their capital at Boghaz Keui".

(SOC, 286)

(9a) "عند بوغاز كوي اتخذ الحيثيون عاصمتهم"

"At Boghaz Keui, the Hittites made their capital".

(9b) "اتخذ الحيثيون عند بوغاز كوي عاصمتهم"

"The Hittites made, at Boghaz Keui, their capital".

In the view of Al-Jayrudy (2011) and Abdul-Raof (1998), Arabic, unlike English, has a relatively free word order which allows different elements (i.e. verbs, subjects, complements and adjuncts) to occupy different positions in the sentence. Adjuncts, as illustrated in examples 9, 9a and 9b above, can occupy any position in Arabic verbal or nominal sentences. However, they occur most commonly at the end of the sentence as in example 9.

Furthermore, adjuncts in Arabic fall into two main categories, i.e. optional and obligatory as shown in figure 6 below.
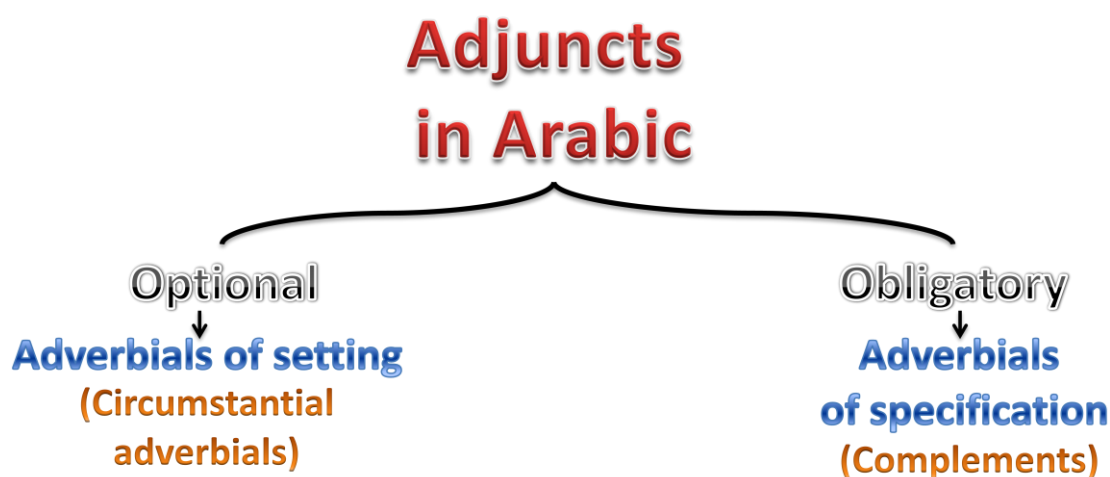
Figure 6: Abdul-Raof's (1998) classification of adjuncts in Arabic.

Adjuncts, according to Abdul-Raof (1998: 71) and Quirk et al. (1972: 268-69) are integrated in the flow of the clause to at least some extent. The more movable an adverb is (i.e. optional), the less it is tied to the structure of the clause. By contrast, the more fixed an adverb is (i.e. obligatory), the more it is integrated in the sentence. Accordingly, Abdul-Raof (1998: 71) differentiates between two main types of adjuncts in Arabic; namely, optional and obligatory adjuncts as shown in figure 6 above.

Optional adjunct refers to adverbials of setting that includes temporal, locative, or manner as illustrated in the following examples[17].

1) Temporal adjunct:

Temporal adjunct refers to time-related adjuncts that indicates when, how long, or how frequent the action or state happened as shown in example 10.

(10)   "ولما تحرروا من حكم مصر، أضحوا سادة البحر الأبيض المتوسط"
(SOC, 619)

wa lammā	taḥarrarū	min	ḥukm
and when	they liberated	from	rule

misr	aḍḥū	sādat
Egypt	they became	masters

al-baḥr al-abyaḍ al-mutawassiṭ
The Mediterranean

"and when they liberated themselves from Egypt, they became masters of the Mediterranean" (SOC, 292)

2) Locative adjunct:

Locative adjuncts show a certain location as illustrated in example 11.

(11)   "سير حملة الى بلاد النوبة ليفتح ما فيها من مناجم الذهب"
(SOC, 431)

sayyar	ḥamlah	ilā	bilād al-nūbah	li-	yaftaḥ
he sent	an expedition	to	Nubia	to	tap

mā fīhā min	manājim	al-dhahab
there	mines	the gold

"He sent an expedition to Nubia to tap the gold mines there."
(SOC, 213)

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[17] Optional adjuncts are underlined in these examples.

3) Adjunct of manner:

Adverbials of manner represent a type of adjunct which characteristically qualifies the sense of a verb as 'so vigorously' shadīdan 'anīfan شديدا عنيفا in example 12 below.

(12)   "حيث ينمو الأنسان شديدا عنيفا"

      (SOC, 617)

ḥaythu	yanmū	al-insān	shadīdan	'anīfan
where	grows	the man	so	vigorously

      "where the man grows <u>so vigorously</u>"

      (SOC, 291)

The optional adjuncts which occur in examples 10-12 are structurally dispensable, i.e. if removed; it will not influence the remainder of the sentence except to remove from it some supplementary information. Abdul-Raof (1998: 72) concludes that optional adjuncts "are not part of completing the sense of the statement, i.e. their deletion would not cripple the meaning of the sentence due to the fact that they are not verb-dependent constituents". Enkvist (1976: 55) agrees with Abdul-Raof's previous view of adverbials of setting and asserts that they "do not describe features essential to the action itself, or features necessary implied by the verb".

However, if optional adjuncts are mobile, obligatory adjuncts are not that flexible as they are linked directly to the verbal constituent (i.e. in verbal sentences) or to the rhematic constituent (i.e. in nominal sentences) even when they occur initially (Abdul-Raof 1998 and Al-Jayrudy 2011) as the following examples illustrate.

a) Obligatory adjunct in verbal sentences:

(13)   "و قد اضطرتهم هذه الجبال الى العيش على ظهر البحار"

      (SOC, 619)

wa qad 'iḍṭarrathum	hādhihi	al-jibāl	ilā
they were compelled	those	mountains	to

al-'aysh	'alā	ẓahr al-biḥār
live	on	the water

"Those mountains compelled them <u>to live on the water</u>"

(SOC, 292)

(14) "أدرك (الأنسان) <u>فكرة اختزان الطعام للمستقبل</u>"

(SOC, 18)

adraka	al-'insān	fikrat	ikhtizān
he conceived	Man	notion	laying up

al-ṭaʿām	li-lmustaqbal
the food	for the future

"(Man) conceived <u>the notion of laying up food for the future</u>"

(SOC, 9)

(b) Obligatory adjuncts in nominal sentences:

(15) "الحق أنكم أيها البيض <u>قد بلغتم الغاية في حسن المذاق</u>"

(SOC, 23)

al-ḥaqq	annakum	ayyuhā	al-bīḍ	qad balaghtum
really		you	whites	have reached

al-ghāyah	fī ḥusn al-madhāq
the target	dainty

"You whites are <u>really too dainty</u>" (SOC, 11)

(16) السنجاب <u>الذي ادخر البندق لوجبة أخرى</u>

(SOC, 11)

al-sinjāb	al-ladhī	iddakhara	al-bunduq	li-
the squirrel	that	gathered	nuts	for

wajbah	ukhrā
feast	another

"The squirrel <u>that gathered nuts for a later feast</u>"

(SOC, 6)

(17)

النحل <u>الذي ملأ خليته بالعسل</u>

(SOC, 11)

al-naḥl	al-ladhī	mala'a	khaliyyatahu	bi-
the bees	that	filled	his comb	with

al-'asal
the honey

"The bees <u>that filled the comb with honey</u>"

(SOC, 6)

(18)

والنمل <u>الذي خزن زاده أكداسا اتقاء يوم مطير</u>

(SOC, 11)

wa al-naml	al-ladhī	khazzan zādah	akdāsan	ittiqā'
the ants	that	laid up	stores	for

yawmin	maṭīr
a day	rainy

"The ants <u>that laid up stores for a rainy day</u>"

(SOC, 6)

Hence, and as shown from examples 13 - 18, obligatory adjuncts (or adverbs of specification) function as verb complements.

Quirk et al. (ibid: 504) and Hasselgard (2010: 20) list some features – mainly syntactic – that are not absolute criteria of adjuncts, but rather, characteristics that hold for most adjuncts. Therefore, an adjunct can:

(i) be the focus of a cleft sentence (It was *down the road* that they walked);

(ii) serve as the focus of alternative interrogation or negation (Did they walk *down the road* or through the park?);

(iii) be focused by a 'focusing subjunct' (1985: 504) (They walked <u>just</u> *down the road*);

(iv) come within the scope of predication ellipsis or pro-forms, (They walked *down the road*, and so did I.);

(v) be elicited by question forms (A: Where did they walk? B: *Down the road*.).

However, as mentioned earlier, some adjuncts[18] do not fit perfectly the above features, and that "borderlines between classes of adverbials are fuzzy" (Quirk et al. 1985: 505).

3.5.3.2 Disjuncts and conjuncts in English and Arabic

Disjuncts, also known as modal comment adjuncts (Halliday 2004), are evaluative devices. In other words, disjuncts are defined as a word or a group of words expressing the speaker or writer's evaluation or judgement of the truth of the utterance (ibid). This type of evaluation can be either on the style or content of the communicative event as illustrated in figure 7 below.
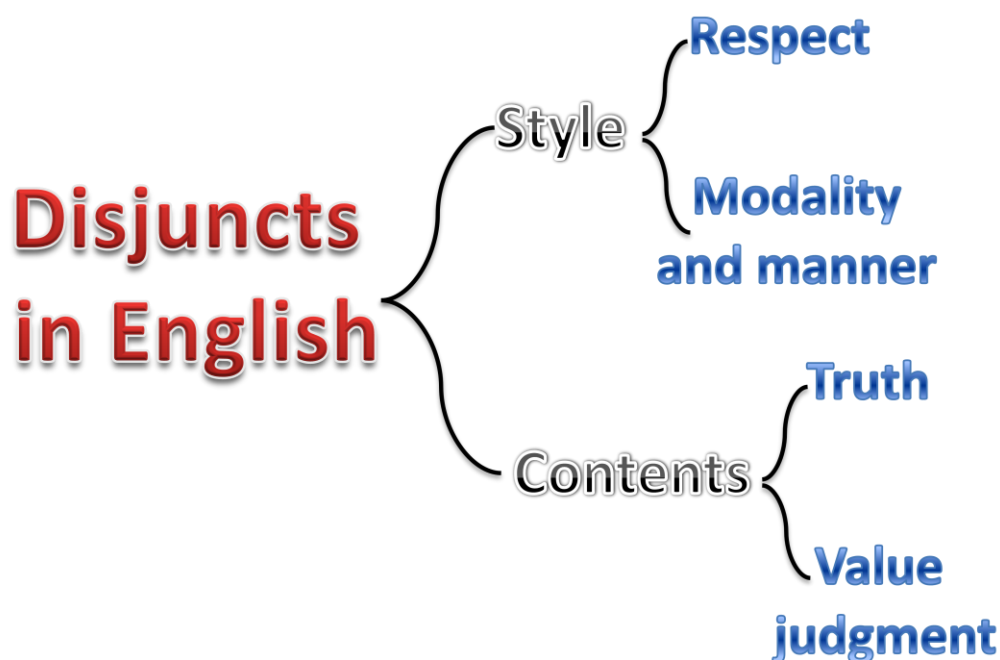
Figure 7: The subcategories of disjunct (Quirk et al. 1985: 615)

Quirk et al. (1985: 1072) made a distinction between style disjuncts and content disjuncts: "The style disjuncts implicitly refer to the circumstances of the speech act, while the content disjuncts refer to the content of the matrix clause". In other words, style disjuncts have the primary function of commenting on the style or form of the utterance (i.e. how it is said). They often show how the speaker is speaking or how the utterance should be understood (ibid). Content

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[18] Some adjuncts do not meet these criteria, e.g. indefinite frequency adjuncts, i.e. adjuncts of usuality (e.g. *usually*, *normally*, *generally*); see further Hasselgard (2010: 34) section 2.5

43

disjuncts, on the other hand, comment on the content of the utterance (i.e. what is being said).

As shown in figure 7, Quirk et al. (1985: 615 -16) subclassify style disjuncts and content disjuncts as follows:

1) Style disjunct

A) Respect style:

Most common respect adverbials include: *generally*, *strictly*, *literally*, *figuratively* and *metaphorically*. For example:

(19) "Such ancient messes are now **generally** known" (SOC, 98)

B) Modality and manner style:

This type of disjuncts include: *honestly*, *seriously*, *frankly*, *truthfully*, *candidly*, *flatly*, *truly*, *roughly*, *in short*, *simply*. For example:

(20) "(they) rested their rule **frankly** on the superiority of their guns"

(SOC, 482-483)

2) Content disjunct

C) Truth of condition:

Following Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 182-83), this type of content disjunct is related to 'certainty', while the other content type; i.e. value judgement is related to 'evaluation'. Truth of condition - also known as 'degree of truth disjuncts' – "present a comment on the truth value of what is said, expressing the extent to which, and the conditions under which, the speaker believes what he is saying is true" (Quirk et al. 1985: 620). These disjuncts express conviction (e.g. *apparently*), a speaker judgement on the truth value of the proposition (e.g. *really*), or a degree of doubt (e.g. *undoubtedly*) as examples 21 and 22 illustrate below.

(21) "Akbar, in the sixteenth century, introduced into India the game of polo, which had **apparently** come from Persia"

(SOC, 501)

(22) "Only the murder of a Brahman was **really** murder"

(SOC, 486)

D) Value judgement:

These disjuncts express or convey an evaluation of an utterance and include such items as *fortunately*, *hopefully*, *rightly*, *wisely*, *sensibly*, *cleverly*.

(23)   "Half the empire waited **hopefully** for Ashoka's death"
           (SOC, 449)

Disjuncts, as shown in examples 19-23, usually occur in medial position. However, they may also occur in other locations such as the beginning of the clause, examples 24 and 25, or in final position, examples 26 and 27 below.

(24)   "**Apparently**, the first form of art is the artificial coloring of the
               body" (SOC, 84)

(25)   "**Of course**, we can only guess at the origins of this wonderful toy"
           (SOC, 76)

(26)   "… and his promised bride, who had watched the ceremony
             carefully, rejected him **scornfully**"
           (SOC, 75)

(27)   "…all the world smiled **incredulously**"
           (SOC, 91)

Since style disjuncts are arguably parenthetical and are not of direct concern in this study, content disjuncts (with its two main subcategories) will be the focus of the next two chapters: chapter four is mainly about appraisal discourse and the evaluation of utterances which correspond to value judgements of content disjuncts, while the second subcategory of content disjunct, i.e. truth of condition is related to un/certainty, a central point in chapter 5. Greenbaum (1992) asserts that the most common content disjuncts are those expressing degrees of certainty and doubt about what is being said.

Like disjuncts in English, Al-Jayrudy (2011: 95) defines Arabic disjuncts as "an evaluative device which expresses the attitude of the speaker/writer to the form or content of the communicative event". The most familiar disjuncts in Arabic are: لا شك أنه *lā shakka annahu undoubtedly,* بصراحة *biṣarāḥah frankly,* باختصار *bikhtiṣār briefly,* في الحقيقة *fī al-ḥaqīqah in fact,* ومن جهة أخرى *wa min jihatin ukhrā on the other hand,* و من الغريب حقا *wa min al gharīb ḥaqqan strangely in fact* (Abdul-Raof 1998 and Al-Jayrudy 2011).

Although disjuncts like (في صراحة و بصراحة) *biṣarāḥah* (or *fī ṣarāḥah frankly* and *fī al-ḥaqiqah* في الحقيقة 'in fact' prefer initial position in Arabic sentences (Abdul-Raof 1998 and Al-Jayrudy 2011), they can occur medially without affecting the sentence structure, as in examples (28-30):

(28)   "منشتوسو ملك (أكد) أعلن في صراحة أنه يغزو بلاد عيلام ليستولي على ما فيها من مناجم الفضة"

(SOC, 278)

Manishtusu	malik	akad	a'lan	fī ṣarāḥah
Manishtusu	king	Akkad	announced	frankly
annahu	yaghzū	bilad	'īlām	li-
that he	invading	cities	Elam	to
yastawlī	'alā	mā	fī hā	min
get control	of	what	in it	from
manājim				
mines				

"King Manishtusu of Akkad announced frankly that he was invading Elam to get control of its silver mines" (SOC, 126)

(29)   "ولذلك تجد الكلمة التي معناها "إله" عند كثير من الشعوب البدائية، معناها في الحقيقة رجل ميت"

(SOC, 144)

wa lidhālik	tajid	al-kalimah	al-latī
and so	you find	the word	that
ma'nāhā	ilāh	'inda	kathīr	mina
its meaning	God	among	several	from

al-shuʻūb	al-bidāʼiyah	maʻnāhā	fī al-ḥaqīqah
peoples	primitive	meant	actually
rajul	mayyit		
a man	dead		

"Among several primitive peoples the word for god <u>actually</u> meant "a dead man" (SOC, 63)

(30)

<div dir="rtl">

"...أن إنجيل المسيح يبدأ ـ <u>في الحقيقة</u> ـ بظهور عاموس."
</div>

(SOC, 670)

anna	injīl al-masīḥ	yabdaʼ
that	Jesus Christ	begin
<u>fī al-ḥaqīqah</u>	bi ẕuhūr	ʻāmūs
actually	with appearance	Amos

"With Amos begins the gospel of Jesus Christ." (SOC, 317)

Based on Quirk et al. (1985), Dickins (2010: 1085) clarifies the distinction between adjuncts and disjuncts by considering the subordinating conjunctions *because* and *since*. While *because* (closely bound with the main clause) is an adjunct, *since* (more peripheral to the main clause) is a disjunct. Consider the following examples:

(31)   The poorer women retained their freedom of movement *because* they had to work. (SOC, 375) [adjunct]

(32)   The poorer women retained their freedom of movement, *since* they had to work. [disjunct]

Quirk et al. (ibid: 1071-1072) suggest a series of syntactic tests which illustrate the distinction between adjuncts and disjuncts. These tests show that:

(A) Only adjunct clauses can be the focus of a cleft sentence:

(33)   It is *because* they had to work that the poorer women retained their freedom.

(34)   * It is *since* they had to work that the poorer women retained their freedom.

(B) Only adjunct clauses can be the focus of negation:

(35)   The poorer women didn't retain their freedom *because* they had to work, but *because* they never give up.

(36)   * The poorer women didn't retain their freedom *since* they had to work, but *since* they never give up.

(C) Only adjunct clauses can be the focus of 'focusing subjects',
             e.g. *only*, *just*, *simply* and *mainly*:

(37)

             The poorer women retained their freedom only *because* they had to work.

(38)   * The poorer women retained their freedom only *since* they had to work.

(D) Only adjunct clauses can answer a WH-question formed from
             the matrix clause:

(39)   Why did women retain their freedom? *Because* they had to work.

(40)   * Why did women retain their freedom? *Since* they had to work.

(E) Only adjuncts can be the focus of a question:

(41)   Do poorer women retain their freedom *because* they have to work, or *because* they never give up?

(42)   * Do poorer women retain their freedom *since* they have to work, or *since* they never give up?

Thompson and Zhou (2000: 121-141) claim the conjunctive function of disjunct: "disjuncts are not just concerned with exhibiting attitudes, but play an important cohesive function; they are thus more properly 'conjuncts with attitudes'". Finally, Dickins (2010:1089) suggests that the distinction between disjunction and coordination is based on a semantic criterion and not a syntactic one: "there is no syntactic distinction in English between disjunction and coordination. The disjunction–coordination distinction is rooted principally in meaning differences between different kinds of elements".

Like disjuncts, conjuncts are not integrated in the flow of the sentence, i.e. they are peripheral to the clause to which they are attached. Accordingly, conjuncts are more similar to disjuncts than adjuncts. While the scope of disjuncts is the sentence in which they appear, conjuncts are "items whose function is to connect words and other constructions" (Crystal 2008: 101).

Similarly, Al-Jayrudy (2011: 95) asserts that conjuncts are defined in the same way in English and Arabic: "Conjuncts حروف العطف are defined as connective devices that link together two words, clauses or paragraphs" (ibid). Most common conjuncts in Arabic are و *wāw and*, ثم *thumma then*, أو *aw or*, لكن *lākin/lākinna but*. They function as connectors and almost always indicate a shift between ideas:

(43) جاء "أكبر" فرفع ضريبة الأراضي إلى ثلث المحصول، **لكنه** لقاء ذلك ألغى كل صنوف الضرائب الأخرى.

(SOC: 1030)

jā'a	akbar	farafa'a	ḍarībat al-arāḍī
came	Akbar	raised	land-tax
ilā	thulth	al-maḥṣūl	**lākinnahu**
to	one-third	the harvest	but he
liqā'a dhālik	alghā	kull	ṣunūf
for this	abolished	all	types
al- ḍarā'ib	al-ukhrā		
exaction	other		

"Akbar raised the land-tax to one-third, **but** abolished all other exaction" (SOC, 480)

The example above shows that *lākinna*, and also English *but*, is a conjunct, and as such has "the function of conjoining independent units rather than one of contributing another facet of information to a single integrated unit" (Quirk et al. 1985: 631). Broadly speaking, and following Rudolph (1996: 244), *but* is the prototypical and most frequent adversative conjunction in English; it is characterized by a "high frequency and wide range of semantic application" (ibid).

The chapter will discuss the grammatical and semantic differences between the coodinators لكن *lākin* and لكنَّ *lākinna* together with أما *ammā*, بل *bal*, إلا /غير/سوى *siwā/ghayr/illā* which are all roughly synonymous with the English coordinator *but*.

Many linguists [e.g. Lakoff (1971), Horn (1985, 1989), Schiffrin (1989), Blakemore (1989, 2000)] have distinguished between two general uses of *but* in English: 'denial of expectation' use, also known as 'counterexpectational' use, illustrated in 44 and 'contrast' use, also known as 'semantic opposition' use, illustrated in 45:

(44) "The natural man was violent and greedy; **but** he was also kindly
          and generous" (SOC, 54)
(45) "The king died, **but** the god lived" (SOC, 234)

The use of *but* in 44 indicates that the hearer expected to have obtained the proposition in 46 from the proposition in the first clause:

(46) The natural man is not generous and kindly.

In other words, the assumption offered in the first clause in 44 is that the natural man is not supposed to be kindly and generous. Nevertheless, this assumption is denied by the conceptual content in the *but*-clause 'he was also kindly and generous'. Schiffrin (1989) and Blakemore (1989) refer to this type of denial as a direct denial, i.e. the contradiction is performed explicitly. The other type of denial *but* is referred to as indirect denial where the propositional content of the *but*-clause does not contradict the assumption in the other clause, but rather the implicature implicated in the preceding clause, i.e. the contradiction in the *but* clause is implicit as illustrated in 47:

(47) It is raining outside **but** the boys need to play.

Therefore, the indirect contrast between the two segments in 47 indicates that the boys might be expected not to be able to play outside because of the rain.

The contrast *but*, on the other hand, is defined as merely expressing contrast between two situations (Quirk et al. 1985: 1088) as illustrated in 45. Blakemore (1989: 17) claims that the contrast case of *but* involves a different interpretation from that of denial *but*. In other words, the semantic opposition

use of *but* in 45 lacks an expectation that is denied. The sentence can be interpreted as simply expressing the two propositions that 'the king died' and 'the god lived'. Thus, there is an antonymic pair: *died* and *lived* which functions as two predicates for two different subjects, i.e. the king and the god.

However, it seems that these two meanings of *but* are closely related, they are often mixed. I think in all cases one has fuzzy boundaries with core (prototypical) interpretations and peripheral interpretations. This is discussed in more detail in this section.

According to Lakoff's (1971: 132-134) distinction of the use of *but* into the semantic opposition *but* and the denial of expectation *but*, I argue that some semantic constituents do not fit so neatly into any of this two-way distinction. Like Horn (1985) and Toosarvandani (2012), I argue that although the distinction highlighted in 44 and 45 is not realized lexically in languages like English, it brings about the differences in distribution that distinguish *lākin*, *lākinna*, *bal*, *ammā* in Arabic as shown in figure 8.
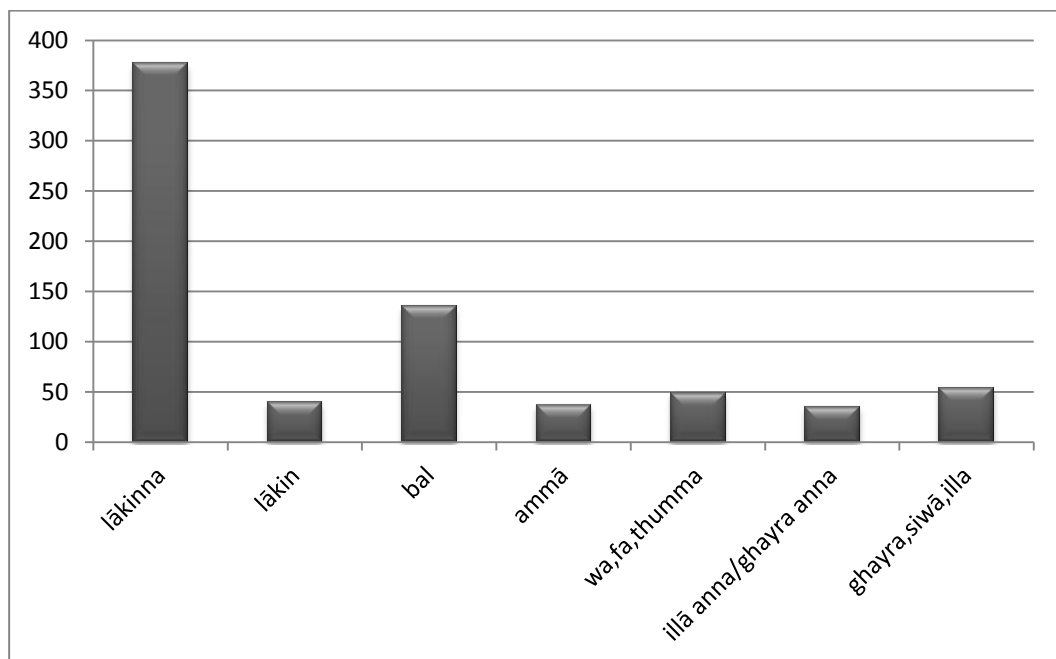
Figure 8: Distribution of the Arabic translations of *but* in SOC

After excluding unrelated 'buts' (e.g. tri**but**e, contri**but**e, contri**but**ion, distri**but**e and **but**chers) from SOC English text, the analysis reveals 802 records of *but*. In addition, data from SOC show that there are seven different lexical items corresponding to different types of *but* as illustrated below:

(A) Direct counterexpectational (denial) *but*: *lākinna* and *lākin*

Figure 8 shows *lākinna* as the most adversative connective in SOC, while *lākin*, *bal*, *ammā*, *wa/fa/thumma*, *siwā/ghayr/illā*, *illā anna/ghayr anna* are obviously less frequent connectives for *but*. According to Wright (1996: 334C), one of the typical features that characterize *lākin* and *lākinna* is 'to rectify or amend the preceding statement'. Consider the following examples:

(48) وهنود أمريكا الشمالية تصوروا إلها **لكنهم** لم يعبدوه

(SOC, 130)

wa	hunūd	amrīka al- shamalīyah	taṣawwarū	ilāhan
and	Indians	The North American	conceived	a god
lākinnahum	lam	ya'budūh		
but they	not	worship him		

"The North American Indians conceived a god, **but** did not worship him" (SOC, 56-57)

(49)

وقد كان الفقير يتزوج من زوجة واحدة، **لكنه** كان ينظر إلى ذلك نظرته إلى وصمة العار.

(SOC, 91)

wa qad kāna	al- faqīr	yatazawwaj	zawjah
was	the poor	marry	wife
wāḥidah	**lākinnahu**	kāna yanẓur	ilā
one	but he	looked	at
dhālika	naẓratahu	ilā	waṣmat
that	his look	at	condition
al-'ār			
shamefulness			

"The poor man practised monogamy, **but** he looked upon it as a shameful condition" (SOC, 39-40)

(50)

فهذه البدايات هي أسرار التاريخ ... **لكننا** يستحيل أن نعلم عنها علم اليقين

(SOC, 17)

fa hādhihi	al-bidāyāt	hiya	asrār

these	beginnings	are	mysteries
al-tārīkh	**lākinnanā**	yastaḥīl	an
the history	but we	impossible	that
naʿlam	ʿannhā	ʿilm	al-yaqīn
know	that it	knowledge	certainty

"such beginnings are the mysteries of history, about which we may belive and guess, **but** cannot know" (SOC, 8-9)

On account of its status as a coordinating conjunction, *but* forms a conjoined proposition. In the examples above *but* is used to connect two distinct illocutionary acts. For example, the assumption in the first clause in 48, 49 and 50 is explicitly denied by the propositional content in the *but* clause. In other words, the propositions communicated in the *but/lākinna* clause, i.e. 'the North American Indians did not worship the God they conceived' in 48, 'the poor man who looked upon monogamy as a shameful act' in 49 and 'the mysteries of history that we know nothing about' in 50, deny and replaces the hypothesis in the preceding clause.

The other translations of *but* (see figure 8) will not be accepted as a substitute of the direct denial *but*. Consider example 48 illustrated below with a different alternate of *lākinna*:

*(48a) The North American Indians conceived a god, ***bal*** did not worship him.

*(48b) The North American Indians conceived a god, ***ammā*** did not worship him.

*(48c) The North American Indians conceived a god, ***illā anna*** did not worship him.

*(48d) The North American Indians conceived a god, ***siwā*** did not worship him

 (48e) The North American Indians conceived a god, ***thumma/wa*** did not worship him.

Only (48e), which represents the indirect denial *but,* can be accepted in the place of the direct denial *lākinna*, while the corrective *bal*, semantic opposition *ammā*, topic comment *illā anna* and the exceptive *siwā* cannot. Since *thumma* and *wa* in (48e) represent the indirect denial sense of *but*, they can be used

without any significant change in meaning. However, they do not reflect the same strong adversative emphasis of *lākinna*.

According to Dickins and Watson (1999), the most common word order that typically occurs with *lākinna* is: *lākinna* + subject + verb (where the subject is usually a pronoun suffix). Consider example 53 below in which *lākinna* is followed by the pronoun suffix *hum they* that is related to the previous noun *al-nās men*.

(51)   مثل هؤلاء الناس يجمعون ثروة، **لكنهم** ينسون فنون الحرب ومشاعرها

(SOC, 54)

mithla	hā'ulā'	al-nās	yajma'ūn	tharwah
such	those	the men	accumulate	weath
lākinnahum	yansūn	funūn	al-ḥarb	wa
but they	forget	arts	the war	and
mashā'irihā				
sentiments				

"such men accumulate wealth, **but they** forget the arts and sentiments of war" (SOC, 24)

Generally, this structure does not indicate any emphasis on the propositional context. However, this structure may also occur without a reference to a previously mentioned noun as in example 50 before, where *lākinnanā but we* is not preceded by نحن *naḥnu* (we, people, one, etc.) as the context is obviously clear to determine that. This kind of structure might be emphatic to some extent in a particular context as in 50 where the writer emphasizes the fact that it is impossible to discover the mysteries of history.

Occasionally, *lākinna* + pronoun suffix occurs with a following prepositional phrase as in *min al-jā'iz it is possible* that functions as an adverbial phrase. For example:

(52)

وقد يكون هذا موضعاً للشك، **لكنه** من الجائز أن تكون الكتابة...

(SOC, 242)

wa qad	yakūn	hādhā	mawḍi'an	li-
and	is	this	situation	for

al-shakk	**lākinnahu**	min	al-jā'iz	an
the doubt	but it		possible	that

takūn	al-kitābah
is	the writing

"This is doubtful enough; **but** it is possible that writing..." (SOC, 104-105)
Such a structure does not usually show a greater tendency towards emphaticness.

In other cases, *lākinna* might occur at the beginning of a new paragraph and be followed by a noun+ pronoun suffix, e.g. *āyatahu* 'his achievement' as in 53 below.

(53)

لكن آيته العظمى هي النار

(SOC, 219)

lākinnna	āyatahu	al- ʻuẓmā	hiya	al-nār
but	his achievement	the great	is	the fire

"But his great achievement was fire" (SOC, 95-96)

This example involves some contrast with the previous paragraph in which the writer summarizes the many achievements of Paleolithic man: "he made himself a varied assortment of weapons and tools: polishers, mortars, axes, planes, scrapers, drills, knives, etc." The writer uses *but* here to contrast all the previous achievements with the greatest one, i.e. *fire*, which is to be given in this paragraph starting with *lākinna* as shown in 53. Usually, when *lākinna* is followed by a noun, it indicates more emphasis than examples in which *lākinna* is followed by a pronoun suffix. However, Dickins and Watson (1999) note that emphaticness is not a guarantee of the combination *lākinna* + noun.

In addition, it is common for *lākinna* to be followed by a separate pronoun indicating emphasis. For example:

(54)

<div dir="rtl">وكذلك قد تجد بعض حالات الحب في غيرها من الشعوب البدائية ... لكن <u>هذه الحالات</u> النادرة التي تصادفها لا شأن لها بالزواج</div>

<div align="center">(SOC, 98)</div>

wa	kadhālika	qad tajid	ba'ḍ	ḥālāt	al-ḥubb
and	also	find	some	instances	the love
fī	ghayrihā	min	al-shu'ūb	al-bidā'īyah	**lākinnna**
in	other	from	the peoples	the primitive	but
<u>hādhihi</u>		<u>al-ḥālāt</u>	al-nādirah	al-latī	tuṣādifuhā
these		the instances	rare	that	come upon
lā sha'na lahā		bi-al zawāj			
have nothing to do		with marriage			

"among other primitive peoples we come upon instances of love, **but** usually <u>these attachments</u> have nothing to do with marriage" (SOC, 43-44)

Here the phrase <u>*hādhihi al-ḥālāt*</u> *these instances* has a link with the previous phrase *ba'ḍ ḥālāt al-ḥubb instances of love.*

Lākin is the lightened form of *lākinna*. While *lākin* is very rarely used in MSA, *lākinna* is almost absent from spoken Arabic. *Lākin* is typically used rather than *lākinna* before vocative case as يا *yā*. For example:

(55)

<div dir="rtl">ولكن يا أخانا إذا ما بدت لنا بوادر مجيئه</div>

<div align="center">(SOC, 922)</div>

wa	**lākin**	yā akhānā	idhā mā	badat
and	but	our brother	if	appeared
lanā	bawādir	majī'ah		
to us	signs	his coming		

"**But**, brother, when the signs of his coming appear" (SOC, 432-433)

Lākin, but not *lākinna*, can also occur at the beginning of a new paragraph, preceding conditional إن *in if*:

56

(56)

<div dir="rtl">

ولكن إن كان ذلك كذلك

</div>

(SOC, 927)

wa	**lākin**	<u>in</u>	kāna	dhālik	kadhālik
and	but	if	was	this	so

"**But** <u>if</u> this is so" (SOC, 435)

And before a question word:

(57)

<div dir="rtl">

لكن ماذا نصنع لو تحتمت علينا رؤيتهن؟

</div>

(Soc, 917)

lākin	<u>mādhā</u>	naṣna'	law	taḥattamat
but	what	we do	if	should

'alaynā	ru'yatihunna
on us	their observation

"**But** if we should see them, <u>what</u> are we to do?" (SOC, 431)

and in most cases before adverbs:

(58)

<div dir="rtl">

لكن ربما كان هذا الاشتقاق المبنى على النزعة الوطنية

</div>

(SOC, 832)

lākin	<u>rubbamā</u>	kāna	hādhā	al-ishtiqāq
but	perhaps	was	this	the derivation

al-mabnī	'alā	al-naz'ah	al-waṭanīyah
the built	on	desire	patriotic

"**but** <u>perhaps</u> this patriotic derivation" (SOC, 397)

Interestingly, data from SOC show a significant difference between *lākin and lākinna*. *Lākin* occurs 39 times whereas *lākinna* occurs 377 times. On the other hand, data from I-AR and Al-H show different distributions of the top ten collocates of *lākin and lākinna*. Consider tables 2 and 3 below:

Collocation	Joint[19]	LL score
لكن هذا lākinna hādhā 'this'	3307	2034.98
لكن لا lākin lā 'no, not'	3394	1806.87
لكن هناك lākin hunāka 'there'	1681	1606.05
لكن ليس lākin laysa 'not'	1518	1556.52
لكن ما lākin mā 'what' Qw	2960	1447.78
لكن إذا lākin idhā 'if'	1240	923.52
لكن هذه lākinna hādhihi 'this'	1904	923.51
لكن هل lākin hal 'Q w'	1153	882.93
لكن ماذا lākin mādhā 'what' Qw	862	765.09
لكن لم lākin lam 'not'	1731	699.10
لكن عندما lākin 'indamā 'when'	841	669.45
لكن لو lākin law 'if'	810	523.60

Table 2: The top ten collocates of *lākin* and *lākinna* in I-AR corpus with a span window 1: 0

Collocation	Joint	LL score
لكن مصادر lākinna maṣādir 'sources'	639	768.72
لكن هذه lākinna hādhihi 'this'	1017	553.35
لكن ذلك lākinna dhālika 'that'	802	539.03
لكن هناك lākin hunāka 'there'	589	522.99
لكن ما lākin mā 'what' QW	926	351.03
لكن المشكلة lākinna al-mushkilah 'the problem'	225	323.17
لكن ليس lākin laysa 'not'	367	305.39
لكن يبدو lākin yabdū 'seem'	233	271.20
لكن السؤال lākinna al-su'āl 'the question'	178	253.10
لكن مصدرا lākinna maṣdaran 'a source'	114	226.74

Table 3: The top ten collocates of *lākin* and *lākinna* in Al-H corpus with a span window 1:0

Since I-AR corpus includes colloquial speech, and as noted earlier, *lākin* is hardly used in MSA, *lākinna* has only three collocates among the top ten collocates in I-AR. On the other hand, Al-H corpus (and SOC) involves MSA rather than colloquial Arabic. Accordingly, the collocates of *lākinna* are significantly higher than *lākin* as seen in table 3. Moreover, tables 2 and 3

---

[19] Joint frequency refers to the number of times the collocation occurs in the corpus.

present the most common occurrences where *lākin* rather than *lākinna* is used, i.e. before question words, verbs, negatives and conditional phrases which are typically revealed by SOC analysis as well.

(B) Corrective *but:* bal

As its name suggests, corrective *but*, is usually used to correct previous assumptions in discourse. Consider the following examples:

(59)

<div dir="rtl">

فالزواج عند الرجل البدائي <u>لا</u> يُنظر إليه على أساس التنظيم الجنسي، **بل** على أنه تعاون اقتصادي[20]

</div>

(SOC, 100)

fa al-zawāj	ʻinda	al-rajul	al-bidāʼī
the marriage	for	the man	the primitive
<u>lā</u>	yunẓar	ʼilayhi	ʻalā
<u>not</u>	looked	at it	upon
asās	al-tanẓīm	al-jinsī	**bal**
basis	license	sexual	but
ʻalā	annahu	taʻāwun	iqtiṣādī
on	it is	cooperation	economic

"The primitive male looked upon marriage in terms <u>not</u> of sexual license **but** of economic cooperation" (SOC, 44)

(60)

<div dir="rtl">

بهذا <u>لم</u> يَعُد الرئيس قاضياً وكفى، **بل** أصبح إلى جانب ذلك مشرعاً يسنُّ القوانين

</div>

(SOC, 65)

bi-hādhā	<u>lam</u>	yaʻud	al-raʼīs	qāḍiyan
So	<u>not</u>	become	the chief	a judge
wa	kafā	**bal**	aṣbaḥa	ilā
and	just	but	become	in
jānib	dhālika	musharriʻan	yasinnu	al-
qawānīn				
laws				

---

[20] In this example there are three words ending in ى. According to the transliteration system adopted in this study (The American Library Association - Library of Congress (ALA-LC), this letter is romanized ī, and not īy, without regard to the presence of ّ shaddah. See: www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/arabic.pdf, p. 3

"So the chief becomes <u>not</u> merely a judge **but** a lawgiver" (SOC, 28-29)

In 59 and 60, the writer corrects the assumption in the first clause: the writer illustrates that primitive man did not regard marriage in terms of sexuality, but rather in terms of economic cooperation in 59. Similarly, in 60, the writer corrects the idea that the chief is no longer considered as a mere judge, but he is a lawgiver at the same time.

Obviously, in both examples, *bal* clause does not involve any sense of expectation that is denied. In other words, the main function of the *bal*-clause is not to reject any contextual expectation that is previously mentioned, but rather to correct the propositional content in the first clause.

According to Toosarvandani (2012), the corrective use of *but bal* is typically characterised by rejection-rectification pattern, i.e. the corrective *but* clause requires a previously mentioned rejected assertion in the first clause and a rectification or a replacement of an assumption in the second clause. Thus in the first clause in 59, the writer rejects the idea that primitive man considers marriage in terms of sexual license and in the second clause he provides a rectification which entails that the concept of marriage is based on economic cooperation and not sexuality. Equally, in 60, there is a rejection of considering the chief as a mere judge in the first clause which is rectified by the *but* clause.

Therefore, in most cases, there is a typical pattern of corrective *but*, i.e. the presence of negation - underlined in the examples - (which represents rejection) in the first clause and an assertion (which represents rectification) in the second clause. This pattern with the form 'not X but Y' is to offer, as Horn (2001:402) puts it, "a straightforward way to reject X (on any grounds) and to offer Y as its appropriate rectification".

(C)   Semantic opposition (contrast) *but*: *ammā*

In Arabic, the particle *ammā* is often used before the topic "in order to mark it as emphatically contrasted with some other entity" (Beeston 1970: 65). Consider the following examples:

(61)

ومن كانت من النساء ذات جمال وتناسب في الأعضاء، لا تلبث أن تعود إلى دارها، أما المشوهات فيبقين في الهيكل زمناً طويلاً

wa	man	kānat	min	al-nisā'
and	those	were	from	women
dhāta	jamāl	wa	tanāsub	fī
with	beauty	and	symmetry	of
al-aʿḍā'	la talbithu	an	taʿūd	
organs	soon	that	return	
ilā	dārihā	**ammā**	al-mushawwahāt	
to	her house	but	the deformed	
fayabqīn	fī	al-haykal	zamanan	ṭawīlan
stay	in	the temple	time	long

"Those that are endowed with beauty and symmetry of shape are soon set free;
but the deformed are detained a long time" (SOC, 245)

(62)

فقد كان موسى من رجال السياسة المتصفين بالصبر والأناة، **أما** يشوع فلم يكن إلا جندياً فظا

(SOC, 639)

fa qad kāna	Musā	min	rijāl	al-siyāsah
he had been	Moses	from	men	policy
al-muttaṣifīn	bi-	al-ṣabr	wa	al-anāh
characterized	by	the patience	and	endurance
ammā	yashūʿ	fa lam	yakūn	illā
but	Joshua	not	was	except
jundiyyan	faẓẓan			
warrior	blunt			

"Moses had been a patient statesman, **but** Joshua was only a plain, blunt
warrior" (SOC, 302)

(63)

فللرجل أن يتزوج بأكثر من واحدة، **أما** المرأة فكانت تختص برجل واحد

(SOC, 710)

61

fa lilrajul	an	yatazawwaj	bi-akthar	min
as for man	that	he marries	to more	than
wāḥidah	**ammā**	al-mar'ah	fa kānat	
one	but	the woman	she was	
takhtaṣṣ	bi-rajul	wāḥid		
confined	to man	one		

"the man might have many wives, **but** the woman was confined to one man"
(SOC, 337)

In the previous examples *ammā* indicates a contrast between two states of affairs as illustrated earlier in 45. While, example 61 shows a contrast between beautiful women and deformed women, 62 presents a contrast between Moses as 'a patient statesman' on one hand and Joshua as 'a plain, blunt warrior'. Similarly, there is a contrast between man and woman in 63.

Crucially, *ammā* clauses are typically characterized by involving an antonymic pair. Unlike the denial *lākinna*, the semantic opposition *ammā* refers to a contrastive relationship between two propositions as shown in the examples above; they obviously lack a direct expectation that is denied. In most cases in SOC, the semantic opposition *ammā* clauses are obviously predicated of different individuals, since they cannot share the same subject without following a contradiction (Toosarvandani 2012). Examples of antonymic pairs of semantic opposition *ammā* in SOC are: *law* and *custom* p. 61, *dogs* and *women* p. 80, *present days* and *old days* p. 127-128, *Napoleon* and *Champollion* p.207, *adultery in the man* and *adultery in the woman* p. 287, *the grave of Tutenkh Amon* and *the tomb of Seti* p. 314, *eastern side* and *western side* p. 315, *man* and *woman* p. 710, *the good soul* and *the wicked soul* p. 787, *Pearls* and *turquoise* p. 803.

(D) Indirect denial *but*: *wa, fa, thumma*

wa, *fa* and *thumma* are considered the three basic connectors in MSA. In other words, while English has three basic coordinators, i.e. *and*, *or*, *but*, Arabic has *wa*, *fa*, *then* and *thumma*. In addition to these coordinators, Arabic also has *aw or*, and *lākin/lākinna but* as main coordinators. Mohammed (1993: 84) explains that the difference between *fa* and *thumma* lies in the time gap between two actions:

(a) [dhahaba] bītar **wa** karin <u>ilā</u> (al-sūq)

Peter **and** Karen [have gone] <u>to</u> (the market).

(b) <u>dhahaba</u> bītar **thumma** karin

Peter <u>has gone</u>, **then** Karen.

(c) [dhahaba] bītar **fa** karin

Peter [has gone], **then** Karen.

In (a) there is no specific temporal sequence – Karen could have gone before or after Peter, or they could have gone together. There is also an expectation that Peter went first. But in (b) and (c) 'Peter' has gone before 'Karen'. The only difference is that the time gap in example (c) is less than it is in (b).

Thus, and because *wa* is regarded as the simplest of all connectives and the most common conjunction that connects one event with another, it is particularly striking - for English and Arabic speaker - to find cases in which و *wa and* is translated into *but* (Dickins and Watson 1999). The analysis shows that *wa* is not a mere plus sign, i.e. a part of *but*'s meaning is essentially in common with *wa and*. Consider the following examples:

(64)

<div dir="rtl">إلا أن الحياة مسرح له مدخل واحد و مخارج عدة.</div>

(SOC, 1076)

illā anna	al-ḥayāh	masraḥ	lahu
however	the life	stage	it has
madkhal	wāḥid	**wa**	makhārij
entrance	one	but	exits
ʿiddah			
many			

"Life is a stage with one entrance, **but** many exits" (SOC, 501-502)

(65)

<div dir="rtl">دور يمضي و دور يجيء، والأرض قائمة إلى الأبد</div>

(SOC, 734)

dawr[21]	yamḍī	**wa**	dawr	
one generation	passes away	but	generation	
yajī'	**wa**	al-arḍ	qā'imah	ilā
comes	but	the earth	abides	for
al-abad				
ever				

"One generation passes away, and another generation comes; **but** the earth abides forever" (SOC, 347)

(66)

<div dir="rtl">وكان كريماً ينفق الأموال الطائلة إحساناً، أحبه الناس جميعاً، و خصوصاً الطبقات الدنيا</div>

(SOC, 1001)

wa kāna	karīman	yunfiq	al-amwāl
and he was	generous	expends	the money
al-ṭā'ilah	iḥsanan	aḥabbahu	al-nās
vast	in alms	loved him	people
jamī'an	**wa**	khuṣūṣan	al-ṭabaqāt
all	but	especially	classes
al-dunyā			
low			

"He was generous, expending vast sums in alms; he was affable to all, **but** especially to the lowly" (SOC, 467)

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[21] As mentioned previously, 'the sakkin taslam' approach is adopted in this study as a transliteration approach in Arabic (see, p. xii)

Though being additive is the most frequent function of *wa*, it can be used to signal other functions, e.g. indirect denial. Examples 64 – 66 introduce *but* as a typical conjunct that must be analysed with reference to the context. On the basis of the first clause in 64, 65 and 66, the propositional content in the second clause does not include any explicit contradiction or unexpectedness with the assumption offered in the first clause. In other words, the indirect denial *but* in these examples conveys a subtle contrast between 'one entrance' and 'many exits' in 64, 'passes away' and 'abides forever' in 65 and between 'to all' and 'to the lowly' in 66. The following examples illustrate the indirect denial *thumma*:

(67)

اهبط إلى الناس وقل لهم يسلخوا جلودهم حتى يتخلصوا من الموت، **ثم** أنبئ الثعابين أن موتها منذ اليوم أمر محتوم (SOC, 132)

ihbiṭ	ilā	al-nās	wa	qul
go down	to	men	and	tell
lahum	yaslukhū	julūdahum	ḥatta	yatakhallaṣū
them	to cast	their skins	so	they get rid
min	al-mawt	**thumma**	'unbi'	al-thaʿābīn
of	the death	but	tell	the serpents
anna	mawtahā	mundhu al-yawm	amrun	maḥtūm
that	their death	henceforth	something	inevitable

"Go down to men and tell them to cast their skins; so they shall avoid death. **But** tell the serpents that they must henceforth die" (SOC, 57)

(68)

إذا اتهم رجل آخر بجريمة (يعاقب عليها بالإعدام) **ثم** عجز عن إثباتها حكم على المدعي نفسه بالإعدام (SOC, 471)

idhā	ittahama	rajul	ākhar	bi-jarīmah
if	accused	a man	another	with a crime
yuʿāqab ʿalayhā bi- al-iʿdām		**thumma**	ʿajaza	ʿan
capital		but	cannot	that
ithbātihā	ḥukima	ʿalā	al-muddaʿī	nafsahu
prove it	has been judged	on	the accuser	himself

bi-al-iʿdām

with death penalty

"If a man brings an accusation against a man, and charges him with a (capital) crime, **but** cannot prove it, the accuser shall be put to death" (SOC, 471)

thumma in 67 and 68 can be interpreted as a connector that involves temporal or logical sequence or both, which is the basic function of *thumma* in MSA (Dickins and Watson 1998). In this sense it is most naturally translated as English *then*. In 67 there is a kind of logical sequence: first, 'tell men to cast their skins' then, 'tell the serpents that their death is something inevitable'. Similarly, in 68 there is a logic consequence in the events, i.e. to accuse someone with a capital crime, then being unable to prove it. However, there is another interpretation that denotes a sense of an indirect denial in both examples. In 67 and 68 *but* cannot be construed in its direct denial of expectation sense, but rather it has *and* as part of its meaning.

fa, as is noted earlier, is usually known as an Arabic conjunction that links ideas or events. Less commonly, *fa* may also be translated as *but*. However, there are different semantic functions of *fa*: sequential *fa* which indicates a consecutive relation between two events. (as in example C mentioned earlier 'dhahaba bītar *fa* karin', adversative *fa* which denotes a contrast between two clauses e.g. da'awtu (ṣadīqatī) **fa** {lam ta'ti} I invited (my friend) **but** {she did not come} and causal or explanatory *fa* which example 69 illustrates below.

(69)

ولم يكن أبداً يهتم لغده، **فـ**كان يكتفي بالزاد يقدمه له أحد المعجبين من سكان البلد الذي يحل فيه

(SOC, 913)

wa lam yakun abadan		yahtamm	li-ghadihi
he never		cares	about the morrow
fa	kāna	yaktafī	bi-al-zād
but	he was	content	with food
yuqaddimahu		lahu	aḥad
introduced		to him	someone

al-muʿjabīn	min	sukkān al-balad
admirers	from	local
al-ladhī	yaḥillu	fīhi
that	live	in it

"He took no thought for the morrow, **but** was content to be fed by some local admirers" (SOC, 429)

In this example, *fa* is referred to as explanatory فاء السببية fāʾ al-sababīyah, i.e. the second clause is a reason for the first one. The second clause explains the reason why the man did not care about or think of the morrow.

(E) Topic comment *but*: *illā anna/ghayra anna/ʿalā anna*

In MSA, it is quite common for concessive clauses to occur in initial position. Kinberg (1985: 389) notes that MSA is "a rich stock of conjunctions to introduce these clauses". Examples of these conjunctions are *illā anna*, *ghayra anna* and *ʿalā anna*:

(70)

إلا **أن** الأثمان كانت بخسة بما يقابل تلك الأجور القليلة

(SOC, 1031)

illā anna	al-athmān	kānat	bakhisah
but	the prices	were	cheap
bi-mā	yuqābil	tilka	al-ujūr
as	correspond to	such	wages
al-qalīlah			
low			

"**but** prices were correspondingly low" (SOC, 480-481)

(71)

غير أن النحاس وحده ليّن

(SOC, 238)

ghayra anna	al-niḥās	waḥdahu	layyin
but	the copper	itself	soft

67

"**But** copper by itself was soft" (SOC, 103-104)

(72)

<div dir="rtl">

على أن اليهود كانوا أنقى أجناس الشرق الأدنى غير النقية
</div>

(SOC, 641)

'alā anna	al-yahūd	kānū	anqā	ajnās
but	Jews	were	the purest	genus
al-sharq	al-adnā	ghayr	al-naqīyah	
the east	the near	not	the pure	

"**But** the Jews were the purest of all" (SOC, 302-303)

Generally, it is felt that such concessive clauses in 70, 71 and 72 are independent clauses rather than dependent ones. They are regarded as topic clauses of a topic-comment construction denoting a sense of contrast with a previous sentence or paragraph. For example, in 70 'prices were correspondingly low' is put in contrast with 'wages were modest'. The other clause in 71 occurs as a topic comment at the beginning of a new paragraph. The writer comments on a previously mentioned idea in the preceding paragraph in which he describes the status of copper and its influence in creating new cultures: 'Perhaps it was because the Eastern Mediterranean lands were rich in copper that vigorous new cultures arose'.

(F) Exceptive *but*: *siwā/ghayr/illā*

Exceptive *but* is a distinct lexical item, since it has a very different syntax and semantics from any of the other uses of *but* considered in the text. For example:

(73)

<div dir="rtl">

ولم يبق من هذا البهو **سوى** عمود واحد
</div>

(SOC, 807)

wa lam	yabqa	min	hādhā	al-bahw
nothing	remained	of	this	the building
siwā	'amūd	wāḥid		

| but | pillar | one |

"nothing remains of it **but** one pillar" (SOC, 379-380)

(74)

<div dir="rtl">

ولم يكن يجوز له أي ضرب من ضروب الشراب **غير** الماء

</div>

(SOC, 1043)

wa lam yakun	yajūz	lahu	ayy
and it was not	allowed	to him	any
ḍarb min ḍurūb	al-sharāb	**ghayr**	al-mā'
kind of kinds	the drink	but	water

"He was to drink nothing **but** water" (SOC, 486-487)

(75)

<div dir="rtl">

ولا يشربون إلا الماء

</div>

(SOC, 793)

| wa lā | yashrabūna | **illā** | al-mā' |
| and not | they drink | but | the water |

"and drinking nothing **but** water" (SOC, 373-374)

According to Abu-Chacra (2007: 282), *illā, ghayr, siwā* and *mā ‘adā*[22] are the most common particles used to convey the sense 'except (for)'. In addition, he classifies an exceptive sentence into four basic elements:

> a. the predicate, expressing the action or situation to which the exception refers;
> b. the first noun, المستثنى منه , i.e. (the set) from which the exception is made;
> c. the subtractive or exceptive particle أداة الأستثناء
> d. the second noun, المستثنى, i.e. the excepted or excluded member.

For example, in 75, *lā yashrab* is the predicate which denotes the action 'drinking', *ūn* is a pronoun suffix 'they' which presents the second element, *illā except* or *but* is the exceptive particle and *al-mā' water* is the excluded member. In most cases in SOC, there is a typical pattern that characterizes the exceptive sentence, i.e. a negative particle (e.g. *lam* and *lā* in 73, 74 and 75) that usually precedes the predicate + exceptive particle + excluded member. It is the most

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[22] While *illā, ghayr, siwā* occur 54 times in SOC, *mā‘adā* occurs only 3 times.

normal word order with exceptive sentences. With exceptive sentence, the emphasis is usually on the excluded member.

(G) Zero *but*:

There are 29 instances where *but* disappears from the English text in SOC and appears in its Arabic translation text. In most cases, the writer uses a comma in the place of zero *but*. In these cases the deletion of *but* does not yield any significant change in meaning. However, it is remarkably unacceptable to delete the zero *but* from the Arabic text. The following three cases are examples of zero *but* triggering the use of *lākinna, lākin* and *bal*:

(76) ليست المدنية البريطانية وليدة الرجل الإنجليزي **ولكنه هو** صنيعتها

(SOC, 6)

laysat	al-madanīyah	al-brīṭānīyah
does not	the civilization	the British
walīdah	al-rajul	al-injilīzī
made by	the man	the English
wa **lākinnahu**	huwa	ṣanīʿatuhā
and (but he)	he	

"The Englishman does not make British civilization**,** it makes him" (SOC, 3)

(77) إن الكاهن لم يخلق الدين خلقاً، **لكن** استخدمه لأغراضه فقط

(SOC, 156)

inna	al-kāhin	lam	yakhliq
that	the priest	not	create
al-dīn	khalqan	**lākin**	istakhdamahu
the religion	creation	(but)	he used it
li-	aghrāḍihi	faqaṭ	
for	his purposes	only	

"The priest did not create religion**,** he merely used it" (SOC, 68)

(78) ذلك لأن الصيد لم يكن سبيلاً إلى طلب القوت وكفى، **بل** كان كذلك حرباً يراد بها الطمأنينة والسيادة

(SOC, 14)

dhālika li'anna	al-ṣayd	lam yakun	sabīlan
that because	the hunting	was not	a quest

70

ilā	ṭalab	al-qūt	wa kafā
for	requesting	the food	only
bal	kāna	kadhālika	ḥarban
(but)	it was	also	a war
yurād	bihā	al-ṭama'nīnah	wa
for	with it	the security	and
al-siyādah			
mastery			

"For hunting was not merely a quest for food, it was a war for security and mastery" (SOC, 7)

(H) Evaluative *but*: *ammā̆*, *lā̆kinna* and *lā̆kin*

Since semantic opposition *but ammā̆* and the denial of expectation *but lā̆kinna/lā̆kin* convey the speaker's expectation of an event, *but* can be regarded as being an appraisal or evaluative conjunction (cf. Bednarek's (2008) concept of appraisal in ch. 4). Due to its status as a coordinating conjunction, *but* is commonly used by speakers to convey evaluation implicitly. In this particular evaluative sense, *but*, *ammā̆*, *lā̆kin* and *lā̆kinna* assume "a common ground between reader and writer in terms of what is expected or unexpected" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 9). Quirk et al. assert the pragmatic-evaluative function of *but* that depends basically on "our presuppositions and our experience of the world" (Quirk et al. 1985: 935).

Although it is generally agreed that *but* has a contrastive meaning, the analysis has revealed that each type of *but* imposes a different translation. The different lexical items that correspond to *but* support Rudolph's (1996: 244) argument that *but* is a typical adversative conjunction that is characterized by a "high frequency and wide range of semantic application". *But*, as a textual cohesive conjunct (Halliday: 1994), provides linking relations between one sentence and another. In other words, the translation of the coordinator *but* into Arabic depends largely on its interaction with the discourse context.

3.5.4 Semantic functions of adverbials

To list all possible semantic roles of all adverbials is considered "an enormously difficult task due to the semantic complexity of each and every adverb" (Coll 2009: 28). Following Quirk et al. (1985), Hasselgard (2010: 23) relates the semantic functions of adverbials with the position they occupy in a sentence. Hasselgard (ibid) argues that due to the wide range of meanings that adverbials cover, several categories of these adverbials can be recognized. He classifies the semantic categories of adverbials into space, time, manner, degree, contingency and respect. On the other hand, Ryding (2005: 277) classifies the semantic function of adverbials in Arabic into four major groups: place, time, degree, and manner. Nevertheless, he asserts that "There are also some important categories that do not fall within these four groups, but which have key functions in Arabic such as adverbial accusatives of cause or reason" (ibid).

The focus of the present study is limited to reason, degree and modal adverbials. The discussion of the semantic function of adverbials will span three chapters as illustrated below:

- Reason adverbs ——————→ chapter 3
  (adjunct *because* and disjunct *since*)
- Degree adverbs ——————→ chapter 4
  (Value judgement of content disjunct, e.g. *extremely*, *totally*)
- Modal adverbs[23]——————→ chapter 5
  (Truth of condition of content disjunct, e.g. *rubbamā perhaps/may, ḥatman/lā budda anna certainly/must*)

I will thus not venture into a discussion of other classifications. A few words need, however, to be said on the other semantic functions of adverbials[24].

3.5.4.1 Space adverbials

Space adjuncts, also known as locative or place adjuncts, indicate location, motion/direction or distance. They usually describe where something happens (location/position) or *where to/from* (direction). Consider the following examples:

(79) without looking at anyone, she went **to the door** , opened it, and

let it close softly behind her. (Direction)

(BNC, A6N, Amongst women, W fict prose, 1990)

(80)   Anderson seemed to be the only person **at home.** (Position)

(BNC, A0N, King Cameron, W fict prose, 1991)

(81) I don't think we can go **that far**.(Distance)

(BNC, C8D, Black justice, W fict prose, 1988)

As seen from the examples (79- 81), spatial adverbials are typically elicited by the questions *where to/from* (direction), *where* (position), or *how far*

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[23] Though chapter 5 is mainly about modal verbs (e.g. *must* and *may*), they are most commonly translated into Arabic as adverbs, phrases or verbs (e.g. *ḥatman, mina al-mu'akkad* and *rubbamā*).
[24] These semantic functions of adverbials are considered the most commonly used in English and Arabic (see Ryding 2005).

(distance). In addition, most place adverbials are prepositional phrases; however clauses and noun phrases are frequently used:

(82) We are **a long way from Egypt**.

(BNC, CCE, Enemy territory, W religion).

3.5.4.2 Time adverbials

Time adverbials indicate events and states in time and denote their duration or frequency (Hasselgard 2010: 25). They are generally recognized by the questions *when* (time position), *(for) how long* (time duration) or *how often* (time frequency) as illustrated in the examples below:

(83) Telephone me **this evening** at the theatre. (Time position)

(BNC, ACE, Willoughby's phoney war, W fict prose, 1991)

(84) Government ignored all warning signs **for years**. (Time duration)

(BNC, AAE, The Guardian, W news p commerce, 1989)

(85) If you pay your employees **weekly**,…(Time frequency 'definite')

(BNC, A63, National Insurance, W institute doc, 1990/1991)

(86) He **usually** calls them horses' doovers. (Time frequency 'indefinite')

(BNC, A0D, A classic English crime, W fict prose, 1990).

The examples above demonstrate the major types of time adverbials. Example 83 shows a point or a period in time as in 'this evening'. Time duration indicates a stretch of time. It tells us how long something has been happening as illustrated in 84. Time frequency, on the other hand, can be divided semantically into: 'definite frequency' in which the period of time is explicitly mentioned as in example 85 and 'indefinite frequency' in which the period of time is not explicitly expressed as in 86.

Abu Chacra (2007: 299) asserts that adverbs, in Arabic grammar, are classified semantically into:

(A) Adverbs of place, ظرف مكان "envelope/container of place" (answer the question: أين ayna, 'where'?)

(B) Adverbs of time, ظرف زمان "envelop/container of time" (answer the question: متى matā 'when'?).

Ryding (2005: 288) classifies place adverbials into:

1- One-word adverbs of place

Examples of this type are: هنا *hunā* 'here', هناك *hunāka* 'there' and حيث *ḥaythu* 'where' or 'in which'. Like 'here' and 'there' in English, *hunā* and *hunāka* are locative pronouns; they indicate degree of remoteness from the speaker.

(87) و يظلون ممسكين به **هناك** في رفق

(SOC: 7)

wa	yaẓallūna	mumsikīn	bihi	**hunāka**	fī	rifq
and	still		held	them	there	gently

"and gently held them **there**" (SOC: 6-7)

The adverb *hunāka* 'there' is used figuratively, in addition to indicating relative distance, to denote 'there is' or 'there are'. هنالك *hunālika* '(over) there' is usually used as a variant of *hunāka* indicating a slightly greater, actual or figurative distance.

(88) ليس **هنالك** ما يثبت قطعا أنها (العادة) نشأت

(SOC, 11)

laysa	**hunālika**	mā yuthbit qaṭ‘an	annahā	nasha'at
no	there is	surety	that	arose

"**there is** no surety that the custom arose" (SOC: 11)

حيث *ḥaythu* is a connective adverbial of place, indicating 'where' or 'in which'. Like *hunāka* it can be used actually or metaphorically:

(89) وهي تبدأ **حيث** ينتهي الأضطراب و القلق

(SOC: 2)

wa hiya	tabda'	**ḥaythu**	yantahī	al-iḍṭirāb	wa	al-qalaq
It	begins	where	end	chaos	and	insecurity

"It begins **where** chaos and insecurity end" (SOC: 1)

2- Accusative adverbial of place

Adverbs of place are usually marked with the indefinite accusative in order to indicate direction or location. For example:

(90) هل سرت **يمينا** أو **شمالا**؟

hal	sirta	**yamīnan**	aw	**shimālan**
did	you go	right	or	**left**

"Did you go **right** or left? (Ryding 2005: 289)

3- Locative adverbs or semi-prepositions

As their name suggests, locative adverbs are usually nouns of location marked with the accusative case (like adverbs of time) and include adverbs, such as: تحت *taḥta under*, فوق *fawqa on/upon*, أمام *amāma in front of*, خلف *khalfa behind*:

(91) ظلت مكانها **تحت** الماء

(SOC, 226)

ẓallat	makānahā	**taḥta**	al-mā'
stood	in place	under	the water

"which had stood in place **under** the water" (SOC, 98-99)

(92) قد شيدت **فوقها** قرى صغيرة

(SOC, 226)

qad shayyadat	**fawqahā**	qurā	ṣaghīrah
had been built	upon them	villages	small

"small villages had been built **upon** them" (SOC, 98-99)

Although these adverbs are semi prepositions, i.e. they are very close to the class of prepositions in meaning and function, "these words are of substantive (usually trilateral root) origin and may inflect for genitive case if they are preceded by a true preposition" (Ryding 2005: 290). For example:

(93) و الأرض **من تحت أقدامها**

(SOC, 385)

wa al-arḍ	**min taḥti**	**aqdā**mihā
and the earth	lay beneath	her feet

"The earth **lay beneath her feet**" (SOC, 197-198)

76

4- Phrasal adverbs of place

Usually this kind of adverbial expression occurs in the form of prepositional phrases:

(94)   أرواح خبيثة تحوم **في الهواء**

(SOC, 779)

arwāḥ   khabīthah   taḥūm   **fī**   **al-hawā'**

spirits   evil   hovered   in   the air

"evil spirits hovered **in the air**" (SOC, 367-368)

Like adverbials of place, according to Ryding (2005: 290), adverbials expressions of time fall into four categories: basic adverbs, single nouns and adjectives in the accusative, compound time demonstratives and phrases.

1- Basic adverbs of time

These adverbs refer to particular points in time and they do not change their basic form for case or definiteness. Most common of these adverbs are: أمس *ams yesterday*, الأن *al-ān now*, بعد *ba'du yet, still*, ثم *thumma after that, then*. For example:

(95)   عدت من الأسكندرية **أمس**

'udtu   min   al-askandarīyah   **ams**

I returned   from   Alexandria   yesterday

"I returned from Alexandria **yesterday**"

ams is such a flexible adverb of time, i.e. it is often inserted in final position or prior to a longer phrase, but it does not occur initially (Ryding: ibid).

2- Time nouns and adjectives in the accusative

Particular time nouns are marked for the accusative. They are classified into: definite and indefinite accusative:

(96)   اليوم **الأحد**

al-yawm   **al-aḥad**

today   Sunday

"Today, **Sunday**" [definite]

(97)   ولم تكن هذه المحاكم **دائماً** مجالس تقضي كما يقضي القضاة

wa lam takun	hādhihi	al-maḥākim	**dā'iman**
were not	such	the courts	always
majālis	taqḍī	kamā	yaqḍī
seats	judges (v.)	as	judges (v.)
al-quḍāh			
the judges (n.)			

"Such courts were not **always** judgment seats" (SOC, 27-28) [indefinite]

3- Compound time adverbials

In Arabic grammar there is a group of compound words of which the first element is an adverbial of time. Compound time adverbials are equivalent in meaning to a locative demonstrative phrase, e.g. آنذاك *ānadhāk at that time,* يومذاك *yawma dhāk that day*, عامذاك *'āma dhāk that year*. Compound ئذ *idhin* expressions are another example of compound time adverbials, e.g. بعدئذ *ba'daidhin after that*, *later*, يومئذ *yawmaidhin on that day*:

(98) أصبحت الفدية **بعدئذ** العقوبة الوحيدة

(SOC, 469)

aṣbaḥat	al-fidyah	**ba'da'idhin**	al-'uqūbah
it became	the fine	later	the punishment
al-waḥīdah			
the sole			

"and **later** the fine became the sole punishment" (SOC, 230-231)

4- Adverbial time phrases

Adverbial time phrases usually occur in the indefinite accusative form for an expression of time in general, e.g.

(99) هو يعمل **ليلا** و **نهارا**

huwa	ya'mal	**laylan**	wa	**nahāran**
he	works	night	and	day

"He works **night** and **day**"

A demonstrative pronoun can also be used with the accusative for specific expressions of time and it acts as the first term of an iḍāfah:

(100) وذلك بحذف **هذا اليوم** الزائد

(SOC, 352)

wa dhālika	bi- ḥadhfi	**hādhā**	**al-yawm**
and that	by omitting	this	the day

al-zā'id

the extra

"by omitting **this** extra **day**" (SOC, 180-181)

Al-hawary (2011: 148) states that a few words can be used either as adverbs of time or adverbs of place, depending on the word following them. Among these adverbs are: قبل *qabla before*, بعد *ba'da after*, عند *'inda at*. Consider *qabla* in the following two examples:

(101) ذهبت إلى الأهرامات **قبل** غروب الشمس

dhahabtu	ilā	al-ahrāmāt	**qabla**
I went	to	the pyramids	before

ghurūb al-shams

sun set

"I went to the pyramids **before** sunset" (adverb of time)

(102) رأيتها في بناية **قبل** مكتب البريد

ra'aytuhā	fī	bināyah	**qabla**
I saw her	in	a building	before

maktab al-barīd

the post office

"I saw her in a building **before** the post office" (adverb of place)

3.5.4.3 Reason adverbials

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 484), cause and reason are distinct categories. Whereas cause "is concerned with causation and motivation seen as established with some objectivity, reason involves a relatively personal and subjective assessment". However, Hasselgard (2010: 27) and Ryding (2005:

296) note that the distinction between cause and reason is not clear-cut. Hasselgard justifies his claim by providing the example below:

(103) Our project is not getting very far very fast <u>as we can't</u>
<u>understand this Spanish guy</u> (Hasselgard 2010: 28)

Hasselgard (ibid) illustrates that in the above example, the underlined segment conveys an assessment and an objective fact at the same time. Therefore, and following Hasselgard (2010) and Ryding (2005), in order to avoid confusion, cause and reason are used interchangeably in this study.

Following Quirk et al. (1985: 484), Hasselgard (ibid) highlights another distinction between adverbs of result and adverbs of purpose. He illustrates that the relation between 'result' and 'purpose' is very close. While purpose adverbials denote an intended effect of the action, result adverbials refers to the actual outcome, whether it is intended or not. In other words, the difference between result and purpose lies in the fact that, while purpose adverbials are usually 'non-factive', result adverbials are factive.

On the other hand, there is a slight affinity between 'purpose' and 'reason'. Consider the following example:

(104) "He married several of his daughters, so that they too might have splendid children" (SOC, 214)

The purpose of marriage in 104 is probably also the father's reason for doing it. Reason adverbials provide information about why things occur, while purpose adverbials indicate for what purpose they are done. In general, reason adverbials denote a present or past state of affairs, while purpose adverbials denote a non-factive nature, i.e. they indicate an unrealized or unknown future.

Ryding (2005: 296) refers to the adverbial accusative of cause or reason as المفعول لأجله *al-maf'ūl li-ajlihi*. He explains that in order to indicate the reason or purpose of an action, the indefinite accusative is used:

(105) بحث تطوير العلاقات **خدمة** لمصلحتهما المشتركة

buḥitha	taṭwīr	al-'ilāqāt
was discussed	development	the relations
khidmatan	li-maṣlaḥatihimā	al-mushtarakah
in order to serve	their (two) interest	shared

"Development of relations was discussed **in order to serve** their (two) shared interest" (Ryding 2005: 297)

According to Beeston (1970: 87) an adverbial, in general, is:

> inappropriate for Arabic, because the function which one needs to describe is that of amplifying a predicate, irrespective of whether the latter be expressed with or without a verb. But if this is allowed for, the term has a practical usefulness in distinguishing two kinds of amplification, the 'object' and the 'adverbial'.

However, Beeston (1970) and Ryding (2005) did not clarify the different ways of expressing the meaning of reason adverbials in Arabic corresponding to their English counterparts (mainly, *since* and *because*).

Therefore, and since reason adverbials are most commonly introduced by the subordinator *because* and *since*, the study will focus on *because* (as an adjunct subordinator) and *since* (as a disjunct subordinator) as well as their Arabic counterparts لأن *li'an*, لأن *li'anna*, لما *lammā*, and إذ *idh*. The problem with *li'an* is that although it is formally like *li'anna*, it does not, typically at least, mean the same thing (see figure 9). In addition, *li'an* and *li'anna* will be compared to other two subordinators, i.e. *idh* and *lammā* which are relatively close in meaning. Although these lexical junctions appear as synonyms, the analysis reveals distributional differences in their usages.
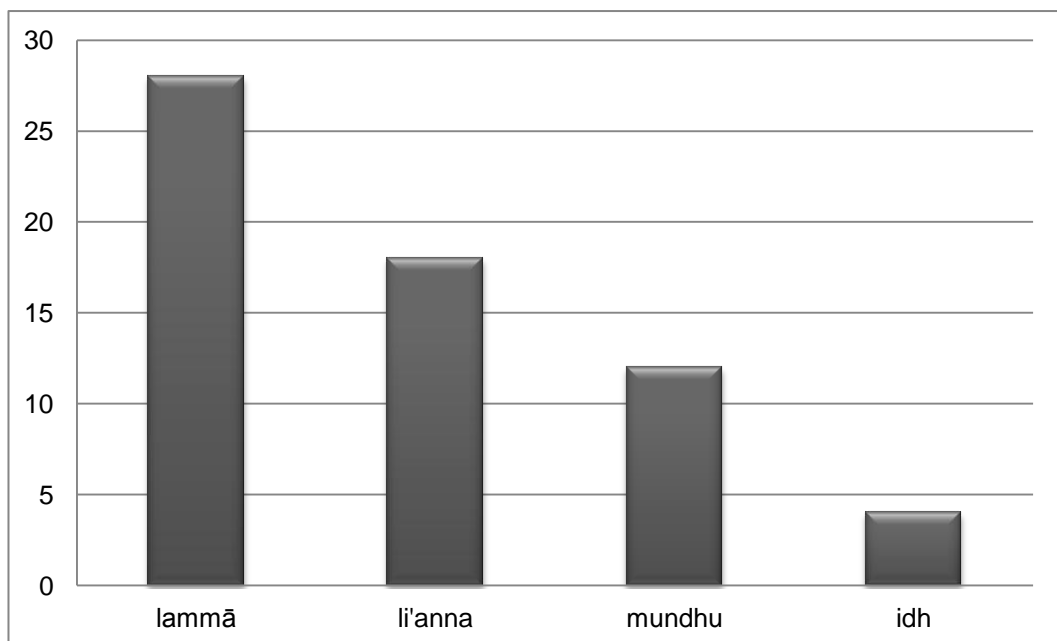
Figure 9: Distribution of the Arabic translations of *since* in SOC

81

After excluding unrelated occurrences of since (e.g. **since**re) from SOC corpus, the analysis reveals 84 records of *since*. Typically, as shown in figure 9, *since* is most commonly translated as لما *lammā* which has the sense of *when*, *while* or *as* in English. It is interesting to note also that in all cases when *since* is translated as *lammā* it is followed by *kāna/kānat/kānū* which means *he/she was*, *they were*. Like *lammā* in SOC, *lammā kāna* has the highest frequency in both Al-H and I-AR corpora, it occurs 446 times in Al-H with 467.93 LLS and 3579 times in I-AR with 3099.67 LLS.

In other cases when *lammā* is preceded by particles or conjunctions, e.g. *wa and* (as in the following example), *fa* as in example 109 or *li'anna because* in 111, *kāna/kānat* are still following *lammā* in its construction:

- *wa lammā* + *kāna/kānat* + n.

(106)

<div dir="rtl">

ولما كانت الكفايات البشرية والموارد الطبيعية موزعة على الأرض في غير مساواة، *فقد ترى* شعباً من الشعوب قادراً على إنتاج أشياء معينة لا يكلفه إنتاجها ما يكلف جيرانه

</div>

(SOC, 33)

wa lammā	kānat	al-kifāyāt	al-basharīyah
and since	were	skills	the human
wa al-mawārid	al-ṭabī'īyah	muwazza'ah	'alā
resources	natural	are distributed	on
al-arḍ	fī ghayr musāwāh		*fa-qad tarā*
land	unequally		*you may find*
sha'ban	min al-shu'ūb		qādiran
people	among peoples		able
'alā	intāj	ashyā'	mu'ayyanah
to	produce	articles	certain
lā yukallifuhu	intājuhā	mā	yukallif
does not cost	its production	what	costs
jīrānahu			
its neighbours			

"**Since** <u>human skills</u> and natural resources are diversely and unequally distributed, *a people may be enabled*, to produce certain articles more cheaply than its neighbours" (SOC, 15)

- *wa lammā + kāna+ separate pron.*

(107)

<div dir="rtl">

ولما كانت <u>هذه</u> الغرامات أو التعويضات التي تدفع اجتناباً للثأر

</div>

(SOC, 63)

wa lammā	**kānat**	<u>hādhihi</u>	al-gharāmāt
since	were	<u>these</u>	fines
aw	al-taʿwīḍāt	al-latī	tudfaʿ
or	compositions	that	paid
ijtināban	li-lthaʾr		
to avert	revenge		

"**Since** <u>these</u> fines or compositions, paid to avert revenge" (SOC, 27-28)

As can be seen from 106 and 107, a separate noun or pronoun can be used after the pattern *lammā + kāna*. A verbal sentence can also follow the same pattern as in 108. Most commonly for the construction *lamma + kāna* is to be followed by another clause that is headed by *fa qad kāna/ fa inna* (marked with italic in 106, 108 and 111) to form a conditional-response pattern:

- *wa lammā + kāna + V......faqad kāna*

(108)

<div dir="rtl">

ولما كان <u>يُعهد إلى الأم</u> بأداء معظم ما تقتضيه العناية بالأبناء من خدمات، *فقد كان* تنظيم الأسرة في أول أمرها

</div>

(SOC, 70)

wa lammā	**kāna**	<u>yuʿhad</u>	<u>ilā</u>	<u>al-um</u>
since	it was	entrust	to	the mother
bi-adāʾ	muʿẓam	mā taqtaḍīhi	al-ʿināyah	
to fulfil	most	what is required	the care	
bi-al-abnāʾ	min	khadamāt	*fa qad kāna*	
with children	of	functions	*it was*	

tanẓīm	al-usrah	fī	awwal
organisation	the family	at	first

amrihā
its task

"Since <u>it was the mother who fulfilled</u> most of the parental functions, *the family was* at first organized" (SOC, 30-31)

fa *lammā* + *kāna/kānat*

Infrequently, *fa* can precede *lammā* without any significant change in meaning or function, it acts typically like the coordinator *wa and* in this type of structure. For example:

(109)

<div dir="rtl">

فلما كانت التقاليد القديمة الأساسية تمثل الانتخاب الطبيعي في طرائق حياة المجتمع ...

</div>

(SOC, 109)

fa lammā	kānat	al-taqālīd	al-qadīmah
since	it was	customs	the old
al-asāsīyah	tumaththil	al-intikhāb	al-ṭabīʿī
the basic	represent	the selection	the-natural
fī	ṭarāʾiq	ḥayāt	al-mujtamaʿ
of	ways	life	the society

"**Since** old and basic customs represent a natural selection of group ways..."
(SOC, 48)

Obviously, the usage of *lammā* is different than that of *li'anna*, i.e. *lammā* cannot be used instead of *li'anna* as each of them has a different construction and a different meaning, i.e. *lammā* denotes the meaning of *when* and involves a response-conditional pattern, whereas *li'anna* corresponds to *because* in English. However, if the second clause is substituted for the first, *lammā* (with its commonly used pattern) can be used in the place of *li'anna* as in 110 and 110a.

- *li'anna*

(110)

<div dir="rtl">إنه طفل بغير والد لأن الفتاة لم تتزوج</div>

(SOC, 71)

innahu	ṭifl	bi-ghayr	wālid
it is	a child	without	a father
li'anna	al-fatāh	lam	tatazawwaj
since	the girl	does not	marry

"there was no father, **since** the girl was unmarried" (SOC, 30-31)

(110a)

<div dir="rtl">و لما كانت الفتاة غير متزوجة، فإن الطفل ليس له والد</div>

wa lammā kānat	al-fatāh	ghayru mutazawwijah
since she was	the girl	unmarried
fa inna	al-ṭifl	laysa
it is	the child	not
lahu	wālid	
has	a father	

"**Since** the girl was unmarried, there was no father"

li'anna (*hu*) + *lammā* + *kāna*

It is also accepted for *li'anna* and *lammā* to occur consecutively without affecting the response-conditional pattern of *lammā*. For example:

(111)

<div dir="rtl">لأن الحب أمر ليس له وجود لأنه لما كانت العلاقة الجنسية أمراً مباحاً قبل الزواج، فإن عاطفة الرجل لا تجد من السدود ما يختزنها</div>

(SOC, 98)

li'anna	al-ḥubb	amr	laysa lahu wujūd
because	the love	something	not existed
li'annahu	**lammā**	**kānat**	al-ʿilāqah

85

because	since		it was	the relation
al-jinsīyah	amran		mubāḥan	qabla	al-zawāj
the sexual	something		legal	before	the marriage
fa inna	‘āḍifat		al-rajul	lā tajid	min
it is	passion		the man	cannot find	of
al-sudūd	mā		yakhtazinuhā		
the dams	what		hold it		

"affection is altogether out of the question. **Since** premarital relations are abundant in primitive society, passion is not dammed up by denial" (SOC, 39)

- *mundhu*

In all cases (in SOC) in which *since* is translated into *mundhu*, it represents a temporal conjunction and not a causal one. It is commonly for *mundhu* to be followed by a noun or a verb as in 112 and 113 below:

- *mudhu* + n.

(112)

لبثت حياة الإنسان الرئيسية من حيث الاقتصاد والسياسة، على صورة واحدة لا تكاد تتغير في جوهرها **منذ** العصر الحجري الحديث

(SOC, 838)

labithat	ḥayāt	al-insān	al-ra'īsīyah
stayed	life	the man	the basic
min ḥaythu	al-iqtiṣād	wa	al-siyāsah
from	the economy and		the policy
‘alā sūrah wāḥidah	lā takād tataghayyar		fī jawharihā
the same	had remained		essentially
mundhu	al-‘asr al-ḥadīth		
since	neolithic		

"the basic economic and political life of man had remained essentially the same **since** neolithic days" (SOC, 399-400)

- *mudhu* + V.

(113)

<div dir="rtl">فمما لا شك فيه أن الهند كانت قد خطت خطوات فسيحة في سبيلها إلى الرقي المادي منذ <u>استقر</u> بها الحكم الآري</div>

(SOC, 898)

fa mimmā lā shakka fīhi anna	al-hind	kānat qad khaṭat
doubtless	India	had made
khuṭuwāt fasīḥah	fī sabīlahā	ilā
much progress	on its way	to
al-ruqī	al-mādī	**mundhu**
progress	material	since
<u>istaqarra</u>	bihā	al-ḥukm
<u>settled</u>	in it	the rule
Al-ārī		
Aryan		

"Doubtless much material progress had been made **since** <u>the establishment</u> of the Aryan rule in India" (SOC, 422)

A common construction in MSA is to follow *mundhu* with *zamanin ṭawīl long time*:

- *mundhu + zaman*

(114)

<div dir="rtl">إلا أنها قد أفسدت تعاليم الأستاذ منذ <u>زمن طويل</u></div> (SOC, 934)

illa annahā	qad afsadat	ta'ālīm	al-ustādh
But	corrupted	doctrine	Master
mundhu	<u>zamanin</u>	<u>ṭawīl</u>	
since	<u>time</u>	<u>long</u>	

"But <u>it has long</u> **since** corrupted the Master's doctrine" (SOC, 437-438)

In MSA, the conjunction *idh* is typically used as a discourse marker of clarification or causation. However, there are only 5 instances of *idh* in SOC. Like *lammā*, *idh/idhā* has typically the same construction, i.e. conditional-response pattern: (*wa*) *idh/idhā* + V. (kāna)…fa qad (kāna) particularly when *idh* occurs in initial position. Thus, unlike *lammā* – that usually occurs in initial

position – (see examples 106-109 and 110a), *idh* may occur initially or in the middle of the sentence, but of course not in final position. Examples are:

(115)

<div dir="rtl">

وإذا كان تحت سلطانه ملوك يأتمرون بأمره فقد كان الفرس يلقبونه "ملك الملوك"

</div>

(SOC, 762)

wa idhā kāna	taḥta	sultānihi	mulūk
Since	under	his control	kings

ya'tamirūn bi-amrihi	<u>fa qad kāna</u>	al-furs	yulaqqibūnahu
were vassal to him	<u>they were</u>	the Persians	entitled him

malik al-mulūk

King of Kings

"**Since** lesser kings were vassal to him, the Persian ruler entitled himself "King of Kings" (SOC, 359)

(116)

<div dir="rtl">

وإذ كانت الحجارة نادرة الوجود في تلك البلاد فقد كان أغلب هذه القصور يُبنى من الآجر

</div>

(SOC, 293)

wa idh	**kānat**	al-ḥijārah	nādirat al-wujūd
since	was	stone	scarce
fī	tilka al-bilād	<u>fa-qad kāna</u>	aghlab
in	these cities	they were	most
hādhihi	al-quṣūr	yubnā	min
these	palaces	are built	of

Al-ājir

brick

"**Since** stone **was** scarce, these palaces were mostly of brick" (SOC, 132-133)

- *idh* in the middle of the sentence

(117)

<div dir="rtl">

أما السراري فكن أكثر من غيرهن حرية، إذ كان للنساء في جميع الأوقات سلطان قوى في بلاط الملوك

</div>

(SOC, 797)

ammā	al-sarārī	fa-kunna	akthar

But	concubines	they were	more
min	ghayrihinna	ḥurriyah	**idh**
than	the others	freedom	since
kān	li-lnisā'	fī	jamī'
were	for women	in	all
al-'awqāt	sulṭān	qawī	fī
times			
balāṭ al-mulūk			

"Concubines had greater freedom, **since** they were powerful at the court"
(SOC, 375)

Contrary to figure 9, the distribution of the Arabic translations of *because* in SOC reveals the high frequency of *li'anna* over *lammā*, i.e. *lammā* shows the highest frequency in the translation of *since* and the lowest frequency in the translation of *because* as shown in figure 10 below.
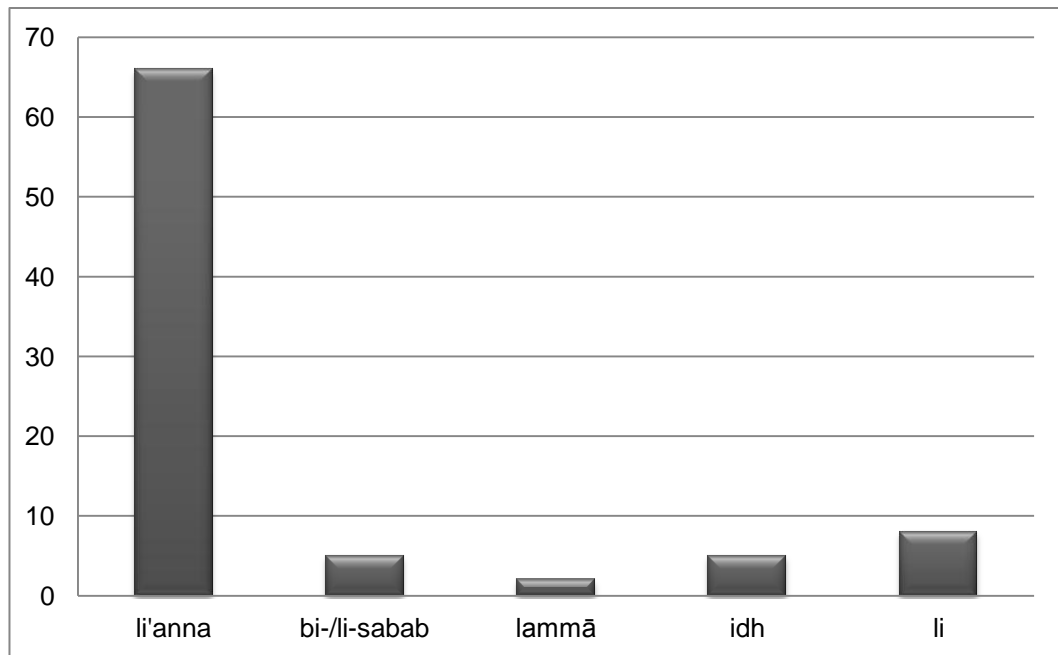

Figure 10: Distribution of the Arabic translations of *because* in SOC

It is common for *li'anna* to be followed by a pronoun suffix that refers to a previously mentioned noun. A separate noun or verb may also follow *li'anna* without having a pronoun suffix in the middle. Examples are:

- *li'anna* + pronoun suffix + v.

(118)

<div dir="rtl">فالزراعة حرام على الجانتي لأنها <u>تمزق</u> التربة وتسحق الحشرات والديدان</div>

(SOC, 895)

fa-al-zirā'ah	ḥarām	'alā	al-jāntī	**li'annahā**
Agriculture	is forbidden	to	the Jain	because it
<u>tumazziq</u>	al-turbah	wa	tasḥaq	al-ḥasharāt
<u>tears up</u>	the soil	and	crushes	the insects

wa al-dīdān

and worms

"Agriculture is forbidden to the Jain, **because it** <u>tears</u> up the soil and crushes insects or worms" (SOC, 421)

- *li'anna* + pronoun suffix + n.

(119)

<div dir="rtl">فليس ذلك لأنها <u>تاريخ</u> نريد إثباته، ولكننا نرويها لأنها <u>جزء</u> ضروري من الأدب الهندي</div>

(SOC, 899)

fa-laysa	dhālika	**li'annahā**	<u>tārīkh</u>
is not	this	because it	<u>history</u>
nurīd	ithbātahu	wa	lakinnanā
we want	prove it	and	but we
narwīhā	**li'annahā**	<u>juz'</u>	ḍarūrī
narrate it	because it	<u>a part</u>	essential
min al-adab	al-hindī		
of literature	Hindu		

90

"it is not **because these** are <u>history</u>, but **because they** are an essential <u>part</u> of Hindu literature" (SOC, 422-423)

- *li'anna* + n.

(120)

<div dir="rtl">

لأن قانون "كارما" يتطلب حالات جديدة من التقمص للروح

</div>

(SOC, 910)

li'anna	<u>qānūn</u>	Karmā	yataṭallab
because	law	Karma	demands
ḥālāt	jadīdah	min	al-taqammuṣ
cases	new	of	reincarnation
lilrūḥ			
of soul			

Because <u>the law</u> of Karma demands new reincarnations in which the soul may atone (SOC, 427)

- *bi-sabab* + n. + pron. suffix

The analysis of SOC reveals just one example of *li-sabab* as a translation of *because*. The pattern (*Because* + *of*) is usually translated into *bi-sabab* and not *li'anna*, *lammā* or *idh*

(121)

<div dir="rtl">

فهو لن يفرق بينهم **بسبب** اختلافهم في العقيدة

</div>

(SOC, 954)

fa-huwa	lan	yufarriq	baynahum
he	will not	discriminate	among them
bi-sabab	ikhtilāfihim	fī	al-'aqīdah
because of	their diverse	in	creeds

"he will not discriminate against any of them **because of** their diverse creeds"

(122)

<div dir="rtl">فهنالك أخلاق في التجارة الدولية لسبب بسيط هو أن هذه التجارة يستحيل قيامها بغير شيء من القيود</div>

(SOC, 126)

fa-hunālika	akhlāq	fī	al-tijārah	al-dawlīyah
there are	morals	in	trade	international
li-sabab	basīṭ	huwa anna	hādhihi	al-tijārah
because	merely	is that	this	trade
yastaḥīl	qiyāmuhā	bi-ghayr	shay'	min
cannot	go on	without	some degree	of
al-quyūd				
the restraint				

"there are morals in international trade, merely **because** such trade cannot go on without some degree of restraint" (SOC, 55)

Unlike *lammā* in figure 9, figure 10 shows *lammā* as dramatically low. There are just two examples of *lammā* corresponding to *because*:

(123)

<div dir="rtl">لما كانت الطرق رديئة والمواصلات عسيرة، كان غزو الهند أيسر من حكمها</div>

(SOC, 1035)

lammā	kānat	al-ṭuruq	radī'ah
because	were	roads	poor
wa	al-muwāṣalāt	‘asīrah	kāna
and	communication	difficult	was
ghazw	al-hind	aysar	min
conquer	India	easier	than
ḥukmihā			
rule it			

"**Because** the roads were poor and communication difficult, it was easier to conquer than to rule India" (SOC, 482)

(124)

<div dir="rtl">ولما بدأ اليهود يزنون مع بنات موآب قال لموسى:</div>

(SOC, 657)

wa lammā	bada'a	al-yahūd	yaznūna

and because	started	Jews	commit whoredom
ma'a	banāt	mu'āb	qāla
with	daughters	Moab	said
li-Mūsā			
to Moses			

"**Because** the Jews "commit whoredom" with the daughters of Moab, he bids Moses:" (SOC, 310-311)

Here, in 123 and 124 it seems that *because* is a typical adverbial adjunct that is subordinated to a verb phrase or part of a verb phrase, whereas in the case of the content disjunct *since* (see examples under figure 9), it appears that *since* is subordinated to the entire content of the main clause.Therefore, in 123 and 124 *because* and *since* cannot be substituted without any difference.

In both examples, *lammā* occurs initially - in the first example, it occurs at the beginning of a new paragraph, in a new chapter. There is another lexical word that has been excluded from the analysis as it has a different meaning and function, i.e. *limā* (which has the same written form as *lammā*). *limā* (li + *mā*) that means *as to* or *for*.

- idh + v. (kāna)

All the examples in SOC show *idh* as a particle that is most commonly followed by (kāna/ kānat/ kuntu) 'was/ were' except one example when it is followed by a verb in the present tense, i.e. *tarā see*, p. 189

(125)

كان الإنسان البدائي قاسياً إذ كان حتماً عليه أن يكون كذلك

(SOC, 120)

kāna	al-insān	al-bidā'ī	qāsiyan
was	man	primitive	cruel
idh	<u>kāna</u>	ḥatman 'alayhi	an yakūn
because	<u>was</u>	he had to	to be
kadhālik			
like that			

"Primitive man was cruel **because** he had to be" (SOC, 52-53)

- *li-* + n. + pron. suffix

li- is a preposition (a prefix) that means due to, in order to or because (of). However, it does not involve any sense of emphaticness like that of li'anna. In general, adverbs of cause in Arabic can be expressed by means of a preposition followed by a phrase or a sentence. For example:

(126)

<div dir="rtl">وذلك بأن يكون الإنسان قد عَبَدَ الحيوان لِقوته</div>

(SOC, 143)

wa dhālika	bi-an	yakūn	al-insān	qad 'abada
and that	by	being	Man	prayed to
al-ḥayawān	**li**-quwwatihi			
the animals	because its power			

"Men prayed to animals **because** the animals were powerful" (SOC, 62- 63)

Though *li'an* and *li'anna* have the same written form, i.e. لأَن, the analysis reveals a remarkable difference between them as illustrated in figure 11 below:

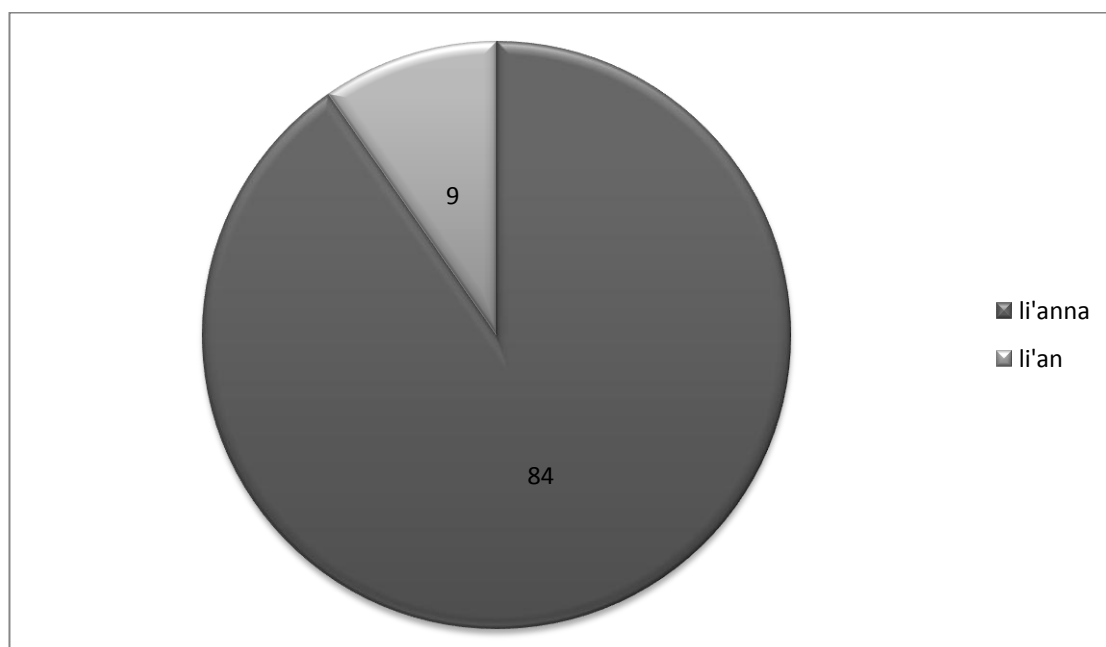

Figure 11: Distribution of *li'anna* and *li'an* in SOC

Figure 11 shows the predominance of *li'anna* over *li'an* in the SOC corpus. The causal conjunction *li'anna* proved to be the most probable equivalent of

because, whereas *li'an* is most commonly a translated as *to*. Like the SOC corpus, the Al-H corpus shows a significant occurrence of *li'anna* over *li'an* in the top ten collocates as shown in table 4 below.

Collocation	Joint	LL score
لأن ذلك *li'anna dhālika* 'that'	646	598.16
لأن هناك *li'anna hunāka* 'there'	347	346.26
لأن هذه *li'anna hādhihi*	416	202.93
لأن تكون *li'an takūn* 'to be' fem.	168	150.25
لأن يكون *li'an yakūn* 'to be' m.	164	118.50
لأن كل *li'anna kull* 'all'	231	102.45
لأن ما *li'anna mā* 'what'	312	80.06
لأن معظم *li'anna m'ẓam* 'most'	80	79.43
لأن اسرائيل *li'anna isra'īl* 'Israil'	137	75.61
لأن أحداً *li'anna aḥadan* 'someone'	36	56.91

Table 4: The top ten collocates of *li'an* and *li'anna* in the Al-H corpus with a span window 1: 0

From the syntactic point of view, the typical structure of *li'an* appears to be: (*li'an* + V.). Data from SOC show that the 9 examples of *li'an* are followed by 9 verbs in the present tense: (*taj'al*, p. 266; *yarudd*, p. 266; *ya'tamid*, p. 327; *takūn*, p. 342; *tanāl*, p. 372; *tuhājim*, p. 560; *tabqā*, p. 660; *yakūn*, p. 769; *yumaththil*, p. 780). In all these examples – except two that have no translation – *li'an* is translated as the English preposition *to*. That is why *li'an* is absent from figures 9 and 10.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter addressed some basic issues in the relation between CL and SFL, including a brief review of SFL and translation studies. As an example of applying SFL in both English and Arabic, the chapter handled the phenomenon of coordination by analyzing co-ordinating conjunctions (e.g. *but*) and the phenomenon of subordination by analyzing subordinating conjunctions (e.g. *because* as an adjunct and *since* as a disjunct) - also referred to as co-ordinators and subordinators respectively.

The chapter has provided a brief introduction to the English and Arabic junctions in general and focused on adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts. Throughout the English and Arabic corpora, some crucial differences in the use

of adjuncts and disjuncts have been explored. Although *because* and *since* as well as their Arabic counterparts: *li'an, li'anna, lammā* and *idh* have the same argumentative behaviour, the analysis reveals distributional differences.

SOC data were shown to cast doubt on dictionary translations of *since*. Though *Al-Mawrid*[25] does not provide *lammā* as a possible translation of *since*, SOC analysis shows *lammā* as the most frequent translation of *since*. In the case of *but*, the study focused on conjunctive (i.e. direct/indirect denial, corrective, semantic opposition) and non conjunctive (i.e. exceptive *but*) uses of *but*.

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[25] See *Al-Mawrid: A Modern English-Arabic Dictionary*, p. 857

Chapter Four

Appraisal Theory: An Overview

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of Appraisal Theory, serving as an introduction to the next chapter. It therefore omits some of the details of Appraisal Theory that fall outside the scope of this study. Section 4.2 defines the word 'appraisal' as a notion within SFL. Then, the reason for adopting Appraisal Theory is illustrated in 4.3. Appraisal in SFL is discussed in 4.4, and the relation between Appraisal Theory and Emotion Talk is explained in 4.5. Section 4.6 displays the basic systems for appraisal, as adopted from Martin and Rose (2003: 22). Special focus will be given to the gradable values of Appraisal in Arabic in 4.6.5. Degree adverbs in English and Arabic will be discussed in 4.6.5.1. Finally, a conclusion to the whole chapter will be provided in 4.7.

4.2 What is Appraisal?

Macken-Horarik (2003: 285) defines 'appraisal' as: "the label within SFL for a collection of semantic resources for negotiating emotions, judgments and valuations". 'Appraisal' [26] or 'Evaluation' is a concept that has many heterogeneous applications in different disciplines. Numerous studies (even within the field of linguistics) have used the term 'evaluation' in many diverse ways [Hunston and Thompson (2000), Martin and White (2005)]. Hunston and Thompson (2000: 2) briefly discuss the variety of terms related to language expressing opinions. Examples of these labels are: *Affect* (Besnier 1993); and *Attitude* (Halliday 1994 and Tench 1996). Both of these labels deal with the perspective of the language user (i.e. the different attitudes of the people using the language).

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[26] In this study, 'appraisal' and 'evaluation' are used interchangeably.

However, despite the different terms used to express the personal perspective, all the above approaches share the broad approach of describing language in use. In addition to these labels, there are three connected terms that deal with the speaker's/writer's opinions in evaluating a text. Martin (2000) talks of *Appraisal*, Conrad and Biber (2000) use the term *Stance*, and Hunston and Thompson (2000) adopt the term *Evaluation*. In this study, I will stick with the terms *Evaluation* and *Appraisal* for two reasons: first, *Evaluation* is a vast term that covers the speaker's/writer's expressions of attitudes, feelings, and values towards impressions or judgments on propositions that he or she is talking about. Since the term *Evaluation* is used in analysing lexical expressions of the speaker or writer's emotional attitude, it is, to a large extent, equivalent to Martin's appraisal stance and Conrad and Biber's attitudinal stance. Another important reason for adopting the term is for: "its syntactic and morphological flexibility: not only does it express a user-orientation in terms of the two perspective mentioned earlier (it is the user who evaluates), but it also allows us to talk about the *values* ascribed to the entities and propositions which are *evaluated*" (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 5).

4.3 Why Appraisal Theory?

Thompson (2004: 75) highlights the importance of appraisal with respect to the meaning of any text:

> With appraisal (or 'evaluation'), we are even on the edge of grammar: much of appraisal is expressed by lexical choices and there are few grammatical structures that can be seen as having evolved with a primarily evaluative function…it is important to note that appraisal is a central part of the meaning of any text and that any analysis of the interpersonal meanings of a text must take it into account.

Moreover, Appraisal Theory is generally regarded as an area of study that has not been fully captured by SFL scholars (see Granlund 2007, Bednarek 2008, and Pavlenko 2008). Another interesting thing about appraisal is that it is treated as questionable, i.e. it is an area that is left open to negotiation since it is concerned specifically with the language of emotion, attitude, and evaluation.

4.4 Situating Appraisal in SFL

As was mentioned in chapter one, Appraisal Theory is a further development of the Hallidayan framework of SFL. Martin and Rose (2003: 22) describe appraisal as "a system of interpersonal meaning". Martin and White (2005: 33) locate appraisal as an "interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics". Following Martin and White, Granlund (2007: 9) identifies the position of Appraisal Theory within SFL as follows:

> Appraisal theory belongs to the interpersonal metafunction of Systemic Functional Grammar. While the ideational metafunction looks at propositional content, and the textual metafunction looks at text structure, the interpersonal metafunction…takes the interactional parts of language into consideration. It looks at how reader/listener and writer/speaker interact and negotiate meaning. The interpersonal metafunction concentrates on mood, tense, polarity, and evaluation, and looks at what meanings are expressed through these elements.

Like SFL, Appraisal Theory is concerned with language in use, rather than language structure. It investigates the context as well as the whole communicative situation. In other words, 'appraisal' is essentially concerned with expressions and reactions of personal views, and hence it is part of the interpersonal metafunction.

4.5 Appraisal Theory and Emotion Talk

Bednarek (2008: 13) highlights the importance of Appraisal Theory as "specifically suited to the analysis of emotion talk". It accounts for the expression of our emotional responses. In much the same way, Coffin (2002: 505) believes that "Appraisal systems are the semantic resources used to negotiate 'emotions'". Pavlenko (2008: 197) asserts that the study of emotional talk has not received much attention from linguistic scholars:

> Most models of linguistic structure do not account for emotional meanings in a systematic way. One exception worth mentioning, however, is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL; Halliday,

1985/1994) with its broad division of functions into the textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions.

Bednarek (2008:12) differentiates between 'Emotion talk' and 'Emotional talk'. While 'Emotion talk' signals the linguistic expressions that indicate the speaker's and others' emotions, 'Emotional talk' is more specific, denoting only the speaker's own emotions. This study (mainly chapter seven) will deal with 'Emotion talk' as a general notion, since it deals with all possible linguistic environments that surround the core meanings.

Martin and White (2005: 46-9) group emotions into three main sets: un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. The un/happiness set is concerned with emotions that have to do with 'affairs of the heart', which include sadness, happiness, hate, and love. It is the first thing that comes to our mind when we think about emotions. The in/security group deals with our feelings of peac, fear, confidence and trust including people who share the same feelings with us. Dis/satisfaction covers the feelings that result from the activities we do. It has to do with achievement and frustration.[27]

4.6 Basic Systems for Appraisal

Martin and Rose (2003: 22) identify three main dimensions for appraisal: Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation (see Figure 12). The three options can be presented in the following three questions:

1. What are our attitudes? [Attitude]
2. What are the ways in which these attitudes are sourced? [Engagement]
3. How are these attitudes amplified/graded? [Graduation]

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[27] For more information see: http://us.macmillan.com/emotiontalkacrosscorpora
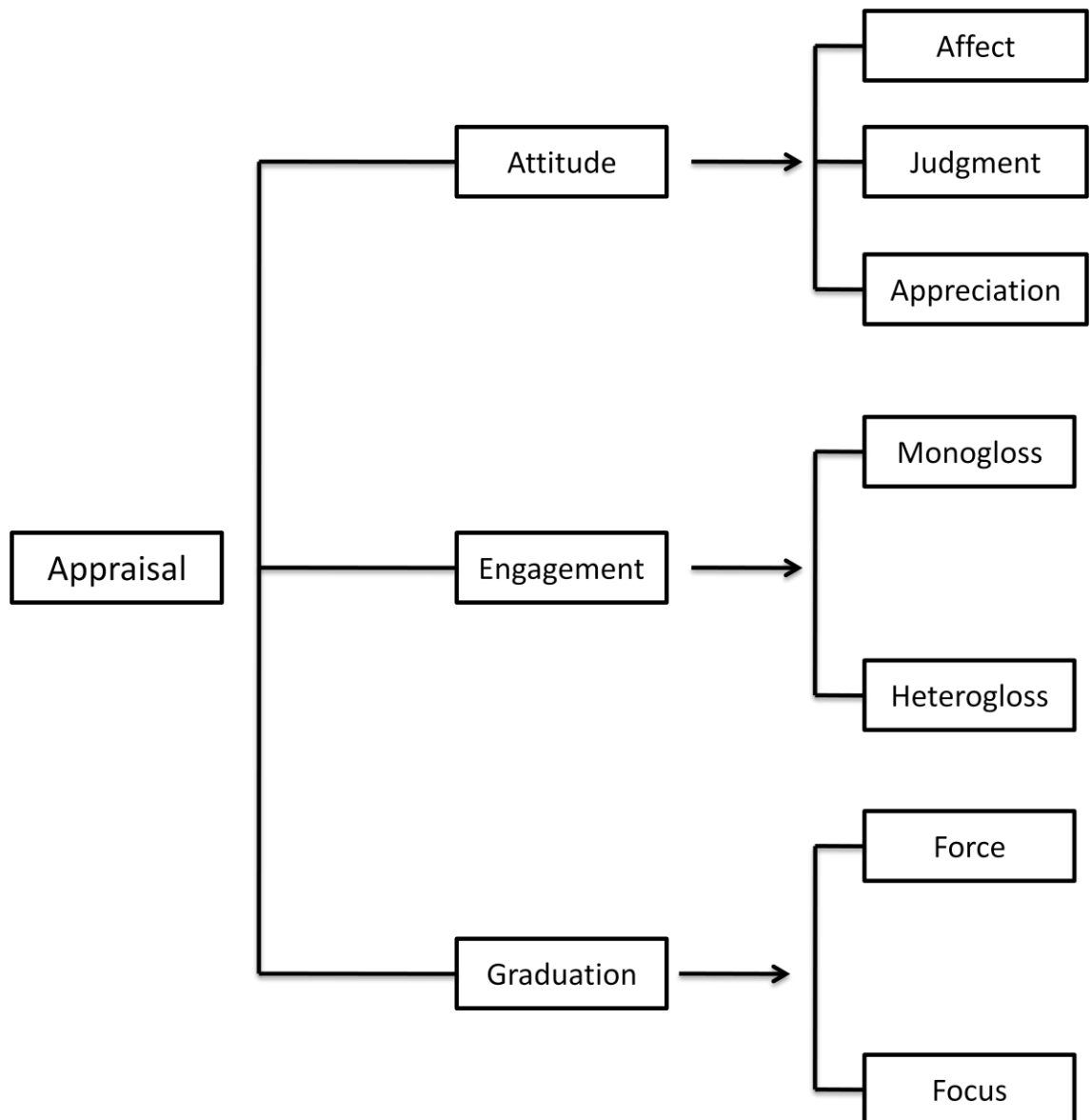
Figure 12: 'Appraisal theory' (Based on Martin and Rose 2003)

The following sections will illustrate these questions more precisely.

4.6.1 Attitude (ways of feelings)

Attitude is concerned with evaluating things (*appreciation*), people's characters (*judgement*), or people's emotions (*affect*). These are the three basic kinds of 'attitude' regarding the object of appraisal. See examples below:

- I feel bored (*affect*).
- He is a boring speaker (*judgement*).

- It is a boring speech (*appreciation*).

However, we have to be aware, from the very beginning, that the above appraisal categories are not always as clear-cut as they look. Consider the following example:

  (127) Susan has a *charming* dress.

This example could be interpreted either as appraising Susan (judgment) or her dress (appreciation). Similarly:

  (127a) This film *disturbs* me

could be seen as *appreciation* of the film, or as *affect* (my feeling of being disturbed). Thus, it is usually very tricky to pin down precisely what is being appraised. This applies to Arabic as well. Sentence 127a is translated into Arabic as:

هذا الفيلم يزعجني (127b)

hādhā	al-film	*yuz'ijunī*
this	the film	disturbs me

The above examples (127,127a and 127b) indicate explicit examples of appraisal, which are, to use Thompson's (2004: 77) term, *inscribed appraisal*. This type is usually fairly easy to recognise. Thompson distinguishes between *inscribed* and *evoked* appraisal. While *inscribed* appraisal refers to direct evaluation, *evoked* appraisal occurs when the speaker evaluates something indirectly intending to highlight an attitude (see example 130 below).

Expressing feelings, i.e. 'affectual values', can be either positive or negative, depending on our reading position. Martin (2003: 172) highlights this distinction, as well as the 'crisis point' of inscribed and evoked evaluation. The examples below illustrate this distinction.

 (128) *Fortunately,* he *dropped* the ball when he was tackled.

(129) *Unfortunately,* he dropped the *ball* when he was tackled.

(130) He dropped the ball when he was tackled.

Obviously, we feel confident about interpreting the attitude in terms of polarity, i.e. positive or negative, as in 128 and 129. Sentence 128 is introduced by an explicitly positive adverb, *fortunately*, whereas 129 has an initial inscribed negative appraisal adverb, i.e. *unfortunately*. However, in 130, both negative and positive indicators are omitted. In this case, the reader/hearer's evaluation is regarded as *evoked appraisal*. Martin (2003: 172) asserts that: "How we feel about what happens depends of course on our reading position". So, in 130, if the player dropping the ball is not in our team, we will have a positive feeling. If the player is playing in our own team, our feelings would be the other way round. Such examples cannot be investigated using corpus evidence as it depends mainly on the speaker's intention.

All subtypes of attitude, i.e. *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation* involve positive or negative feelings (see Martin 2003: 174, and Page 2003: 213). In addition, *judgment* and *appreciation* can be analysed as 'institutionalisations of *affect*'. Martin (ibid: 173) explains this relation as: "JUDGMENT as AFFECT recontextualised to control behaviour (what we should and should not do), APPRECIATION as AFFECT recontextualised to manage taste (what things are worth)". This relation, which ties up the three subtypes of attitude, is outlined in figure 13 below:

Feeling institutionalised as Ethics/morality (rules and regulations)
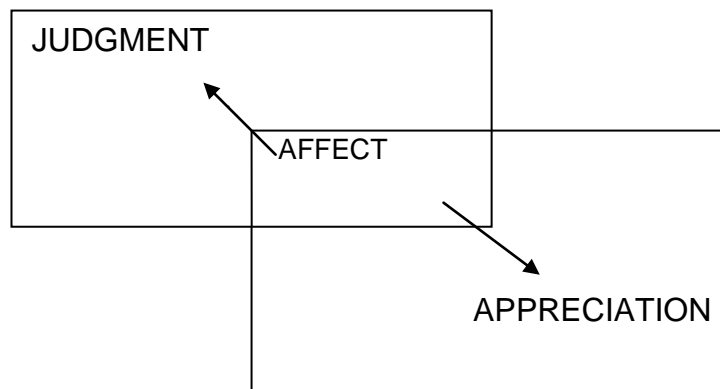
Feeling institutionalised as aesthetics/ value

(criteria and assessment)

Figure 13: JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION as institutionalised AFFECT (from Martin 2000: 147)

The above figure outlines the ways of thinking about types of attitudes as suggested by Martin (2000). The figure reflects the 'prosodic' nature of attitude. The interpersonal meanings are prosodically realised in the sense that they provide a kind of confirmation of implied evaluation. While *affect* is concerned with the emotion experienced by the speaker (as in *love, want*), *judgment* focuses on the person's social, behavioural, and moral assessments (as in *bad, good, cool*). *Appreciation* construes the aesthetic attributes related to a text, performances, or natural phenomenon (as in *beautiful, lovely*). Martin (2003: 173) summarizes the relation between *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation* as follows:

> each type of attitude involves positive or negative feeling, and that JUDGMENT and APPRECITION might be interpreted as institutionalizations of AFFECT which have evolved to socialize individuals into various uncommon sense communities of feeling- JUDGMENTas AFFECT recontextualized to control behaviour (what we should and should not do), APPRECIATION as AFFECT recontextualized to manage taste (what things are worth).

104

As indicated earlier in this section, both *affect* and *judgment* share the criterion of polarity. However, unlike *affect, judgments* differ between *personal* and *moral* judgments, as the following figure shows:
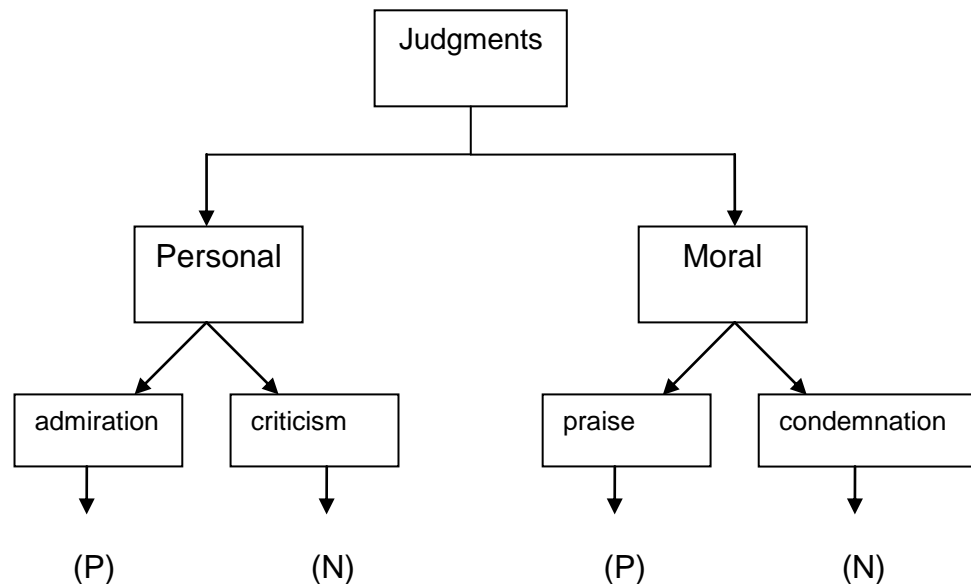

Figure 14: Main types of *judgments*.

As seen from the above figure, *judgment* involves parameters for human behaviours according to social norms. Martin and Rose (2003: 28) classify *judgment* in terms of two dimensions: *personal* and *moral*. Both can be positive (P) or negative (N). With *personal* Judgment, one may (explicitly or implicitly) admire or criticise the attitude of others. Both categories can be gathered in one example:

(131)

I can't explain the **pain** and **bitterness** in me when I saw what
was left of that **beautiful**, **big**, **strong** person

(Martin and Rose: ibid).

In the above example, a criticism is implied by the speaker, Helena, when she says how she felt about seeing what was left of her lover. Similarly, *Moral* judgment can be interpreted positively (when praising a person's good attitude) or negatively (when condemning unfavourable behaviours) [see chapter seven].

4.6.2 Engagement (sources of attitudes)

Voloshinov (1995: 139) identifies *Engagement* as essentially dialogic, where the appraiser "responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on". This can be achieved through *monogloss* or *heterogloss.* Martin and Rose (2003: 44) use the term *monogloss* to indicate a 'single voice' (where the only source of attitude is the author or the writer), and *heterogloss* to refer to 'different voices' (where the source of the appraisal attitude is not the author him/herself).

Following Bakhtin (1981), Voloshinov (1995), and White (2002), Granlund (2007) considers two ways of looking at engagement. The first is "the truth-functional approach", which Martin and Rose (ibid.) term as 'monogloss'. This approach considers the evaluative elements that reflect the speaker's degree of assurance to the truth of propositions: how much confidence the speaker has about a particular event.

The other approach, i.e. 'heteroglossic', is also known as the 'Bakhtinian approach'. This approach indicates the importance of the role that the reader has in discourse (see Bakhtin 1981). It does not just look at engagement with a text individually, but also takes the reader's opinions and emotions into account. Martin and White (2005) explain the role of the heteroglossic perspective as follows:

> The heteroglossic perspective emphases the role of language in positioning speakers and their texts within the heterogeneity of social positions and world views which operate in any culture. […] Thus every meaning within a text occurs in a social context where a number of alternative or contrary meanings could have been made (Martin and White 2005, cited in Granlund 2007: 17).

At this point, 'modality' can serve as a good example of both approaches of *Engagement.* Consider the following examples:

(132)   David *may* arrive tomorrow.

(133)   David *must* arrive tomorrow.

According to the monoglossic view, examples (132) & (133) refer to the possibility (132) and necessity (133) of David's arrival. However, under the heteroglossic view, the two sentences have nothing to do with doubt or certainty regarding the truth of the propositional content. The two sentences represent two different ways of opening up negotiation. The speaker/writer tries to be less categorical. While using *may/must* encourages negotiation, avoiding them closes the negotiation down. Bakhtin (1981: 427) descibes the monoglossic approach as 'undialogised'. It is recognised as 'bare assertions' e.g. 'it's boring' (see White 2005).

4.6.3 Graduation (the semantics of scaling)

Graduation is the third dimension within the appraisal system. It is a dimension that has to do with the grading of the feelings themselves. In this section, special focus will be given to graduation for two reasons. First, graduation is a general feature of both attitude and engagement. Martin and White (2005: 136) state that: "The semantics of **graduation** […] is central to the appraisal system. It might be said that **attitude** and **engagement** are domains of graduation which differ according to the nature of the meanings being scaled". So a strong and defining feature of all attitudinal meanings is their gradability. In other words, it is a general characteristic of *affect, judgement* and *appreciation* that they are gradable in the sense that their 'volume' can be turned up or down depending on how intensely we feel.

Another reason for adopting 'graduation' is that it is a distinctive feature of adjectives (see powerful/less adjectives in chapter seven). Quirk et al. (1985: 435) argue that "All dynamic and most stative adjectives are gradable".

4.6.4 Graduation: thump up and thump down

As indicated previously in Fig. 12, Graduation operates across two axes of gradability or scalability, i.e. *up-scaling* (thump up) and *down-scaling* (thump down). In other words, Graduation is concerned with adjusting the degree of appraisal – how strong our feelings are, and how to turn the 'volume' of our emotions up and down. This kind of graduation is called *force*, and it involves

the use of intensifiers, i.e. boosters or maximisers (e.g. *very, really, extremely, absolutely*), as well as hedges or downtoners (e.g. *kind of, sort of, somewhat, slightly, rather*). Quirk et al. (1985: 435) state that: "Gradability is also manifested through modification by intensifiers, i.e. adverbs which convey the degree of intensity of the adjective: *very* tall, *so* beautiful, *extremely* useful". In terms of *force* and *focus*, Martin and Rose (2003: 38) argue that while *force* refers to resources for adjusting the volume of gradable items, *focus* refers to resources for turning something intrinsically non-gradable into gradable. Consider the examples below.

(134) He is a teacher. [*non-gradable focus*]
(135) He is a *real* teacher. [gradable: *sharpening*]
(136) He is *a kind of* teacher. [gradable: *softening*]

It is obvious from the examples above that *focus* is mainly concerned with 'sharpening' or 'softening' categories of things or people's attitudes. In 134, a teacher in itself is not amplified, i.e. it is non-gradable. However, when it is modified by the booster *real*, as in 135, or the hedge *kind of*, as in 136, it turns the type of profession into a graded one. However, in the case of *force*, the appraised item is already graded, as the examples below explain.

(137) He is happy. [gradable *force]*
(138) He is *absolutely* happy. [*volume up*]
(139) He is *fairly* happy. [*volume down]*

The emphasiser, *absolutely*, as well as the downtoner, *fairly*, serves to enhance and give additional force to the adjective *happy* in (138 and 139).

4.6.5 Gradable Values of Appraisal in English and Arabic: Degree Adverbs

Quirk et al. (1985: 589-591) present a degree scale of intensifiers - also referred to as adverbs of degree. The intensifying scale has two far ends: 'amplifiers',

which denote the high end of the scale and 'downtoners' which denote the low point as illustrated in figure 15 below.
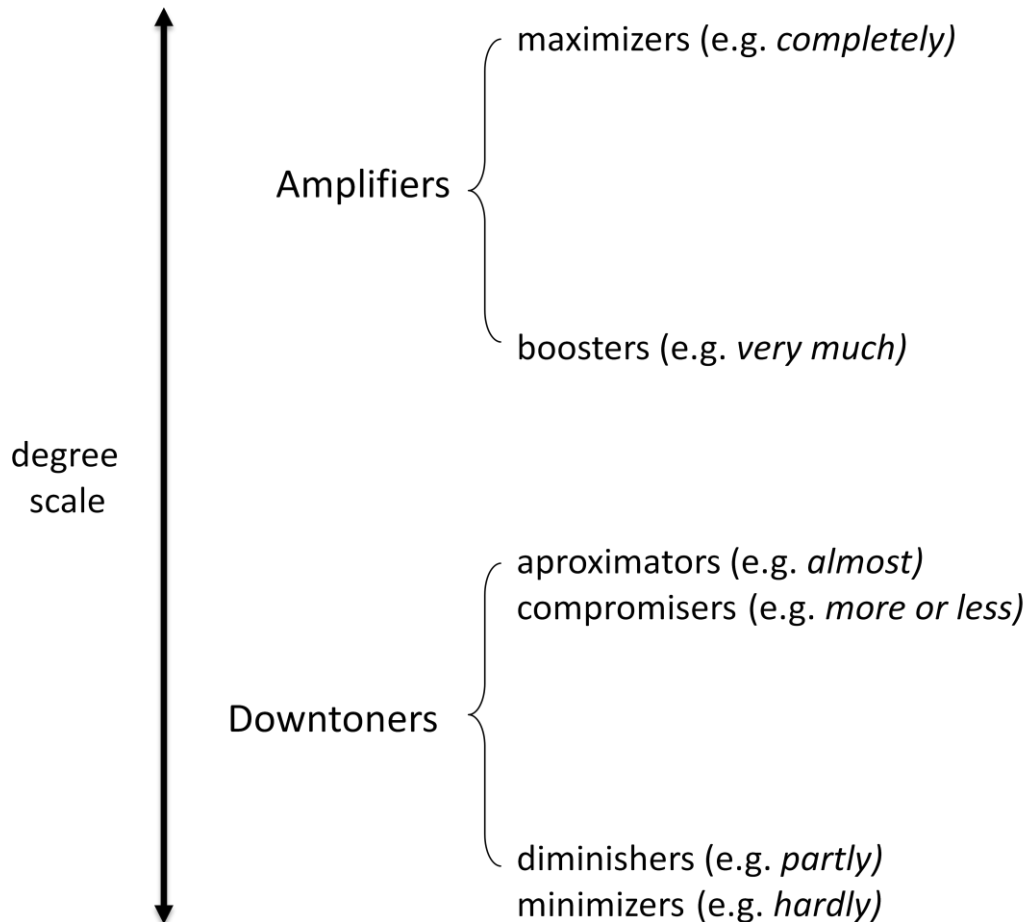
Figure 15: Subtypes of intensifiers (from Quirk et al. 1985: 590)

Amplifiers, also described as the category that is basically concerned with the semantic category of degree, can be further subdivided into two main subcategories, i.e. 'boosters' which indicate "a high degree, a high point on the scale", but without reaching the extreme end of the scale and 'maximizers' which denote "the upper extreme of the scale" (Quirk et al. 1985: 591). Quirk et al. note that the distinction between these two subcategories is not a hard one:

the distinction between maximizers and boosters is not a hard and fast one. In particular, when maximizers are in the middle position they often express a very high degree, whereas when they are in the end position they are more likely to convey their absolute meaning of extreme degree.

However, the criteria governing the use of maximizers and boosters are far from being obvious (see Bolinger 1972). Altenberg (1991: 129) provides a critertion to illustrate the basic difference between maximizers and boosters, i.e. their different attitudes towards the gradability of the intensified item:

> Since maximizers express an absolute degree they are typically used to modify 'non scalar' items, i.e. items that do not normally permit grading (e.g. empty, *impossible*, wrong) or already contain a notion of extreme or absolute degree (e.g. *disgusting, exhausted, huge, marvellous,* etc.). Boosters (and most other intensifiers), on the other hand, typically modify 'scalar' items, i.e. that are fully gradable (cf. *very beautiful/*completely beautiful* and **very enormous/absolutely enormous*)

In addition, amplifiers may be used in various syntactic constructions (see section 3.5.3.2 content disjuncts). Quirk et al. (1985: 595) state that in most cases amplifiers occur before the element they intensify (e.g. *extremely different situation*). However, as subjuncts they may also occur after the intensified word (e.g. *I was extremely lucky…*) or at the end of the clause (e.g. *we did this completely*).

Since the amplifiers included in the study are restricted to degree adverbs, *extremely* and *totally* have been selected from Quirk et al.'s (1985: 445) lists of maximizers and boosters. The analysis will focus on the most common syntactic constructions of *extremely* and *totally* together with their collocational restrictions.

Being a type of adverb, amplifiers (maximisers/boosters) - as noted earlier in chapter 3 - have been neglected in the field of Arabic linguistics (see 3.5.1.1). As far as degree adverbs are concerned in this study, Ryding (2005: 277) asserts that degree adverbs should constitute a substantial group of their own. In Arabic, as noted by Ryding (ibid), degree adverbs can be used in various syntactic constructions, the most common being:

A) Basic adverbs of degree

1. فقط *faqaṭ* 'only, solely'

faqaṭ is the most typically used expression of limitation in Arabic. *faqaṭ* is an adverb of degree that is invariable in form and accordingly, it ends with sukūn. In addition, *faqaṭ* is an adverb that occurs most commonly at the end of the phrase or clause it modifies (Ryding 2005: 278).

(140) شاهدت فيلما واحدا فقط

shāhadtu	filman	wāḥidan	faqaṭ
I watched	a film	one	only

"I watched one film only"

B) Degree nouns and adjectives in the accusative

1. جدا *jiddan* 'very'

Like *faqaṭ*, the form of *jiddan* is invariable. *jiddan* takes the accusative case ending *an*. This adverb occurs very frequently in written Arabic and usually-unlike *very* in English- it occurs after the phrase it modifies. For example:

(141) ولد لطيف **جدا**

waladun	<u>laṭīfun</u>	**jiddan**
a boy	<u>nice</u>	very

"a **very** <u>nice</u> boy"

2. كثيرا *kathīran* 'much, a lot, greatly, a little bit, a little

(142) أكلت **كثيرا**

akaltu	**kathīran**
I ate	a lot

"I ate **a lot**"

(143) لم أرى أخي منذ فترة طويلة وأنا أشتاق اليه **كثيرا**

lam	arā	akhī	mundhu
not	see	my brother	for
fatrah	ṭawīlah	wa	anā
time	long	and	I
ashtāqu	ilayhi	**kathīran**	
miss	him	greatly	

"I did not see my son for a long time and I miss him **greatly**"

(144) ابتسم الرجل **قليلا**

ibtasama	al-rajulu	**qalīlan**
he smiled	the man	a little bit

"The man smiled **a little bit**"

111

3. تماما *tamāman* 'exactly, completely, totally'

(145) يجب عليها أن تدعم الأتفاق **تماما**

yajibu 'alayhā	an	tad'am
It must	that	support
al-ittifāq	**tamāman**	
the agreement	completely	

"It must support the agreement **completely**" (Ryding 2005: 279)

4. خصوصا *khuṣūṣan* 'especially'

(146) **خصوصا** في ما يتعلق بالسياسة

khuṣūṣan	fī	mā	yata'allaq
especially	in	that	relates
bi	al-siyāsah		
to	the policy		

"**especially** in what relates to policy"

5. مطلقا *muṭlaqan* 'absolutely'

(147) لا يستطيع النوم **مطلقا**

lā	yastaṭī'	al-nawm	**muṭlaqan**
not	can	the sleeping	absolutely

"He **absolutely** cannot sleep"

C) Adverbial phrases of degree

These types of adverbial degree usually include two or more words. Ryding (2005: 280) provides examples of the most common types:

1. بالضبط *bi-al-ḍabt* 'exactly, precisely'

(148) هذا ما قلته **بالضبط**

hādhā	mā	qultuhu	**bi-al-ḍabṭ**
This	what	I said	exactly

"This is **exactly** what I said."

2. بكثير *bi-kathīr* 'by a great amount, much'

This type of adverbial phrase is usually used with comparison or contrast sentences. For example:

(149) يبدو أن هذا الكتاب أرخص **بكثير** من غيره

yabdū	anna	hādhā	al-kitāb
seems	that	this	the book
arkhaṣ	**bi-kathīr**	min	ghayrihi
cheaper	by a great amount	than	others

"This book seems **much** cheaper than others"

3. لاسيما *lā siyyamā* 'especially, particularly'

lā siyyamā is a phrase that literally means 'there is nothing similar', e.g.

(150) **لا سيما** هذه الأيام

lā siyyamā	hādhihi	al-ayām
especially	these	the days

"**especiall**y these days"

4. للغاية *lilghāyah* 'extremely, to the utmost'

lilghāyah is an adverbial phrase of degree that means *extremely*.

(151) كانت النتيجة سيئة **للغاية**

kānat	al-natījah	sayyi'ah	**lilghāyah**
was	the result	bad	extremely

"The result was **extremely** bad"

Therefore, as shown from the above example, Ryding (2005: 277-280) classifies *lilghāyah* under adverbial phrases of degree, while *tamāman* under degree nouns and adjectives in the accusative.

In section 4.6.5.1, I will focus on this neglected issue in Arabic linguistics. In order to do so, I adopt the Martin and Rose (2003) taxonomy of graduation and explore how far it is applicable to the Arabic language. In the case of Arabic, I have combined *force* and *focus* as I believe they are closely related since sharpening words (e.g. *tamāman* and *lilghāyah*) can be used as tools or devices for turning the volume up. At the same time, softening words

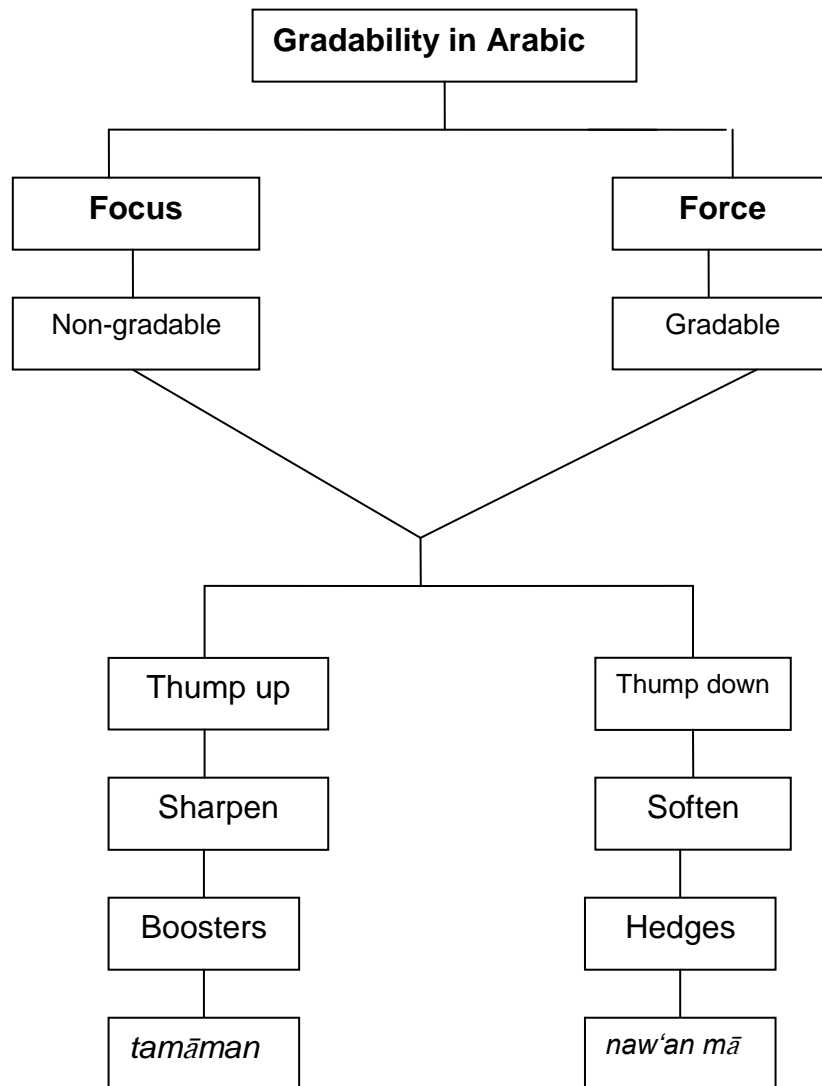(e.g. *naw'an mā* and *taqrīban* 'approximately') are used to turn the volume down (see the following figure).

```
                    ┌──────────────────────┐
                    │ Gradability in Arabic │
                    └──────────────────────┘
                    ┌──────┴──────┐
              ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
              │  Focus   │    │  Force   │
              └──────────┘    └──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
              │Non-gradable│  │ Gradable │
              └──────────┘    └──────────┘
                     └────┐    ┌────┘
              ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
              │ Thump up │    │Thump down│
              └──────────┘    └──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
              │  Sharpen │    │  Soften  │
              └──────────┘    └──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
              │ Boosters │    │  Hedges  │
              └──────────┘    └──────────┘
              ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐
              │ tamāman  │    │ naw'an mā│
              └──────────┘    └──────────┘
```

Figure 16: Force and Focus in Arabic

4.6.5.1 *Extremely, totally, lilghāyah and tamāman*

This section is concerned with the examination of the meaning and use of four maximisers of degree adverbs, i.e. *extremely*, *totally* and their Arabic counterparts, *lilghāyah* and *tamāman.* These adverbs, though regarded as synonyms in English and Arabic, are not identical in meaning and accordingly they are not interchangeable in all contexts. The analysis focuses on the collocations of the four adverbs and their connotations in identifying the differences between them. Following Bolinger (1972: 18), the most important

114

reason for studying degree adverbs lies in their unsettled nature. Johansson (1993: 46) points out that the unsettled nature of degree adverbs has led to the fact that the collocational behaviour of adverbs – in general – is particularly difficult to grasp:

> Adverbs are no doubt the most heterogerogeneous of the traditional word classes. Syntactically, the patterns of co-occurrence are less marked than for other classes of lexical words.

Hence, I consider the study of such a phenomenon to be very useful as it explores the implicit meanings involved. Lakoff (1972: 195) illustrates this as "some of the most interesting questions are raised by the study of words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness" (Lakoff: ibid as cited in Channell 1994: 11).

Another reason for selecting this group of adverbs is that they are dictionary synonyms[28], i.e. 'near synonyms' (see chapter six). This section explores whether or not they are real synonyms by using corpus analysis. In order to investigate the degree of dis/similarity between *extremely* and *totally* as well as *tamāman* and *lilghāyah*, one hundred concordance lines will be examined together with a statistical analysis of the most frequent collocates of the four degree adverbs under discussion.

I will use a span of one word to the left of the node and zero to the right of the node, i.e. (1:0), in order to analyse the immediate left collocates of *extremely* and *totally* as well as *tamāman* and *lilghāyah* as shown in tables 5, 6, 8 and 9.

---

[28] *Very* is translated as *tamāman* and *lilghāyah* in AMMD (p. 1029), and EMD (p. 813), together with *jiddan*. Both dictionaries present these words as synonyms without further guidance.

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
difficult	1215.82	487	important	1404.98	682
important	529.73	277	difficult	1290.12	534
useful	314.52	140	high	558.20	367
rare	307.32	121	well	513.71	380
well	296.87	235	rare	508.33	197
valuable	213.82	87	useful	465.07	220
high	178.83	130	low	325.47	203
complex	145.33	75	valuable	273.10	121
unlikely	142.45	66	dangerous	241.85	110
popular	138.08	72	hard	211.80	139

Table 5: The top ten collocates of *extremely* in BNC and I-EN

It was immediately noticeable that *extremely* collocates regularly with adjectives expressing 'difficulty and complexity'. These adverbs include *difficult*, *hard*, *complex*. As can be seen from table 5, the collocation *extremely difficult* has the highest score in BNC. It occurs 487 times in BNC with LLS of 1215.82 and it has the second highest score in I-EN.

Another particular feature of this intensifier is that it occurs with lexical items that are 'important, valuable and of certain 'influence'. These include *important*, *useful*, *valuable*, *expensive*, *concerned*, *curious*, *effective*, *impressed*, and *helpful*. (see *extremely important* in BNC and I-EN, table 5). On the other hand, *totally useless*, *disabled*, *unnecessary* are infrequently used in I-EN.

In addition, *extremely* - with its hyperbolic tone - appears with adjectives that belong to 'power and reliability' (e.g. *powerful*, *strong, robust, reliable, courageous*). Usually, *extremely* has a kind of powerful nature whilst *totally* does not (see *totally dependent* amongst the top ten collocates in table 6). Furthermore, *extremely* tends to go with adjectives that indicate 'deep/condensed' items (e.g. *condensed*, *deep*, *detailed, and centralised*).

To some extent, there is a reasonable balance between 'favourable' and 'unfavourable' items amongst *extremely*'s collocates. For example, *useful, well,*

valuable, popular, *comfortable*, *successful*, etc. against *dangerous*, *hard*, *difficult*, *painful*, *risky*).

There does not seem to be any particular collocational restriction in relation to personal/impersonal sentences or animate/inanimate subjects. In other words, *extremely* and *totally* occur with both personal (e.g. 152 &155) and impersonal sentences (e.g. 153& 156) as well as modifying animate (152 & 155) and inanimate objects (e.g. *tiring day* in 154 and *different attitude* in 156). Consider the following examples:

(152) "They were *extremely* aggressive" (I-EN, interview with Virginia Trioli,

http://www.crikey.com.au/media/2002/02/17-triolireith.print.html)

(153) "There are other *extremely* rare complications" (BNC, A0J, Health promotion and education leaflets**,** natural sciences**,** 1991)

(154) "I realized an *extremely* long and tiring day" (BNC, A0F, Part of the furniture, W fict prose, 1991)

(155) "You're *totally* beautiful"(BNC, A0L**,** Jay loves Lucy**,** W fict prose, 1991)

(156) "It's a *totally* different attitude" (BNC, A4X, world affairs, W newsp, 1989)

Occasionally, *extremely* collocates with items that indicate 'luck', e.g. *lucky* and *fortunate*. The following table shows *totally*'s top collocates in BNC and I-EN.

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
different	800.43	387	different	739.94	383
dependent	186.06	76	agree	268.31	146
unacceptable	181.09	61	unacceptable	192.86	65
inadequate	155.40	59	unrelated	176.56	58
unexpected	124.37	48	ignore	176.41	83
ignore	119.07	58	dependent	131.75	59
wrong	113.73	66	unaware	114.63	41
suitable	100.68	34	new	111.00	139
destroy	97.96	48	wrong	88.71	57
out of	89.42	72	honest	83.21	39

Table 6: The top ten collocates of *totally* in BNC and I-EN

It is obvious that *totally,* but not *extremely*, tends to occur with adjectives that have the negative prefix *un/in/ir* [e.g. in BNC, *unacceptable* (61 occurrences and 181.09 LLS) *inadequate* (59 occurrences and 155.40 LLS)]. There are also instances of *unexpected*, *unsuitable*, *unaware*, *unnecessary*, *unrelated irrelevant*, and *irresponsible*. Other examples are found in figure 17 below.

Figure 17: The concordance lines of *totally* before the negative prefix *un* from BNC

One more important sub-group consists of items expressing unfavourable items. In other words, though *totally* can collocate with positive items (like *honest*, *suitable*, *agree*), *totally* was found to premodify more items – than *extreme*'s collocates – expressing negative attitude, e.g. *ignore*, *destroy*, *commit*, *wrong*, *confuse*, *lose*. In BNC, for example, there is *extremely sensitive*, but not *extremely insensitive* and *totally insensitive*, but not *totally sensitive*. In addition, in I-EN, we can find *totally unsuccessful* but not *totally successful*, while in BNC there is *extremely successful,* but not *extremely unsuccessful*.

Totally, was also found as an intensifier of slang words for *good*, *okay*, e.g. *cool*, *awesome*. There are also instances of *totally* associates with *bogus*, *suck*, *fuck*, *freak*. *Totally* collocates with another group of lexical item that belongs to 'changes and differences' more than similarities. For example, while *totally different* has the higest collocate in BNC and I-EN, there is not a single instance of *extremely different* in the collocational items of BNC or the concordance lines under analysis. There is only one example in the concordance lines of I-EN: "would be *extremely* different". Perhaps also the

collocation *totally new* (139 occurrences in I-EN and 111.00 LLS) can be classified under the group 'changes and differences'.

Although there are 5 occurrences of *totally agree* in the 100 concordance lines of I-EN, *totally* appears with 'opposite and rejecting' items, e.g. *against*, *anti*, *disagree*, *contradict*, *oppose*, *reject*, *opposite*, *unacceptable*.

It is also noticeable that *totally*, but not *extremely*, can be followed by a verb. For examples:

(157) "When he *totally* **cut** the scene" (BNC, A12, A ballet-maker's handbook, W non ac humanities art, 1991)

(158) "which made him *totally* **accept** his mission" (BNC, A3F, social science, W newsp, 1989)

(159) "which he *totally* **supported**"

(I-EN, **http://www.aare.edu.au/02pap/kle02231.htm**)

(160) "He totally **rejects** her"

(I-EN, **http://www.unhcr.bg/press/sega_10042002_en.htm**)

On the other hand, the concordance lines of BNC and I-EN do not show any examples of *extremely* + verb. The pattern (*totally* + v.) is more frequently used in I-EN than BNC.

Infrequently, *totally* may occur in final position, e.g.

(161) "on which the staff come to rely **totally**" (BNC, AOC, Caterer and Hotelkeeper, W misc., 1991)

Unlike *extremely*, it is even possible for *totally* to go with a preposition, e.g. *with*, *at*, *to*, *out of*, *against*, *beyond*:

(162) "She adored him and tied her life up *totally* **with** his" (BNC, A0L, Jay loves Lucy**,** W fict prose, 1991).

(163) "So I was *totally* **at** her mercy"

(I-EN, **http://members.ozemail.com.au/~annandbilld/vomitorium/**)

Totally, but not *extremely*, collocates frequently with words expressing 'absence or lacking something' (e.g. *accentless*, *bald*, *devoid*, *groundless*, *ignored*, *invisible*, *painless*, *out of*, *lacking, blind*). Sometimes when *totally* is – infrequently – followed by a positive quality, e.g. *settled*, it is preceded by the negative particle *not*, i.e. in this particular case, *totally* is an intensifier that rarely intensifies 'good' qualities, but often negates them, as in the following example:

(164) "Her position had improved but was **not** *totally* **settled**" (BNC,

A30, world affairs**,** W news, 1989)

However, this is not always the case. A positive item can follow *totally* without any previous negative particle, e.g.

(165) "he developed a *totally* new technique for studying" (BNC, A1W, world affairs**,** W newsp, 1989)

The occurances of collocational restrictions and syntactic constructions of *extremely* and *totally* are summarised in table 7.

Collocational restrictions & syntactic constructions	*extremely*	*totally*
absence	✘	✔
favourable items	✔ ✘	✘ ✔
difficult items	✔	✘
power	✔	✘
changes & differences	✘	✔
opposing	✘	✔
luck	✔	✘
high interest & importance	✔	✘
in/animate	✔	✔
slang words	✘	✔
im/personal sentences	✔	✔
final position	✘	✔
before v.	✘	✔
before prep.	✘	✔
before negative prefix *un*/*in*/*ir*	✘	✔

Table 7: The distribution of *extremely* and *totally* according to their collocational restrictions and syntactic constructions

Like *totally* and extremely, *tamāman* and *lilghāyah* will be analysed in terms of their collocationional restrictions as shown in tables 8 and 9 below.

Collocates		I-AR		Collocates		Al-H	
		LLS	Joint			LLS	Joint
مختلف <u>mukhtalif</u>	different sing. masc.	1238.34	666	مختلفة <u>mukhtalifah</u>	different sing. fem	27.84	13
عكس 'aks	opposite (n.)	750.62	366	مرفوض marfūḍ	unaccepted	22.96	7
مغاير <u>mughāyir</u>	different	348.93	128	يعرف ya'rif	he knows	20.02	10
wāḍiḥ	obvious	298.95	187	الواضح al-wāḍiḥ	the obvious	13.65	6
يختلف <u>yakhtalif</u>	differ (v.) sing. masc.	256.20	120	راضية rāḍīyah	satisfied	13.30	4
تختلف <u>takhtalif</u>	differ (v.) sing. fem.	176.67	92	واضح wāḍiḥ	obvious	12.65	6
خال khālin	empty	166.71	94	يتناقض yatanāqaḍ	oppose	11.62	4
مقتنع muqtani'	convinced	145.33	62	تدرك tudrik	realize	10.08	4
نقيض naqīḍ	opposite (n.)	144.28	64	مختلف <u>mukhtalif</u>	different	9.89	6
مرفوض marfūḍ	rejected	136.98	58	نعرف na'rif	we know	8.49	4

Table 8: The immediate left top ten collocates of *tamāman*

Obviously, the first interesting thing to notice about the intensifier *tamāman* is that it collocates with words that denote 'differences and changes' – which is very similar to its counterpart, i.e. *totally*. As shown in table 8 *mukhtalif* and *mukhtalifah* 'different' have the highest collocate in I-AR as well as Al-H. *tamāman* occurs mostly with adjectives and verbs (whether in the masculine form or in the feminine form) that mean 'different' or 'to differ' [e.g. *mughāyir* (sing. masc. adj.), *mukhtalif* (sing. masc. adj.), *mukhtalifah* (sing. fem. adj.) *yakhtalif* (sing. masc. v.), *takhtalif* (sing. fem. v.) –they are underlined in table 8.

Table 8 also shows that *tamāman* is a kind of intensifier that prefers to highlight lexical words that indicate 'opposites', i.e. *'aks* 'opposite' (n.)*, naqīḍ* 'opposite' (n.), *marfuḍ* (sing. masc. adj.) and *yatanāqaḍ* (sing. masc. v.). In addition, *tamāman* modifies items that denote 'knowledge and realization', e.g. *ya'rif* 'he knows', *na'rif* 'we know' and *tudrik* 'she/it realizes' as shown in the top ten collocates in Al-H corpus in table 8.

Like *totally*, *tamāman* goes with another sub-group that refers to 'absence'. As shown in table 8, *tamāman* collocates with *khālin* (sing. masc. adj.) 'empty'. Moreover, in the concordance lines of Al-H and I-AR corpora, there are more instances of items that denote absence or lacking something, e.g. غائبة *ghā'bah* 'absent', خالية *khāliyah* 'empty' (sing. fem. adj.), يختفي *yakhtafī* 'disappear' (sing. masc. v.), محيت *muḥiyat* 'had been erased' نسيت *nusiyat* 'had been forgotten', أعمى *a'mā* 'blind', بعيدة *ba'īdah* 'unrelated' (as in *unrelated concepts*), ناقص *nāqiṣ* 'incomplete', معزول *ma'zūl* 'isolated'.

Table 8 does not provide enough evidence of the un/favourable tendency of *tamāman*; the concordance lines show a mixture of favourable and unfavourable collocates. However, like *totally*, *tamāman* is likely to modify negative objects more than positive ones. In other words, in most cases, *tamāman* intensifies the negative attitude towards unfavourable items; it collocates with negative adjectives like: خاطئ *khāṭi'* 'mistaken', مرفوض *marfūḍ* 'unaccepted', عاجز *'ājiz* 'unable', أعمى *a'mā* 'blind', معتمة *mu'timah* 'dark', منهارة *munhārah* 'collapsed', مدمر *mudammar* 'damaged', غريب *gharīb* 'eccentric', غامض *ghāmiḍ* 'ambiguous', متخلفة *mutakhallifah* 'undeveloped'. It also modifies unfavourable nouns and verbs like: عار *'ār* 'shame' and ذل *dhull* 'humiliation', تفشل *tafshal* 'it fails'. Infrequently, *tamāman* collocates with positive items, e.g. واضح *wāḍiḥ* 'obvious' (see table 8), متينة *matīnah* 'strong', صحيح *ṣaḥīḥ* 'right'.

In most examples, the pattern (*tamāman* + ك *ka* / كما *kamā* / مثل *mithla* / مثلما *mithlamā* 'as/like') is used in the concordance lines of *tamāman.* For example:

(166)   لغتين مختلفتين **تماما** كِالعربية والفارسية

(Al-H, PIJ, 2000)

lughatayn	mukhtalifatayn	**tamāman**
two languages	different	totally
<u>ka</u>	al-'arabīyah	wa

as	the Arabic	and

al-fārisīyah

"Two **totally** different languages <u>as</u> Arabic and Persian"

In this example, the meaning of *tamāman* is accompanied by other shades of meaning, i.e. resemblance and comparison. Sometimes, when *tamāman* is followed by a 'likening particle' – mentioned above – it can be interpreted as *totally* or *exactly*, depending on the propositional content. Consider the following example:

(167)   و أنت وحدك الأن **تماما** <u>كما</u> كنت دائما

(Al-H, BFHB, 2000)

wa anta	waḥdaka	al-ān
and you	alone	now
tamāman	<u>kamā</u>	kunta
totally/exactly	as	you were
dā'iman		
always		

In this example, the translation of *tamāman* depends on its position in the senetence, i.e. if *tamāman* lies at the end of the first clause (wa anta waḥdaka al-ān *tamāman*) and in this case *tamāman* intensifies *waḥdaka 'being alone'*, it is translated as: "and now you are *totally* alone as you always were". The other interpretation is that when there is a kind of pause after the first clause and *tamāman* comes at the beginning of the second clause: "and now you are alone…<u>exactly as you always were</u>" and in this case *tamāman* intensifies what follows: (*tamāman* <u>kamā kunta dā'iman</u>) '*exactly* as you always were'. So the translation relies on whether *tamāman* intensifies what is before 'totally' or what is after 'exactly'.

Another typical construction is (*tamāman* + prep., e.g. عن *'an /* من *min* 'from', في *fī* 'in', ب *bi/* مع *ma'a* 'with')

(168)   و هى تختلف **تماما** <u>عن</u> محطة تليفزيون ام بي سي

(Al-H, FVJ, 2000)

124

wa hiya	takhtalif	**tamāman**
and it	different	totally
‘an	maḥaṭṭat	tilīfizyūn
from	channel	television
im	bi	si
m	b	c

"and it is **totally** different from mbc television channel"

Frequently, *tamāman* occurs in final position. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Arabic adverbs, unlike English ones, usually intensify the item before them (see examples 169 and 170).

(169)   و كانت كل هذه المشاريع شرعية **تماما**

(Al-H, RJM, 2000)

wa kānat	kull	hādhihi	al-mashārī‘
and were	all	these	projects
shar‘īyah	**tamāman**		
legal	totally		

"and all these projects were **totally** legal"

(170)   فالخيار متروك له **تماما**

(Al-H, EES, 2000)

fa	al- khiyār	matrūk	lahu	**tamāman**
so	the choice	is left	for him	totally

"So it is **totally** for him to choose"

Regarding in/animate objects and im/personal sentences, *tamāman* typically occurs with both animate (see underlined items in 171) and inanimate (as in 170) objects. 171 is an example of *tamāman* with a personal subject.

(171)   سترينه انسان اخر **تماما**

(I-AR, **http://www.halfcup.net/mag/?p=32**)

sataraynahu	insān	ākhar	**tamāman**
you will see him	man	another	totally

"you will see a totally different man"

Collocates		I-AR		Collocates		Al-H	
		LLS	Joint			LLS	Joint
صعب ṣaʻb	difficult	1106.9	432	صعبة ṣaʻbah	difficult	207.86	69
مهم muhim	important	653.34	328	مهم muhim	important	113.30	43
سيء sayyi'	bad	417.65	174	خطير khaṭīr	dangerous	87.99	30
خطير khaṭīr	dangerous	321.57	152	صعب ṣaʻb	difficult	87.06	30
محدود maḥdūd	limited	311.11	135	سيئة sayyi'ah	bad	81.56	27
بسيط basīṭ	simple	277.87	126	صعبا ṣaʻban	difficult	80.90	28
جيد jayyid	good	219.13	120	مهمة muhimah	important	64.08	35
هام hām	important	183.89	88	ايجابية ījābīyah	positive	55.87	24
حساس ḥassās	sensitive	162.79	74	محدودة maḥdūdah	limited	53.19	22
معقد muʻaqqad	complex	162.10	67	ضئيلة ḍa'īlah	verysmall/ minor	53.02	18

Table 9: The immediate left top ten collocates of *lilghāyah*

Table (9) shows the other appraiser intensifier, *lilghāyah*, which tends to place emphasis on collocates that are obviously different than the previous collocates of *tamāman*. *lilghāyah* occurs - almost equally - with both positive (e.g. جيد *jayyid* 'good' and بسيط *basīṭ* 'simple') and negative (e.g. سئ *sayyi'* 'bad' and معقد *muʻaqqad* 'complex') items. The strongest collocate of *lilghāyah* appears to be صعب *ṣaʻb* 'difficult' (sing. masc.) in I-AR, which has the highest LLS of 1106.9. Similarly, the most frequently used collocate in Al-H corpus is صعبة *ṣaʻbah* 'difficult' (sing. fem.) as shown in table 9. While *tamāman* (table 8) has shown to be an intensifier of nouns, verbs and adjectives, *lilghāyah* amplifies only adjectives (see table 9). However, there are instances in the concordance lines where *lilghāyah* intensifies verbs, e.g.

(172) و نحترمهم للغاية

(Al-H, DIX, 2000)

wa   naḥtarimhum   **lilghāyah**

and   <u>we respect them</u>   extremely

"and we **extremely** <u>respect them</u>"

Unlike *tamāman*, the analysis of the concordance lines reveals that *lilghāyah* qualifies emotional words like حساس *ḥassās* 'sensitive' that occurs 74 times in I-AR and has LLS of 162.79. It also occurs with other emotional lexical items, such as مسرور *masrūr* 'happy' (LLS= 42.66 and J=17), and مقلق *muqliq* 'worrisome'(LLS=43.08 and J= 16).

In contrast with *tamāman*, there is only one example in Al-H and I-AR where *lilghāyah* is followed by *kamā* 'as':

(173)   ان أسعار الفنادق رخيصة **للغاية** <u>كما</u> هو الحال في كل الفنادق الشعبية

(Al-H, HNX, 2000)

inna	as'ār	al-fanādiq	rakhīṣah
it is	prices	the hotels	cheap
lilghāyah	<u>kamā</u>	huwa	al-ḥāl
extremely	<u>as</u>	it is	the case
fī	kull	al-fanādiq	al-sha'bīyah
in	every	the hotels	the public

"The prices of hotels are **extremely** cheap <u>as</u> in every public hotel"

Like *tamāman*, *lilghāyah* is commonly used in final position:

(174)   و أجد ذلك مشجعا **للغاية**

(Al-H, FRY, 2000)

wa	ajidu	dhālika	mushajji'an
and	I find	this	encouraging
lilghāyah			
extremely			

"and I consider this **extremely** encouraging"

The concordance lines of Al-H and I-AR present *lilghāyah* as frequently used with prepositions, e.g. من *min* 'from', عن *'an* 'about', في *fī* 'in', على *'alā* 'on/for'. For example:

(175)   كما تحدث في شكل ايجابي **للغاية** <u>عن</u> حسان حطاب

(Al-H, FQW, 2000)

| kamā | taḥaddath | fī | shakl |

also	talked	in	a way
īdābī	**lilghāyah**	<u>'an</u>	Ḥassān
positive	extremely	<u>about</u>	Hassan
Ḥaṭṭāb			
Hattab			

"Also he talked in an **extremely** positive way <u>about</u> Hassan Hattab"

In respect of in/animate objects and im/personal subjects, both corpora contain a variety of examples of both sub-groups. Sentences with the adverb of place هناك *hunāka* 'there is' present an impersonal subject in Arabic:

(176)   <u>هناك</u> اقبال شديد **للغاية** على الذهب البحريني

(Al-H, JXQ, 2000)

<u>hunāka</u>	iqbāl	shadīd	**lilghāyah**
<u>there is</u>	a demand	strong	extremely
'alā	al-dhahab	al-baḥrīnī	
for	the gold	the Bahranian	

"<u>There is</u> an **extremely** strong demand for Bahranian gold"

With its hyperbolic tone, *lilghāyah* intensifies, in general, objects that represent the utmost degree or point, e.g.

(177)   خسائر فادحة **للغاية**

(Al-H, DFS, 2000)

khasā'ir	fādiḥah	**lilghāyah**
damages	catastrophic	extremely

"**extremely** catastrophic damages"

Obviously, if *tamāman* were substituted for *lilghāyah* in this example, it would not indicate the same extreme degree as *lilghāyah*.

A summary of the most common occurances of collocational restrictions and syntactic constructions of *tamāman* and *lilghāyah* is provided in table 10 below.

Collocational restrictions & syntactic constructions	*tamāman*	*lilghāyah*
changes & differences	✓	✗
difficulty & importance	✗	✓
emotional items	✗	✓
absence	✓	✗
favourable items	✓ ✗	✓ ✗
hyperbolic tone	✗	✓
opposing items	✓	✗
in/animate im/personal	✓	✓
before likening particles	✓	✗
before prep.	✓	✓
final position	✓	✓

Table 10: The distribution of *tamāman* and *lilghāyah* according to their collocational restrictions and syntactic constructions

Though Arabic and English are very different languages, the analysis reveals remarkable similarities with respect to degree adverbs. Thus, while *totally different* is frequently used in BNC and I-EN, its Arabic equivalent *mukhtalif tamāman* is commonly used in Al-H and I-AR. In addition, there is an obvious similarity between the occurrences of *extremely difficult* and *saʿb lilghāyah*. The following table will sum up more similarities and differences between *totally* and *tamāman* as well as *extremely* and *lilghāyah*. Thus, table 11 will combine tables 7 and 10 together in order to outline when these pairs can be possible translations of each other and when they cannot.

points of dis/similarities	*totally/tamāman*	*extremely/lilghāyah*
changes & differences	✔	⭐
difficulty & importance	⭐	✔
absence	✔	⭐
favourable items	✔	✘
hyperbolic tone	⭐	✔
opposing items	✔	⭐
in/animate im/personal	✔	✔
before prep.	✘	⭐
final position	✔	✘

Table 11: Dis/similarities between *totally* & *tamāman* and *extremely* & *lilghāyah*[29]

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[29] Keynote to table 11: ✔ = Both items share the same collocational restriction.

⭐ = Both items do NOT share the same collocational restriction.

✘ = One item shares the collocational restriction, while the other does not.

4.7 Conclusion

An outline of the main subtypes of 'appraisal' has been presented in this chapter. Appraisal theory subcategorises evaluative resources into three broad semantic domains: *Attitude, Engagement* and *Graduation*. However, it is important to note that these three options of appraisal operate in parallel. In other words, they are all selected at the same time, since expressing an attitude requires a degree of intensification and an identification of its source.

The analysis reveals that *extremely*, *totally*, *tamāman*, and *lilghāyah* tend to be collocationally restricted to a semantic class of items. Though *mukhtalif lilghāyah* 'extremely different' looks possible for the native speaker of Arabic, the corpus analysis reveals that it is much more normal to say: *mukhtalif tamāman*, a fact that even the native Arabic speaker might not be aware of.

It should also be emphasised that, in terms of modality, Martin and Rose (2003: 48) have introduced appraisal in relation to *Graduation* (amplification) and, at the same time, it is discussed as a subcategory and a source of *Engagement*, which is the second dimension of appraisal – see chapter 5.

Chapter Five

Modality in English and Arabic

5.1 Introduction

As indicated in the previous chapter, 'modality' is a device for achieving appraisal. Whereas Fairclough (2003: 164) regards appraisal as an author's commitment to "what is desirable or undesirable", he refers to modality as an author's commitment to "what is true and what is necessary". As Thompson (2004: 75) explains: "In discussing modality, we have moved from strictly grammatical issues (e.g. modal operators functioning as finite) towards areas which are more difficult to pin down in structural terms".

This chapter starts by laying out some general background on modality by clarifying its scope and definition (see 5.2). It also explores the different meanings of English and Arabic modal verbs, with special focus on modals that indicate 'possibility' and 'necessity' in the English and Arabic languages and, in turn, on the two main categories of modality that deal with possibility and necessity: epistemic and deontic. 'Possibility' and 'necessity' receive this focus because they have attracted much attention and discussion in the field of translation. In addition, the relation between modality and auxiliaries is explained in this section. 5.3 then handles the criteria of English modals. In 5.4, two different theoretical approaches to the English modals are introduced. A survey of some of the most important studies of English modals is provided in 5.5, followed by a short survey of Arabic modal studies in 5.6. The aim of this chapter is to deal with the principal issues involved in the translation of English modal auxiliaries into MSA. I will use simple and general examples to illustrate the function and semantics of English modal auxiliaries.

5.2 The Scope and Definition of Modality

Being both a philosophical and a linguistic concept, modality has been a constant focus of study since Aristotle. The body of work on modality by

linguists and philosophers provides evidence of the continuing interest it still attracts, as well as the study that it still requires. Lyons (1981a: 235-6) argues that much work in semantics and pragmatics has serious defects because there is not sufficient focus on the concept of modality. He also highlights the importance of modality in interpreting the syntax of languages. The grammatical structure of any language is strongly related to the notion of 'subjectivity of utterance', which is a crucial issue in modality (ibid: 241).

Perkins (1983:1) and Palmer (1990: 2) believe that it is not easy to provide a simple and clearly definable definition of modality. Hermeren (1978: 9) states that the difficulty of finding a satisfactory definition of modality emerges from the fact that the term 'modality' has been employed in the tracing of many different languages. Palmer (1979: 4) describes modality as a 'semantic' term and says: "…I shall use it in this book to refer to the meaning of the modals. It is not necessary to define precisely what kinds of meaning are involved. We take the formal category as our starting point, and it is sufficient for our purpose that the meanings involved are such as to justify characterising them as 'modality'". Palmer points here to the categorical approach that he adopts in the study of modality. Coates (1983: 9) refers to Palmer's strategy as a monosemantic approach (see 5.4).

In this thesis, the term 'modality' is concerned with the grammatical and semantic concepts that are marked by English modal verbs, but not with modality as a general notion. The relation between modals and modality is a relation between grammatical form and content (or meaning) as "it is clearly one of those semantic-syntactic categories" (Palmer 1979: 1).

It would be unsatisfactory, perhaps even impossible, to study modality under a purely formal, syntactic approach without understanding the semantic characteristics that modality implies. At the same time, a purely semantic study of modality cannot be regarded as a sufficient approach on its own. It is sometimes argued that the semantic features of the language being described fundamentally depend on the formal/grammatical features of that language, and thus the formal analysis is held to be more basic in the study of modality. So, both form and meaning must be considered (Jespersen 1924: 56; Palmer 1979: 2).

Despite believing in the vital role of semantics in any study of language, Perkins (1983: 19) highlights the importance of analysing the syntactic elements for a full understanding of a language:

> Discussion of modality in linguistics has, therefore, been concerned almost exclusively with the syntactic class of modal auxiliary verbs, or 'modals', which constitutes the only formally coherent class of modal expressions in English.

A modal verb is a type of auxiliary verb that is used to mark modality. There are four types of auxiliary verb in English: *be*, *have*, *do*, and modals. An auxiliary verb is also called a 'helping verb', a 'display helper verb', or a 'verbal auxiliary'. It is used to give further semantic and syntactic information about the main or full verb following it. There is a syntactic difference between an auxiliary verb and a full verb – that is, the grammatical functions of auxiliary and full verbs are dissimilar. In English, there are verbs that can be regarded as either auxiliary or full verbs, such as 'be' (I am teaching a lesson) vs. (I am a teacher). Sometimes the function of 'be' is ambiguous whether it is auxiliary or not – for example, "the ice-cream was melted" could mean either "Someone/something melted the ice cream" (in which 'melt' would be the main verb), or 'the ice-cream was mostly liquid' (in which 'be' would be the main verb).

I will not go into any further details,[30] as the present study does not concern auxiliaries in general. The aim here is to show the relation between modality and auxiliaries.

5.3 Criteria for identifying modals

Palmer (1979: 180; 1990: 201), Hermeren (1978: 59) and Coates (1983: 4) point out further reasonable grounds for distinguishing between auxiliary and main verbs. Yet, as Palmer (1979: 181) describes the situation, there is no clear dividing line between them if we rely solely on semantic or grammatical characteristics:

> It is, then, perfectly reasonable to adopt the purely formal characteristic of the 'NICE' properties to divide the dubious,

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[30] For more details about modality and auxiliaries see:
http://www.tesol-direct.com/guide-to-english-grammar/modal-auxiliary-verbs

indeterminate cases and to use to determine otherwise important but 'fuzzy' distinctions. In this sense, the 'NICE' properties are not the basic reasons for distinguishing auxiliary and main verb; these are to be found elsewhere. But, they clearly provide the final test for the decision (Palmer 1979: 181).

Palmer (1979) adopts the acronym 'NICE' from Huddleston (1976: 333), which stands for 'Negation, Inversion, Code, Emphasis'. In what follows, I will briefly outline the NICE properties of English auxiliaries and relate them to modal meanings and expressions in Arabic.

a. Negation

In English, negation occurs after the modal verb, the negative marker *not* cannot follow a main verb, e.g. "You must **not** play". In Arabic, it is unacceptable, in such cases, to put the negative marker *lā* after *yajibu*, cf. *yajibu lā talʿab.* However, in a particular case, *lā* can follow *yajibu* but not immediately, i.e. they are separated by *an* (*that* in English). Thus the negation pattern in the case of the modal verb *yajibu* can be (*lā + yajibu*) or (*yajibu + an + lā*).

b. Inversion

In the construction of interrogative sentences in English, modal verbs can be inverted without *do*, e.g. "*may* I go?". On the other hand, in Arabic, the modal adverb *rubbamā* – an equivalent to *may* – cannot take an initial position in interrogative sentences.

c. Code

Another characteristic of modal verbs in English is 'code', which often has the pattern '...and so'. The verb phrase may be ellipted and picked up by a modal verb, e.g. "she can sing and so can her daughter". In Arabic, the pattern '...and so can' can be substituted by *wa kadhālika* 'and also' followed by *ibnatuhā* 'her daughter' without repeating the modal verb.

d. Emphasis

Putting emphasis on modal verbs is the fourth characteristic of NICE, e.g. "I CAN do it". However, this criterion is not commonly found in MSA.

Coates (1983: 4) comments on Huddleston's four criteria: "they very clearly draw a dividing line between auxiliaries and main verbs, a line which would be far from clear if we tried to use semantic characteristics". In addition to

these four criteria, Coates adds three more characteristics that are specifically 'modal' ones:

- No -s form for third person singular (*cans*, *musts*).
- No non-finite forms (*to can*, *musting*).
- No co-occurrence (*may will*).

Hermeren (1978: 60), on the other hand, divides the criteria of modality into two types: morphological criteria, which are concerned with (potential) inflectional and derivational changes in the word; and syntactic criteria, which include the relationship of a word with other words in the context. An asterisk (*) is used to indicate that a word is unacceptable.

- **Morphological criteria:**

(1) The lack of the –s marker of the third person singular present tense:

a. (He/she) may play; cf. *(He/she) mays play

The absence of an –s form is thus a remarkable feature of a modal.

(2) The lack of non-finite forms – i.e. the infinitive, the present and past participle:

a. *(To) may vote is one of the school regulations; cf. to be allowed to vote is one of the school regulations.

Palmer (1974:19) refers to the modal verbs 'to will' and 'to shall' as being a 'linguistic joke'.

b. *He (is canning) swim skillfully; cf. He can swim skillfully.

(3) Modals have contracted negative forms with (n't):

a. He can't sleep; cf. *He wantn't (to) sleep. vs. He doesn't want to sleep.

Palmer (1974: 21) points out that there is a slight problem with 'may'. The negative form (*mayn't) cannot be used and instead (may not) is used.

b. *She mayn't stay; cf. she may not stay.

(4) The absence of nominals:

a. *David's can-ness. *David's can-ity; cf. David's ability.

- **Syntactic criteria:**

(1) Modals are stressed to indicate what Palmer's (1974: 24-5) refers to as 'emphatic affirmation'. Emphatic affirmation is marked by the accent upon the modal verb without using the syntactic construction 'do':

    a. I cán swim. (You are wrong to think I cannot.)

    b. *I do can swim; cf. I DID swim. (You are wrong to think I did not.)

(2) Palmer (1974: 22) regards inversion as an important test of an auxiliary, i.e. whether the auxiliary can come first before the subject. In this case, interrogative sentences are considered the most common type involving inversion without 'do' periphrasis.

    a. Should children play outside?; cf. Do children need to play outside?

(3) Modal verbs do not occur in an imperative form:

    a. *Should listen; cf. listen! Do listen.

(4) Modal verbs appear in initial position in the verb phrase, regardless of how much they are expanded:

    a. *Sonia may dare to want to come now. *Sonia wants to may leave the room; cf. Sonia wants to be permitted to leave the room. *She does have left the room (Hermeren, 1978: 63).

Modals can also stand independently, and the rest of the phrase can be deduced from the context, e.g. 'May the boys play outside?' …'Yes, they may'. In this context, it is known that the rest of the sentence is 'play outside'.

(5) Modals do not occur successively:

    a. *The girl should can visit the museum; cf. b. she should be allowed to visit it.

(6) Modals always come before the infinitive (including 'be' and 'have') without the infinitive (to):

    a. He should finish by August; cf. *He might to have to finish by August.

(7) Finally, Hermeren (1978: 62) and Quirk et al. (1972: 84) state that modals like *shall*, *will*, *can*, and *may* are present forms, and have past forms *should*, *would*, *could* and *might*.

      a. The baby may cry now. The baby might cry now; cf.

      The baby has to cry now. The baby had to cry now.

However, there are problems for Heremeren and Quirk et al.'s claims regarding the present and past forms of modals, especially with *shall* and *should*. For example, 'I should go to Paris' is not the past form of 'I shall go to Paris' as 'should' indicates obligation and cannot be analysed as the past form of 'shall' in this context. Hermeren also believes that 'must' does not have a special past form. For example, in direct speech we can say:

      b. He says: "I must go"; and he said: "I must go"

Hermeren (1978: 63) concludes that '*shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *may*, *might* and *must* are often referred to as 'central' modals when they share the above criteria. On the other hand, modals like *dare*, *need*, *have*, and *used to* are regarded as 'marginal' modals. Both these terms were later used by Mindt (2000: 116) in his classification of English modals (see 5.5.6).

5.4 Theoretical Considerations

Grammarians are divided into two groups as far as 'modal verbs' or 'modals' are concerned: 'joiners' and 'splitters'. The first group believes that the meanings of 'modal verbs' (e.g. *must*) are explained as pragmatic variations of one basic concept. The second group (splitters) split each modal verb into many different senses.

      Coates (1983: 9-10), accordingly, classifies the study of English modals into two approaches: 'monosemy' versus 'polysemy'. The classification is based on the type of approach adopted by the writer: a monosemantic or polysemantic approach. The best known representatives of the monosemantic approach are Joos (1964) and Ehrman (1966), who emphasise a 'basic meaning' for each modal. This meaning should be connected to all functional uses of a modal and, hence, the monosemantic strategy separates itself implicitly from a strict

categorical model. That is why the monosemantic approach is called a 'non-categorical approach'. On the other hand, the polysemantic approach is considered to be a 'categorical approach' as it deals with distinct categories. Leech (1969, 1971) and Palmer (1974, 1979) provide good examples of this approach.

Coates holds that neither of the two approaches are 'wholly satisfactory' because of the problems with which Ehrman (1966) and Palmer (1979) struggle: "Ehrman has difficulty in assigning a basic meaning to MAY and is forced to postulate 'a continuum characterised by two dimensions of meaning' (22); she frankly acknowledges defeat with SHOULD (59)" (Coates 1983: 9). On the other hand, Palmer (1979: 40), who applies a categorical approach, admits that 'the overall picture' of the modals is extremely 'messy' and 'untidy'.

To clarify, it is not the aim of this thesis to adopt or exclude a monosemantic or a polysemantic approach. However, the analysis of data (modals) indicates that a combination of both categorical and non-categorical approaches cannot be avoided in order to achieve a satisfactory description of the modals.

5.5 A Survey of Some of the Most Important Studies of the English Modals

A number of linguists have studied English modals with special emphasis on the semantic and the syntactic aspects of these modals. It is useful to highlight early contributions from distinguished linguists on the study of modality. This survey will provide both background and support for the corpus-based approach adopted in this study.

5.5.1 Aristotle (350 B.C.)

In considering English modals it is useful to go back to the philosophical views of Aristotle on modality as this represents the first written account of this subject. Aristotle's main concern was the interpretation of 'necessity', 'possibility' and 'impossibility', and the relation between them. These three dimensions form the foundation of modal logic, which is considered to be one of

the central branches of logic (Perkins 1983: 6). In addition, it must be clear that the study of modality is connected to the study of logical proof and, accordingly, to the study of the foundations of mathematics. This kind of relevance rises from what Von Wright (1951: 4) called, "the case of the intuitionist approach to the foundation problems".

In this research, I will leave aside 'modality' as a central issue in the study of 'intuitionist logic' in philosophy, and focus on modality as a major concept in linguistics.

5.5.2 Jespersen (1924)

Jespersen (1924) was the first scholar to present a list of sub-categories of attitude. He classified them into two major sections, the first set containing an element of will, and the second containing no element of will.

1. <u>Containing an element of will</u>

Jussive	go (command)
Compulsive	he has to go
Obligative	he ought to go/we should go
Advisory	you should go
Precative	go, please
Hortative	let us go
Permissive	you may go, if you like
Promissive	I will go/ it shall be done
Optative (realisable)	may he still be alive
Desiderative (unrealisable)	would he were still alive
Intentional	in order that he may go

2. <u>Containing no element of will</u>

Apodictive	twice two must be (is necessarily) four
Necessitative	he must be rich (or he could not spend so much)
Assertive	he is rich
Presumptive	he is probably rich/ he would (will) know
Dubitative	he may be (is perhaps rich)

Potential	he can speak
Conditional	if he is rich
Hypothetical	if he were rich
Concessional	though he is rich

The most significant part of Jespersen's classification, for the purpose of this study, is the distinction between 'epistemic' and 'deontic' modality (which will be discussed in the next section 5.5.3). While, the first list of "Containing an element of will" corresponds to deontic modality, the second list correlates to 'epistemic modality'. These two types of modality will be the focus of the discussion of the present chapter.

5.5.3 Von Wright (1951)

The term 'modality' is usually attached to the name of Von Wright (1951), the first scholar to distinguish between the four modes in modal logic:

(1) Alethic modes, or the modes of truth. This term is derived from the Greek word *aletheia* (truth). This kind of mode has been considered the main concern of logicians. However, "it has little place in ordinary language" (Palmer 1990: 6). The main function of this mode is to consider the proposition to be true or not true.

(2) Epistemic modes or modes of knowing. The main epistemic modalities are: (a) verified (known to be true), (b) falsified (known to be false), and (c) undecided (neither known to be true nor known to be false).

(3) Deontic modes or modes of obligation. There are three basic deontic modalities: (a) obligatory (*must*), (b) permitted (*may*), and (c) forbidden (*must not*).

(4) Existential modes or modes of existence. Von Wright (1951: 2) admits that this mode is not considered a branch of modal logic as it belongs to quantification theory. Yet, he agrees that there are significant similarities between the existential mode and the other three modes.

Von Wright (ibid) puts these modes in a table for the purpose of interpreting their structures, and uses them to defend the quantification theory. On the other hand, Palmer (1990: 6) makes it clear that the alethic and existential modality

are more the logician's concern than the linguist's: "the aim of the linguist must be simply to investigate the kind of modalities that are clearly recognisable in language and the system which they exhibit". This is one reason for ignoring the existential and the alethic modes and focussing on the epistemic and the deontic modes in this study. Another reason is that 'necessity' and 'possibility' – which are the main concern of this research – are found more in the epistemic and deontic modes than in the other two. In addition, the relation between the epistemic and deontic modality is clearly based on the link between possibility and necessity. Lyons (1977: 787) states that: "Necessity and possibility are the central notions of traditional modal logic".

5.5.4 Ehrman (1966)

A corpus-based study on modality cannot be undertaken without referring to Ehrman's contribution to the analysis of modality. Leech (1971: 124) describes this contribution as "the most important study of the meanings of modality to date".

In her study, Ehrman discussed three central terms, which are considered to be crucial to her corpus analysis:

(1) 'Basic meaning' which refers to the general meaning of the modal under discussion – "the meaning that applies to all its occurrences" (Ehrman 1966: 10).

(2) 'Use', which stands for "meanings conditioned by specific sentence elements and features of nonsemantic interest" (ibid).

(3) 'Overtones', which account for the secondary or supplementary meanings that derive from the basic meaning – "the factors which account for overtone variation are almost certainly from the content of the surroundings" (ibid: 10-11).

Ehrman's discussion introduces other terms (for example, "time function, temporal function, prediction, utterance...etc." [1966: 11]). However, Ehrman's three main terms (*basic meaning*, *use*, and *overtone*) will be illustrated in sentences containing probabilities (*must*, *may*, *might*, *can*, *could*, and *should*), and the other terms will be ignored, as they are not related to the present study.

5.5.5 Halliday (1970)

Halliday (1970: 325) emphasises three functions of the English language, and illustrates them in one example – 'Smith died'. First, this sentence can be interpreted as an expression of the speaker's own mind/ experience of the real world. It reflects the factual conditions on the content expressed in the clause. Halliday named this function of language 'the experiential' or 'ideational' function. Secondly, there is a kind of relationship between speaker and hearer in which "the speaker is taking upon himself a particular communication role, that of (let us say) 'declarer', and is inviting the hearer to take on the complementary role" (ibid). This example is an explanation of language in its interpersonal function. Thirdly, and finally, Halliday considers that the sentence 'Smith died' expresses 'texture', and thus presents a textual or discourse function: "It takes on a particular form, as a message, that is operational in the given context. If instead we had 'the one who died was Smith' this would be a different message with quite different presupposition" (1970: 325-326).

It is interesting to note that the three functions of language illustrated above are strongly connected to the three basic topics (modality, modulation, and mood) discussed in Halliday's article (1970), as well as in his book "An introduction to functional grammar" (1994), and hence they are applicable to the present discussion. The first topic, 'modality', expresses the relationship between speaker and hearer, showing the interpersonal function. The second topic, 'modulation', clarifies "the factual conditions on the process expressed in the clause" (Halliday 1970: 343), thus exemplifying the ideational and experiential function. The third topic, 'mood', is considered to be an interaction of the two functions: "the (interpersonal) system of 'mood', which is concerned with the speaker's choice of speech role, comes together with the (textual) system of 'theme', which is concerned with the organisation of the clause as a message" (1970: 360).

5.5.6 Mindt (2000)

Mindt (2000: 116) classifies modals into four classes: (1) Central modals, (2) Marginal modals, (3) Modal catenative constructions, and (4) Modal auxiliary constructions.

(1) Central modals:

Mindt (ibid) lists nine central modals: *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *shall*, *should*, *may*, *might*, and *must*.

(2) Marginal modals:

There are two marginal modals:

  a) Need (e.g. you <u>need</u> have no fear of her).

  b) Dare (e.g. I <u>dare</u> not let go the chance) (ibid).

(3) Modal catenative constructions:

Catenative is from a latin word 'catena', which means 'chain' in English. There are two modal catenative constructions:

  (a) ought to (e.g. she ought to be ashamed of herself.)

  (b) used to (e.g. he used to swim when he was a child.)

In (b), 'he' is linked by 'used' to the infinitive that follows (to swim). Thus, there is a chain formed by 'ought' in (a), and 'used' + [infinitive (to be) in (a)] or [(to swim) in (b)].

(4) Modal auxiliary constructions:

'Be' (to) and 'have got to' are the two modal auxiliary constructions presented by Mindt (ibid), e.g.

 a. They are to get no dividend this year.

Mindt's first class of modals, 'central modals', is of central interest to this chapter, as it includes the main modal verbs under discussion.

5.6 Arabic Modality

5.6.1 Introduction

Cook (1978: 5) claims that the problem with English modals lies neither in the surface positioning of modals nor in their wide range of meanings, but in connecting the right modal with the right choice of meaning. With Arabic modality, however, the situation is much more complicated. As Aziz (1992: 102) states: "Arabic does not possess a distinct set of modal forms having special syntactic and semantic properties, as in the case of the English modals". While the main problem with English modals is how to match one modal with its correct meaning, the real difficulty with Arabic modals is that Arabic does not have a clear and distinct set of modal verbs; instead there are modal expressions.

5.6.2 Anghelescu (1999) and related works

Anghelescu (1999) proposed an outline of modals in Arabic. Modals have common tendency in Arabic to appear at the start of the sentence. However, any change in word order is considered to be a type of grammaticalisation (sentence structure), with very important effects on the grammatical rules, as well as on the system of the language as a whole. Arabic is essentially a VSO (Verb, Subject, Object) language and therefore shares all the characteristic features of this type of language: the typical propositions and the adjective and adjectival phrase following the noun; the auxiliary preceding the verb; and the closed (yes/no) question-words appearing in the initial position in the sentence. A change of word order, together with the complexity of the meaning and function of these modal auxiliaries may lead to mis-use of the modal auxiliary.

Another example of failure to understand the modal auxiliary is the use of *must* in the following example, paraphrased by El-Hassan's students:

(178) He *must* have seen her.

This sentence is paraphrased as:

    (a) It is necessary for him to see her.

    (b) It was necessary for him to see her.

    (c) He is obliged to see her.

    (d) He was obliged to see her.

El-Hassan (1990: 150) sees such paraphrases as motivated by a partial and misleading understanding of the semantics of *must*. An English-Arabic learner assumes that *must* expresses an obligation, and that is why the above paraphrases (a-d) are given. However, sentence 178 expresses none of the paraphrases in (a) – (d), but refers to an inference/conclusion and is paraphrased as:

    (e) The only possible/reasonable conclusion is that he saw her.

5.6.3 *Must* and *May*

5.6.3.1 *Must*

It goes without saying that Arabic learners of English, language tutors, and translators can explore the different uses of modal verbs by using corpora. In this section, I will focus on the different syntactic and semantic patterns that affect the translations of *must* as a basic English modal of necessity, and *may* as a basic English modal of possibility. The analysis here is based on data extracted from SOC as well as BNC and Al-H corpora.

Coates (1983: 21) identifies two types of deontic *must*. The first type denotes strong obligation and is paraphrased into 'it is necessary for'. The second type of obligation is rather weak and usually is interpreted as 'it is important that'. However, there is a basic general meaning that both types of obligation share, i.e. 'it is necessary for'.

Another distinction is also made between deontic *must* and epistemic *must*. Though this distinction is not clear cut, it is often unambiguous when a context is provided. Consider the following example from BNC:

(179) You *must* know him well (BNC, AKE, Daily Telegraph, Wnewsp, 1992)

In this example, the deontic interpretation is that 'you have an obligation to know him well'. The epistemic interpretation, on the other hand, refers to the speaker's own judgement and inference on something. It can be paraphrased as 'I do believe that you must know him well'. Thus the phraseological context surrounding *must* is very important to distinguish between deontic *must* and epistemic *must* and, accordingly, a correct translation can be provided.

Interestingly, the analysis of SOC shows *must* as predominantly deontic. The next figure demonstrates the distribution of the Arabic translations of *must* in SOC.
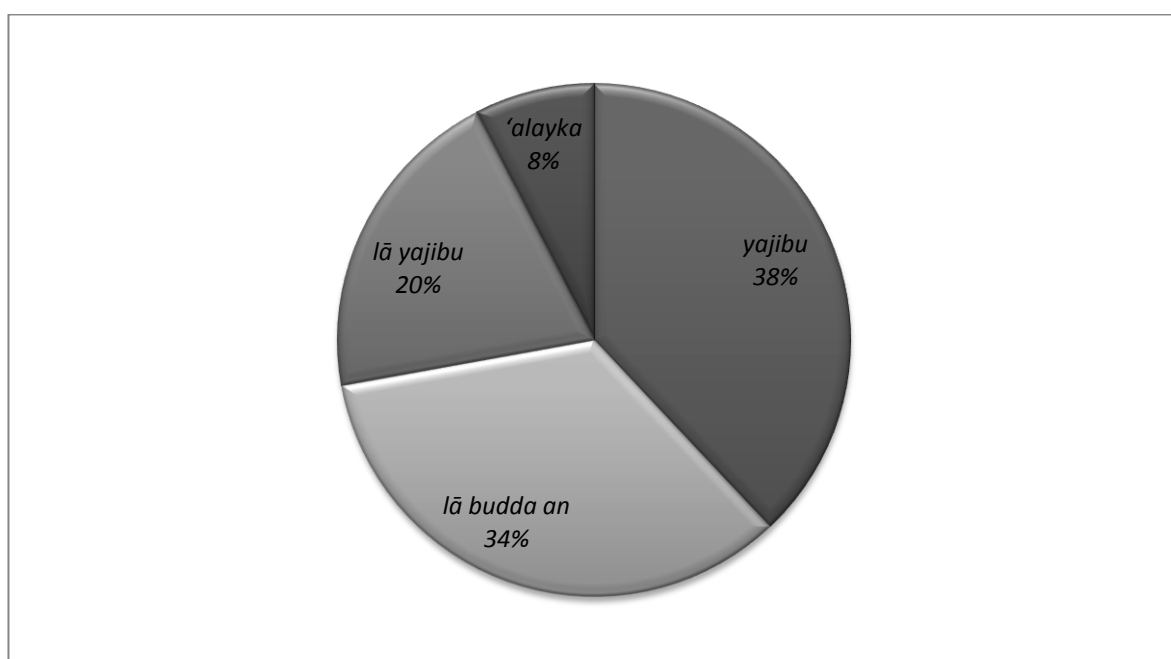
Figure 18: Distribution of the Arabic translations of *must* and *must not* in SOC

Since Arabic, unlike English, does not have modal forms corresponding to those found in English, figure 18 presents different choices of *must* and *must not* in Arabic as appeared in SOC.

1. **Affirmative necessity**

   a. *yajibu, yanbaghī, yataḥattamu*

The most frequently used modal form of *must* is realized through affirmative necessity verbs (which have almost the same meaning of necessity), i.e. *yajibu,*

yanbaghī, yataḥattamu. These unmarked options usually indicate the speaker's authority and to what extent he/she thinks it is important to carry out the action. For example:

(180)

يجب أن نتغاضى عن قانوننا الأخلاقي

(SOC, 479)

yajibu	an	nataghāḍā	ʻan
must	that	we put	aside

qānūninā	al-akhlāqī
our code	the moral

"We **must** put our own moral code to one side" (SOC,

235)

There are two other derived forms of the verb *yajibu* that are used to imply necessity as well. While *yajibu* refers to present necessity, *wajaba* denotes a past necessity and the prepositional phrase *min wājibinā/min al-wājibi* implies the necessity of doing something in the future, e.g.

من واجبنا أن نعد هذه الخاصة العبرية "آرية" حقة (181)

(SOC, 607)

min	**wājibinā**	an	naʻudda
from	our duty	that	prepare
hādhihi	al-khāṣīyah	al-ʻibrīyah	ārīyah
ḥaqqah			

"This Hebraic feature **must** now be considered strictly 'Aryan'" (SOC, 286-287)

It should be noted that the form *yajibu* is more frequently used in MSA than its other derivative forms.

b. *lā budda an, lā budda min*

These non-verbal forms do not have past forms and are typically self negated, i.e. negation is usually confined to the modal form itself. Though *lā budda* is commonly used in MSA as an epistemic modal that implies the sense of

predictability, data in SOC and Al-H corpus (see figure 19) present *lā budda* as frequently deontic modal of necessity (see 182 and 183) rather than epistemic as in 184.

(182) وأخيراً **لابد من** تربية
(SOC, 7)

wa	akhīran	**lā budda min**	tarbīyah
and	finally	must	education

"And finally, there **must be** education" (SOC, 3)

(183) **فلا بد أن** يتولى الوالدان أمر زواج الوليد
(SOC, 1049)

fa lā budda an	yatawallā	al-wālidān
must	arrange	the parents
amr	zawāj	al-walīd

"it **must be** arranged by the parents"
(SOC, 489)

(184) **لابد أن** تكون "باكترا" هذه قد ازدحمت بسكانها
(SOC, 249-250)

lā budda an	takūn	bāktra	hādhihi
must	be	Baktra	this
qad izduḥimat	bi	sukkānihā	
have been crowded	with	its population	

"like Bactra, which **must have** held a teeming population"
(SOC, 107-108)

Here, in 182 and 183, and according to the context, *must be* [*lā budda min/ (fa) lā budda an*] can be paraphrased as 'it is necessary to, while in 184 the speaker has an inference that 'Bactra must have held a teeming population'. Here, the speaker's evaluation is based on the previous and following part of the sentence: "City after city was abandoned as men fled west and east, north and south, in search of water; half buried in the desert lie ruined cities like

Bactra, which must have held a teeming population within its twenty two miles of circumference". Thus, the interpretation of 184 cannot be a deontic one, i.e. 'it is necessary to'. Similarly, the two marked concordance lines in figure 19 below indicate an epistemic *lā budda anna*, whereas the rest of lines refer to a deontic *lā budda an.*

Code	Concordance line
☐ CJDX	«السلاح التي ظهرت في مدريد وهي من ثمار الغزو العراقي للكويت **لابد** أن تلتئم لمرارة الغزو لنفسها، وهل يلمز الخلط إن خلطا؟»
☐ CGBS	في بعض جوانبها صورة جيدة لتنامي ثقافة الحوار في مصر، لكنها **لابد** أن تثير عند المصريين قضية جدوى مسؤولية الحكومة عن الثقافة
☐ OZF	أن نقطة الانطلاق، إذا ما أريد فهم التجربة واستيعاب دروسها **لابد** أن تشمل مراجعتها بشكل موضوعي، مراجعةً شاملةً تطال كل
☐ CIZR	أنواعها وفي الاقطار العربية شتى. فمن ليست لديه سيادة قانون **لابد** أن تضعف مطالبته المجتمع الدولي بتحكيم القانون في قضية مثل
☐ UGX	والظروف التي يتوقع أن ترافق رفع الحصار والإدماج، والتي **لابد** أن تقيد الكثير من خصوصية النظام وطبيعته وتفرض عليه عوامل
☐ TDW	كما عرفت أوصافا من قبيل: «كتاب فاسق داعر وكافر نشرته هيئة **لابد** أن تكون فاسقة داعرة كافرة، تحت رئاسة مسؤول لا بد أن يكون
☐ BQRE	على استحياء وهي أن القطيعة مع جزء مهم ومؤثر من العالم **لابد** أن تكون لها انعكاساتها السلبية على نوعية الزعامة وقدرة
☐ TDW	التسخين «الانتخابي التي لن تقتصر على هذه الرواية، والتي «**لابد** أن تمتد إلى غيرها من الأعمال الإبداعية والفكرية، تلك
☑ BOHS	،ورئيس وزراء إسرائيل ورئيس سلطة الحكم الذاتي الفلسطيني **لابد** أن شعوراً من التشوش طغى عليهم من عبثية ما يجري. هل نجح
☐ BEPL	دور همزة الوصل بحكم موقعها الجغرافي ودورها السياسي. وهنا **لابد** أن نشير مرة ثانية إلى أن حرب التحرير الجزائرية كانت تعبيراً
☐ BXJI	«إلى طرد زميله أيهم الشمالي في الشوط الثاني، وقال 1-2 **لابد** أن نهنيء أنفسنا على العرض الكبير الذي قدمناه على رغم
☐ BZZH	- أن تقدم الحلول وتضع العلاج، لكن - وهذا أمر مهم (...) **لابد** أن يتسم العلاج بالموضوعية ولابد أن يلتزم رعاة عملية السلام
☐ L	والموضوعية إن البشرية وضعت قدمها فعلاً على المسار الذي **لابد** أن يحملها الى المصاف الذي تنتصر فيه أحلامها وإرادتها
☐ CBCD	التي وقعت اثناء الاحداث في حق أي من المتهمين وأن شيوع التهم **لابد** أن يفسر لمصلحة المتهم وليس ضده «. وركز المحامون على أن
☐ CFJM	وشروط المفهوم التقليدي لدور المرأة. وتبعاً لهذا المفهوم كان **لابد** أن يكون تعليم المرأة وعملها بمعزل عن الرجل تحقيقاً لتلك
☐ BHI	رسولا منهم «. والذي ينبغي ضبطه هو أن الذي يتحمل المسؤولية **لابد** أن يكون عالما، في حدود واجباته ومسؤولياته. فالعسكري مطالب
☐ GYN	فيه إطار شعبي، والموسيقى والكتابة فيهما روح شعبية. وكان **لابد** أن يكون هناك مطرب ويسمى مطرباً غير شرعي، أي مطرب شعبي
☐ KMS	،أحدأ، الشرط الوحيد هو عدم الربط بين العمل السلمي والمسلح **لابد** أن يكون واضحا أن التنظيم يريد التوصل الى أهدافه سلماً
☐ BKBX	النظرية المشرقية في الأدب فإن بزوغ أي نجم أدبي في المغرب **لابد** أن يكون وراءه «كود بيستون «من الشرق! وظلت ملامح السرغيني
☐ CHAB	الحجب المتعلق بالدين العام، فحجب رقم مهم مثل الدين العام **لابد** أنه كلف الاقتصاد الوطني على الأقل في جانبين: الأول، أنه حجب
☐ BFHD	هل لزعامة الشعوب وقيادة الدول مقومات؟ وهل هناك مواصفات مثلى **لابد** ان تتوافر عند الراغبين في شغل هذه المواقع؟ وإذا حدث انها لا
☐ BJCQ	الى انه «حتى في اسرائيل نفسها هناك تسليم بانه في النهاية **لابد** ان تقوم دولة فلسطينية «. واكد ان «اي تسوية دائمة وثابتة
☐ BFHD	التي تكون مرتبطة بوجود الزعيم وتزول باختفائه او برحيله **لابد** ٭ .ان تنتقص من رصيد العظمة الذي تحقق للزعيم القائد في حياته
☑ CFOI	.كانوا يدركون ما يجري، بالطبع، وابلغوا وزراءهم حتماً بذلك **لابد** ان قراراً أتخذ في مرحلة مبكرة من حياة حكومة العمال الجديدة
☐ BWFF	الثمار لهذا العمل لن تظهر سوى بعد سنتين أو ثلاثة. لكن _ **لابد** ان نبقي هذه الاصلاحات قائمة والعمل على تفعيلها من اجل ايجاد
☐ XDT	مصر الجديدة في القاهرة تقول: «الدنيا ليس لها امان، والفنان **لابد** ان يؤمن مستقبله في مجالات مختلفة، المهنة التي تعتمد على

Figure 19: Concordance lines of *lā budda an* and *lā budda anna* extracted from Al-H corpus

As shown in figure 19 above, the epistemic *lā budda annna* occurs only twice and it has the typical structure (*lā budda* + *anna* + n. or pron.), while the most frequently used pattern of deontic *lā budda* in SOC and Al-H corpus is (*lā budda* + *an* + v.).

2. Affirmative tentative necessity: *'alayka*, *'alā* (*anna*), *'alā* (*man*)

The second modal form is realized by *'alayka*, *'alā anna*, *'alā man*. Obviously, the sense of necessity in this type is less than that expressed by the affirmative necessity group, e.g *yajibu* and *lā budda an*. In other words, *'alayka*, *'alā* (*anna*) and *'alā* (*man*) imply the sense of 'advisability', e.g.

على السائح **أن** يجتازها في سيارة (185)

(SOC, 307)

'alā	al-sā'iḥ	**an**	yajtāzahā
must	the tourist	that	pass it
fī	sayyārah		
in	a car		

"One **must** pass through it by motorcar"
(SOC, 138-139)

فعلى المرء **أن** يحسن إلى كهنة البراهمة (186)

(SOC, 954)

fa 'alā	al-mar'	**an**	yuḥsin
must	one	that	be kind
ilā	kahanat	al-barāhimah	
to	priests of	Brahman	

"One **must** give alms to Brahmans" (SOC, 447)

Therefore, in 188 and 189, *must* is interpreted as 'it is advisable to'

3. **Negative necessity: *lā yajib, lā yanbaghī, lā yajūz, laysa***

If the speaker wants to negate the sense of necessity, then the typical forms used in Arabic are *lā yajib*, *lā yanbaghī*, *lā yajūz*, *laysa*, as in the examples below:

وحتى قصة موسى نفسها **يجب** أ<u>لا</u> نتعجل فنرفضها (187)

(SOC, 638)

wa	ḥatta	qiṣṣata	Mūsā
and	even	story	Moses
nafsuhā	**yajibu**	<u>allā</u>	nata'ajjal
itself	must	not	be in a hurry
fa	narfuḍuhā		
so	we reject it		

"Even the story of Moses **must** <u>not</u> be rejected" (SOC, 301)

<div dir="rtl">

لا يجوز له أن يغادر السجن حياً (188)
</div>

(SOC, 952)

lā	**yajūzu**	lahu	an
not	must	for him	that
yughādira	al-sijna	ḥayyan	

"He **must** <u>not</u> leave the prison alive" (SOC, 446)

As can be seen from the two examples above, the negative particle *lā* (unlike *not*) can occur before or after affirmative necessity verbs, e.g. *yajibu* or *yanbaghī*.

Interestingly, deontic *must* can be expressed in MSA through particular expressions. Most frequently expressions in SOC are: لا مندوحة *lā mandūḥah* and *lā shakka/bi-lā shakka*. *lā mandūḥah* is an equivalent of deontic *must* that can occur initially (190) or medially (189):

<div dir="rtl">

فأبناء الإسكيمو لا مندوحة لهم عن قتل والديهم (189)
</div>

(SOC, 121)

fa	abnā'	al-iskīmū	**lā manduḥah**
as	sons	Eskimo	must
lahum	'an	qatl	wālidayhim
for them	to	kill	their parents

"Eskimo sons **must** kill their parents" (SOC, 53)

<div dir="rtl">

ولا مندوحة كذلك عن وحدة لغوية (190)
</div>

(SOC, 7)

wa lā mandūḥah	kadhālika	'an
and must	also	to
wiḥdah	lughawīyah	
unity	linguistic	

"There **must** be some unity of language" (SOC, 3)

<div dir="rtl">

وهي بلا شك هزلية (191)
</div>

152

(SOC, 295)

wa	hiya	**bi-**	**lā shakk**	hazlīyah
and	it	with	no doubt	humorous

"the humorous caricatures [as surely they **must** be]" (SOC, 133)

Obviously, clauses with *lā mandūḥah*, *lā shakka/bi-lā shakka* are less certain than those expressed by *yajibu* or *lābudda*.

There are also few instances in SOC, where *must* has zero translation, e.g.

(192) لكن لكل هبة ثمنها

(SOC, 307)

lākin	li-kulli	hibatun	thamanuhā
but	for every	gift	its price

"But every gift **must** be paid for" (SOC, 138)

In this example, if the the writer were to use any of the affirmative necessity group or those belong to the tentative group, the meaning would not be commonly acceptable in MSA.

Hence, a distinction should be made between two different senses of *must*, i.e. the necessity meaning realized by affirmative necessity group and the advisability recommendation meaning realized by affirmative tentative necessity group.

5.6.3.2 *May*

Abunowara (1996: 282) states that the degree of possibility in MSA is quite limited compared to English. Accordingly, the Arabic equivalents of *may* in SOC can be divided into two main sub-categories, i.e. integrative possibility, e.g. *qad/rubbama* and superordinated equivalents of possibility, e.g. *yumkinu/ mina al-mumkini*, as illustrated in figure 20 below.
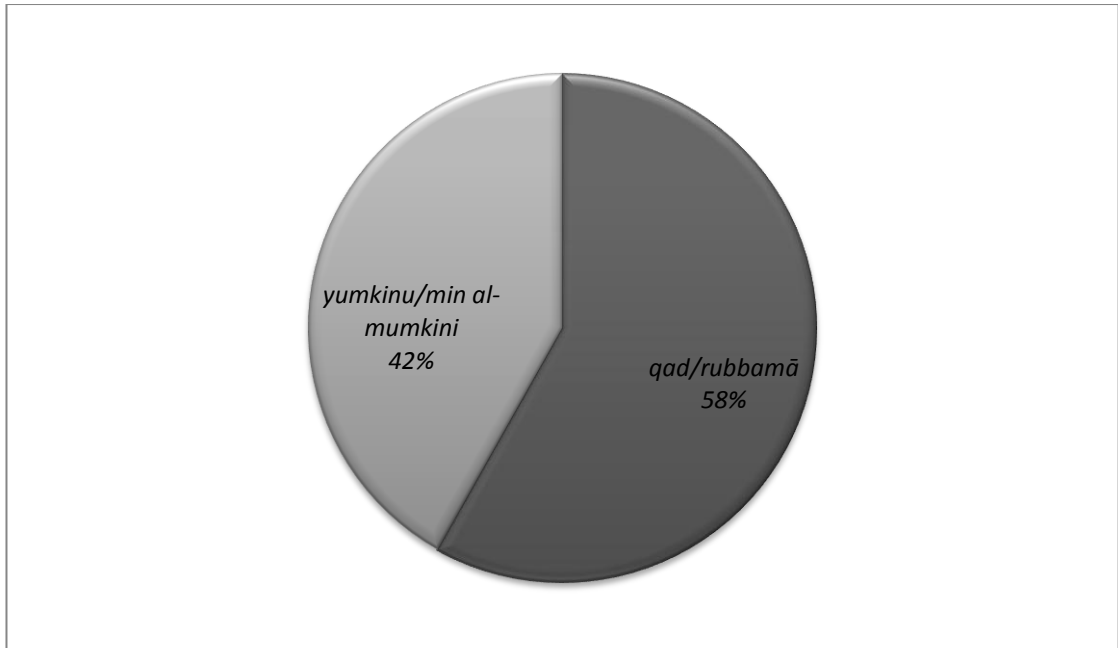
Figure 20: Distribution of the Arabic translations of *may* in SOC

1. Integrative possibility: *qad/rubbamā/laʿalla/ʿasā*

As shown in figure 20, integrative possibility is more frequently used in SOC than the other group. This type of possibility is usually realized by the particle قَد *qad* which typically occurs before a verb (see figure 21).

السريع: ـ أن شمولية التجربة العربية الموسيقية في القاهرة قد أحدثت موسم هجرة مغربية الى القاهرة في النصف الثاني من القرن

باستمرار. و» مجوهرات الزين « الشهيرة بدقة صناعتها البحرينية قد أخذت على عاتقها إعادة الحيوية والشباب للمجوهرات الذهبية

،الثقافي والوجداني والسياسي الكامل الى أمتهم العربية قد أنتج بداية ناجحة في اضفاء بعض الملامح العربية الخاصة على

للموسيقى العربية، وإن التقسيم الجغرافي للاقاليم العربية قد أوجد نوعاً من التجانس الاقليمي في التراث الموسيقي والمزاج

في ١٩٩٩/١١/١٢، فيما هوس » الارهاب البيولوجي والكيماوي « قد اخذ يسيطر على الاجهزة الاميركية والقيادة والشارع في

،والافق الموسيقي لعباقرة الموسيقى العربية المخضرمين قد استدعى بطبيعة الحال الحاجة الى وجود الموزع الموسيقي الذي

العائد من باريس، ومدير دار الكتب المصرية، وان كان عبدالوهاب قد استزاد، بعد هذه المزايا المتوازية والمتطابقة، بميزة الاتصال

التي بقيت خاضعة لادارة البرتغال منذ ٤٤٢ عاماً. وكانت الصين قد استعادت أيضاً هونغ كونغ بعد مرور ٥١٠ سنة على استعمارها من

الى اي مستند تبوتي وان الاجراءات القانونية بحقه لم تكن قد استكملت وتوقيفه آنذاك يعتبر تعدياً على القانون وعلى حقوق

لا تزال تعيش في القرن العشرين، بينما كانت منطقة على يسارها قد اصبحت في الألفية الثالثة. انه الزمن يعبث بالانسان، يعبث

ابن خلدون على مؤلفات ابن تيمية ولكن من المستبعد ان لا يكون قد اطلع على كتب الجاحظ. ان هذا التطابق في بعض الآراء والأفكار

كانت بعض الجاليات الاسلامية في مونتريال واوتاوا وتورنتو) قد اعربت عن خشيتها من ان تصبح هدفاً لاجراءات تعسفية محتملة

التي تأسست في العام ١٩٣٤. واذا كان دور هذه المدن المشرقية قد اقتصر في الغالب على عملية الأخذ والتلقي، فان الامر لم يخل

عبدالحق وعبدالعظيم محمد وسواهم. واذا كان عبدالحليم حافظ قد اكتسب نجومية جعلته يبدو الناطق الرسمي بلسان هذا التيار

فهد والرئيس بوش والأمير خالد والجنرال شوارتزكوف، غير انني قد اكون مخطئاً سان موريتز اعود اليها سنة بعد سنة، غير ان

الصهيونية تبذل مساعيها في كل مكان لتوحي بأن مسألة فلسطين قد :انتهت وان القضية الفلسطينية اصبحت في ذمة التاريخ « وأضاف

عراقي مقيم في لندن في الاخبار ان جهاز التحقيقات الفيدرالي قد باشر اعادة تنظيم صفوفه لمواجهة التحديات الارهابية في القرن

المتأخرة في عهد اسماعيل بعد ذلك، كانت هذه البذور قد :بدأت تعطي ثمارها الناضجة، برغم صدمة الاحتلال الانكليزي

(الوزارة ان » عملية اميركية لتقسيم البلاد (يوغوسلافيا قد تبدأ في آذار (مارس) أو نيسان (ابريل) ٢٠٠٠، من خلال نشر

« ايضاً ببعض المشاكل في المطبخ، اذ ان المبردات الذكية قد تتآمر ضدك لتحافظ على صحتك بواسطة اقفال مبرمجة على ابوابها

أثرت على الدولار. وقال متداولون ان وتيرة تراجع الدولار قد تتسارع بعدما أعلنت ولاية برازيلية الاسبوع الماضي تجميد

إرهاصات التجارب التي نراها أمامنا فإن المستقبل محفوف بمخاطر قد تتعدى حال التنافر الاجتماعي التي تخلقها الاختلالات الهيكلية

الجميع كانوا في دولة واحدة هي الدولة العثمانية، وكانت مصر قد تحررت من الحكم العثماني فعليا وليس رسمياً مع تولى محمد على

على الطرفين الاسرائيلي والعربي على السـواء، فإن تقـدماً قد تحـقق ». يعترف المؤرخ الروسي فاديف بكفاح الشعوب الاسلامية

بنظرة ملؤها الوجل والأمل والخوف والرجاء، الوجل والأمل والخوف مما قد تحمله له الالفية الثالثة من مفاجآت ونكبات وكوارث طبيعية غير

Figure 21: Concordance lines of *qad* extracted from Al-H corpus

The problem with the Arabic modal *qad* is that its different functional usages could be mixed up. As noted earlier in this chapter (5.6.1), the main difficulty is not only with English modals, but also with Arabic modal expressions – a fact that should be considered while translating English modals. This section will explain how the semantic choice of *qad* in a sentence depends largely on the syntactic pattern of the sentence. There are three choices of *qad*:

(1) *qad* + present simple ⟶ possibility

(2) *qad* + past simple

(3) Past perfect (*kāna*) + *qad* ⎬ certainty

Preceding a present simple, *qad* refers to 'possibility/doubt'. For examples:

(193) قد تبعث الصورة الفنية في أنفسنا الرضى

(SOC, 189)

qad	tab'ath	al-ṣūrah	al-fannīyah
may	send	the form	the artistry
fī	anfusinā	al-riḍā	
in	ourselves	the satisfaction	

"the form **may** please us."
(SOC, 83)

(194) قد يكون الموعد في مقهى فلور

(Al-H, 2000)

qad	yakūnu	al-maw'id	fī
may	be	the appointment	at
maqhā	filawwar		
café	flower		

"The appointment is **may** be at the Flower Café"

Preceding a past simple, *qad* does not refer to a validity meaning in the past, rather it implies that the act has really finished and completed just at the moment of speaking. Its use is associated with the present perfect. For example:

(195) كنت أعرف أن فيروز وأمي قد خرجتا معا

(Al-H, 2000)

kuntu	a'rif	anna	fayrūz
was	I know	that	Fayrouz
wa	ummī	qad	kharajatā
and	my mother	may	have gone out
ma'an			
together			

"I knew that Fayruz and my mother had gone out together"

Baker (1995: 127) summarizes the problem as follows: "Arabic does not have an equivalent of the present perfect: *I've been a director* is rendered into Arabic as 'since then become-I', thus putting a temporal adjunct in theme position and pushing the inflected verb further towards the rheme". Therefore, *qad* is commonly used to render the present perfect into Arabic. In addition, when *qad* is preceded by the past perfect *(kāna كان)*, *qad* refers to remote past, e.g.

(196)　　　　　　　　لكن عايش **كان قد** اختفى ولايعرف أحدا مكانه

(Al-H, 2000)

lākinna	‘āyish	**kana qad**
but	Ayish	had
ikhtafā	wa lā	ya‘rif
disappeared	and no	knows
aḥadan	makānahu	
nobody	his place	

"But Aayesh **had** disappeared and nobody knows his place"

The following three examples summarise the three functions of *qad*:

a) **قد يذهب**

　　qad yadhhabu.

　　he may go.

b) **قد ذهب**

qad dhahaba.

　　he might go -> *incorrect*

　　he has gone -> *correct*

c) **كان قد ذهب**

　　kāna **qad dhahaba.**

　　He **had gone.**

As examples (a) and (b) show, it is misleading to translate *may* as *might* because *might* in *he might go* refers to possibility, while the Arabic sentence in (b) denotes certainty. Arabic grammarians believe that there is a slight

157

difference between (b) and (c). The past perfect (*kāna+qad*) refers to a remote past and is translated into the past perfect tense in English.

The other integrative modal that is typically used in MSA is the adverbial particle *rubbamā*. For example:

(197) ربما كانت هذه أول مرحلة من مراحل طريق أخذ يتطور حتى...

(SOC, 29)

rubbamā	kānat	hādhihi	awwal
may	be	this	first
marḥalah	min	marāḥil	ṭarīq
stage	of	stages	a way
akhadha	yataṭawwar	ḥattā	
started	develop	till	

"this **may** have been the first stage of a development that..."

(SOC, 13-14)

It appears that *qad* and *rubbamā* can be used interchangeably, i.e. it is acceptable to use *qad takūn* in the place of *rubbamā kānat* in example 197.

The other two forms of integrative possibility are realized by *la'alla* and *'asā*. These forms are less frequently used in SOC and in MSA in general, e.g.

(198) و **لعلنا** كلنا مخطئون

(SOC, 369)

wa	la'allanā	kullunā	mukhṭi'ūn
and	may	all of us	mistaken

"It **may** be that we all mistaken"

(SOC, 193)

(199) لأنه لا يعلم متى **عساه** أن يجد القوت مرة أخرى

(SOC, 118)

li'annahu	lā	ya'lam	matā
because he	not	know	when
'asāhu	an	yajida	al-qūt
he may	that	find	the food
marratan	ukhrā		
once	again		

"because he does not know when he **may** find food again"

(SOC, 52)

Arabic grammarians (Badawi et al. 2004) refer to *la'alla* and *'asā* as particles of 'speculative possibility' which implies a weak degree of possibility compared to *qad* and *rubbamā*.

2. Superordinated equivalents of possibility: *yumkinu, mina al-mumkini/ lajāza/ yajūzu*

Usually, all these equivalents occur with predicand clauses, i.e. جملة أن *that-*clause. For example:

ويمكنك أن تلحظها اليوم قائمة في داخل ليبريا(200)

(SOC, 37)

wa	**yumkinuka**	an	talḥaẓahā
and	you can	that	observe it
al-yawm	qā'imah	fī	dākhil
to day	existed	in	inside
laybirya			
Liberia			

"and in inner Liberia it **may** be observed today"

(SOC, 16)

yumkinuka, mina al-mumkini, bi-imkānika are all derived from the verb *yumkinu* and, accordingly, they have essentially the same meaning.

Similarly, *jāza* and *mina al-jā'izi* are derived from the verb *yajūzu*. In SOC, a typical translation of the pattern (if we may + v.) is إذا جاز لنا *idhā jāza lanā*. For example:

إذا جاز لنا أن نأخذ برواية هيرودوت... (201)

(SOC, 613)

idhā	**jāza**	**lanā**	an	na'khudh
if	allowed	for us	that	we take
bi	riwāyat	Hirūdut		
with	recounting	Herodotus		

"**If we may** follow Herodotus,…"

(SOC, 289-290)

Though يستطيع *yastaṭīʿ* (and its derivations) is a verb that refers to ability in MSA and it is typically used as a translation of *can*, there are instances in SOC where *yastaṭīʿ* is used as an equivalent to the 'ability' – not possibility – *may*, e.g.

وكل ما **نستطيعه** هو التخمين والظن (202)

(SOC, 179)

wa	kull	mā	**nastaṭīʿuh**
and	all	what	we can
huwa	al-takhmīn	wa	al-ẓann
is	the guessing	and	the assumption

"and we **may** only surmise" (SOC, 78)

In terms of possibility, neither integrative nor superordinated modal meanings show any significant difference in expressing degrees of possibility (cf. Aziz 1992: 106 and Abounowara 1996: 291). Perhaps the only exception is *la'alla* and *'asā* which denote a lesser degree of possibility.

Finally, a list of probable – degree – equivalents of necessity *must* and possible *may* is provided as follows:

Must

- *yajibu*, *yanbaghī* (high necessity)
- *lā budda anna* (high necessity)
- *lā mandūḥah/lā shakka* (lower necessity)
- *'alayka/ 'alā an* (least necessity)

May

- *qad/rubbamā* (high possibility)
- *la'alla/'asā* (low possibility)
- *min al-mumkini/mina al-jā'izi* (low possibility)

5.7 Conclusion and Implications

This chapter has summarised some crucial issues that arise with regards to the study of 'possibility' and 'necessity' as two basic elements in modality. It has

been argued that translations of the meanings of modality have not yet been understood as successfully and comprehensively as many researchers have thought.

This study has attempted to explore the different semantic choices of English and Arabic modal verbs, with special focus on modals that indicate possibility and necessity in the two languages. In terms of Huddleston's (1976: 333) NICE properties (see chapter 5, section 5.3), modal meanings in Arabic are totally different from those of English.

This chapter has attempted to move our understanding of modal verbs and modal meanings a few small steps forward. The main purpose of this chapter has been to reveal some of the difficulties that translators face in dealing with English modals. Some examples provided in the current chapter show the extent to which the meanings of English modals are mixed up. This chapter also tackled the distinct choices that pertain to translations of *must* as a basic English modal of necessity, and *may* as a basic English modal of possibility. The present study also focused on *qad* as an example of an Arabic modal particle, and explained how the semantic choice of this particle is based on the syntactic pattern of the sentence.

Through concordance lines, translators, teachers, and even learners can explore the use of a modal in different types of texts to see how frequently the relevant word is used. They also can identify the semantic, as well as the syntactic environments surrounding a modal. Accordingly, this kind of approach could provide new insights into the structure of the Arabic language.

The analysis provided has illustrated that the deontic sense of *must* is more frequently used than epistemic in SOC. Although English-Arabic-English dictionaries provide the lexical meanings of modals, they do not guide the reader in a way that enables them to match every meaning with its appropriate modal. Some basic rules for providing translators with guidelines in the process of translation have been discovered through the analysis of data.

Chapter Six

Collocation, Synonymy, Polysemy and Translation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on three related concepts – 'collocation', 'synonymy' and 'polysemy' – and the role they play in translation. A remarkable amount of linguistic research has been carried out in the field of collocation, synonymy and polysemy. However, it is outside the scope of this study to provide an extensive review of all these studies. Rather, this chapter will focus on the most relevant work in this area for the present study. Section 6.2 deals with the definition of 'collocation'. Section 6.3 explains the difference between denotation, connotation and their effect on polysemy. The close relationship between collocation, semantic prosody and corpus linguistics will be discussed in 6.4. The concept of synonymy as a controversial issue, along with its definitions and degrees, will be handled in 6.5. Finally, a conclusion for the whole chapter will be provided in 6.6.

6.2 Defining Schemes of 'Collocation'

Although there are some notable definitions of 'collocation' in the literature (which often quote Firth's (1951, 1957) notion directly or indirectly), collocations remain 'notoriously difficult to define' (Gorgis and Al-Kharabsheh 2009: 21; Lesniewska 2006: 59; Bahumaid 2006: 133; Poulsen 2005: 25; Martynska 2004: 5; Smadja 1996:1). Laybutt (2009: 6) also note that "while collocation and its influence on linguistic choice maybe readily observed, its precise role within text remains unclear". Similarly, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 284) state that the function of collocation has always been "problematic". Fontenelle (1998: 191) asserts that "there does not seem to be any clear-cut, non-controversial definition of the term 'collocation'".

However, Partington (1998: 15) highlights three different definitions of 'collocation'. He groups these into 'textual', 'statistical' and 'psychological' definitions.The first definition is that provided by Sinclair (1991), who regards 'collocation' as "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text" (ibid: 170). This definition is a 'textual' one, as it suggests that collocations must be defined in terms of their textual occurrence. Gledhill (2000: 202) has similarly argued that the textual view of collocation does not regard the unit of analysis as a grammatical phrase; rather it has a specific textual function that seeks to find significant relations between words in contexts.

The second definition of collocation is 'psychological' or 'associative'. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 287) refer to collocation as a cohesive device and describe it as "a cover term for the kind of cohesion that results from the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another, because they tend to occur in similar environments". Similarly, Hoey (2005: 3-4) describes psychological or associative collocation as a 'property of the mental lexicon' that reflects the individual's psychological knowledge of a text.

Apparently, both the textual and psychological definitions of collocations are closely related. Partington (1998: 16) makes it clear that "The learner, child or adult, faced with an unknown word looks to the co-text to gain clues as to what the unfamiliar item might mean. Meaning is function in context, as Firth used to say".

The third definition of 'collocation' is a 'statistical' one provided by Hoey (1991), who holds that: "Collocation has long been the name given to the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its (textual) context" (1991: 6-9). The statistical view of collocation helps by allowing the linguist to identify and examine the statistical distribution of collocational patterns that could not be discovered using traditional methods.

In the study of corpus linguistics, the 'statistical' definition is considered to be a good working definition, as large amounts of data can be made available for computer analysis. If there are patterns of collocation, the co-occurrence of two items becomes effective (and interesting) as the collocation seems to occur for a purpose. Therefore, measuring the statistics of collocation

is both essential and interesting. This statistical approach is accepted by many corpus-linguistic scholars (e.g. Halliday 1966; Greenbaum 1974, Sinclair 1991; Hoey 1991; Ananiadou 1994; Stubbs 1995; Smadja et al. 1996; Partington 1998; McEnery and Wilson 2001; Hunston 2002).

Following Firth's notion – "collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word" (1968: 181) – all the afore-mentioned linguists argue that collocation can be defined as the recurrent co-occurrence of two or more patterns of words.

Hyland differentiates between 'collocation' and 'clusters', the latter referring to the repeated string of continuous word forms: "Most clusters are structurally incomplete units, but the co-occurrence of two or more items becomes interesting if it seems to happen for a purpose and is repeated across many texts" (2008: 43).

On the other hand, Sinclair (2003) states that 'collocation' is similar to another linguistic idiom called 'colligation', in that both concern the co-occurrence of linguistic features in a text. The difference between the two idioms is that 'colligation' is concerned mainly with the co-occurrence of grammatical classes or structural patterns; whereas 'collocation' refers to the co-occurrence of lexical items.

Regarding the effect of collocation, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 286) believe that:

> The cohesive effect of such pairs depends not so much on any systematic relationship as on their tendency to share the same lexical environment, to occur in COLLOCATION with one another. In general, any two lexical items having similar patterns of collocation—that is, tending to appear in similar contexts—will generate a cohesive force if they occur in adjacent sentences.

Commenting on Halliday and Hasan's observation, Dais (2009: 10) says that: "These remarks remind translators of paying attention to the collocations in the translating process; otherwise, they will stumble into the problem of 'translationese'."

Baker (1992: 48) also supports Halliday and Hasan's view and describes the patterns of collocation as "largely arbitrary and independent of meaning", a fact that is realised both within and across languages. Baker (ibid) provides an

example of the English verb *deliver* and explains how it collocates with a number of nouns, for each of which Arabic uses a different verb. '**deliver** a letter/telegram' is translated into **yusallimu** *khiṭāban/tillighrāfan*, '**deliver** a speech/lecture' matches the Arabic **yulqī** *khuṭbatan/muḥāḍaratan* and 'deliver news' **yanqilu** *akhbāran*…etc. This suggests that patterns of collocation reveal significant information about the preferences of specific language communities for certain modes of expression.

6.3 Collocation in Practice

In linguistics, there are two main factors that influence the meaning of words in a language, namely **denotation** and **connotation**. Denotation refers to the core meaning of a word as defined by dictionaries. Therefore, the denotational meaning is also termed as dictionary meaning (or referential meaning). It is also described as being neutral in the sense that there are no positive or negative feelings made in mind. Whereas denotation refers to the literal meaning of the word, connotation refers to the figurative meaning of the word (emotive/implied meaning). That is, the meaning that we create and associate it with positive and negative feelings. Connotative meaning is, therefore, connected with the personal psychology and cultural associations by words. For example, while the word *snake* denotes a kind of long, legless reptile, it connotes an evil or a harmful, insincere person who pretends to be a friend[31].

Rouhani (1994: 17) believes that the above two types of meaning (literal and figurative) relate to different - but related - types of sense-relations (relations between sets of lexemes) such as: polysemy, homonymy, synonymy, antonymy, metonymy, synecdoche. These cohesive features are "contextually bound, i.e. they impose constraints on lexical cohesion of 'collocation'" (ibid). Kilgarriff (1992: 4), on the other hand, suggests that:

> Polysemy describes a crossroad. In one direction lies homonymy, in another-metonymy. In others again, collocation and analogy…For each direction, there is no natural divide between polysemy and its neighbour. *Light*, of colour and of weight, maybe considered homonymous or polysemous.

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[31] Oxford Student's Dictionary of Current English, 1978, p. 626
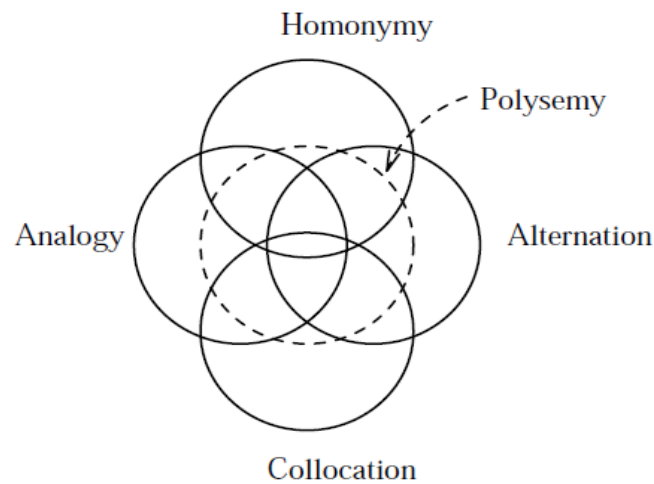
Figure 22: Polysemy and its neighbours as described in Kilgarriff (1992: 72)

The above figure indicates that polysemy is a concept that is interrelated with other cohesive concepts such as: homonymy, alternation, collocation and analogy. Kilgarriff makes it clear that it is really hard to calculate the difference between polysemy and homonymy. He believes that both concepts are useful for the description of the lexicon of a language, although "to turn a sense treated as polysemous into one treated as homonymous is trivial" (Kilgarriff 1992: 94). The distinction is not always seen as valid.

However, Koskela and Murphy (2006: 742) points out a subtle difference between the two concepts:

> In both polysemy and homonymy, a single word form is associated with multiple distinct meanings, but while in polysemy one lexical item has more than one related meaning, homonymy involves distinct lexical items and the meanings are not related. Distinguishing between polysemes and homonyms is, however, not always uncontroversial.

To give further explanation, the noun 'screen' is considered polysemous, since it is used variously of a fire screen, cinema screen, a television screen, and so on. Another polysemous example is the noun 'head'. It can be used to refer to the object on top of a body, or a person at the top of a company or department (cf. *jabbār* in ch. 7). However, in the case of homonymy, the meanings are quite unrelated, for example, 'bow' (front end of a ship) and 'bow' (bending of the head).

In much the same way, some linguists view the relation between polysemy and synonymy as interdependent since polysemy refers to many concepts for the same word (cf. *qāsin* in ch.7; it is an adjective that refers to negative and positive concepts.) and synonymy refers to many words for the same concept (cf. *qawī*, *jabbār*, *qāsin* and *ḍaʻīf*, *wāhin*, *rakīk* in 7.6). Lamb (1999: 143) argues that "Polysemy and synonymy usually go together…that is, synonymy generally comes interconnected with polysemy".

As far as sense-relations are concerned, chapters 6 and 7 in this study focus on polysemy, synonymy and collocation. The other cohesive concepts highlighted earlier in this section lie outside the scope of the study. Despite their inherently controversial nature, polysemy, synonymy and collocation have been accounted for in dictionaries for at least two decades (cf. 7.2). Moreover, these three interrelated cohesive concepts have been at the centre of attention of corpus linguistics where problems of word senses are carefully tackled (see chapters 6 and 7 for more details).

6.4 Collocation, Semantic Prosody and Corpus Linguistics: A Close Relationship

According to Halliday (1994), two linguistic features evoke appraisals: semantic meaning and grammar. Often using a word in a particular cotext carries additional connotations that lie outside the core meaning. Sinclair (2003: 117) has called this kind of meaning 'semantic prosody' or 'connotation' (see section 6.3). Sinclair defines the notion as: 'semantic' because it deals with meaning, and 'prosody' because it typically ranges over combinations of words in an utterance rather than being attached just to one' (ibid). Louw (2000: 58) states that the main function of semantic prosody is to evaluate the speaker/writer attitude – the primary concern of 'appraisal theory' (cf. chapter four).

Many scholars highlight the importance of collocational analysis for understanding the semantic prosodic meaning in language learning (e.g. Mitchell 1971; Partington 1998; Hoey 1991, 2000; Hunston 2000; Altenberg and Granger 2001; Sinclair, et al. 2004; Xiao and McEnery 2006). With the exception of Xiao and McEnery (2006), the focus of these studies has been

monolingual. Xiao and McEnery's research is regarded as the first bilingual collocational research on Chinese and English. Apart from their research, there are few bilingual contrastive studies of collocations between different languages (these being: Nesselhauf 2003 [between German and English]; Wolter 2006 [English and Japanese]; Bartrning & Hammarberg 2007 [Swedish and French]; Sadeghi 2009 [Persian and English]). No published research using appraisal corpus-analysis to explore the collocational semantic prosody of powerful/less adjectives in English and Arabic is available.

Comparing semantic prosody to collocation, Xiao and McEnery (2006: 6) assume that "it is at least as inaccessible to a speaker's conscious introspection as collocation is". With the advent of corpora and suitable software, linguists' explorations of computer–readable corpora have revealed semantic prosodies much more frequently. Stewart (2010: 80) describes the relation between semantic prosody and corpus linguistics as an 'unbreakable chain', stating that:

> The link between semantic prosody and corpus linguistics is incontestable. There are scarcely any studies on semantic prosody outside the domain of corpus linguistics. Semantic prosody, it would seem, is contingent upon concordancing and lexical profiles, apparently depending upon them for its recognition (ibid).

Further, Stewart (ibid) believes that many linguists are of the same opinion when they state that the study of semantic prosody is only possible with concordance lines (e.g. Bublitz 1996: 9; Louw 1993: 159; Louw 1997: 247; Adolphs and Carter 2002: 7; Hunston 2002: 142; Tognini-Bonelli 2004: 20; Baker et al. 2006: 58; Sardinha 2000: 93). However, while concordances and co-selection patterns are observable, semantic prosody is not. Although corpus data imply the existence of prosodies, this does not mean that prosodies are observable phenomena. It is the analyst's role to interpret the corpus data and pick up the hidden meanings, i.e. 'semantic prosody' (Stewart 2010: 82).

Sinclair (1991: 112) was the first to describe the phenomenon of 'semantic prosody' – though he did not mention the term explicitly in his work "many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment". Similarly, Hatim and Munday (2004: 251) assert that "Semantic prosody refers to the positive or negative connotative meaning which

is transferred to the focus word by the semantic fields of its common collocates". Louw (1993: 157) was the first to use the expression directly as: "a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates is referred to in this paper as a semantic prosody". In Louw's view, semantic prosody is recognised in the form of 'positive' (favourable), 'negative' (unfavourable), or 'neutral' showing no evidence of positive or negative items. This kind of evaluation is assigned according to the surrounding contextual environment that imparts a meaning to the word (i.e. the positive/negative grouping of words).The good/bad parameter of semantic prosody is shown in figure 23 below.
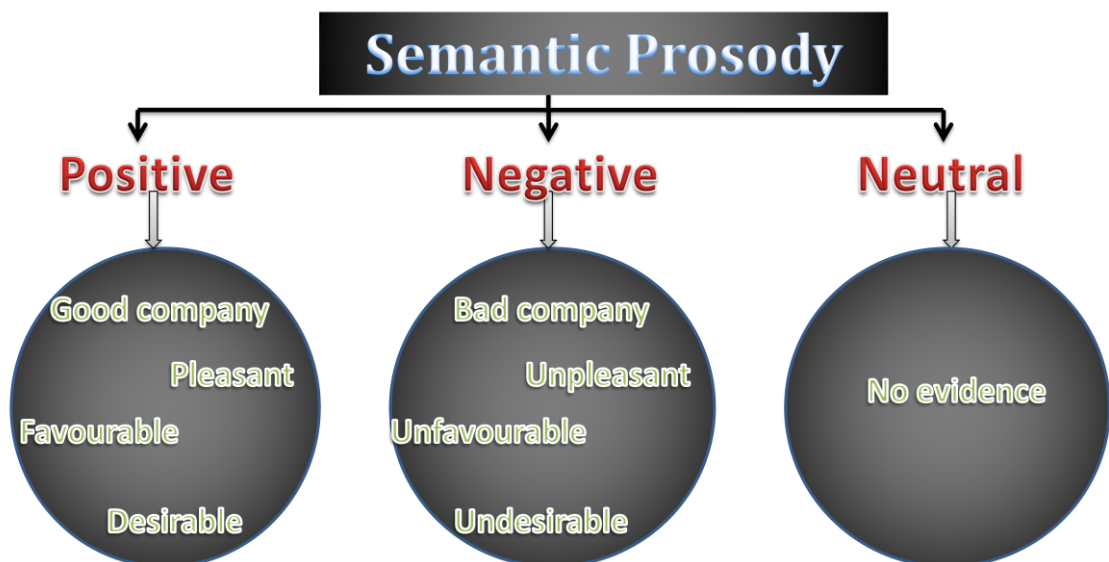
Figure 23: Good/bad parameter of semantic prosody.

Obviously, the goodness and the badness of a semantic prosody may have many forms. For example, 'good' includes *pleasurable*, *profitable*, *being in* contro, etc., while 'bad' involves *sad*, *difficult*, *not being in control*, and so on (Morley and Partington 2009: 141).

As the literature of semantic prosody is very fruitful, I will adapt Xiao and McEnery's (2006: 43) summary table of the most previous significant studies of semantic prosody.

Author	Negative Prosody	Positive prosody
Sinclair (1991)	BREAK out HAPPEN SET in	
Louw (1993, 2000)	bent on build up of END up *verb*ing GET oneself *verb*ed A recipe for	BUILD up a
Stubbs (1995, 1996, 2001a, 2001b)	ACCOST CAUSE FAN the flame signs of underage teenager(s)	PROVIDE Career
Partington (1998)	COMMIT PEDDLE/peddler Dealings	
Hunston (2002)	SIT through	
Schmitt and Carter (2004)	bordering on	

Table 12: Xiao and McEnery's (2006) summary of the previous studies of semantic prosody.

As noted in the table above, there are more than twenty lexical items in English that have been investigated by different linguists. Some of these have been interpreted as showing positive or negative prosodies. Despite the significance and originality of these studies, Zhang (2010: 193) considers them to be limited:

> While lots of explorations have been made on the characteristic patterning of semantic prosody and its application in language use and second language acquisition, there are still not sufficient systematic and in-depth explorations. Therefore, in the future research we would need to observe more lexical items […] and make more insightful analysis before we could be reasonably confident of our conclusions.

If the European studies on collocation and semantic prosodies are considered 'limited', as Zhang claims above, then the research applied to the same phenomenon in Arabic (especially lexicographic studies) should be considered 'extremely limited'. As Bahumaid (2006: 137) says:

> Looking at lexicographic work on Arabic collocations, a rather bleak picture emerges. There is an extremely limited amount of information on collocation in both monolingual (Arabic) and bilingual (Arabic-English/English-Arabic) dictionaries. Besides, no monolingual (Arabic) or bilingual (Arabic-English/English-Arabic) collocational dictionary has been compiled as yet.

The problem with both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, as Bahumaid highlights, lies mainly in the arrangement of the information itself (rather than in the subsistence of these dictionaries). There are certain bilingual dictionaries (e.g. Wehr 1979) that include a large amount of collocational information, but unfortunately this kind of information is not arranged systematically, or in a way that can help translators as well as learners of Arabic. In addition, some of the materials in these dictionaries are 'obsolete and no longer relevant to standard Arabic' (Emery 1991: 63).

Based on the fact that these bilingual dictionaries (as Wehr 1979 mentioned above) include collocations but do not have any corpus evidence, the present study aims to analyse semantic prosody in Arabic using corpora (see 7.6).

6.5 Synonymy

Synonymy is a concept that has been defined from different perspectives. It can be defined as a lexical relation that means sameness of meaning (Palmer 1976: 88), or as two or more expressions that are different in form but not meaning (Harris 1973: 6).

6.5.1 Synonymy: A Controversial Issue

It should be emphasised that the phenomenon of synonymy has been a "controversial issue among European and Arab linguists" (Shehab 2009: 870). There are two main approaches regarding synonymy. The first one denies the existence of synonymy altogether. Shehab refers to this as the 'strict' approach (ibid). The second, 'flexible' approach, accepts the existence of the phenomenon (although it receives different treatments by those who adopt this approach). The first approach is represented by linguists such as Bloomfield

(1935: 145) and Palmer (1981: 89; quoted in Elewa 2004: 85). Both of these linguists argue that real synonyms do not exist in natural language. Palmer states that:

> Each linguistic form has a constant and specific meaning. If the forms are phonemically different, we suppose that their meanings are also different […]. We suppose, in short, that there are no real synonyms (ibid).

The second approach regards synonymy as a flexible concept, i.e. any two words that share at least one sense are synonymous (Jackson 1988: 65).

The same debate – between those who accept synonymy and those who reject it – occurs within Arabic linguistics as well. Elewa (2004: 94) summarises the debate in Arabic linguistics as follows:

> Some linguists like Sibawayhi, Al-Mubarrad and Al-Siyuti stressed that synonymy is widespread in Arabic. On the other hand, Ibn Faris (d.1105) denied the existence of synonyms because this would contradict the wisdom of Arabs, who always used words for a reason. He argued that every word should have a specific meaning. Furthermore, Tha‘lab argued that there is a difference of meaning between any given pairs of synonyms. For example, investigating the contexts of قعد *qa‘da* and جلس *jalasa* 'sit' which are commonly taken as synonyms will show that they have different meanings from each other.

As noted in the example above, some Arab linguists argue that every word has a different meaning. For example قعد *qa‘ada* is different from جلس *jalasa* 'sit' "because while القعود means that the person had been standing before sitting, الجلوس means that he had been lying down before he straightened his position" (Hasan 2008: 13). This means that absolute synonymy does not exist in natural language. However, the phenomenon of synonymy is quite observable in Arabic.

Arabic is well known for the overuse of synonyms. Al-Suyutiy (1986: 405) has found forty-one hyponymic near-synonyms for the word السيف *al-sayf* 'the sword', and eighty-seven hyponymic near-synonyms for the word العسل *al-‘asal* 'honey'. There are many other examples, some of which are provided below:

- **Sword**: السيف *al-sayf,* الحسام *al-ḥusām,* الصارم *al-ṣārim,* المهند *al-muhannad,* المذكر *al-mudhakkar*

- **Lion:** الهرماس *al-hirmās, usāmah* أسامة, الأسد *al-asad,* الغضنفر *al-ghḍanfar,* الليث *al-layth,* الضيغم *al-ḍaygham*

- **Honey:** عسل النحل *ʿasal al-naḥl,* الضرب *al-ḍarb, al-wars* الورس , الحميت *al-ḥamīt*

- **Wind:** *al-ḥarūr* الحرور , *al-bāriḥ* البارح , *al-hubūb* الهبوب, *al-sumūm* السموم *al-nāfijah* النافجة , *al-nakbāa'* النكباء

However, Ishrateh (1982: 177) has a different attitude regarding the kind of synonyms mentioned above. He considers them mere adjectives:

> In fact, some scholars use the adjectives of certain concepts as synonyms. For instance, they use the adjective الصارم or الهندي for the 'sword' itself although الهندي refers to the sword that is made in India only and الصارم is a semantic feature of السيف (i.e. 'the sword').

While Ishrateh refers to the above synonyms as 'mere adjectives', Lyons (1977: 291) calls them '**hyponyms**'. Accordingly, السيف *al-sayf* has only one designation, whereas the other forty-one hyponymic near-synonyms refer to certain types of sword. Lyons (ibid) describes hyponymy as the inclusive relationship between a specific word and a general word where the meaning of the former is included within that of the latter. So *tulip* and *rose*, for example, are also *flowers*. Therefore, the words *tulip* and *rose* are both hyponyms, and together are called 'co-hyponyms' of the parent or superordinating term *flower*. Similarly, *cod* and *salmon* are co-hyponyms of *fish* and *knife*, *fork* and *spoon* are co-hyponyms of *cutlery* and so on.

Generally, Arabs (in MSA) prefer to mention two or more synonyms in order to add a rhetorical sense to their language. They are used in situations where the speaker is aiming to convince the addressee, especially in religious and political contexts. This kind of synonymy is called 'quasi-synonymy' (cf. Ullman 1963: 193; Elewa 2004: 95). In much the same way, El-Hasan (1982: 177) and Ishrateh (2006: 35) believe that synonymy has an importance in asserting the meaning: "collocation of synonymy is very important since it serves to reinforce the message" (ibid).

6.5.2 Degrees of Synonymy

One approach is to recognise different degrees of synonymy. Lyons (1981a: 148) highlights the difference between two main kinds of synonymy i.e. *complete* and *absolute* synonymy. He defines them as:

> lexemes can be said to be *completely synonymous* (in a certain range of contexts) if and only if they have the same descriptive, expressive and social meaning (in the range of contexts in question). They may be described as *absolutely synonymous* if and only if they have the same distribution and are completely synonymous in all their meanings and in all their contexts of occurrence (Lyons 1981a: 148).

Lyons goes further and explains the difference between the two kinds of synonymy. While complete synonymy is rare, absolute synonymy is even harder to find. Lyons claims that absolute synonymy only exists under certain types of circumstances in certain texts, such as with the use of technical terms (e.g. 'almonds' and 'tonsils')[32] (ibid). Another example is the use of 'truck, lorry and wagon'. These three technical words refer to a type of a mechanical device that is used for lifting heavy objects off the ground[33]. In addition, absolute synonymy entails a complete interchangeability in all possible environments in which the analysed words are correctly used, which is difficult to prove. In the same way, Abu-Ssaydeh (2001: 54) states that "it is undoubtedly true that no two terms can be absolute synonyms; there will always be a point at which the two terms will diverge". A different kind of classification was provided by Cruse (2000: 156). He mentions other two types of synonymy in addition to absolute synonymy – propositional and near-synonymy. **Propositional synonymy** is commonly known as 'cognitive synonymy' It is less strict than absolute synonymy as Cruse (1986: 88) defines it

> X is a cognitive synonym of Y if (i) X and Y are syntactically identical, and (ii) any grammatical declarative sentence S containing X has equivalent truth-conditions to another sentence S1, which is identical to S except that X is replaced by Y.

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[32] Cf. http://www.webster-online-dictionary.org/definitions (The tonsils are called from their shape, amygdaloe, and in popular language, almonds).
[33] See Collins Concise English Dictionary, 1992, pp. 780, 1446 and 1517.

Obviously, Cruse's definition relies on the idea of 'substitutability with the truth conditions' – a major criterion of propositional synonymy. Murphy (2003: 159) refers to 'substitutability' as:

> a diagnostic tool for recognizing synonyms. Substitution is also one of the purposes for which we search for synonyms – in order to replace one word with another in a text without changing the meaning of the text.

Therefore, a substitution test can be used to diagnose synonymy in the sense that if two expressions can be substituted for each other without changing the meaning, then they are synonyms. However, Murphy asserts that absolute substitutability is hard to find:

> If two words start out as full synonyms (say, because they have only one sense among them), they stop being absolutely the same as soon as one of them becomes polysemous and the other one does not gain the same extra meaning…it is still very unlikely that two words have all the same senses (ibid: 165).

Divjak (2010: 3) agrees with Cruse's and Murphy's comments on substitutability in the sense that two words are considered synonymous in a linguistic context if all their contextual relations are identical. Accordingly, "it is commonly asserted that absolute, perfect or full synonyms do not exist" (ibid).

Near-synonymy (Plesionymy/dictionary synonymy) is the main concern of this study as it is the most common type adopted by dictionary compilers (see chapter 7). Cruse (1986: 285) calls this type of synonymy 'plesionymy'. Cruse (ibid) distinguishes near-synonymy from 'propositional/cognitive synonymy' as follows:

> Plesionyms are distinguished from cognitive synonyms by the fact that they yield sentences with different truth conditions: two sentences which differ only in respect of plesionyms in parallel syntactic positions are not mutually entailing, although if the lexical items are in a hyponymous relation, there may well be unilateral entailment.

As clarified, near-synonyms, unlike propositional synonyms, are characterised by different semantic content; i.e. the near synonymous pair might be very close in meaning, yet not identical for whatever reason. For examples,

(203) It isn't **foggy** - just **misty**.

(204) He was **murdered**, or rather **executed.**

(205) He's **a farmer**, or strictly **a stockman.**

(206) It's **a pie**, or actually **a savoury tart**.

Mullany and Stockwell (2010: 66) argue that the reason for using plesionyms - in the above examples - is "to indicate that the speaker is grappling after precision, but perhaps does not possess the precise vocabulary or technical term for the object in mind". In addition, the substitution of the word does not leave the same exact truth-condition. Plesionyms "are weakly contrastive, but the contrast does not destroy the synonymy" (Cruse 2000: 158-161).

Edmonds (1999: 5) believes that some near-synonyms may be denotationally different; others may only be connotatively different, i.e. they convey meanings indirectly:

> Near-synonyms are often said to differ in terms of connotations […] sometimes it is used to refer to any non-denotational component of meaning (including style and affect), but often a semantic distinction is said to be connoted, e.g. *slip* connotes triviality. The one aspect that distinguishes connotation, though, is that it refers to meaning conveyed 'indirectly' by mere suggestion or implification.

The implification or indirect meanings that Edmonds (ibid) refers to are usually peripheral, and this is the main problem that translators and learners face when studying near-synonyms: they find it very difficult to understand the subtle differences that exist between synonyms. Accordingly, "some translators find themselves forced to provide in their translation the conceptual, denotative meaning of the synonymous words" (Shehab 2009: 886).

According to Edmonds (1999: 3) "One of the main problems for lexical choice with regard to synonymy is that while the differences between near-synonyms can be very subtle, the overall effect of using one near-synonym instead of another can be significant". This naturally links to the possibility of

distinguishing between synonyms using corpus evidence (see the corpus analysis of the three (powerful) near-synonyms in Arabic: *jabbār, qawī* and *qāsin* as opposed to the other (powerless) near-synonyms: *ḍaʿīf, wāhin* and *rakīk.*

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has not undertaken an extensive study of collocation, synonymy and polysemy. Rather, it has reviewed their definitions, as well as the different types of, and approaches to, both areas, and has highlighted the approach that will be adopted in the next chapter (see Elewa 2004). The study of collocation, synonymy and polysemy has great potential application for dictionary compiling, translation, and language learning. Combining the three cohesive concepts together (see chapter seven) would be useful for analysts (language tutors, learners, and translators). Abu-Ssaydeh (2001: 57) states that the reason for this is that "awareness of subtle distinctions in the meanings of synonyms is not a guarantee that the translator would know how to use them. Sometimes, finer distinctions exist at the collocational level".

Following Abu-Ssaydeh (2001) and Elewa (2004), the next chapter will focus on analysing 'synonymy' and 'polysemy' at the collocational level in order to guarantee as much as possible good, authentic translations. Moreover, it will adopt a corpus-linguistic analysis, drawing upon data from two distinctly different languages – English and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). It is the first study to analyse Arabic-English power-related collocational synonymy from the perspective of the appraisal linguistic approach, as chapter seven will explain.

Chapter Seven

Collocational Appraisal Treatment of Power-related Adjectives in English and Arabic

7.1 Introduction

As was noted in chapter four, emotions are grouped into three main sets in appraisal theory:

a) in/security (the boy was anxious/confident)

b) dis/satisfaction (the boy was fed up/absorbed)

c) un/happiness (the boy was sad/happy)

(Martin and White 2005: 46-9; Bednarek 2008:15).

However, the keywords in the above three sets do not accurately capture power-related appraisal adjectives, like weak/strong appraisal adjectives, which I believe should constitute a separate group. The analysis presented here has two main goals: firstly, it reveals some problematic areas concerning the Arabic and English translations found in different dictionaries; and secondly, it shows the collocational synonymous patterns of the emotional adjectival set under discussion, as well as its influence on translation. The different types of dictionaries used in the analysis will be discussed in 7.2, and the English and Arabic emotional appraisal adjectives in 7.3. In 7.4 I will present a snapshot of the Arabic adjective. The following two sections, 7.5 and 7.6, will provide a detailed illustration of the semantic appraisal features of power-related adjectives. 7.7 will explain the main findings of the analysis. The implications of the findings for language tutors, learners, and translators are discussed in 7.8.

7.2 Dictionaries: A Serious Problem

Unfortunately, given the ambiguous and sometimes complex structure of dictionaries, their users (researchers, learners, and teachers) may have

difficulty in getting the exact sort of information they are seeking at any given time. Sinclair (2003: 73) illustrates this problem as follows: "A word may have several meanings, and dictionaries present the meanings without giving much guidance as to how they may be differentiated from each other".

Moreover, from even a quick glance through dictionaries, it is easy to see that most common words have dozens of meanings and that it is impossible to try all of these meanings each time we read the relevant word. Kilgarriff (1992: 127) asserts that "people face various dilemmas when they try to slot usages into dictionary senses". At this point, corpora offer some helpful clues for deciding the appropriate meaning of the word. As Thomas (2009: 257) explains:

> Concordance lines, which typically show instances of a key word in their immediate contexts, have proved useful in uncovering patterns of usage and variation that may not be apparent either from reading individual texts or from consulting reference resources, such as dictionaries and grammars.

On the other hand, because most dictionaries do not give exactly the same explanations of meanings, it is useful to consult more than one dictionary in order to discover the indistinctness of English-English dictionaries in addition to English-Arabic dictionaries. The following five dictionaries are used in the analysis:

(1) Al-Mawrid: A Modern English-Arabic Dictionary (AMMD), 2007

(2) Elias Modern Dictionary: English-Arabic (EMD), 2008

(3) Longman Active Study Dictionary of English. (LASD) Special edition for International students, 2nd edition, 1994

(4) Webster Concise English-English Dictionary (WCD), 2002

(5) The Compact Oxford On-line English-English Dictionary (COED), 2010

Later in this chapter (section 7.6), other monolingual Arabic-Arabic dictionaries will be used for analysing the different semantic functions of the power-related Arabic adjectives under discussion. In section 7.6 onwards, more precise analysis will be added to the discussion of Arabic appraisal adjectives because, as was mentioned in chapter four, this area of appraisal analysis has not been tackled at all in Arabic. Shehab (1999: 886) believes that English

synonymous pairs are easy to recognise, unlike Arabic pairs. He states that: "Unlike Arabic, in the case of English, the subtle differences between the members of [a] synonymous pair, I assume, may be easily figured out" (ibid). That is why I believe that much more attention should be paid to Arabic synonymous adjectives.

7.3 Emotional Appraisal Adjectives

7.3.1 Why These Adjectives?

As noted in 7.1, the present study will analyse a set of appraisal adjectival groups that have not received much, if any, attention (at least in the field of Arabic linguistics); namely, *power-related* adjectives. In order to make the analysis comparable, I will focus on three near synonyms of powerful adjectives in English and their three closest translational equivalents in Arabic, as well as three near synonyms of powerless adjectives in English and their three closest translational equivalents in Arabic. These translational equivalents are identified by using two bilingual English-Arabic dictionaries: *Al-Mawrid* (*AMD*), and *Elias* (EMD).

Therefore, six English power-related adjectives are used in the analysis. They are divided into three groups: (1) *strong* vs. *weak* (2) *powerful* vs. *powerless* and (3) *tough* vs. *tender*. Another three groups of six positive/negative Arabic adjectives will be compared to their English equivalents: (1) ضعيف *ḍaʻīf* vs. قوي *qawī* (2) جبار *jabbār* vs. واهن *wāhin*, and (3) ركيك *rakīk* vs. قاس *qāsin*.

The main reason for choosing the above power-related adjectives is that after consulting two of the best known bilingual English-Arabic dictionaries – *Al-Mawrid* and *Elias* (EMD) – I found that the three powerful adjectives – *strong*, *powerful* and *tough*[34] – are translated as *qawī* قوي and the three powerless adjectives – *weak*, *powerless*, and *tender* – are translated as ضعيف *ḍaʻīf* without much guidance being given about the semantic aspects and different usages of these adjectives. In much the same way, when I consulted EMD (Arabic-

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[34] *Tough* is translated as قويّ *qawī* and قاسٍ *qāsin.* They are used as synonyms (see *AMMD*, table 20).

English) – by the same author – I found that the three Arabic powerless negative adjectives (ضعيف *ḍaʿīf*, واهن *wāhin* and ركيك *rakīk*) are translated as '*weak*' (see EMD p.262 for *rakīk*, p. 392 for *ḍaʿīf*, and p. 818 for *wāhin*). Similarly, the three Arabic powerful positive adjectives (قوي *qawī*, جبار *jabbār* and قاسٍ *qāsin*) are translated as '*strong*' (see EMD p. 573 for *qawī*, p. 104 for *jabbār*, and p. 541 for *qāsin*). In order to analyse the power-related adjectives in terms of 'evaluation' or 'appraisal', I will use the following three terms adopted by Hunston and Sinclair (2000: 82): 'Thing evaluated' (or appraised), 'Hinge' (or the linking/main verb), and 'Evaluative category' (or the evaluative response that indicates the personal/emotional reaction, represented by the adjective group in the sentence). Hunston and Sinclair believe that this appraisal taxonomy is obviously a 'good diagnostic of evaluative adjective' (ibid). These taxonomies for adjectival appraisal groups were originally extracted from Martin and White's Appraisal Theory (2005) [see chapter 4], which was developed within the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

It must be noted that adjectives (in general) have been chosen for analysing appraisal because the intrinsic grammatical realisation for attitude is adjectival. Martin and White (2005: 58) assert that: "As inherently gradable meanings, the canonical grammatical realisation for attitude is adjectival; so it makes sense to try and establish grammatical frames for distinguishing kinds of attitude with respect to this kind of realisation". Moreover, Hunston and Thompson (2000) believe that adjectives in general are the core elements in appraisal sentences.

7.4 Arabic Adjectives

Unlike their English counterparts, Arabic attributives adjectives follow the noun they modify in gender, number or grammatical case. For example, قلب ضعيف qalbun *ḍaʿīfun* is translated into English as 'a weak heart'. However, in the so-called false *iḍāfah* construction, the Arabic adjective precedes the noun it modifies, as in ضعيف القلب *ḍaʿīfu* al-qalbi, which might be translated into English as 'one (m.) with a weak heart'. In Arabic, the term اضافة *iḍāfah* 'genitive' means literally 'addition', 'annexation' or 'attachment'. Abu-Chacra (2007: 61) explains:

> This kind of annexation occurs when two nouns (or an adjective and a noun) are linked together and immediately follow each other. It is comparable to a genitive or attributive construction, where the first noun (or adjective) is the head constitute and the second noun is the attribute.

Abu-Chacra (ibid) distinguishes between two different forms of *iḍāfah*: the first is called الأضافة الحقيقية al-iḍāfatu al-ḥaqīqiyyatu, 'genuine annexation', or as Schulz (2004: 131) calls it, *iḍāfah proper*. This is the genitive construction, and is very similar to the use of the '…of' or '…'s' constructions in English. For example, قلم الولد qalamu al-waladi translates as 'the boy's pen' or 'the pen of the boy'. This kind of *iḍāfah* consists of two terms. The first is called المضاف al-muḍāf 'annexed' or 'possessed', and is usually indefinite, without ال *al* 'the'. The second term is called المضاف اليه al-muḍāf ilayhi 'annexer' or 'possessor', and it is usually definite, with ال *al* 'the'.

The second form of *iḍāfah* is called الأضافة غيرالحقيقية al-iḍāfatu ghayru al-ḥaqīqiyyati 'false iḍāfah', sometimes termed 'improper annexation' or 'adjective iḍāfah'. This kind of *iḍāfah* occurs when the first term of the *iḍāfah* construction is an adjective. For example: ضعيف القلب ḍaʿīf al-qalb 'one (masculine) with a weak heart' – an example mentioned above. It is called a 'false iḍāfah' because it violates the standard rules of *iḍāfah* construction: "Whether or not the first noun (the annexed) refers to something definite or indefinite, it never takes the definite article...ال al" (Abu-Chacra 2007: 63). In the case of false *iḍāfah*, when the whole (adjectival) phrase is definite, it is possible to prefix the initial adjective with – ال al. For example: الرجل الضعيف القلب *al-rajulu al-ḍaʿīfu al-qalbi* 'the weak hearted man'.

Here I focus on the second form of *iḍāfah*, which Abu-Chacra (2007: 64) called the *iḍāfah* adjective construction, because it is more frequent in the I-AR as well as Al-H corpora than the proper *iḍāfah*.

There is one more important difference between English and Arabic forms of adjectives. While there is only one form of adjective in English, the Arabic adjective has six forms: singular masculine, singular feminine, dual masculine, dual feminine, plural masculine, and plural feminine. Surprisingly, in the corpus analysis of power-related adjectives using the Al-H and I-AR corpora, I found that the frequency of the singular masculine form is very high

compared to the other forms. Additionally, I have ignored plural adjective forms, as they are very difficult to compute and may have more than one form. For example, ضُعَفاء *ḍuʿafāʾ*, ضِعاف *ḍiʿāf*, and ضعفى *ḍaʿfā* can be plurals of ضعيف *ḍaʿīf*. Furthermore, in Arabic grammar references, the regular plural is formed by adding the suffix ون or ين، , which is known as masculine sound plural. Deciding which one to choose depends on the case, i.e. nominative, accusative, or genitive (Maxos 2000: 2). Moreover, the frequency of dual masculine and dual feminine adjectives is very low in both Arabic corpora. One reason for this is that the use of the dual form in general is not as dominant as the use of the singular masculine form. Another reason is that there are lots of examples in I-AR using colloquial dialect, which does not usually use dual forms. In this chapter, I will focus on the singular masculine form only, because in addition to the dominance of the masculine form over the feminine in Arabic corpora, it is the form that is typically used in English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries. It is the only form that is used for any descriptive expression. This is the norm in the Arabic language in general, not only in dictionaries. In addition, there is a traditional notion in Arabic linguistic thought that *maleness* is more basic than *femaleness*.

7.5 English and Arabic Power-related Appraisal Adjectives: Semantic Prosody in Dictionaries

Partington highlights Louw's (1993: 173) claim that "Lexicographers in the past have not been fully aware of the extent of semantic prosody […] modern corpora provide new opportunities of studying the phenomenon" (Partington 1998: 68).

In this section, Louw and Partington's claims are investigated in greater detail, and a precise analysis of examples of semantic prosody in power-related appraisal adjectives is provided. In order to do this, the following sections will introduce the English-Arabic and English-English translations of the selected appraisal power-related adjectives as they appear in the selected dictionaries.

7.5.1 *weak* vs. *strong*

7.5.1.1 *weak*

AMMD 2007	EMD 2008	LASD 1994	COED 2010	WCD 2002
(1) واهن /ضعيف wāhin/ḏa'īf	(1) ضعيف أو قوي غير متين أو حصين ḏa'īf/ghayr qawī aw matīn aw ḥaṣīn	(1) not strong enough to work or last properly.	(1) <u>lacking physical strength and energy.</u>	<u>Lacking power or strength;</u> feeble; ineffectual.
(2) ضعيف العقل a. ḏa'īf al-'aql		(2) <u>not strong in character</u>	(2) liable to break or give way under pressure.	
b. غيرحكيم /أحمق aḥmaq/ghayr ḥakīm	(2) واهن wāhin	(3) containing too much water.	(3) not secure, stable, or firmly established.	
(3) واه wāhin	(3) خفيف khafīf		(4) lacking power, influence, or ability.	
(4) ركيك rakīk	(4) طفيف ṭafīf		(5) lacking intensity.	
(5) مذق/مشعشع madhiq/ musha'shi'	(5)ضئيل ḏa'īl		(6) heavily diluted.	
	(6) ركيك rakīk		(7) not convincing or forceful.	
	(7) سخيف sakhīf		(8) forming the past tense and past participle by addition of a suffix (ed).	
	(8) مكان أو نقطة الضعف makān aw nuqṭatu al-ḏa'f			

Table 13: *weak*

Table 13 shows that there is a significant difference between the two bilingual dictionaries (AMMD and EMD) and the monolingual dictionaries (LASD, COED and WCD). In addition, there are significant differences between the two bilingual dictionaries themselves, as well as between the three monolingual English-English dictionaries.

Both bilingual dictionaries interpret *weak* as *ḍaʿīf* [Table 13, see underlined meanings], which is regarded as the most common translational equivalent of the powerless adjective *weak* in Arabic. However, while the EMD does not specify the type of category that *ḍaʿīf* modifies, the AMMD collocates *ḍaʿīf* with the noun *al-ʿaql*, that is '*mind*'.

The following table shows the loglikelihood score (LLS), as well as the absolute frequency/Joint (J) of the 'physical' collocation of *weak*, as it appears in the BNC and I-EN corpora:

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
heart	15.81	13	hand	13.80	18
stomach	11.71	7	pulse	12.99	7
physically weak	10.91	6	stomach	11.79	7
chest	8.97	6	muscle	11.70	9
muscle	8.90	6	leg	8.20	7
ankle	7.09	4	knee	7.39	5
chin	6.95	4	heart	7.30	10
leg	4.40	5			
body	3.02	6			
eye	1.12	4			

Table 14: The physical collocation of *weak* in BNC and I-EN with a span window of 0: 1

The above table provides enough evidence to show that *weak* collocates with physical weakness of the body parts much more than with mental weakness.

The LL score for *mentally weak* in BNC is 0.64, and in I-EN is 0.49. Similarly, the LL score for *weak mind* in BNC is 1.58, and in I-EN is 4.37. This evidence is further supported by the collocational analysis of ضعيف *ḍa'īf* (the singular masculine adjective of *weak*) as illustrated in the table below:

I-AR	LLS	Joint
الشخصية al-shakhṣiyyah 'the personality'	150.35	72
القلب al-qalb 'the heart'	140	52
الساقين al-sāqayn 'the legs'	75.35	22
البصر al-baṣar 'the eyesight'	22.44	11
العقل al-'aql 'the mind'	1.89	2

Table 15: The behavioural, physical and mental collocation of *ḍa'īf* in I-AR

From the table above, we can see that the collocation of *al-shakhṣīyyah* is quite high, which goes with the LASD description (*weak personality* is classified under 'behavioural weakness' since it cannot be included within physical or mental categories). This is followed by some physical collocations with *al-qalb*, *al-sāqayn* and *al-baṣar*, which correspond to the COED interpretation. However, the collocation of *ḍa'īf* with *al-'aql* is very low, with only two examples in the I-AR, and this obviously contradicts the AMMD translation (table 13, no. 2.a)

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
syllable	87.51	29	spot	133.28	62
spot	86.21	41	link	107.04	75
link	80.91	45	point	99.54	82
point	57.05	49	economy	58.50	39
interaction	56.71	25	signal	47.15	27
position	39.28	30	tie	40.82	24
overlap	36.62	15	acid	33.38	18
smile	34.19	24	argument	30.72	23
nuclear	30.81	18	immune	23.11	12
Form	28.07	29	position	18.65	20

Table 16: The top ten collocates of *weak* in the BNC with a span window of 0:1

Table 16 above reveals some missing translations in the bilingual dictionaries. Although the LLS of 'weak syllable' appears to be very low in the I-EN (1.87),

table 16 shows that it is the most frequently used collocation in the BNC. However, AMMD does not provide any proper translation of the highest collocation of *weak*, i.e. *spot*. COED also refers to 'weak verbs', i.e. 'regular verbs' in English grammar (see table 13). Neither bilingual English-Arabic dictionaries translate these two grammatical idioms, although *al-maqāṭi' al-khafīfah* المقاطع الخفيفة 'weak syllables' and *al-'af'āl ghayr al-shādhdhah* الأفعال غير الشاذة 'regular verbs' can be added here as proper Arabic equivalent translations.

The above table also shows that the strongest collocation of *weak* in the I-EN is 'spot', and it is the second highest LLS in the BNC. The EMD translation نقطة الضعف *nuqṭatu al-ḍa'fi* (table 13, no. 8) is appropriate to the meaning of the concordance lines in both corpora.

On the other hand, although 'weak smile' has 24 examples in the BNC, it does not have an accurate translational equivalent in the two bilingual dictionaries, despite the fact that the Arabic language has a variety of common collocations that fit 'weak smile', e.g. ابتسامة باهته – صفراء *'ibtisāmah bāhitah – ṣafrā'*

Another misleading translation of *weak* provided by the AMMD is أحمق *aḥmaq* (table 13, no. 2.b), which means 'foolish/not wise', a meaning that is not even mentioned in the other English-English dictionaries under discussion. On the other hand, EMD translates *weak* as خفيف *khafīf* and طفيف *ṭafīf* [table 13 (no. 3 & 4)]. Surprisingly, in the EMD Arabic-English (written by the same author), these two adjectives are not translated as *weak*. The following lines show the three translations of *ṭafīf* in the EMD Arabic-English (p. 406):

(a) ناقص *nāqiṣ* deficient
(b) قليل / يسير *qalīl/ yasīr* small, little, slight
(c) زهيد *zahīd* trifling, trivial, insignificant

خفيف *khafīf* , on the other hand, is translated as: "light, not heavy" – referring to weight (p. 194) – with no mention at all to the adjective *weak*. These examples reflect the ambiguity and contrast between the EMD English-Arabic dictionary and the EMD Arabic-English dictionary.

7.5.1.2 *strong*

AMMD 2007	EMD 2008	LASD 1994	COED 2010	WCD 2002
(1) a. قوي qawī b. شديد shadīd (2) مؤلف من عدد معين mu'allaf min 'adad mu'ayyan (3) هام/ضخم hāmm/ḍakhm (4) مركز murakkaz (5) a. متطرف mutaṭarrif b. متحمس mutaḥammis (6) عسير الهضم نسبيا 'asīr al-haḍm nisbiyyan (7) a. منيع manī' b. راسخ rāsikh (8) كريه الرائحة أو المذاق karīh al-rā'iḥah aw al-madhāq (9) خصب khiṣb (10) مرتفع باطراد murtafi' biṭṭirād	(1) محارب muḥārib (2)شديد/قوي shadīd (3) متين matīn (4) حصين/منيع ḥaṣīn/manī' (5) لاذع/حار-حام lādhi'/ḥārr-ḥāmm (6)فعال/حاد fa''āl/ ḥādd (7) ذو فرامل قوية dhū farāmil qawīyah (8) معضد mu'aḍḍid	(1) having a degree of power, esp. of the body. (2) not easily broken; spoilt or changed. (3) a certain number. (4) having a lot of the material which gives taste. (5) [still] going strong active, esp. when old	(1) physically powerful. (2) done with or exerting great force. (3) able to withstand great force or pressure. (4) secure, stable, or firmly established. (5) great in power, influence, or ability. (6) great in intensity or degree. (7) forceful and extreme. (8) not soft or muted. (9) pungent and full-flavoured	physically or mentally powerful; potent; intense; healthy; convincing; powerfully affecting the sense of smell or taste, pungent

Table 17 : *strong*

Interestingly, the positive appraisal powerful adjective *strong* is the subject of a similar kind of debate as that which concerns *weak*, in terms of the category being 'appraised' or 'the thing evaluated'. While, the COED and the LASD translate its meaning with reference to physical strength, the WCD interprets the kind of power either 'physically or mentally' (see table 17). On the other hand, the AMMD and the EMD do not classify the type of strength at all. However, the LLS in the BNC and the I-EN have the following indications:

Thing evaluated	BNC	Joint	I-EN	Joint
arm	93.66	78	55.75	56
character	44.13	40	34.84	45
personality	34.88	24	58.54	41
mind	3.10	2	0.47	1

Table 18: Different collocates (thing evaluated) of '*strong*'

The above table shows that the occurrence of 'strong mind' is quite low in both corpora compared to physical and behavioural strength. Moreover, in table 17, the first translation of 'strong' in the EMD is محارب، *muḥārib* which means 'fighter', while the EMD Arabic-English translates it as 'fighter, soldier, warrior, belligerent, combatant' (p. 142), without mentioning *strong*. Moreover, the other three monolingual English-English dictionaries, as well as the two English corpora, do not have one single occurrence of *strong* as 'fighter'.

In much the same way, the EMD translates *strong* as *mu'aḍḍid* معضد (table 17, EMD 8), which means: 'helper, aider, supporter'[35], as mentioned in the EMD Arabic-English (p. 443). In general terms, it seems likely that the two English-Arabic dictionaries, AMMD and EMD, focus on some very limited usages of lexical words (e.g., *dhū farāmil qawīyah* ذو فرامل قوية 'with strong brakes' in table 17, no. 7) and ignore collocations of high frequencies as the following table shows:

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[35] These are the English translations of *mu'aḍḍid* in *EMD* (A – E) dictionary. While *strong* is not included as one of the translations of *mu'aḍḍid*, *EMD* (E – A) dictionary translates *strong* as *mu'aḍḍid*.

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
wind	433.66	217	feeling	372.52	207
feeling	352.24	189	support	355.22	323
sense	326.05	207	sense	349.23	237
support	178.31	151	evidence	338.85	226
position	163.77	128	emphasis	305.34	153
emphasis	151.91	82	Wind	266.76	160
evidence	129.73	101	leadership	258.30	154
link	125.36	90	commitment	241.05	141
opposition	122.81	78	supporter	230.46	111
argument	108.53	76	leader	215.36	163

Table 19: LLS of the top 10 collocates of strong in BNC and I-EN

The strongest collocate of *strong* in the BNC is *wind*, as shown in the above table. It also has a high frequency in the I-EN (266.76), which indicates the frequent and wide usage of this collocation. However, the Arabic translation given in the EMD and the AMMD does not suit the nature of *wind*. The adjective عاتية *'ātīyah* in Arabic, which means 'very strong', fits perfectly with *strong wind*, although the LLS of رياح عاتية is 6.31 in the Al-H, and 10.24 in the I-AR, which is quite low. Moreover, table 19 shows that *strong feeling* has the highest LLS in the I-EN (372.52), and the second highest (352.24) in the BNC. Again, going through the concordance lines of the I-AR, I found that the Arabic emotional adjective جياشة *jayyāshah* is more frequently used with مشاعر *mashā'ir* 'feelings' than with the common emotional adjective قوية *qawīyah* given in the AMMD and the EMD.

Although *strong smell* does not appear in the top ten collocates of *strong*, the concordance analysis reveals interesting findings that dictionaries do not realise. Both the AMMD (see table 17, no. 8) and the I-AR (see figure 24) interpret the collocation of *strong smell* as a negative and unfavourable semantic prosody. In the I-AR, there are fourteen examples of رائحة قوية *rā'iḥah qawīyah strong smell*, but only one example is positive (underlined in figure 24 below), and the other thirteen examples are extremely negative.

190

Figure 24: the concordance lines of رائحة قوية *strong smell* **from I-AR**

Similarly, the collocates of رائحة قوية *rā'iḥah qawīyah strong smell* in Al-H show unpleasant connotations. There are only two occurrences of *rā'iḥah qawīyah* in this corpus:

Figure 25: the concordance lines of رائحة قوية *strong smell* **from Al-H**

Likewise, in I-EN, there are 23 occurrences of *strong smell* and 35 instances in the BNC. Apparently, in both corpora, *strong smell* tends to attract negative words and so exhibits an obvious negative semantic prosody. The concordance lines – see figure 26 below – reveal that *strong smell* collocates most frequently with unfavourable nouns like: *urine*, *drains*, *disinfectant*, *hot tar*, *rancid milk*, *fermenting fruit*, etc.

Figure 26: Concordance lines of *strong smell* from I-EN

However, a careful analysis of the broader context in BNC and I-EN, reveals that some instances of *strong smell* are associated with positive/neutral collocates which refer to something favourable. For example:

(207) "The air felt fresh and exhilarating. Mungo caught the **strong smell** of pine and rich wet earth. Being the first to inhale it" (BNC, The forest of the night, W. fict prose, 1991).

(208) "Grate the lemon zest directly into the pan and cook for approx 1 min until there is a **strong smell** of lemon from the pan" (I-EN, http://www.aspoonfulofsugar.net/blog/2004/01).

(209) "A **strong smell** of coffee emanating from the basement reminded her that Mrs Crouching, her landlady, was having one of her monthly " evenings" (BNC, An unsuitable attachment, W. fict. Prose, 1982).

Apparently, the above examples demonstrate *strong smell* as a positive semantic prosody in example 207. It collocates with positive and favourable connotations such as *felt fresh*, *exhilarating* and *rich*. In examples 208 & 209, *strong smell* tends to attract neutral words as *pan*, *cook*, *basement*, *lemon*, *coffee*.

On the whole, and based on the concordance lines of both corpora, *strong smell* shows a negative semantic prosody especially when it is used with:

- fumes, gas, smoke, gunpowder, petrol, paints
- animals (e.g. dog, pig, fish).
- food and drink (accompanied by something undesirable, e.g. *rancid milk* and *fermenting fruit*).
- Body odour (e.g. smell of sweat).

When *strong smell* is used with *food* and *drink* that are not bad, sour or rotten, it shows a mixed semantic prosody, either positive or neutral, as figure 27 shows below:
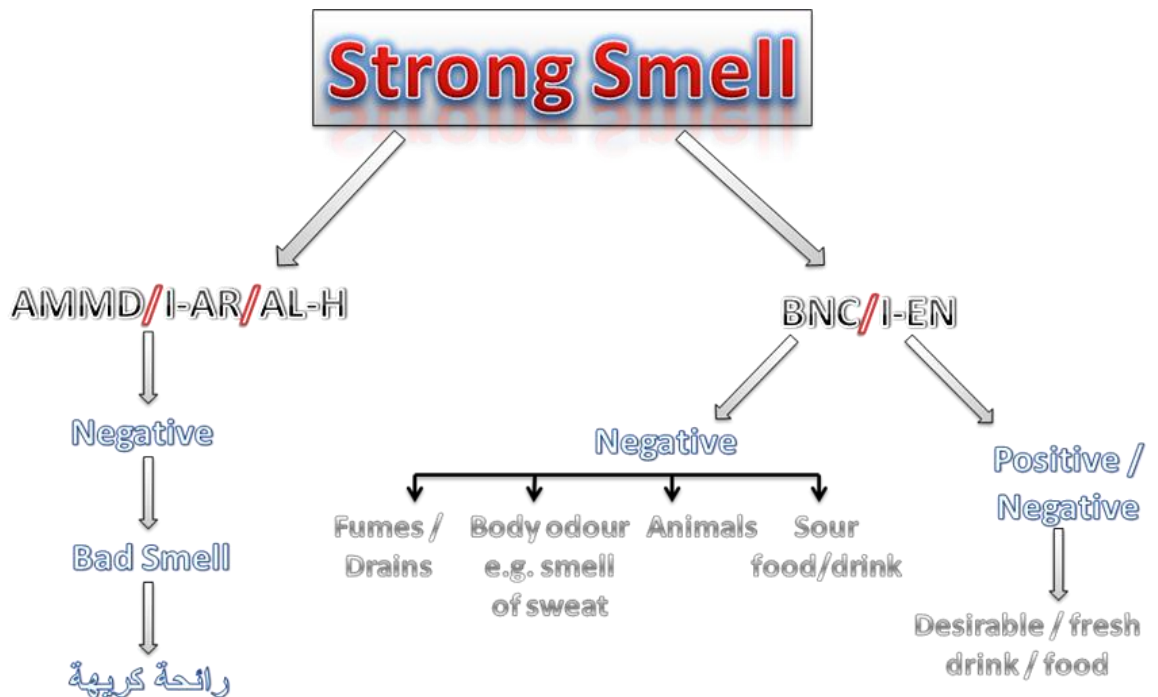

Figure 27: Different interpretations of *strong smell* in English and Arabic

There are also different types of 'lacking' that correspond to the powerless adjective *weak*, as well as several 'abilities' of the powerful adjective *strong*. In

order to summarise all these kinds of 'lacking' and 'abilities', the following tables (20& 21) will present glosses for the Arabic senses of *weak* and *strong*.

Thing evaluated	Arabic
mental/ behavioral/physical part of the body. or after *feel/become*	مريض/واهن / غير قادر/ضعيف ghayr qādir/ marīḍ/wāhin/ḍaʻīf
medicine/pills/food	غير طري/ناشف ghayr ṭariyy/nāshif
market/economy/ company/industry/security (characterized by falling prices)	سوق نائمة-مؤذنة بالهبوط /متقلب /غير مستقر sūq nāʼimah-muʼdhinah bilhubūṭ/mutaqallib/ghayr mustaqirr
smile	باهته /صفراء bāhitah/ ṣafrāʼ
drink/solution	madhiq مذق ghayr murakkaz غير مركز khafīf خفيف tanquṣuhu al-nakhah aw al-qawām al-marghūb/ تنقصه النكهة أو القوام المرغوب
argument/document	غير مؤثر /غير مقنع ghayru muʼaththir/ ghayru muqniʻ

Table 20: Glosses for the Arabic senses of *weak*

Thing evaluated	Arabic
wind	قوية جدا/ عاصفة/عاتية qawīyah jiddan/ʻāṣifah/ʻātiyyah
beliefs	راسخة rāsikhah
believer	ذو عقيدة راسخة /متحمس dhū ʻaqīdah rāsikhah/ mutaḥammis
feelings/emotions	متدفقة /جياشة mutadaffiqah/jayyāshah
evidence	مؤثر / مقنع muʼaththir/muqniʻ
views/ideas	جاوز حد الأعتدال /متطرف jāwaza ḥadd al-ʼiʻtidāl/mutaṭarrif
food	صحي /شهي /لذيذ ṣiḥḥiyy/shahiyy/ladhīdh
smell (positive)	رائحة زكية rāʼiḥah zakiyyah
smell (negative)	رائحة نفاثة rāʼiḥah naffāthah

Table 21: Glosses for the Arabic senses of *strong*

However, it must be noted that 'weak syllables' – that has the highest frequency in *BNC* (LLS = 87.51) and occurs 29 times – has been omitted from the above tables as it refers to 'unstressed vowels' like *schwa* in English grammar – an interpretation that has nothing to do with the appraisal of power-related adjectives*.*

7.5.2 *powerful vs. powerless*

AMMD 2007	EMD 2008	LASD 1994	COED 2010	WCD 2002
p.714 قوي a. (1) qawī جبار b. jabbār فعال (2) fa''āl كبير/ضخم (3) kabīr/ḍakhm	p. 590 قدير/قوي (1) مقتدر qadīr/qawī/ muqtadir فعال/شديد (2) fa''āl غزير (3) ghazīr	p. 468 (1) having great power; very strong, full of force. (2) having a strong effect	having power	p. 253 mighty; strong; influential

Table 22: *powerful*

AMMD 2007	EMD 2008	LASD 1994	COED 2010	WCD 2002
p. 714 عاجز/واهن/ضعيف 'ājiz/wāhin/ ḍa'īf	p. 590 ضعيف/واهن/عاجز عديم القوة أو التأثير ḍa'īf/wāhin/ 'ājiz/'adīm al- quwwah aw al-ta'thīr	p.468 lacking power or strength; weak; unable	Without ability, influence or power	p. 253 without power, feeble

Table 23: *powerless*

195

7.5.2.1 *powerful*

Unlike *strong*, table 22 reveals that monolingual and bilingual dictionaries do not differ in their interpretation of the powerful appraisal adjective, *powerful*, i.e. 'having power or being strong'. Moreover, both monolingual dictionaries translate *powerful* and *strong* as قوي *qawī*, which is the most common translational equivalent of *strong* and *powerful* in Arabic.

However, Halliday (1976: 73) notes that 'tea' is typically described as 'strong' rather than 'powerful', whereas a 'car' is more likely to be described as 'powerful' than 'strong', even though the two modifiers share the common general features of strength and ability.

In addition to Halliday's observation, the I-EN and BNC reveal that *powerful* collocates with military/political expressions, and has a kind of forceful tone [underlined in table 24 below], whereas *strong* is linked with 'feelings, emotions, sense, support…' [see table 24].

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
tool	143.09	66	tool	814.27	381
influence	136.16	79	force	207.16	153
force	103.39	73	nation	186.20	118
man	90.58	97	weapon	136.33	87
weapon	83.64	44	man	86.53	98
argument	57.96	39	influence	77.79	58
body	55.52	49	incentive	76.15	43
position	45.45	41	message	63.50	58
voice	44.83	39	computer	57.08	59
personality	24.13	15	way	54.29	91

Table 24: The top ten collocates of *powerful* in BNC and I-EN

In Arabic, the adjectives جبار *jabbār* and ذو سلطة عظيمة *dhū sulṭah ʿaẓīmah* correspond to the semantic tendency of *powerful*, although there are some differences that depend on the structural usages of the sentence that will be discussed later in this chapter (section 7.6).

7.5.2.2 *powerless*

Table 23 compares the interpretations of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries that look very similar to each other denoting 'lack of power'. There is in fact a significant difference between *powerless* and *weak*. Although both bilingual dictionaries (AMMD and EMD) have the same translations of both powerless adjectives, as ضعيف *ḍaʿīf /* عاجز *ʿājiz*, the highest collocation of *powerless* in both corpora is *powerless to* (see table 25), which gives the sense of being *helpless*, *passive*, *unable to do anything*, *totally dependent*, *hanging*, as figure (28) below shows:

Figure 28: Concordance lines of *powerless to* from I-EN

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
to	187.92	176	to	148.66	166
against	18.16	12	against	38.48	21
group	7.10	6	over	35.61	24
position	5.24	4	in	8.90	31
people	4.92	6	when	3.21	6
and	2.43	22	and	2.31	25
as	1.77	7	people	1.75	4
when	1.55	4	will	0.63	4
by	0.37	4	or	0.52	5
In	0.20	10	as	0.10	4

Table 25: The top ten collocates of *powerless* in BNC and I-EN

As can be seen from table 25 – a span window of 0:1 – and figure 28, *powerless* correlates mostly with prepositions and conjunctions. However, a wider span window of (3:3) reveals that *powerless* can collocate with two groups of nouns: animate (e.g. *people*, *human*, *woman*) and inanimate (e.g. *society* and *government*). The Arabic phrase له حيلة لا *lā ḥīlata lahu* 'helpless' is very close in meaning to *powerless*. The following table shows the highest noun collocates of *powerless* in BNC and I-EN.

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
people	12.19	11	alcohol	25.18	10
face	11.29	8	people	25.16	21
group	7.10	6	poor	22.32	11
position	7.10	5	face	21.32	12
government	5.30	5	woman	8.73	7
woman	3.82	4	power	7.28	6
man	2.91	4	society	6.61	5
			individual	6.01	5
			thing	5.75	6
			person	5.63	5

Table 26: The highest noun collocates of *powerless* in BNC and I-EN using a span window of 3:3

7.5.3 *tender* vs. *tough*

AMMD 2007	EMD 2008	LASD 1994	COED 2010	WCD 2002
(1) a. سهل المكسر سريع العطب sahl al-maksar/sarī' al-'aṭab b. سهل المضغ sahl al-maḍgh (2) a. واهن ضعيف/ wāhin/ḍa'īf b. طري/عفي غير ناضج ṭariyy/'afiyy/ ghayr nāḍij c. عاجز عن مقاومة البرد 'ājiz 'an muqāwamat al-bard. (3) حنون /محب ḥanūn/ muḥibb (4) حساس ḥassās (5) حذر ḥadhir (6) لطيف/ laṭīf رقيق raqīq (7) موجع عند اللمس mūji''inda al-lams (8) دقيق: daqīq متطلب عناية فائقة mutaṭallib 'ināyah fā'iqah	(1) نضير/غض ريان /رخص naḍīr/ghaḍḍ/ rayyān/rakhṣ (2) لين/طري layyin/ṭariyy (3) سخي sakhiyy (4) حنون/حساس ḥanūn/ḥassas (5) ساذج/غر sādhij/ghirr (6) سريع العطب sarī' al-'aṭab (7) نحيف/هش naḥīf/hashsh رقيق raqīq	(1) soft, easy to bite through (2) sore; easily hurt (3) gentle and loving (4) young, inexperienced	(1) gentle and sympathetic (2) easy to cut or chew (3) sensitive (4) young and vulnerable (5) requiring tact or careful handling	soft, delicate; fragile; painful, sore; sensitive, sympathetic

Table 27: *tender*

EMD 2008	AMMD 2007	LASD 1994	COED 2010	WCD 2002
ناشف (1) nāshif	متين (1) matīn	(1) strong; not easily weakened.	(1) strong enough to withstand wear and tear.	Strong, durable, hardy, rough and violent, difficult, infml. Unlucky.
عنيف (2) ʻanīf	عسير المضغ (2) ʻasīr al-maḍgh	(2) difficult to cut or eat:	(2) able to endure hardships, adversity, or pain.	
خشن (3) khashin	لزج (3) lazij	(3) difficult to do; demanding effort.	(3) strict and uncomprom- ising.	
جامد (4) jāmid	حازم -صارم (4) ḥāzim/ṣārim	(4) rough, hard.	(4) involving considerable difficulty or hardship.	
كثيف القوام (5) kathīf al- qawām	خشن- قوي- صلب- (5) قاسkhashin/qawī/ ṣalb /qāsin	(5) infml. Too bad; unfortunate	(5) rough or violent.	
	عنيد (6) ʻanīd		(6) used to express a lack of sympathy.	
	عسير الهضم (7) ʻasīr al-haḍm			
	عنيف (8) ʻanīf			
	جلف- شكس (9) jilf/shakis			
	واقعي الى حد (10) القسوه waqiʻī 'ilā ḥadd al- qaswah			
	شخص جلف أو (11) شكس الخ shakhṣ jilf aw shakis			

Table 28: *tough*

Although tables 27 and 28 provide a wide range of information on *tender* and *tough*, this kind of information is introduced in an unsystematic order. For example, in table 28, EMD provides five different translations for *tough*: (1) dry;

(2) violent; (3) hard, coarse, rude, mannerless, uncivil; (4) solid; (5) thick and dense. However, these five meanings are not provided in a clear phraseological context that can help the user of the dictionary to correctly identify the things being appraised. In much the same unsystematic way, AMMD follows the same procedure in displaying the meanings of *tough*. Also some common translations – eg. *ḍaʿīf* and *qawī*, which are repeated in tables (13, 17, 22 and 23) – are provided without much guidance. On the other hand, by analysing the collocates of *tender* and *tough*, some prosodic meanings have been revealed and hence they can be added to the previously provided dictionary meanings. The following tables 29 and 30 show the top ten collocates of *tender* and *tough* in BNC and I-EN.

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
offer	90.55	50	Age	90.64	48
age	86.29	46	moment	39.89	21
loving	59.86	20	offer	35.09	25
mercy	34.49	12	loving	27.28	11
flesh	23.52	10	mercy	24.04	9
plant	19.61	13	touch	21.90	12
price	18.05	14	coin	21.64	9
spot	17.84	10	affection	18.73	7
kiss	17.36	9	process	17.76	16
year	15.09	22	meat	13.76	7

Table 29: The top ten collocates of *tender* in BNC and I-EN

BNC	LLS	Joint	I-EN	LLS	Joint
guy	170.73	62	Time	357.46	277
time	72.90	77	question	261.73	166
decision	55.07	36	decision	193.13	110
cookie	47.94	13	guy	119.01	64
game	36.34	25	choice	91.59	56
competition	33.58	20	job	70.24	57
stance	32.76	14	love	45.97	40
action	31.45	24	issue	45.47	48
line	28.38	24	situation	37.26	30
measure	27.72	19	competition	36.85	24

Table 30: The top ten collocates of *tough* in BNC and I-EN

Knowing the frequency of a collocate is very useful in the sense that the collocation pairs which are highly frequent are considered as regular and normal. Conversely, infrequent collocations "catch our attention and strike us as unusual" (Baker 1992: 50). Tables 29 and 30 suggest that what a word means often depends on its association with definite collocates. For example, *tender* has a vast collocational range, some of its typical noun collocates are *offer*, *age*, *loving care/heart*, *mercy*, *flesh*, *plant*, *price*, *moment*, and *coin* as clearly shown in table 29. The collocates *offer*, *age*, *loving care/heart* and *moment* have a high LLS and hence they are rather frequent collocates of *tender* in both corpora. When *tender* collocates with *offer* or *price* it means that the price offered is usually at a premium to the market price. On the other hand, *tender age* refers to the young immature age. Moreover, it is clear from the concordance analysis and as shown in table 29 that *tender* typically collocates highly with positive, sentimental and romantic nouns like *moment*, *memories*, *affection*, *touch*, *kiss*, *mercy*, *loving care/heart*, which is quite normal as Stubbs

(2002: 225) believes that "there are always semantic relations between node and collocates, and amongst the collocates themselves".

However, the analysis reveals that *tender* collocates with other – unromantic – nouns that can be negative or neutral like *spot*, *plant*, *process*, *coin*. For example, *tender spot* is more likely to occur negatively with unfavourable nouns like *pain*, *lumps*, *blood*. In such negative contexts, *tender spot* often means a particular (physical/psychological) painful or hurting spot. Similarly, it appears that *tender plant* is found in negative phraseological contexts such as *to safeguard tender plants from frost*, *freeze damage*, *unprotected*, *survive*, *cause chlorosis*, *stunting*, *leaf drop*, *knock the leaves off*, *bleak and unattractive*, *kill*. Therefore, *tender plant* refers to a kind of plant that is easily killed by unfavourable (like freezing temperature) condition.

On the other hand, it is clear that the collocates, *process* and *coin* are neutral in their contexts. While *tender process* indicates the process of issuing a proposal/supplier contract to select a preferred project, *tender coin* is a collocation that has a very narrow and technical meaning in the settlement of debts. It is a sort of gold currency whose market price depends on its gold content. This kind of coin is used as a method of payment and a legal *tender coin* should offer the exact amount due because no change can be demanded.

In contrast to *tender*, table 30 shows the top collocates of *tough*. Though most of the entries shown in table 28 introduce *tough* as a strongly unpleasant adjective, the positive/neutral semantic prosody of *tough* has been shown through concordance analysis. For example, *tough guy* has the highest LLS in BNC (170.73) and the fourth top LLS in I-EN (119.01). *Tough guy* can be interpreted as a positive/negative semantic prosody depending on the good/bad company in the contexts they occur in as shown below.

> (210) "He's a tough guy. He makes our trains run on time. We need him." (BNC, Lying together, W fict prose, 1990)

> (211) "Paul Raymond, 67, is trying to come to terms with his daughter's death. I'm a tough, tough guy but I've been crying my eyes out all day." (BNC, Today, W newsp other report, 1992)

(212) "Boston, Massachusetts The Donald's a tough guy, but behind the scenes he's very compassionate with the people who work for him."

(I-EN, Fast talk: what I learned on the Apprentice,

http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/94/fasttalk.html)

(213) "But behind the tough guy, is a sensitive former Broadway star, an extraordinary singer and a sensitive soul." (I-EN, Female magazine-empowering every woman,

http://www.insitefitness.com.au/lesson/General.html).

Whereas examples 210 and 211 above show *tough guy* as a positive prosody and denote a 'strong confident guy that has the ability to face difficulties with determination', 212 and 213 introduce the negative unfavourable features of *tough guy* as 'dispassionate/insensitive/rough'. The other collocate that is used to describe persons is *cookie*. *Tough cookie* is mainly used in an informal setting as a positive prosody. It refers to someone who is not easily disappointed. *Tough cookie* indicates a strong character that can face and tolerate difficulty. It collocates with *determined career girl*, *refusing to be deflected*, *winning something of reputation*, *dedicated*, *admires*, *positive*, *impressive manner*, *cool enough to handle*, *refusing to crumble*, *brought…back*, as the following concordance lines show.

Figure 29: Concordance lines of *tough cookie* from BNC

Tough love is another positive collocation that occurs 40 times in I-EN with 45.97 LLS. After observing the concordance lines and looking at the left and right collocates, I found that *family disease*, *addictive disease*, *family members*, *kids*, *sufferer*, *seek recovery*, *care so much*, *urge*, *help*, *fix* and

control are repeated throughout the concordance lines in BNC and I-EN. That means, *tough love* is an approach that hurts, but still it is a necessary pain. It is a very strict practice with a relative or a friend that has a disease or a problem in order to help them pass the storm and overcome the problem.

On the other hand, the other collocates in table 30 can be put in groups. For example, *tough question*/decision/job means very complicated and hard to solve, take or do. Whereas *tough competition*/game refers to a kind of challenging (still it can be enjoyable and interesting), *tough stance*/action/line/measure/issue/situation indicates a very strict and firm procedure or reaction.

The following tables 31 and 32 introduce glosses for the Arabic senses of *tender* and *tough*, focusing on the highest collocations as appeared in the BNC and I-EN as well as the lexicographical senses in tables 27 and 28.

Thing evaluated	English	Arabic
year/ age	inexperienced	غير ناضج *ghayru nāḍij*
plant	soft/mellow	لين/ طري layyin/ṭarī
people, behaviour	gentle, nice, delicate	لطيف – رقيق *latīf- raqīq*
food	easy to chew/bite/cut	سهل المضغ *sahl al-maḍgh*
part of the body/ flesh/spot	sensitive	حساس/ مرهف ḥassas/murhaf
offer/price	generous	سخي/كريم /معطاء sakhiyy/karīm/ miʿṭāʾ
feelings, touch affection/memory emotions, love, kiss, moment	romantic/ arousing warm feelings	حنون/ رومانسي /عاطفي ḥanūn/rumānsiyy/ʿāṭifiyy
document	bid	وثيقة مناقصة wathīqt munāqaṣah
wound	painful/sore	موجع عند اللمس mūjiʿ ʿinda al-lams

Table 31: Glosses for the Arabic senses of *tender*

Thing evaluated	English	Arabic
guy (positive)	strong	رجل صلب rajul ṣalb
guy (negative)	aggressive	عدواني 'udwānī
time	hard	أوقات عصيبة awqāt 'aṣībah
task/job	difficult to do	من الصعب القيام بها mina al-ṣa'b al-qiyām bihā
people (cookie)	rough, stiff, violent/confident, determined	قاس – جلف – شكس – شديد الثقة qāsin – jilf – shakkis-shadīd al-ththiqah
stance/action/line measure/	extremely rough/ serious procedure	اجراء شديد القسوة 'ijrā' shadīd al-qaswah
question/problem decision/ choice/ competition/game issue/situation	difficult to solve / complicated	صعبة ṣa'bah معقدة mu'aqqadah
opponent	stubborn, obstinate	عنيد 'anīd
luck	unfortunate, too bad	حظ سيء ḥaẓẓ sayyi'
weather	rough (very cold/hot)	طقس قاس ṭaqs qāsin شديد الحرارة شديد البرودة shadīd al-ḥarārah/shadīd al-burūdah
food	difficult to chew	ناشف/عسير المضغ nāshif/'asīr al-maḍgh

Table 32: Glosses for the Arabic senses of *tough*

7.6 Arabic Power-related Appraisal Adjectives

7.6.1 Powerful Appraisal Adjectives: قوي *qawī*, جبار *jabbār*, and قاس *qāsin* 'strong'

This section considers the three Arabic powerful adjectives under discussion, which have a common shared translation in the EMD, i.e. *strong* (see 7.3). The lexical meanings of these adjectives are first examined in three monolingual Arabic-Arabic dictionaries. These dictionaries are: Qāmūs Al- Wāfī, Qāmūs Al- Muḥīṭ 'Al-Muḥīṭ Lexicon', and Muḥīṭ Al- Muḥīṭ. These dictionaries were specially selected as they are considered the most comprehensive and reliable Arabic dictionaries.

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(1) قويّ *qawī*

Al-Wāfī p. 526

القويّ: ذو القوة — جمع: أقوياء — من أسمائه تعالى والقوة: ضد الضعف وفي تعريفات الجرجاني"القوة هى تمكن الحيوان من الأفعال الشاقة" والقوة أيضا: الطاقة

al-qawī: the one who has strength. Plural: aqwiyā'. It is one of God's names.

al quwwah 'the strength': opposite 'weakness'. In al- jurjānī's definitions: 'the strength is the animal's ability to do hard actions'. 'Strength' is also: Energy

Al-Muḥīṭ p. 1710

فلان قويّ: أي في نفسه و دابته. والقوة: ضد الضعف. والقُوَى (جمع): العقل

Someone is *qawī* means in himself and his animal/beast. The strength: opposite 'weakness'. *quwā* (plural): mental power.

Muḥīṭ Al-Muḥīṭ p.1779

القويّ: ذو القوة — جمع: قوات وقوى (بضم القاف) وقوى (بكسر القاف) والقوة ضد الضعف. وفي التعريفات: القوة هى تمكن الحيوان من الأفعال الشاقة.

al-qawī: The one who has strength. In definitions: the strength is the animal's ability to perform difficult tasks.

(2) جبار *jabbār*

Al-Wāfī p. 77

احدى صفات الله القاهر خلقه على ما أراد وسمى بذلك لتكبره وعلوة عز اسمه وتقدس وجبار في صفات الخلق: كل عات متمرد ومنه قولهم "ويل لجبار الأرض من جبار السماء" ...ومن المجاز "قلب جبار لاتدخله الرحمه" وذلك اذا كان ذا كبر لا يقبل موعظة.

It is one of Allah's (God) attributes – The Almighty – that denotes His superior might over which one has no control. When used of God's creation, it means tyrannical, oppressive, or arrogant. It is said: "Woe (sorrow/misery) to the tyrant of earth from the tyrant (The Almighty) of the Heavens. Metaphorically: "A tyrant (stony) heart does not feel mercy".

Al-Muḥīt p.460

الجبار: الله تعالى، لتكبره، وكل عات، وقلب لا تدخله الرحمه والقتال في غير الحق والعظيم والقوي والطويل.

jabbār: God The Almighty, an epithet for everyone who is oppressive, a merciless heart, illegal fighting as a synonym of great, strong and tall.

Muḥīt Al-Muḥīt p.210

الجبار من صفات الله تعالى لتكبره وكل عات يجبر الناس على مايريده والجبار: اسم الجوزاء وقلب لاتدخله الرحمه والذي يقتل على الغضب والقتال في غير حق والنخلة الطويلة الفتية والمتكبر الذي لا يرى عليه أحد حقا...والجبار أيضا العظيم القوي الطويل أو من قامته و جسمه وقوته خارقة العادة كجالوت. نخلة جبارة: أى لاتنالها الأيدي...وناقة جبارة أى عظيمة سمينة.

jabbār is one of God's attributes and it is a quality of everyone who is seen as an oppressive and tyrant who obliges people to do what he wants. *jabbār* also refers to the Gemini (constellation) and to a merciless heart. *jabbār* is also used of the one who kills people illegally and unjustly. Another meaning of *Jabbār* is a tall and strong palm tree. The *jabbār* is also the one who is great, strong and tall or the one who has an outstanding, supernatural power and body, for example jālūt (Goliath). When a palm tree is described as *jabbārah* (sing.fem.), it means that its fruits (dates) cannot be reached. However, when a camel is addressed as *jabbārah*, it means that it is great and fat.

(3) قاس *qāsin*
Al-Wāfī p. 501

القاسِ: اسم فاعل...يقال:"قلب قاس وحجر قاس"...ليلة قاسية: شديدة الظلمة...القاسية: أرض لا تنبت شيئا

al-qāsi is an active participle, as in the expression: "A stony/tough heart and a stony stone". When *qāsīyah* qualifies 'night', it means 'very dark' and when qualifies 'earth', it means 'sterile, barren or infertile'.

Al-Muḥīt p. 1707 (Not given as an adjective)

qasā is a verb in the past tense, it means 'became hard and tough'...qāsāhu means 'suffered from'. The poet gathered the two senses (heart and stone) together by saying: I pass by the stone and kiss it! ...because your heart looks like a stone.

Muḥīṭ Al-Muḥīṭ p. 1711

قسا: فعل ماض يعني صلب و غلظ (بضم اللام) فهو قاس...القاس: اسم فاعل ...يقال:"قلب قاس وحجر قاس" وقد اجتمعا في قول الشاعر: أمر بالحجر القاس فألثمه...لأن قلبك قاس يشبه الحجرا.

qasā a verb in the past tense and it means 'became hard and tough'. *al-qāsi* is a an active participle. It is said: "A stony/tough heart and a stony stone". The poet gathered the two senses (heart and stone) together by saying: I pass by the stone and kiss it! ...because your heart looks like a stone.

Table 33: Definitions of *qawī*, *jabbār* and *qasin* in monolingual Arabic dictionaries

The above dictionaries mark similar and dissimilar appraisal categories of senses between the three powerful adjectives under discussion. Altogether, there are three main appraisal senses: (1) An attribute of Allah (God), (2) Physical strength, and (3) Metaphoric strength. While, *qawī* and *jabbār* share the meaning in (1) – with the addition of the definite article ال *al* – *qāsin* does not, as it is not a name of God. Table 33 also shows that the second sense (2) is also shared between *qawī* and *jabbār* only, which both denote physical ability. It is quite unclear that *Al-Wāfī* and *Muḥīṭ Al-Muḥīṭ* evaluate *al-quwwah* 'the strength' only in terms of an animal's ability to do hard actions. The three monolingual dictionaries agree that *jabbār* and *qāsin* can be used metaphorically to evaluate a 'tyrant/stony heart'. They even quote the same poetic verse for *qāsin*. As for *qawī*, the three dictionaries do not mention any figurative usage. There are other meanings that are mentioned in the dictionaries because of the use of the feminine singular form of *qāsin*, that is *qāsīyah*. For example, *Al-Wāfī* describes *laylah* 'night' as *qāsīyah* in order to denote its darkness. The distribution of the main appraisal senses are presented in table (34) below.

Appraisal senses	*qawī*	*jabbār*	*qāsin*
A name of God	✓	✓	✗
Physical strength	✓	✓	✗
Metaphorical strength	✗	✓	✓

Table 34: The three main appraisal senses of *qawī, jabbār* and *qāsin* as they appear in the monolingual Arabic dictionaries

Although the above table displays the main appraisal senses of *qawī*, *jabbār* and *qāsin*, it does not guarantee an exclusive distinction between the three powerful adjectival synonyms. Thus, before a final conclusion can be reached regarding the three powerful adjectival synonyms, a more precise analysis must be undertaken. Following the methods of Lyons (1995), Elewa (2004), and Xiao and McEnery (2006), a collocational analysis will be used to reveal the (dis)similarity between apparent near-synonyms. The three tables below (35, 36 and 37) represent the significant collocations of *qawī*, *jabbār* and *qāsin*.

Collocates		I-AR		Collocates		Al-H	
		LLS	Joint			LLS	Joint
شكل shakl	manner	341.63	210	فريق farīq	team	87.72	42
تأثير ta'thīr	effect	191.93	108	بدعم bida'm	with support	66.83	27
زلزال zilzāl	earthquake	149.56	51	أثر athar	effect	57.87	23
فريق farīq	team	97.69	63	انفجار 'infijār	explosion	56.80	23
دليل dalīl	evidence	86.14	63	منتخب muntakhab	team	53.31	25
اقتصاد iqtiṣād	economy	84.49	39	شكل shakl	manner	51.47	31
منافس munāfis	competitor	79.43	47	اقتصاد 'iqtiṣād	economy	48.91	20
جيش jaysh	army	76.59	61	دعم da'm	support	47.27	27
رجل rajul	man	75.86	78	حضور ḥuḍūr	presence	38.11	20
نفوذ nufūdh	influence	69.79	38	خصم khiṣm	opponent	37.75	12

Table 35: The top ten left collocates of *qawī* in I-AR and Al-H

Collocates		I-AR		Collocates		AI-H	
		LLS	Joint			LLS	Joint
كل kull	every	121.06	55	محرك muḥarrik	engine	14.00	4
مجهود majhūd	effort	75.25	25	نووي nawawiyy	nuclear	11.12	3
يا yā	O God!	55.98	40	عمل 'amal	work	9.85	5
متكبر mutakabbir	arrogant	31.98	9	بحث baḥth	research	5.66	2
ملك malik	king	25.30	13	كمبيوتر kumbiyūtar	computer	5.65	2
منتقم muntaqim	revenger/ revengeful	23.92	6	مارد mārid	mutinous/ giant	5.49	1
عمل 'amal	work	20.00	26	بغل baghl	mule	5.01	1
ظالم ẓālim	unjust	11.79	6	ملك malik	a king	4.46	1
شعب sha'b	people	8.22	5	بلد balad	town	4.13	2
مشروع mashrū'	project	6.27	7	جهد juhd	effort	4.12	1

Table 36: The top ten left collocates of *jabbār* in I-AR and AI-H

		I-AR				AI-H	
Collocates		LLS	Joint	Collocates		LLS	Joint
شكل shakl	manner	19.88	14	نبض nabḍ	a pluck	29.84	6
درس dars	lesson	17.80	9	عقاب ‘iqāb	punishment	15.44	4
برد bard	reply/cold	17.52	8	حكم ḥukm	judgement	14.71	6
قلب qalb	heart	12.68	9	رد rad	with a reply	14.33	4
شيء shay'	thing	9.47	8	جفاف jafāf	drought	11.63	3
هو huwa	he	8.57	14	امتحان 'mtiḥān	examination	10.88	3
عدو ‘aduww	enemy	8.04	5	بطش baṭsh	strength	9.78	2
تعذيب ta‘dhīb	torture	7.92	4	اختبار 'ikhtibār	test/quiz	9.39	3
واقع wāqi‘	reality	7.21	6	شكل shakl	manner	7.58	4
عالم ‘ālim	world	6.84	8	واقع wāqi‘	reality	7.28	3

Table 37: The top ten left collocates of *qāsin* in I-AR and AI-H

The above three tables display the frequency of the top ten collocates of the three powerful adjectives in the I-AR and Al-H, with the manual elimination of all irrelevant hits (all words that do not represent MSA, i.e. colloquial words, proper nouns, etc.). The LLS and Joint are used to highlight and reveal other collocations of the three powerful adjectives that are missed in the monolingual dictionaries.

The first interesting point to emerge is that the most statistically significant ten collocations of *qawī* (i.e. collocates of highest LLS in both I-AR and Al-H) do not modify the physical ability of people or animals as table 33 claims. One exception is the collocate رجل rajul 'man' which denotes physical, mental and behavioural ability. *qawī* also appraises different types of appraisal categories, i.e. it can be positive, negative or neutral, depending on the appraised contextual environment. The following figure displays this point.
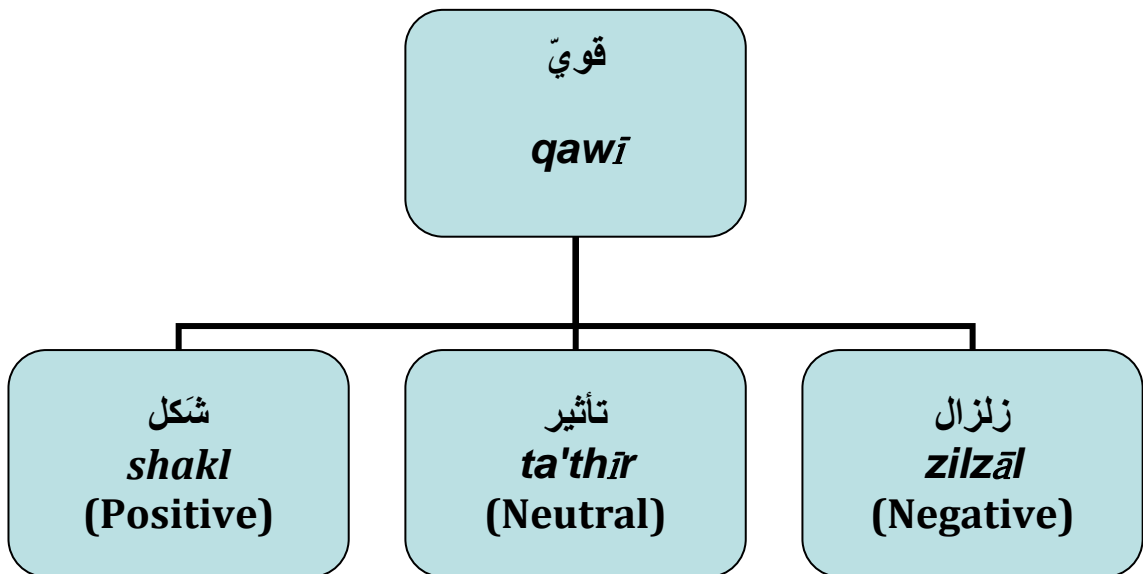
Figure 30: The three highest collocates of *qawī* in terms of polarity, i.e. positive, negative and neutral.

The first three highest collocates of *qawī* in I-AR are in order (from highest to lowest): شكل *shakl* 'manner', تأثير *ta'thīr* 'effect/influence', and زلزال *zilzāl* 'earthquake'. The first collocate, *shakl*, is always positive – it collocates with favourable words like, رائع *ra'i'* 'fantastic', تحسن النتائج *taḥassun al-natā'ij* 'improvement of results', مزيد من الثقة *mazīd mina al-thiqah* 'more confidence', مرغوب *marghūb* 'desired', الإيجابية *al-'ījābiyah* 'positivity'…etc. The second

214

collocate *ta'thīr* can be both neutral and positive, as shown in the examples (214) and (215) below:

" الأعلام عموما له **تأثير قوي** في تغيير اراء الناس..."   (214)

al-i'lām 'umūman lahu ***ta'thīr qawī*** fī taghyīr ārā' al-nās

(I-AR, الحرية الحقيقية *'the real freedom',* http://www.real-freedom.maktooblog.com)

"In general, media has a ***strong influence*** <u>in changing people's opinions</u>…"

"وقد ذكر بعض الأطباء أن للعسل **تأثير قوي** في مرضى الكبد...فقد رأينا نتائج ممتازة و مشجعة..."   (215)

wa qad dhakara ba'ḍ al-aṭibbā' anna lil'asal ***ta'thīr qawī*** fī marḍā al-kabid…<u>faqad ra'aynā natā'ij mumtāzah wa mushajji'ah</u>

(I-AR, فوائد العسل *'The benefits of honey',* <u>http://www.al'iz</u> .net)

"…Some doctors mention that honey has a ***strong (effective/useful) effect*** on liver patients…<u>we have seen encouraging and excellent results</u>…"

"و جاء **زلزال قوي** يسفر عن اصابة أكثر من مئة شخص..."   (216)

wa jā'a ***zilzāl qawī*** <u>yusfir 'an 'iṣābat akthar min mi'at shakhṣ</u>

(I-AR, <u>http://www.ishtartv.com/pnews.html</u>)

"***A strong (destructive) earthquake*** <u>caused the injury of more than one hundred person</u>).

Example 214 shows a neutral tendency of the collocate *ta'thīr*, as the influence of media can be positive or negative. In example 215, *ta'thīr* is extremely positive, as it reflects the positive and favourable benefits of using honey. On the other hand, example 216 shows an extremely negative use of *qawī*, as it here describes the destructive power of an earthquake.

Moreover, *zilzāl 'earthquake'* is obviously negative as it collocates with unfavourable objects, such as: يضرب *yaḍrib* 'hit', قتل *qatl* 'killing', إصابة *iṣābah* 'injury', يدمر *yudammir* 'destroy', إنذار *indhār* 'warning'. In addition to تأثير *ta'thīr* 'influence/effect', أثر *athar,* and نفوذ *nufūdh* are also considered as neutral collocates of *qawī* as they have the same semantic denotations.

Although *qawī* and *jabbār* are well known as names of God among Muslims, there is no indication in either corpus, or even in the monolingual

215

dictionaries (apart from *Al-Wāfi*) that refers to *al-qawī* as a name of God. On the contrary, *jabbār* has a very high LLS frequency (55.98) and occurs 40 times in the I-AR preceding the Arabic vocative يـا *yā 'O God!'*. By examining all the concordance lines of the collocate (*yā jabbār*), it was discovered that *yā jabbār* appraises only God, despite the fact that it can be modified to human beings (with the opposite meaning, such as *'anīd* عنيد 'stubborn' or *zālim* ظالم 'unfair/unjust').

A closer look at table 36 reveals that *jabbār* tends to be more frequently used with tools, e.g. محرك *muḥarrik* 'engine', كمبيوتر *kumbiyūtar* 'computer, etc., to indicate their outstanding quality. Similarly, *jabbār* is used as a highly positive appraisal powerful adjective when the things appraised are جهد *juhd* 'effort', عمل *'amal* 'work', مشروع *mashrū'* 'project', etc., where a gorgeous piece of work is being referred to, for instance.

Surprisingly, the three monolingual dictionaries ignore these two important appraisal categories that corpus analysis reveals, i.e. appraising tools and efforts. However, both categories are in the top ten collocates, as indicated in tables 35 and 36.

In fact, *jabbār* and *qawī* can be used interchangeably in MSA when *jabbār* is used as a positive appraisal adjective. However, when *jabbār* denotes a negative tendency, it cannot be used in the place of *qawī*. For example, *qawī* and *jabbār* can both modify *silāḥ* 'a weapon' or *juhd* 'effort'. However, analysing the concordance lines reveals that positive *jabbār* – generally – indicates greatness and perfection in addition to power, whereas *qawī* denotes mainly having power.

Figure 31: Concordance lines of *silāḥ qawī* from AL-H.

The above figure shows the five occurrences of *silāh qawī* in Al-H. Interestingly, the five examples show *silāh* as a figurative noun, i.e. it is not the actual weapon used in war. It modifies (in order) سوق اقتصادية عربية *sūq iqtiṣādīyah 'arabīyah* 'Economic Arabic Market', حوار الحضارات *ḥiwār al-ḥaḍarāt* 'Civilizations' dialogue', الأعلام *al-i'lām* 'Media', الصداقة *al-ṣadāqah* 'The friendship' and دور الأعلام *dawr al-i'lām* 'The role of media'.

     silāh jabbār, on the other hand, refers to an extraordinary, unusual, outstanding and extremely effective weapon as the following example illustrates:

Figure 32: An example of *silāh jabbār* from I-AR.

     Conversely, when the things appraised are 'people', such as *malik* 'king', *ḥākim* 'judge, commander, leader', then *jabbār* turns into an absolute negative adjective. All examples in the Al-H and the I-AR corpora that modify people denote extremely negative categories, such as *'anīd* عنيد 'stubborn' or ظالم *ẓālim* 'unfair/unjust'. In this negative sense, *jabbār* cannot be used interchangeably with *qawī*. In a span window of 0:1 *'anīd* عنيد 'stubborn' appears to be the strongest collocate of *jabbār* in I-AR with LLS (212.91) and occurs 53 times in the corpus, as the following examples explain.

(217) "وخاب كل **جبار عنيد**"

(I-AR, http://www.balagh.com/mosoa/quran/qzowqbot.htm)

wa	khāba	kull	**jabbār**	**'anīd**
and	failed	every	stubborn	obstinate

"and every **obstinate/stubborn potentate** was brought to naught"

(218) "ونطلب من ربنا أن ينتقم من كل **جبار عنيد**"

wa	naṭlub	min	rabbinā	an	yantaqim
and	we ask	from	our God	to	take revenge

min	kull	**jabbār**	**'anīd**
from	every	stubborn	obstinate

"and we ask our God to take revenge on every **obstinate/stubborn potentate**"

(I-AR, http://www.elbehira.com/elbehira/nd).

Although *qāsin* is widely used as a negative appraisal adjective in MSA, LLS and Joint reveal a very interesting and unexpected appraisal positive collocate of *qāsin*, i.e. نبض *nabḍ* 'pluck' – that is, 'a stringed instrument', as defined in EMD (p. 685) (pl. نوابض *nawābiḍ*). 'pluck' also refers to the act of pulling and releasing a taut cord[36], i.e. resilience. When *qāsin* modifies a 'pluck' it reflects a highly favourable positive adjective and it means 'very strongly/firmly'. *nabḍ* is the only positive collocate and, surprisingly, it has the highest LLS in Al-H, at 29.84. *qāsin*, as a positive adjective, collocates with favourable phrases extracted from concordance lines of Al-H corpus, as illustrated in the underlined examples below:

(219)

مصاصات صدمات *بنبض قاس* يعكس مزيدا من الثبات

maṣṣāṣāt ṣadamāt *binabḍ qāsin* ya'kis mazīdan min al-thabāt

"*Shock absorbents with a very strong pluck* that reflects more stability"

(220)

لا يعد من سلبيات **سيارة من هذا المعيار**

lā yu'ad min salbiyyāt **sayyārah min hadhā al-mi'yār**

It (pluck) is not considered as a negative criterion **of a car of this kind**

(221)

نبض قاس مع قضيب مقاوم للأنحناء

nabḍ qāsin ma' qaḍīb muqāwim lil'inḥinā'

A very strong pluck with a bending resistant bar.

It should be noted that all the examples that include the positive collocate نبض قاس *nabḍ qāsin* are related to the car industry. Apart from *nabḍ,* all other

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[36] See: http://www.audioenglish.net/dictionary/pluck.htm

collistcates of *qāsin* in Al-H and I-AR are extremely negative, i.e. they occur in unfavourable contexts, for example: عدوّ *'aduww* 'enemy', تعذيب *ta'dhīb* 'torture', and عقاب *'iqāb* 'punishment', as indicated in table (37).

7.6.2 Powerless Appraisal Adjectives: ضعيف *ḍa'īf*, واهن *wāhin*, and ركيك *rakīk* 'weak'

ضعيف *ḍa'īf* **(1)**

Al-Wafī p. 263

الضعيف: ذو الضعف ...جمع ضعفاء وضعاف وضعفى...والضعف بالفتح والضم ضد القوة وقيل الضعف

بالفتح في الرأي والضعف بالضم في البدن.

aḍḍa'īf[37]: the one who has weakness. The plural is: *ḍu'afā'*, *ḍi'āf*, and *ḍa'fā*

aḍḍa'f: is the opposite of *al-quwwah* 'the strength'. It is said that *aḍḍa'f*

denotes weakness in 'opinion' or 'body' (depending on its vowel markers).

Al-Muḥīt pp. 1072, 1073

الضعف: ضد القوة ...الضعف (بالفتح): في الرأي و (بالضم): في البدن

الضعيف: (في اللغة الحميرية) الأعمى

aḍḍa'f: is opposite to *al-quwwah* 'the strength'…it denotes weakness in

'opinion' or 'body' (depending on its markers). *aḍḍa'īf* 'the weak': (in the

Himyaritic language) means 'blind'.

Muḥīt Al-Muḥīt p. 1247

الضعف: ضد القوة ...أو الضعف (بالفتح): في الرأي و (بالضم): في البدن...والضعف عند العامة بمعنى

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[37] The assimilation is used in the transliteration of *al-ḍa'īf* as it is presented in the Arabic monolingual dictionaries with *shaddah* on ḍ

المرض...والضعيف أيضا "الأعمى" في لغة بني حمير

aḍḍa'f: is opposite to *al-quwwah* 'the strength'…it denotes weakness in 'opinion' or 'body' (depending on its markers). *aḍḍa'īf* 'the weak' is the 'blind' in the language of ḥimyar.

(2) *wāhin* واهن **(2)**

Al-Wāfī p. 723

رجل واهن: أي ضعيف لا بطش عنده

الوهن: ضعف في الأمر والعمل والبدن

A man who is *wāhin*: one who is weak, feeble, lacking power.

al-wahn (n.): indecisiveness, weakness of action or physical capacity.

Al-Muḥīt p. 1599

واهن و موهون: لا بطش عنده

الوهن: الضعف في العمل (وكذلك في الأمر والعظم و نحوه).

wāhin and *mawhūn*: one who lacks power or strength.

al-wahn: weakness of action; also in decision-making, etc.

Muḥīt Al-Muḥīt p. 2294

الواهن: اسم فاعل...ورجل واهن أي ضعيف لا بطش عنده

الوهن: ضعف في الأمر والعمل والبدن

al-wāhin: active participle. A person so described as weak and lacks power/capacity.

al-wahn: indecisiveness and weakness of action or physical capacity.

(3) *rakīk* ركيك **(3)**

Al-Wāfī p. 243

الركيك: المسترخي القصير الهمه...الركيك من الكلام: السخيف الألفاظ والمعاني.

ركيك العلم: قليله...ركيك اللفظ: ضعيفه...و ثوب (ركيك النسج): ضعيفه و رقيقه.

al-rakīk: used of a person: lacking any sufficient resolve or determination.

rakīk: referring to speech: silly, trivial, meaningless

rakīk: referring to knowledge: slight, inadequate.

rakīk: referring to utterance or expression: weak.

rakīk: referring to garment: weakly/ loosely textured.

Al-Muḥīṭ p.1215

الركيك: الضعيف في عقله و رأيه... أو من لا يغار أو من لا يهابه أهله.

al-rakīk: used of one who is weak or feeble in his thinking and opinions, or of one who feels no jealousy or is not respected by his own family members.

Muḥīṭ Al- Muḥīṭ p. 813

الركيك: يستوي فيه المذكر و المؤنث ... جمع: ركاك...و رجل ركيك العلم أي قليله...و ركيك اللفظ أي ضعيفه...و ثوب ركيك النسج أي ضعيفه و رقيقه ...و في الكليات كل شيء قليل من ماء أو نبت أو علم فهو ركيك...و الركيك المسترخي القصير الهمه...و الركيك من الكلام السخيف الألفاظ و المعاني.

al-rakīk: a form covering both masculine and feminine…pl. *rikāk*…one whose knowledge is described as *rikāk* has only slight or inadequate knowledge. Any utterance that is *rakīk* is a weak one. A garment that is *rakīk* in its texture is one that is weakly or loosely woven. In general terms, anything that is deficient in water, plant life or knowledge may be termed *rakīk*. The expression *al-rakīk* refers to someone who lacks sufficient resolve or determination. When referring to speech, *rakīk* means any silly, trivial or meaningless utterance.

Table 38: Definitions of *ḍaʿīf*, *wāhin* and *rakīk* in monolingual Arabic dictionaries

The first obvious thing to note from the table above is that the three monolingual dictionaries define the three powerless adjectives as ضعيف *ḍaʿīf* 'weak' or 'not having power'. However, there are two main observations to make here. In the first place, table 38 shows the denotational meaning of the three powerless adjectives under discussion. The lexicographical meanings provided by the three dictionaries can be divided into three main appraisal categories:

(a) Physical/mental weakness
(b) Linguistic weakness (verbal/non-verbal)
(c) ضعيف *ḍaʿīf* 'weak' is defined as opposite of قوي *qawī* 'strong' (although defining a word by its opposite is not a currently recommended approach).

In the second place, the apparently near synonyms *wāhin, ḍaʿīf*, and *rakīk* are used to define each other. *ḍaʿīf* is used to define *wāhin* and *rakīk*, and vice versa, as shown in table 38. In addition, the appraisal senses in (a) & (c) are shared between *wāhin* and *ḍaʿīf*. *Al-Muḥīṭ* adds another appraisal meaning to *ḍaʿīf*, i.e. أعمى *aʿmā* 'blind', a meaning that is no longer used in MSA. The three dictionaries also agree that *wāhin* is used to appraise actions and physical weakness.

As for *rakīk*, *Al-Wāfī* provides meaning (b), which refers to a weakness in utterances in general (whether verbal or written). On the other hand, *Al-Muḥīṭ* also refers to *rakīk*, as an appraisal adjective to modify a person who is unrespectable or a person who does not feel jealous, a meaning that, as far I am aware, is unusual in MSA. Table (39) below summarises the main dis/similarities between the three powerless adjectives as the monolingual dictionaries present them.

Appraisal senses	*ḍaʿīf*	*wāhin*	*rakīk*
Physical weakness	✔	✔	✘
Mental/opinion weakness	✔	✔	✔
Linguistic weakness	✘	✘	✔

Table 39: The three main appraisal senses of *ḍaʿīf, wāhin* and *rakīk* as they appear in the monolingual Arabic dictionaries

However, the following three tables of LLS and Joint show what other sorts of differences or similarities occur between *ḍaʻīf, wāhin*, and *rakīk*.

Collocates		I-AR		Collocates		Al-H	
		LLS	Joint			LLS	Joint
اسناد isnād	attribution	393.01	133	موقف mawqif	situation	19.03	11
هو huwa	he	340.08	325	احتمال iḥtimāl	possibility	13.11	7
حديث ḥadīth	ḥadīth	302.08	192	نمو numuw	growth	12.31	6
قلب qalb	heart	105.61	77	فريق farīq	team	11.95	7
أنا /أنك/أنه anā/annaka/ annahu	I am/you are/he is	105.06	160	اقبال iqbāl	arrival-coming	11.38	4
مخلوق makhlūq	creature	55.43	28	بلد balad	town	11.09	6
احتمال iḥtimāl	possibility	53.34	31	الأمل al-amal	the hope	8.66	4
صوت ṣawt	voice	52.86	35	تداول tadāwul	deliberation	8.65	4
كان/يكون kāna/yakūn	be	34.82	73	أنه annahu	he is	6.25	6
انسان insān	mankind	33.87	21	وضع waḍʻ	situation	4.34	4

Table 40: The top ten left collocates of *ḍaʻīf* in I-AR and Al-H

		I-AR				Al-H	
Collocates		LLS	Joint	Collocates		LLS	Joint
صوت ṣawt	voice	43.76	14	عواء 'iwā'	howl	6.44	1
عزم 'azm	resolution	7.15	2	خيط khayṭ	string	4.73	1
مواء miwā'	meow	6.40	1	جسد jasad	body	4.14	1
صمت ṣamt	silence	5.03	2	صوت ṣawt	voice/sound	4.14	1
مجداف mijdāf	oar	4.59	1	أمر amr	matter	3.41	1
ضوء ḍaw'	light	4.56	1	وضع waḍ'	situation	2.57	1
خوار khiwār	mooing/sound of cows	4.14	1				
ضامر ḍāmir	slim/thin	4.01	1				
نسيم nasīm	breeze	3.58	1				
هو huwa	he	3.56	4				

Table 41: The top ten left collocates of *wāhin* in I-AR and Al-H

	Collocates	I-AR			Collocates	Al-H	
		LLS	Joint			LLS	Joint
أسلوب uslūb	style	7.62	3	الأولى al-ūlā	primary	13.73	2
شعر shi'r	poetry	5.49	3	ضعيف ḍa'īf	weak	8.57	2
تأويل ta'wīl	interpretation	4.53	1	كلام kalām	speech	7.02	2
كلام kalām	speech	3.68	2	أسلوب uslūb	style	4.54	1
خط khaṭṭ	hand- writing	3.67	2	اخر ākhar	another	2.09	1
أثاث athāth	furniture	3.21	1	انه annahu	he is	1.55	1
مزيج mazīj	mixture	3.17	1				
موضوع mawḍū'	subject	3.03	2				
شكل shakl	form	3.02	2				
حديث ḥadīth	speech	2.93	2				

Table 42: The top ten left collocates of *rakīk* in I-AR and Al-H

An analysis of the most significant collocates of *ḍa'īf*, *wāhin*, and *rakīk* represented in the above tables (40, 41 and 42) reveals that *ḍa'īf* occurs most frequently with words of different appraisal categories, and it is not only an adjective that appraises physical and mental aspects, as dictionaries presume in table 38. More surprisingly, physical and mental hits are not found in the top ten collocates of *ḍa'īf*, either in the I-AR or Al-H corpora.

اسناد *isnād* 'attribution' (related to the Prophet Mohammed's ḥadīth), موقف *mawqif* 'situation', احتمال *iḥtimāl* 'possibility', and فريق *farīq* 'team' are the strongest collocates of *ḍa'īf*, as shown in table 40. In fact, collocates such as صوت *ṣawt* 'voice', حديث *ḥadīth* 'speech', and هو *huwa* 'he', are repeated in the top ten collocates of *ḍa'īf*, *wāhin* and *rakīk*.

However, low frequency words were excluded because it would not be possible to build reasonable conclusions upon such few examples (see tables 41 and 42). McEnery et. al (2006 : 11) assert that there should be a reasonable number of usages to be examined because "the low frequency may result in unreliable quantification".

7.7 Results: Same But Different!

Although the power-related adjectives in both languages share similar denotational meanings, as dictionaries presume, analysis reveals that there are differences. The three Arabic powerful adjectives جبار *jabbār*, قوى *qawī* and قاس *qāsin*, as well as their three powerless antonyms ضعيف *ḍa'īf*, واهن *wāhin*, and ركيك *rakīk*, can be positive, negative, or neutral, depending on the contextual surrounding environment. The two tables below illustrate this point.

Appraisal powerful adjectives	Polarity	E- translation
qawī	Positive	Effective/influential/useful
	Negative	destructive/damaging/devastating
	neutral	strong
jabbār	Positive	great/outstanding/remarkable
	Negative	unjust/prejudiced/unfair
qāsin	Positive	solid/firm/well-knit/ firmly connected
	Negative	very difficult/hard/complex/cold

Table 43: Possible English translations of *qawī, jabbār* and *qāsin* in terms of appraisal polarity

Appraisal powerless adjectives	Appraisal categories	E- translations
wāhin	silence/voices/cries/sounds of animals	feeble/faint/exhausted/powerless
ḍa'īf	hadith/attribution/situation/growth	weak
rakīk	language/speech	unfashionable/not stylish

Table 44: Possible English translations of *wāhin*, *ḍa'īf* and *rakīk* in terms of collocational appraisal categories

Tables 43 and 44 highlight the fact that although *jabbār*, *qawī* and *qāsin* have similar denotative meanings, the native speaker of Arabic prefers to say: *iqtiṣād qawī* 'strong economy' (not *jabbār* or *qāsin*). Interestingly, *jabbār* does not actually exist as a neutral appraised powerful adjective. It is an adjective that is used either extremely positively or extremely negatively. If *qawī* modifies words like *farīq* 'team', *jaysh* 'army', or *iqtiṣād* 'economy', it denotes favourable contents. A negative *qawī* occurs when the thing evaluated is a *zilzāl* 'earthquake'. In such cases, *qawī* is interpreted negatively and turns into an unpleasant adjective meaning 'destructive/damaging/devastating'. *qawī* remains neutral when it modifies nouns such as *ta'thīr* 'influence', or *shakl* 'form'. It can be interpreted either positively or negatively. All instances of its use in both Arabic corpora show قاس *qāsin* as a negative, unfavourable and powerful adjective with one single exception of positive indication, i.e. its collocates with نبض *nabḍ* 'pluck'. As a negative appraisal adjective, *nabḍ* usually means 'very difficult/tough/complex', especially when modifying *rajul* 'man', *wāqi'* 'reality', and *shay'* 'something'. However, as a positive adjective, it has only one meaning, i.e. 'solid/firm/well-knit'.

In order to get a more precise picture about the polarity of the powerful appraisal adjectives,[38] and to see which one is the most positive/negative, one hundred concordance lines from I-AR and Al-H were analysed, and the positive, negative, neutral, and unrelated hits of each powerful adjective were counted

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[38] The polarities of the powerless adjectives are not examined here because they all have a negative tendency.

manually. The concordance lines were sorted out by 'frequency/left'. The following table displays the result of this analysis.

Adj.	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Unrelated	
	I-AR	Al-H	I-AR	Al-H	I-AR	Al-H	I-AR	Al-H
jabbār	41	30	37	11	0	0	22	59
qawī	70	81	12	13	0	3	18	3
qāsin	1	6	77	87	0	0	17	4

Table 45: Distribution of *jabbār, qawī* and *qāsin* in terms of polarity in I-AR and Al-H

Analysing the concordances of *jabbār, qawī,* and *qāsin* will show their tendency to occur in negative, positive, or neutral contexts. First of all, it is obvious that *jabbār* has the highest number of unrelated hits, especially in Al-H. More than half of the total one hundred concordance lines are either proper nouns (e.g. جبار آسيا *āsyā jabbār*), names of songs, or colloquial language that does not represent MSA. In comparison to *jabbār, qawī* and *qāsin* have a lower number of unrelated hits. Most of the unrelated examples involving the graphic form of قوي *qawī* refer to the verb قَوِيَ *qawiya* 'to be strong' preceded by إن *in* or إذا *idhā* 'if', and some refer to the plural noun form قوى *quwā* 'forces'. Calculating the total number of positive and negative occurrences of *jabbār, qawī* and *qāsin* in I-AR and Al-H*,* it was found that *qawī* had the highest frequency of positive uses, occurring 151 times, while positive *jabbār* occurred 71 times, and positive *qāsin* 7 times. On the other hand, negative *qāsin* has the highest frequency of negative uses (164), followed by *jabbār* (48) and *qawī* (25). Obviously, the gaps between the adjectives are very large, a fact that contradicts the dictionaries' claims that they are nearly synonymous. The above table and the two figures below show that *qawī, jabbār,* and *qāsin* are typically far from being synonyms.
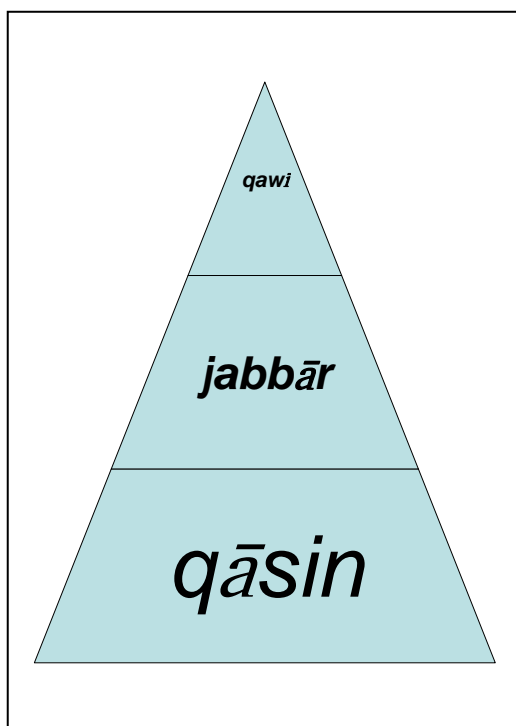
Figure 33: The negative distribution of *qāsin,* *jabbār* **and** *qawī*
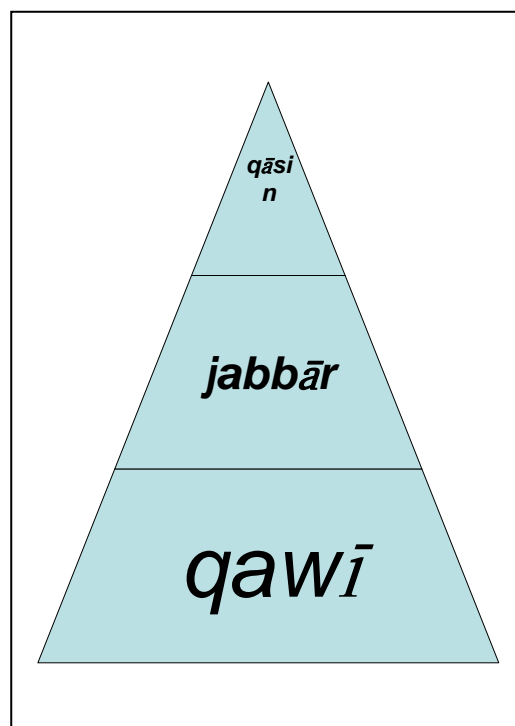
Figure 34: The positive distribution of *qawī, jabbār* **and** *qāsin*

The above figures show that the three near-synonyms can be arranged, from positive to negative as follows: *qawī, jabbār and qāin.*

Contrary to expectations, there are a variety of structural patterns that feature the Arabic appraisal power-related adjectives. I could not find a typical syntactic structure for positive *jabbār* that differs from that of negative *jabbār*. To illustrate this point, I have extracted some examples from I-AR and Al-H corpora. The following examples are represented in an appraisal frame with several slot values.

(222)

يجب أن يكون أساسا لتضامن عربي قوي

(Al-H, 2000)

yajibu	an	yakūna	asāsan	li-taḍāmun
must	that	be	a foundation	of solidarity

‘arabī   qawī

"It must be a foundation of strong Arabic solidarity"

- Appraiser: *ضمير مستتر* a *hidden pronoun*, i.e. هو 'he' which is deemed by traditional grammar to be omitted after yakūna يكون

229

- Appraised: *asāsan litaḍāmun*

- Hinge: *yajibu an yakūn*

- Appraisal category: *'arabī qawī*

- Polarity: positive

  (223)

<div align="center">إنّ الله يذل كل جبار</div>

<div align="center">(I-AR, http//:www.humum.net/country/topic.php).</div>

inna	Allāh	yudhillu	kull	jabbār
indeed	God	suppresses	every	stubborn

"(Indeed) Allah (God) suppresses every stubborn"

- Appraiser: *Allāh*

- Appraised: *kull*

- Hinge: *yudhill*

- Appraisal category: *jabbār*

- Polarity: Negative

  (224)

<div align="center">هذا أمر طبيعي لكنه عمل و مجهود جبار</div>

<div align="center">(I-AR, http:www. Alresalah.net/more news.htm)</div>

hadhā	amr	ṭabī'ī	lākinnahu	'amal	wa
this	matter	normal	but it	a work	and

majhūd	jabbār
effort	great

This is natural, but it is a great effort and work.

- Appraiser: suffix *hu* on *lākinna*

- Appraised: *majhūd* and *'amal*

- Hinge: *lākinna*

- Appraisal categories: *jabbār*

- Polarity: positive

(225)

<div dir="rtl">خصوصًا أنّ الورقة كُتبت بأسلوب ركيك</div>

(Al-H, 2001)

khuṣūṣan	anna	al-waraqah	kutibat	bi-uslūb
especially	that	the paper	was written	with a style

rakīk

unfashionable

"Especially that the paper was written in an unfashionable style"

- ▪ Appraiser: (Unknown due to passive voice)
- ▪ Appraised: *al-waraqah*
- ▪ Hinge: *kutibat*
- ▪ Appraisal categories: *rakīk*
- ▪ Polarity: negative

The first example has the particle أن / *an*, which Jiyad (2006: 27) describes as "the most common subjunctive particle in Arabic". It usually occurs between two verbs, in this example (e.g. 222), the two verbs are *yajib* and *yakūn*. *an* has the same function as the infinitive in English and usually does not have an English translational equivalent. For example, in 222, *an* introduces a subordinate clause "*yakūn asāsan litaḍāmun 'arabī qawī*", which functions as the subject of the main verb *yajibu*.

As can be seen from the above examples, the appraiser can be implicitly or explicitly mentioned in the appraisal sentence. In example 222, the appraiser is called ضمير مستتر *ḍamīr mustatir* 'a hidden pronoun', which refers in this example to the 'unity' between Lebanon and Syria. On the other hand, the appraiser, *Allāh*, is explicitly mentioned in example 223. Although examples 223 and 224 have the same appraisal category (i.e. *jabbār*) they are different in polarity. However, it is noticeable that examples 223 and 224 are introduced by *inna* (in 223) and *lākinna* (in 224), which are two particles of "إنّ و أخواتها *inna* and its sisters". *inna* and its sisters are six accusative particles: إنّ / *inna* 'indeed', أنّ / *anna* 'that', لعل *la'alla* 'so that', لكن *lākinna* 'but', كأنّ *ka'anna* 'as if', and ليت *layta* 'wish'. *inna* and *lākinna* are called nominalisers because – as seen in 223 and 224 – they introduce the nominal sentence. The subject of these six accusative particles is called اسم إنّ / *ism inna*, and is always in the accusative case (i.e.

منصوب *manṣūb*), whilst the predicate إنّ خبر *khabar inna* is always in the nominative case (i.e. مرفوع *marfū'*).[39]

Examples 223 and 224 also show that *inna* and its sisters as well as *lākinna* should be followed by either a noun (NP), such as *Allāh* (e.g. 223), or an attached pronoun suffix, such as *Al-hā'* (e.g.224). In addition, the subject – that is *ism inna* or any of its sisters – in both examples functions as the appraiser. Whereas *inna* in e.g. 223 functions as an affirmative particle and means 'in fact' or 'indeed', *anna* in e.g. 225 means 'that'. Example 225 also shows that the appraiser can be unknown if the structure of the sentence is passive.

7.8 Conclusion and Implications

The present study reveals that even large, well-known dictionaries do not always provide full and accurate information about the meaning of words. Dictionaries are not very helpful for identifying the different semantic prosodies of near-synonyms, as they focus on denotational rather than connotational meanings (cf. Partington 1998: 69-72; Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 25; Xiao and McEnery 2006: 12). Although the AMMD and EMD are considered the most well known and trusted dictionaries for Arabic learners and researchers, this analysis has shone a spotlight on some limited, missing, misleading, and even erroneous translations of appraisal adjectives.

While English and Arabic are unrelated, their collocational behaviour and the semantic prosodies for near synonyms share some similarities (consider, e.g: *powerful computer* vs. جبار كمبيوتر *kumbiyūtar jabbār*[40], in tables 24 and 36).

The analysis of this chapter has focused on contrastive (positive/negative) power-related adjectives in order to reveal the different semantic environments using concordancing and collocational tools. The most striking result to emerge from the data provided about the English powerless adjective *weak*, as well as the powerful adjective *strong*, is the different and somewhat contradicting information presented by the bilingual dictionaries

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[39] For more information on *inna and* its sisters, see:
http://corpus.quran.com/documentation/adjective.jsp
[40] *kumbiyūtar* is a loan-word derived from the English word *computer*.

AMMD and EMD, as well as by the monolingual dictionaries LASD, COED, and WCD.

The collocational analysis has shown that some collocations whose meanings seem transparent, and which are taken for granted by native English speakers, may be ambiguous and misleading for Arab learners, and lexicographers need to always bear this in mind.

The study proves that – assumed – synonymous words like the powerful Arabic adjectives: *jabbār*, *qawī* and *qāsin* are not necessarily collocationally interchangeable as their meanings can be entirely different and even contradictory.

This study can provide some lessons for translators, language tutors, and Arab learners of English as a second language and for English learners of Arabic too. It reflects the extent to which collocation and the semantic prosody of appraisal adjectives are really problematic in English-Arabic-English translation, especially if we consider dictionaries as reliable sources of denotational meanings.

Moreover, by contrasting the lexicographical meanings with the others provided by corpora, it is suggested that human intuition together with dictionary meanings can never be a reliable route to meaning. The secondary meanings and relationships that lie outside the core meanings of a word are best explored by the powerful tools of corpus linguistics. As Dais (2009: 3) comments: "The dictionary shows only some limited results and collocations. But a large corpus will avoid these kinds of limitations". Hence, concordance lines can help translators, teachers, and learners to observe repeated patterns and meanings. In the case of analysing collocational synonyms in particular, a corpus can provide useful clues in finding different shades of meaning for a word.

In practice, as can be seen from this study of power-related adjectives, semantic prosody can provide insight into the translation of appraisal adjectival near-synonyms like *jabbār*, *qawī* and *qāsin*, on one hand, and *ḍaʻīf*, *wāhin*, and *rakīk* on the other, as they typically operate in a different range of contexts. For example, *qāsin* is a well known negative adjective in Arabic, but was found to be involved in a typical positive phraseological pattern that belongs to a particular function (of expressing firmness and stability in the car industry). This typical function set *qāsin* apart from its near-synonyms. The reliable examples that

corpora provide make compiling a dictionary an easier task. Moreover, lexicographers can gain a more accurate picture of the frequency, and the semantic and syntactic usage of a word through corpora.

In conclusion, lexicographers must be aware of the fact that: "He [(one who writes or speaks in a foreign language)] will be 'caught' every time, not by grammar, which is probably suspiciously better than that of educated natives, not by his vocabulary, which may well be richer, but by his unacceptable or improbable collocations" (Newmark 1981: 180).

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and Future Work

This thesis opens up many avenues in the field of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The predominant theoretical approach informing the chapters offers certain insights into the main facets of SFL, i.e. 'above' and 'beyond/around' the clause. The thesis views the two functional systems as complementary, as they correspond to each other in the creation of meaning.

As far as Arabic linguistics is concerned, this thesis is the first to consider features both 'above' and 'beyond' the clause. One way into this is by looking above the clause at the phenomena of coordination and subordination, and another way is by looking beyond the clause at the phenomena of possibility and necessity.

The initial chapters set out to produce an SFL analysis of coordination and subordination that belong to Halliday's parataxis and hypotaxis [above the clause]. This study has discovered that English and Arabic are different in their preference for syntactic relations, most importantly in their use of subordination and coordination. Through analysing original English texts (BNC and I-EN) and original Arabic texts (Al-H and I-AR), it was shown that Arabic coordinators do not always have the same English translations.

The subsequent chapters focused on the other facet of SFL, i.e. beyond/around the clause. Chapter four dealt with appraisal theory, which was regarded as an extension of Halliday's SFL. Though Arabic and English are very different languages, the analysis has revealed remarkable similarities with respect to degree adverbs; thus while *totally different* is frequently used in BNC and I-EN, its Arabic equivalent *mukhtalif tamāman* is commonly used in Al-H and I-AR. In addition, there is an obvious similarity between the occurrences of *extremely difficult* and *ṣaʿb lilghāyah*. On the other hand, the analysis has shown that there is a different contextual environment for the boosters *extremely*, *totally*, *tamāman* and *lilghāya*, i.e. they tend to be collocationally restricted to a particular semantic class of items*.*

Chapter five analysed modality as a way for achieving appraisal. Some crucial issues relating to possibility and necessity as two basic elements in the study of modality (a major carrier of appraisal/evaluation) were explored. It was argued that translations of the meanings of modality have not been documented as comprehensively as most researchers have assumed. The thesis presented different choices for the translations of possibility *may* and necessity *must*. In terms of modal meanings in Arabic, the analysis has shown that Huddleston's NICE properties are probably not universal and accordingly, the characteristics of modals often vary between languages.

An outline of how the corpus data shed light on the seldom-discussed phenomenon of power-related appraisal adjectives in English and Arabic was also given in chapters 6 and 7, where a collocational semantic prosodic appraisal treatment was provided. In addition, the concordance data show that it is a tool that is very well suited to highlighting collocational patterns. Studying the collocational behavior of power-related adjectival near-synonyms by using corpus data can supplement dictionary information, and hence can help learners decide which substitution of one item is more appropriate than another.

Chapter seven's analysis led to the conclusion that the learner/translator must pay attention to the collocational habits of related items in order to achieve collocational suitability as well as semantic appraisal comprehensiveness. With reference to the examples discussed in chapter seven, *qāsin* (a well known negative adjective in Arabic) was found to be involved in a typical phraseological positive pattern that belongs to a particular function (of expressing firmness and stability in the car industry). This typical function sets *qāsin* apart from its near-synonyms. The reliable examples that corpora provide make a dictionary compiler's work easier, and provide lexicographers with a more accurate picture of the frequency of word use, as well as semantic and syntactic information. As far as semantic prosody is concerned, the study of power-related prosodies of appraisal elements requires the contribution of researchers from different disciplines – ranging from lexicography to corpus linguistics and translation studies, as observed in chapter seven. My data analysis has led me to share Louw's (1993) hope that prosodies will receive their just attention from lexicographers, who need to be particularly careful in indicating a substitutional synonym of the entry word.

Finally, the results attained throughout the thesis imply a pressing need for the corpus-linguistic approach to be considered in Arabic linguistic research. Applying this methodology can improve lexical awareness and increase credibility in Arabic studies. Thus, this thesis offers interesting findings and implications for learners, language tutors, and translators. As with all such research, the scope of the present PhD has its limits, and a number of recommendations for further research arise from this. With respect to power-related appraisal emotional adjectives, chapter seven can be considered to provide a starting point for uncovering other disguised areas of emotional adjectives, such as *in/offensive* emotional adjectives (e.g. مهين / مهذب *muhīn/ muhadhdhab*). This is an interesting topic that has yet to be tackled in Arabic linguistics. Moreover, this thesis suggests reworking the field of modality with a different scope to 'possibility and necessity', which is tackled in chapter five. In other words, I suggest that modal expressions in the Arabic language that denote the future (e.g. سوف *sawfa* 'shall/will') should be analysed from an appraisal perspective. It is hoped that this study will be of value to those concerned with translation, as well as those learning and teaching English as a second language in Arab countries.

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