For a relational approach to modern literary Arabic conditional clauses
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For a *relational* approach to modern literary Arabic conditional clauses.

0. Introduction

The issue of the conditional in classical Arabic is treated in the classical Arabic grammars, be the authors Arab, both traditional such as *Awḍāḥ al-Masālik*’s Ibn Hišām (Ibn Hišām, 1989) (d. 761/1360) and modern as Ġamīʾ al-Durūs al-ʿArabiyya’s al-Ǧalāyīnī (1886-1944) (Ǧalāyīnī (Al-), 2000), or foreign (Arabist), for instance Blachère and Demombymes (Blachère et Guadefroy-Demombymes, 1975) of Fischer (Fischer, 1987) or the work dedicated by Peled to this question (Peled, 1992). Using the novel by Ġamāl al-Ǧiṭānī, *Al-Zaynī Barakāt* as a starting point, we identified many deviations from the rules of the classical Arabic. The question then arose as to how we express the conditional in Modern Arabic. Assuming that the answer must be found in the Modern Standard Arabic grammars, we intended to compare what we saw in different contemporary literary texts with what these grammars present to us on the subject. Yet, the study of the literary texts shows that these grammars are descriptively inadequate. Our purpose here will be to study only the literary register of Modern Standard Arabic, highlighting at the same time the descriptive inadequacy of the Modern Standard Arabic grammars and the *relationship* existing between the operator of the conditional clause and the apodosis of the hypothetical system in question.

1. Literary corpus, methodology and first observations

Regarding descriptive realism, we chose a linguistic approach based on corpus and thus have reviewed hypothetical systems *in extenso* through various contemporary literary works. In diachrony, our sample covers the period from 1963 to 2005. These then are novels by authors born after the 1930s, *i.e.* well after the second generation of the Ṣuhḥa and its effects on the Arabic language, and at a time when the influence of European languages on it must have been already widely felt. Geographically speaking, our corpus ranges from Syria to Morocco. The list of works is as follow: Kanafānī, *Riḍāl fi l-šams* and *Al-ʿĀšiq*; Zafzāf, *Ḥiwrār layl mutaʾaḥḍhir*; Ǧiṭānī, *Al-Zaynī Barakāt*; Tāmīr, *Al-Numār fi l-yawn al-ʿāṣir*; Miṣʿidī, *Ḥaddaṭa Abū Hurayra qāla...*; Ibrāḥīm, *al-Laḡna, Dāt and Wardā*; Ibn

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1. I dedicate this paper, which is a translation from my French article « Pour une approche *relationnelle* de la conditionnelle en arabe littéraire moderne » published in *Arabica*, 2010, 57, pp. 68-98, to ’Adil and Muḥammad, for them to understand a little bit more what I do to their language... All my special thanks to Hannah Scottdeuchar who has gently read and corrected this English version, with patience and accuracy.


5. Tāmīr, 1981.


Haddūqa, Al-Ğāziya wa-l-darāwīs\(^8\); al-Kūnī, Malakūt ṭiflat al-Rabb\(^9\). It is clear that what both Arabist Classical Arabic grammars teach us inadequately reflects modern uses. We should also note that these uses do not sufficiently shock modern translators who, otherwise, would perhaps not have failed to report them. This is a direct result of the fact that this new syntax is familiar to us, since it is more or less ours...

For our study then, we identified all of the conditional clause operators present in the novels mentioned, i.e. both the two "classical" particles in and law (and its derivatives, including law-lā), and the time circonstant (zarf zamān) idā (and its derivatives including idā mā "as soon as, hardly"). From this set, we naturally chose to keep only truly hypothetical systems (where the protasis p logically implies the apodosis q), thus excluding the concessive clauses (wa-law, ḥattā law, ḥattā wa-law, ḥattā idā, wa-in, etc.). Of the remaining systems, we then retained only the hypothetical systems that are doubly verbal and assertive. "Doubly verbal" excludes 1) systems that have a protasis introduced by law anna or law-lā, 2) systems that are not fully conditional (i.e. cases of protasis without apodosis which are truncation, optation and frozen uses, like law samahta or in šā‘a llah), and 3) systems whose apodosis is a nominal or existential sentence (like lā budda an, ʿalay-hi an, bi-wusʿi-hi an). However, this distinction retains the apodoses which are phrases made up of initial NP/report where the report is itself a verbal sentence (like inna-hu faʿala/yafʿalu\(^c\)). "Assertive" excludes the imperative, the negative imperative, and the interrogative. From this first selection, out of the entire identified corpus, we get 402 systems. Of this total, we will only process the 283 relevant if \(p\) \(q\) sequences (which represent 70.40% of the total while the sequence \(q\) \(if\) \(p\) only represents 29.60%), to assess the possible importance of fa- in the Potential systems and of la- in the Unreal systems.

In Postclassical Arabic, the Arabic hypothetical system can be schematized as follows, showing the possible verbal forms, both in protasis and apodosis, and also the hypothetical statutes:

**Table 1. The hypothetical system in grammars of Postclassical Arabic**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idā</td>
<td>faʿala</td>
<td>Past Eventual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idā</td>
<td>faʿala/yaʿfu ḍū</td>
<td>Present Eventual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>faʿala/kāna yaʿfu ḍū</td>
<td>Present Unreal(^12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\) Ben Haddūqa, 1991.  
\(^9\) Kūnī (Al-), 2005.  
\(^10\) We will formalize the verbal forms of protases and apodoses as following: māḏī (perfect) = faʿala, muḏārī marfū (imperfect indicative) = yaʿfu ḍū, maḏārī maṣūb (imperfect subjunctive) = yaʿfu ḍū and muḏārī maḏūm (imperfect apocopate) = yaʿfu ḍū. We are reminding here that the affirmative apocopate does not affect systems in idā or law (see Alosh, 2005 : 271 and examples p. 195, 218), which confirms the following example: idā ʿguṇna yašaʿalūna-hu ʿanni (Haddāta : 69): "When he gets mad, they ask him about me". The apocopate seems still to be in use in the in systems. See example below (11).  
\(^11\) The distinction between Past Eventual and Potential occurs only with recourse to the context.  
\(^12\) This line reads in pairs of words: law faʿala... (fa-)yaʿfu ḍū or law kāna yaʿfu ḍū... (la-)faʿala as proposed...
Within the 283 relevant systems, we first observe the near disappearance of in: the latter represents only 16 occurrences, that is to say 5.65% of the total. In so doing, our purpose will be to focus primarily on the two remaining operators, iḏa and law.

We then observe the overwhelming usage of the perfect form of the protasis verb (97.18%). Only 8 systems in law have a imperfect protasis verb.

Regarding now the apodoses, we find, next to the expected faʿala, the yafʿalu verbal form. We also observe structures that tolerate a verb like sa-yafʿalu in the apodosis. This concerns 28.57% of iḏa systems and 13.84% of law systems. We are thus dealing with three possible forms of apodosis both for iḏa and law: yafʿalu, sa-yafʿalu and faʿala. Without denying the possible existence of cases of ambiguity, as in Classical Arabic, the principle of non synonymy requires looking beyond the three forms of apodosis (yafʿalu, sa-yafʿalu and faʿala) to three distinct conditional meanings.

It appears moreover that some systems in iḏa faʿala...faʿala, classically linked to Eventual and Potential, are here indeed linked to both and thus describe a statute complying with that described in Classical Arabic grammars. But many of these iḏa faʿala...faʿala denote instead the Present Unreal! And if we add to this the fact that Badawi et al. (Badawi et al., 2004 : 647) indicate that law can be synonymous of in, then what about the strict classical dichotomy based on the operators: iḏa/in-Potential vs law-Unreal?

From our corpus, we also note that the "segmentator" fa-

13, far from being systematic,

14, represents only 36.70% of the apodoses in (sa-)yafʿalu; apodoses that should impose it, according to the canons of classical grammar. Thus, it seems no longer to indicate a simultaneous syntactic and semantic break, as it did in Classical Arabic15 but to occur mainly for contrastive reasons, permitting the indication that what follows is indeed the beginning of the apodosis.

As for la-, it also now appears, possibly in imitation of law, to indicate the Unreal in iḏa systems. However it is not systematic in Unreal systems, representing only 52.35% of the apodoses in faʿala. It should nevertheless be noted that while quasi-systematically absent from Unreal systems in iḏa, it is quasi-systematically present in the case of the Past Unreal in law. This can be called regrettable because, as we will see, it would have allowed differentiation between two iḏa faʿala...faʿala systems, which only the context can disambiguate: the Past Eventual and... the Present Unreal. Like fa-, it may, when present, indicate the beginning of the apodosis, since this is not systematic.

In summary, it appears 1) that various forms of apodoses (yafʿalu, sa-yafʿalu and faʿala) appear in the hypothetical systems in iḏa as in law, 2) that the dichotomy iḏa/in-Potential vs law-Unreal is no longer as strict as it was, and 3) that fa- is not obligatory in cases classically thought to require it,


just as la- for law seems now to be optional. What do the Modern Arabic grammars say about all of this?

2. What the Modern Arabic grammars show and what they do not: the grammars’ descriptive inadequacy

As we can see, all this contrasts in a very singular way with what is taught (and then learned and reproduced and taught again...). This is "normal" in the case of the presentation of the normalized expression of the conditional put forward by the modern grammars of Classical Arabic, like Haywood and Nahmad (Haywood et Nahmad, 2001 : 290-300). These mention the classic dichotomy in/iḍā-Potential vs law-Unreal, indicate the predominance of in over iḍā and note, in regard to the verbal forms, the exclusive presence of the perfect in the law systems (or very rarely of the imperfect indicative) while noting the classical verbal possibilities in the case of in. It is the same for Moïnfar, as quoted by Abi Aad (see above footnote 12), Kouloughli, 1994, Neyreneuf et Al-Hakkak, 1996 or moreover, as expected, the latest French teaching manual for Arabic, Kullo Tamâm (Tahhan, 2007), which continues with a classical presentation and whose perspective is more prescriptive than descriptive. On the contrary, that these phenomena are more or less unknown in modern grammars of Modern Arabic, grammars that aim to be more descriptive of a modern, concrete state, is what seems strange.

Beeston (Beeston, 2006 : 94-97) does record the replacement of in by iḍā. For him the arabic conditional clauses are not marked by the verb form, but by the particle used. Therefore, he remains with the classical dichotomy. Without mentioning in, he only shows perfects or jussives and reports the systematic nature of ḏā- in the case of system "breaks". For law, he once again only records perfects and then notes the ambiguity between the Present and Past Unreal. Finally, the occurrence of la- is presented as optional.

Holes (Holes, 2004 : 292-299) seems to note, but without making it systematic, that iḍā accepts in apodosis verbal forms other than the simple and classical ḏāḥāla (Holes, 2004 : 296-297). According to him, "The salient features of conditional sentences in MSA are the sequence of verb forms used and the particles used to introduce the conditional clause (the protasis) and, in some types of sentences, the answering clause (the apodosis) (Holes, 2004 : 293). Nevertheless, the author continues: "But, unlike English, the type of condition – real, possible or unreal – is signaled chiefly by the particle used to introduce the conditional clause, rather than verb form per se" (Holes, 2004 : 293)18. He then concludes: "Thus the different shades of probability of a conditional clause being fulfilled are signaled in written Arabic by the choice of particle and not, as in English, by the form of the verb" (Holes, 2004 : 294). Yet he no longer speaks of MSA but of CLA (Classical Arabic). Going back to MSA, he states that "the reality is different" (Holes, 2004 : 295). He does record that in is now mainly used in concessive clauses (wa-in) or subordinate clauses like ...- in faʿala/lam yafʿal – ... (Holes, 2004 : 295). Therefore it is iḍā which replaces the latter in the expression of Potential (Holes, 2004 : 296)19, and the author then retains the classic dichotomy iḍā/in-Potential vs law-Unreal (Holes, 2004 : 296). However, he records, in the case of iḍā, apodoses in faʿala, yafʿalu and fa-sawfa-yafʿalu, which is

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16. For a look at the possible verbal combinations in the field of the classical operator in, see Zamalšarī (Al-), 1999 : 416.


18. According him Real seems to signify Eventual, possible, Potential and unreal Unreal

19. That the author calls "open" conditional.
rarely the case in other grammars, and links it to the Arabic dialects. He notes that in these: a. the colloquial equivalent of in has almost disappeared, related to expressions such as in sā'a llah, to the benefit of the colloquial equivalent of ʾidā, and b. the verbal sequence of Potential systems (Holes, 2004: 298)20 is essentially faʾala... yafalu (Holes, 2004: 298) which is ambiguous without a context (Holes, 2004: 298).

Schulz, Krah, and Reuscher (Schulz et al., 2008: 362-376) record the relegation of in to second place after ʾidā, and retain the classic dichotomy ʾidā-Potential (Schulz et al., 2008: 362 onwards) vs law-Unreal (Schulz et al., 2008: 366 onwards). Furthermore, if they record structures such as fa-sa/sawfa-yafalu as apodoses of ʾidā systems, they only mention perfects in the case of law. On the other hand, their presentation systematizes the emergence of fa- in the classic cases (lan, qad, laysa, sa- and sawfa, and inna + [proname]) (Schulz et al., 2008: 363-364). The authors thus finally show the non-systematic nature of la-. The examples seem mostly invented rather than authentic.

Buckley (Buckley, 2004: 540, 668, 731-750) also presents the classic dichotomy in/ʾidā-Potential vs law-Unreal, but he paraphrases some ʾidā faʾala... faʾala systems in the Present Unreal. Moreover, he records for the ʾidā systems apodoses of varied verbal forms (yafalu, sa-yafalu and faʾala), and points, by use of an example, to the occurrence of a la- in an ʾidā system (Buckley, 2004: 737). Concerning law, he only gives examples of law faʾala... faʾala systems (except for two law yafalu... la-faʾala, one paraphrased in the Present Unreal, and the other in the Past Unreal), but nevertheless specifies that la- is not systematic in these cases. Furthermore, his translations reproduce the usual ambiguity between the Present Unreal and the Past Unreal. It is only under the section devoted to the presence of fa- that the author offers three examples of apodosis of law systems that are not in faʾala: one is in fa-lan yafafa, the second one is in fa-sawfa yafalu, and the last is in fa-inna-hu sa-yafalu. Regarding law, no apodosis in yafalu is therefore reported. Finally, the appearance of fa- conforms to classical rules on the issue, but it is perceived by the author as non-systematic (Buckley, 2004: 748).

Badawi, Carter and Gully (Badawi et al., 2004: 40, 623-624, 632-670) note the disappearance of in not only to the benefit of ʾidā but also of law; these authors say that CA law 'if (unreal)' has expanded to cover some of the functions of in 'if (real)' as the latter falls increasingly into disuse" (Badawi et al., 2004: 636, 647). They record moreover the use of ʾidā in syntaxes imitating that of law21. In doing so, the authors add nuance to the sacrosanct classic dichotomy. In law systems linked to the Unreal, the verbal forms given by authors for the protasis and apodosis are those of the imperfect. Thus they have the law faʾala... faʾala syntax retain its classic ambiguity between Present and Past Unreal (Badawi et al., 2004: 645). However, concerning the law systems that are "synonymous of in" the apodoses can be paraphrased in (fa-)sa-yafalu (Badawi et al., 2004: 647). The authors therefore present two verbal forms for law: faʾala and (fa-)sa-yafalu. For ʾidā, they offer three different verb forms for the apodosis: faʾala, yafalu and sa-yafalu (Badawi et al., 2004: 653-654). Fa- is presented as quasi-systematic with ʾidā under the same conditions as with the classical in. La- is, according to the authors, generally present in law systems.

Alosh (Alosh, 2005: 270-272) reproduces the classic dichotomy ʾidā/in-Potential vs law-Unreal, noting that ʾidā should be followed by a perfect verb and that its apodosis can be either faʾala or yafalu. The author paraphrases the two syntaxes in the same way (Alosh, 2005: 218). No mention is

20. Called "open" conditional sentence[s].

21. Badawi et al. assert that ʾidā then has the "same syntax and sense as law" (Badawi et al., 2004: 656). Nevertheless, as we will see thanks to the data provided by our corpus, this statement is true only if we add "when considered in classical Arabic where law faʾala... la-faʾala is neutral as to meaning between Present and Past Unreal" or if we specify "has the same syntax as the Classical Arabic Unreal's law and the same sense as the Modern Standard Arabic Present Unreal's law".

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made of fa-. As to law, the system is presented as fixed in the form law faʿala... la-faʿala with the occurrence of la- obligatory. Thus the author does not record apodoses in sa-yafʿalu, neither for igā nor for law.

Ryding (Ryding, 2005 : 671-676) also remains very "classic" in her presentation of the traditional dichotomy idā/in-Potential vs law-Unreal. She writes: "Arabic uses different particles to express possible conditions and impossible conditions" (Ryding, 2005 : 671) with supporting references in her footnotes that border on modernity: Peled, Cantarino, Blachère and Gaudiofry-Demombynes, Fischer... (Ryding, 2005 : footnote 2 : 671). She only offers, for law, faʿala/lam yafʿal structures, in protasis as well as in apodosis (Ryding, 2005 : 675). She indicates the general, but not the systematic, nature of la-. Nothing is said about the negation of the apodosis, nor about the presence - or not - of la- in this case. Idā is presented as having nowadays replaced in. Concerning idā, whose protasis is in faʿala, she specifies that a rupture (Ryding, 2005 : 672) may appear in the apodosis, i.e. a tense other than faʿala. However she does only give three examples: a defensive, an injunctive and a prepositional phrase introduced by fa- (faʿal-ka an). In doing so, she does not present, for idā, apodoses in yafʿalu nor in sa-yafʿalu.

Hassanein (Hassanein, 2006 : 98-100) certainly registers a syntax idā faʿala... fa-sa-yafʿalu, but translates it in the same manner as idā faʿala... faʿala. In addition to replicating the strict dichotomy idā/in-Potential vs law-Unreal, she does not mention, in the case of law, any apodosis in yafʿalu nor in sa-yafʿalu. She contents herself with saying that law is followed by a perfect verb (protasis), but does not specify anything for the apodosis while her examples, nevertheless, only show for the latter faʿala. Still in the case of law, la- is presented as necessary before a perfect verb and as optional before a negative form which, according to her, must be in mā faʿala, not in lam yafʿal. Finally, fa- is presented as systematically used in the case where the apodosis is neither a perfect nor a jussive and as obligatory where there are no perfect verbs for idā (Hassanein, 2006 : 98). We should note that her examples also do not seem genuine.

McCarus (McCarus, 2007 : 149-152) does not, for his part, record the apodosis in anything other than faʿala for idā/in and law, and adheres to the strict dichotomy idā/in-Potential vs law-Unreal. Like others, he notes that idā has taken over in; the former signifies more realisable conditions, while in would suggest a hypothesis in the true sense of the word. Here again, the examples are not authentic.

Conclusion: The authors of these Modern Arabic grammars 1) retain more often the classical dichotomy idā/in-Potential vs law-Unreal, 2) show, in the vast majority of cases, apodoses only in faʿala and almost never in yafʿalu nor in sa-yafʿalu, or if it is so, almost never for law, but only for idā, and 3) consider, more generally, that la- is not systematic and that fa-, on the contrary, is in cases where the verb of the apodosis is neither a perfect nor a jussive introduced by the lam of negation. Of these grammars, Buckley and Badawi et al. especially stand out due to the number and authenticity of their examples, which allow us to see a reality that is far more complex than any of the others show. Most of the latter simply content themselves to recording the replacement of in by idā without offering any system that could be descriptively adequate to the reality of the uses. Nonetheless, Buckley, Badawi et al. do not actually organize these structures into a coherent system and are thus forced to interpret identical structures in various different ways.

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23. Thus, for example, in Buckley (Buckley, 2004 : 739-740), the structure law faʿala... faʿala, classically interpreted as a case containing ambiguity between the Present Unreal and the Past Unreal; here we see only, in what emerges from our study, a Past Unreal. Alternatively there is the structure idā faʿala... faʿala interpreted as Present Unreal and Potential (Buckley, 2004 : 734 and 737) where we do not interpret it as Potential.
As we see, the first observations from our corpus do not correspond to the majority of the descriptions of hypothetical systems of Modern Arabic given by the recent grammars of the Modern Standard language. We will now detail our observations in order to identify a system that seems to us coherent.

3. Data Presentation

1. The Eventual

For the Eventual, ḫalā (33 cases out of 37), with ḫalā mā (4/37), is indeed the majority operator, and thus continues to express the Eventuals classically.

1. Present Eventual: ḫalā fa’ala... yaf’alu

That this syntax describes the Eventual will be highlighted by a first example with ḫalā mā, which operates in the same way as ḫalā, ḫalā mā fa’ala... yaf’alu in being presented as the equivalent of ‘inda-mā yaf’alu... yaf’alu which is, itself, only interpreted as an Eventual:

(1) wa-ḥalā mā fa’ala ahadu-hum, fa-inna-hu yuḏtarru bi-l-ṭab‘ī ilā rtiqa‘i l-daraqī, wa-ʿinda-mā yablūgū l-ṭabiqa l-ahīra takānu ḫuṭuwwatu-hu qad abta at mina l-ta‘abi (Al-Laḡna : 53)

"As soon as one of them does/has done it then he is naturally obliged to climb the stairs, and when he reaches the top floor, his steps are slowed with fatigue"

(2) ḫalā ṣawtu raqulun yatalubu l-īsrā‘a li-talbiyati ṭalabi-hi, huna yanẓuru ilay-hi wa-yuṣīrū bi-ra’si-hi iṣaratan wāḥidatan māqazatan : "-māš." (Al-Zayn : 240)

"If/when someone raises his voice urging him to serve him, he looks at him at once and makes a simple gesture of the head: "Back off...!"

(3) ammā ḫalā qarabati l-īntihā‘a fa-inna l-ṣarikata taqāma bi-i‘ādati ta’ati-hā dāḥila akyāsin taḥmilu –smaḥa wa-ta‘rija i‘ādati l-ta‘ati (Ṭat : 271)

"And when they are close to being outdated, the company repackages them in bags bearing its name and the date of the repackaging"

(4) wa-ḥalā fuṣila l-hindī l-yaṣkū wa-inna-mā yabhātu fi ḫudā‘in ‘an ṣamal al-aḫra (Warda : 17)

"And when the Indian is dismissed, he does not complain and simply searches quietly for another job"

(5) ḫalā taqācīrat imra‘atun ma‘a zawgī-hā lā taqṣidu bayta alḥī-hā šākīyatan inna-mā talğa‘u ilay-ka wāṣṭqatan bi-anna mā lahīqa bi-hā mīn zuumlīn sa-yazūlu (Al-Numūr : 33)

"When a woman quarrels with her husband, she does not go to his parents complaining, but she takes refuge with you, confident that the injustice towards her will pass"

(6) ḫalā takallamat tanfatiḥu l-nafṣu kulliyyatan (Al-ʿāziyya : 70)
"When she speaks, the soul opens itself up completely"

If Badawi et al. have noted the existence of this syntax, they have at least suggested that its meaning is not obvious. Thus, they translate this syntax as both as a Potential (Badawi et al., 2004 : 654) and as an Eventual (Badawi et al., 2004 : 661). For some of their examples, we would have opted for an Eventual. This is particularly the case with mà a ǧālīka (sic) ʾidā ḥaraṣa minhā fī rihlatün aw ziyāratī ilā makānīn mà min alʾalami ʾarāhū lâ yahṣā l-iḥtiḥāq ka-asmaḳī l-bahri min ḥaḍā l-ḥurāǧī, however, if he leaves it for traveling or to visit any place in the world we find [lit. “see”] that he does not fear being stifled like the fish of the sea do in this way (Badawi et al., 2004 : 653-654). For our part we translate as follows: "however, when he leaves it for traveling or to visit any place in the world, we see that he does not fear being stifled like the fish of the sea do". Nevertheless, it remains that of the 35 systems in ʾidā whose apodosis is in (fa-)yaʿalī form, 22 actually designate the Eventual, but 13, that is to say 37.14%, designate the Potential. It seems here that only the context can help to distinguish between ʾidā faʿala... yafʿalī for the Present Eventual and ʾidā faʿalā... yafʿalī for the Potential.

2. Past Eventual: ʾidā faʿalā... faʿalā

Before considering the majority syntax for the expression of the Past Eventual, and to link this point to the previous point, we should note that this expression can be formed, as in Classical Arabic, with the syntax of a present Eventual placed in the field of a perfect verb (most commonly kāna). This is shown by the following example, which is in parallel here also with ʿinda-mā but, this time, in a q if p sequence:

(7) wa-kānati l-bahġatu tuṣiʿu fī kiyāni ʿinda-mā yaqaʿu naẓarī ʿalay-hā wa-yaḏtāḥu-nī l-yaʿsu ʾidā lam aḡid-hā (Warda : 56)

"Delight would irradiate in my being whenever my eye fell on her and despair would overwhelm me when I could not find her"

Another example, this time from Badawi et al., also puts into play kāna and its sisters to express habitual actions: kuntu ʾidā wasaltīl īlā l-munḥanā ʿinda fumīrī l-ḥaǧī Ṣaṣīf altaṭīfū īlā l-ḥalīfī, whenever I used to reach the corner at Hajj Nasif’s bakery I would look behind me (Badawi : 662). Now let us see the alternative offered by the system:

(8) raʿaytu-hum yuzīḥūna l-atqālaʿ an dawābbī-him kullā-mā tawāqqāfa bi-him al-sabīlū l-ābaḍī hattā ʾidā faraṣṭī min dawābbī-him wa-ṭmaʾannū ʿalā dawī-him ḥabbū li-naḏdatī aqraba man ḡawara-hum li-yyīnū ʿalā arī-hi (Malakūt : 130)

"I saw them removing the loads from their animals at each time they encountered an interruption along the Everlasting Way. So much so that when they had finished with their cattle and were assured of their relatives, they rose to rescue the nearest neighbor and help him with his business"

(9) wa-kāna ʾidā arāda l-ṭaʾāma taṭaḥhara la-hu ka-taṭaḥhuri-hi li-l-iḥrāmī (Ḥaddaṭa : 96)
where the auxiliary verb kāna provides the interpretation of the Past Eventual:

"And when he wanted food, he would purify himself for it as he would for the state of ritual consecration"

(10) iḏā tahaddaṭa l-sukkānu ʿan buṭṭālati-him tahaddaṭu bi-basāṭatin wa-tawāḍuʿ in muddhillayni l maʿa anna-hum samaw bi-buṭṭalati-him ilā mustawā l-maṭalī l-sāʿiri (Al-Čāziya : 37)

"When people spoke of their heroism, they did so with disconcerting simplicity and humility! And this despite the fact that they have raised their heroism to the level of a proverb!"

In modern Arabic, however, the emergence of a new layer does not necessarily cancel de facto the previous one. Then, interpretation of data remains difficult and some iḏā faʿala... faʿala may be interpreted as Present Eventual. Thus, Badawi et al. interpret iḏā aʿībā-nī kitābun tamannaytu law iqtanaytu-hu as a Present Eventual: "If a book pleases me I wish I owned it" (Badawi et al., 2004 : 653); we would have read it in the past: "When a book pleased me I wished I owned it".

Similarly they interpret as Present Eventual both iḏā faʿala... yafʿalu and iḏā faʿala... faʿala: iḏā ḥaraqatī l-asmāku mina l-bahri tamītu bi-l-iḥtināqī, "when the fish come out the sea they die of asphyxiation" (Badawi : 661) and iḏā samīʿa ʿāqāna l-faʿāri fī hudāʾi l-layli ṭarība l-qalbu, "when he hears the dawn prayer call in the calm of the night his heart rejoices". For our part we would have interpreted the second as having a Past Eventual meaning: "Whenever he heard the dawn prayer call in the calm of the night his heart would rejoice".

II. The Potential: iḏā faʿala... (fa-)sa-yafʿalu and law faʿala... yaf alu

In, despite a tentative incursion into the Past Unreal field, continues only to express the Potential, regardless of the syntax of the verb forms that follow it. Concerning the latter, it is essentially this that sets the tone, and not the syntax of the apodosis. It represents nevertheless only 19.23% of Potential systems; iḏā, as was pointed out long ago, now mostly expresses the Potential with 67.95%. However, what to our knowledge is almost never mentioned, except quite remarkably by Badawi et al., is the significant appearance of law in this hypothetical status (12.82%).

1. In: variable syntax

24. The French version presents a printmistake saying Present Unreal.

25. The context is that of a narrative in the past: maʿa anna l-qaryata kāfahat, ṣamadat, waqafat fī waqāthi l-ʿulmī, baytan baytan, fardan fardan, lākīn bi-dūni ḥiqdīn. Al-ṣāmīḥu nafṣu-hu ʿinda-mā umira bi-l-istiqāli -staqāla. Wa-lammā ʿaʿa l-istiqāla l-wāmira bi-l-ʿawdati ʿāda... Iḏā tahaddaṭa l-sukkāna... ("despite the fact that the village fought, resisted, stood up in front of the oppression, house after house, individual after individual, but without hatred. The «garde-champêtre» himself when ordered to resign resigned. And when independence came and they ordered him to return he returned... When people were speaking,...

26. As we shall see, it could also be interpreted as a Present Unreal, meaning "If I liked a book, I would wish I owned it".
The syntax remains classic, with fa‘ala/lam yaf‘al or yaf‘al/lā yaf‘al in protasis as well as in apodosis and with the appearance of fa- in the beginning of the apodosis as it appeared in Classical Arabic, except that an innovation has shown up: an apodosis in sa-yaf‘alu and its negative counterpart lan yaf‘ala both juxtaposed with the protasis without being separated from the latter by fa-. This innovation is certainly imitated from the syntax of European languages.

(11) in tazawwaţtu bi-ki u‘ti-ki kullā mā yumkinu an yąqummu qalbī min ḥubbīn (Al-Ǧāziya : 71) = in fa‘ala... yaf‘al
"If I marry you, I'll give you all the love my heart can contain"

(12) wa-in lam yastaţį’ kabīru l-başṣāšīna l–uṭmānliyyīna hāḏa fa-lā yastahiqqu mašība-hu (Al-Zaynī : 230) = in fa‘ala... fa-yaf‘alu
"And if the Ottoman Grand Master can not do this, then he does not merit his title"

(13) yataţallā ‘ani l-dunyā li-ann-hu in lam yataḥalla ‘ani l-dunyā fa-inna l-dunyā sawfa tataḥalla ‘an-hu (Malakūt : 61) = in fa‘ala... fa-inna-hu sa-yaf‘alu
"He gives up life for if he does not give it up, it will give him up"

(14) fa-in lam yataḥaqqaqi l-amalu hullu-hu ba‘da ǧālika fa-l-masīratu lam tantahi (Ḫaddaṭa : 31) = in fa‘ala... fa-inna-hu fa‘ala
"If all hope is not realized after that, then the march is not over"

fa-, while assuming a role of focalisation on the logical subject of the verb, forbids the interpretation of the verb in a future sens. If we had have lam tantahi l-masīratu, the meaning would have been "the march will not end", but in the case of fa-lam tantahi l-masīratu or of fa-l-masīratu lam tantahi, we then have "the march is not ended/the march, it is not ended"

(15) in ankabā bna-hu ‘alā bağlatin ʾuḥrā fa-lā ya’manu ‘alay-hi min ʾaṭratin aw šay‘in yuḥṣifū-hā fa-taqfīza watarmiya bi-hi ilā l-hāwiyyati (Al-Ǧāziya : 189)
"If he raises his son onto another mule, then there is nothing to prevent it stumbling or being frightened by something, and then falling and rushing him toward the abyss"

(16) in nağā ‘inda bābin lan yānɡuwa ‘inda l-abwābī l-uḥrā llatī tahrusu-hā l-fataḥātu l-mawğūdatu ‘inda l-abwābī l-tāliyyati la-hā (Warda : 36) = in fa‘ala... sa-yaf‘alu where fa- does not occur.
"If he escapes from one door, he will not escape from the others which are guarded by the loopholes that are at the doors which follow them"

(17) in ḏahaba huwa sa-yātī man yahlfa-hu (Al-Ǧāziya : 187) = in fa‘ala... sa-yaf‘alu where fa- does not occur.

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27. Not seen, however, in our corpus. The only positive apocopate found in our corpus is in apodosis. See example below (11).
"If he goes, there will come one who will succeed him"

2. *iḍāː iḍā faʿala... (fa-)sa-yafʿalu*

If Badawi et al. clearly show that *iḍā* can be a "pure conditional" that is to say a Potential, they offer only a single syntax, *iḍā faʿala... faʿala* (Badawi et al., 2004 : 653). However, in our corpus, we have already reported that *iḍā faʿala... faʿala* belonged, according to the context, either to the Past Eventual or to the Present Unreal. Thus, none of the examples placed under the heading "*iḍā* 'if' as a pure conditional" account what we see in our corpus, and these examples should, we believe, be reinterpreted in the Present Unreal (see below). It is in the next section, entitled "variant forms of verb in apod. " a section which appears to complete the first, that we find two other syntaxes: *iḍā faʿala... yaḥalilu* and *iḍā faʿala... sa-yafʿalu* which also are paraphrased by Potentials. Concerning *iḍā faʿala... yaḥalilu*, if it indeed expresses the Potential (37.14%), it also and more importantly expresses, as we have shown, the present Eventual (62.86%). There is therefore, on pages 653-654, only one example which is indeed a Potential and whose English translation respects the meaning. This example also happens to have an *iḍā faʿala... sa-yafʿalu* syntax, in accordance with what our corpus has allowed us to demonstrate. This is the statement: *wa-iḍā saʿalatī-nī l-āna li-māḍā wāṣalū l-taraddūdu ʿalā ʿiyādatī-hi baʾda an šāraḥa-ni bi-ḍālika wa-li-māḍā lam aḏhab l-ʿiyādīta ṯābībin āḥara sa-yakānu ǧawābī..., and if you ask me now why I continued to go to his clinic after he clearly told me about that and why I did not go to some other doctor's clinic, my answer will be... That we understand the same way.*

(18) *wa-iḍā taqāhala-hu fa-la-sawfa yaʿrifū* kayfa yaḥtadi ilā awwalī l-ṭarāqi ka-mā htadā l-ḥaṭīrah (Riḡāl : 46). Note the presence of an infix *lām* between *fa* - and the future particle *sawfa*. This *lām* probably has a corroborative value (*lām al-tawkīd*)

"And if he pretends to ignore it, then he will necessarily find how to reach the beginning of the road as did so many others"28"

(19) *wa-iḍā tabata aḥna-hu ṭalama maḥlūqan, sa-yaqbalu* ayya qisāṣin yaqaʿu ʿalay-hi ka-ayyi maḥluqin (Al-Zaynī : 249)

"And if it turns out that he has been unjust towards anyone, he will be ready to pay for it as a simple mortal"29"

(20) *wa-iḍā kunta ṭayyiban fa-sa-tardā* (Al-ʿĀṣiq : 40)

"And if you're good, then you'll love"

(21) *iḍā ḍahabtuṭumā* l-laylata li-ṭarībi qabrī l-walīyyi wa-ṣaqaṭarī-hi fa-sa-yakūmu ʿalay-kumā bi-l-maḥqī (Al-ʿĀṣiq : 92)30

28. It is not a question here of a concessive clause, which might imply the presence of the prefixed wa- to *iḍā*, but the context requires us not to consider this wa- as anything other than a coordination conjunction between two hypothetical statements: "If Zakariyā helped him it would be better, and if he pretends to ignore it, then he will necessarily find how to reach..."

29. Same remark as for example (18).
"If you both go tonight to destroy the tomb of the saint and his tree, then he will condemn you to death"

(22) wa-ḥād ilā ṣaghabī l-āna fa-sa-atlubu mina l-mumarridi an yulqiya bi-ka ilā l-ṣāri‘ī (Al-Laḥna : 117)
"And if you do not leave now, I'll ask the nurse to put you out on the street"

(23) Ḥād ardtum tarkanā lan a’tariḍa (Warda : 313)
"If you want to leave, I will not be opposed to it"

(24) Ḥād lam ta’tarif sa-aḍribu-ka bi-l-ḥiddi‘i wa-aḍribu ahla ḥārati-ka (Al-Numūr : 37)
"If you do not confess, I will smite thee with the shoe and beat the people of your neighborhood"

Note that the second verb, also interpreted as a future, is not introduced by a particle of the future.

The latter is unnecessary because the verb is placed in the field of the future particle which introduces the first one and is coordinated with it by wa-.

(25) Ḥād lafafta-hu ḥawla ‘unqi-ka sa-yakūn rā‘i an (Ḥiwar : 26)
"If you tie it around your neck, it will be great"

The hypothetical system is in the field of a past tense verb:

"Some residents made him believe that Al-Ẓāziya would be present at the party, and that if she saw her son, she would fall in love with him immediately"

"The houses in their early development did not rise from earth to aspire to heaven to be simple shelters, because if they lost their original identity, about which I want to talk to you, there would be no difference between them and a mere dwelling-place"

3. Law: law fa‘al... yaf‘alu

Badawi et al. note, in a specific section, that law may now have, in Modern Written Arabic (MWA), the meaning of Potential: law ‘if’ can occur with the sense of ‘in ‘if’, thus losing its counterfactual quality (Badawi : 647-648)31. But of the five quoted examples, we exclude the first, non doubly verbal, which does not pertain to our purpose. Of the remaining four, the authors present to us the following syn-taxes: 1) law fa‘al... fa-lan yaf‘ala, 2) law fa‘al... lan-yaf‘ala, 3) law fa‘al... yaf‘alu and 4) law fa‘al... la-fa‘al. We have, that is to say, three verbal forms of apodosis: (fa-)sa-yaf‘alu, yaf‘alu and fa‘al. Howev-
er, only examples 1) and 2) are actually paraphrased as Potential while examples 3) and 4) are put in the Present Unreal. We agree with these authors for examples 1) and 2), even though we shall insist that the law fa’ala… (fa-)sa-yaf’alu syntax, as it is the case for its English and French equivalents, presents a case of ambiguity between the Potential and the Present Unreal (see below, footnote 121 and Table 3, footnote 156) [New footnote: This is not in the French version and presents a nuance of what was said there]. Then we propose to reinterpret the syntax law fa’ala… (fa-)sa-yaf’alu of examples 1) and 2) as Present Unreal, as we shall see.32

The authors only distinguish between Eventual (Temporal), Potential (Conditional) and Past Unreal (Counterfactual). They are therefore led, in case 4), to classify as Conditional, "with an unlikely future sens, retaining the syntaxe used in contrefactual sentences (Badawi: 647), a sentence like law utiha li-l-šuʿābi l-arabīyyati an tusammīya l-zaʿima l-akhtarā šaʿbiyyatan fi ḥādhīhi l-āwinati la-aḡābat… which they translate as a Present Unreal: if the Arab people were given [the opportunity] to name the most popular leader during these times, [then] they would answer… (Badawi et al., 2004: 648)33

This leaves then only one example that Badawi et al. classify as Conditional, and which we believe is, both syntactically and semantically, actually a Potential, but which the authors translate as if it were a Present Unreal. This example is the following: law alimat bi-l-amri yumkurun an tāḥūba min-hu an yuṭalliqa-hā, if she were to find out about the matter she could [lit."it would be possible that"] ask him to divorce her, which we translate for our part as a Potential: "if she finds out about the matter she will [lit."it will be possible that"] ask him to divorce her". Let us now give a few examples from our corpus.

(28) law wuḏida bayna l-ḥabībi wa-mubtaḡā-huʾ aqağātun yaʾmulu hadma-hā, aḡ’alu min-hā mustaḥilān lā yumkinu tāḥṭṭī-hi (Al-Zaynī: 287)
"If there should occur between the lover and his desire obstacles which he hopes to destroy, I'll create an obstacle that can not be overcome"

(29) law naẓarnā ilā dāʾirati l-mašriqi l-ʿarabīyyi l-muntiẓāti l-raʾiṣiyyati li-l-bitrūlī, wa-l-latī bi-hā 60 bi-l-mīati min kulli mā lādā l-ʿalami mina l-bitrūlī naḡidu anna asāsan raʾiṣiyyan min istrāṭiṭīyyati-hā huwa… (Ḍāt: 32)
"If you look at the Arab East, the leading oil producer and holder of 60 per cent of the world reserves, we see that the foundation of its strategy is…"

(30) law qaṭa’nā l-ṣaḏarata wa-dafannā raʾsa l-waliyyi fa-lāʾalla-nā nastariddu abṣāra-nā wa-asmaʾa-nā (Al-ʿĀṣiq: 92)

32. We propose then to translate wa-law saʿalta aḥada-hum min aynā atayta bi-hāḏī l-ḥaqqī… fa-lan taḡida raddan, and if you ask one of them where did he get this truth from… [then] you will not find an answer (Badawi: 647) as and if you asked one of them where did he get this truth from… [then] you would not find an answer and to translate law daḥalnā sībūqa tāsalluhin nawawīyyin fi l-mintaqati lan yantahiya, if we enter a nuclear arms race in the region it will never [lit. will not] end (Badawi et al., 2004: 647) as if we entered a nuclear arms race in the region it would never [lit. would not] end.

33. However, given the syntactic regularities offered by our corpus, it seems possible to infer that this sentence, whose syntax is law faʾala… la-faʾala falls within the Past Unreal (and not the Present) and therefore its meaning is: "if the Arab people had been given [the opportunity] to name the most popular leader during these times, [then] they would have answered… See below.
"If we cut down the tree and bury the saint’s head, then maybe we will regain our vision and our hearing"

Here, la’alla, which marks the modality of possibility, confirms that law does mark the Potential.

(31) **law tabata hāḍā taqa’u kāriṭatun** (Warda : 112)
"If it actually happens, it will be a disaster"

(32) **law kāna ra’su l-ğanînî fī l-aysari yakānu** waladan (Warda : 361)
"If the head of the foetus is on the left side, it will be a boy"

III. The Unreal

Concerning the Past Unreal it is law that classically expresses it (98.86%). As for the Present Unreal, if it is essentially and classically expressed through its historic operator law (40.74%), it is also through iḍā (mā) which appears in force in this hypothetical category (59.26%), as Badawi et al. timidly note (Badawi et al., 2004 : 656)³⁴. Moreover, it appears that of the 47 systems in iḍā fa’ala... fa’ala, which are classically linked to Eventual and Potential, only 8 really belong there, and then only for the Potential. Therefore only 17.02% of iḍā fa’ala... fa’ala actually describe a hypothetical category conforming with that described in the Classical Arabic grammars, while 82.98% of them describe the Present Unreal - which does not conform! Further, as we reported earlier, la- is not systematic with iḍā, appearing only in 4.16% of the cases without further input than to emphasise the beginning of the apodosis. On the other hand, it appears much more regularly in the case of the law Past Unreal , in fact in 87.35% of the occurrences.

1. Present Unreal: iḍā fa’ala... (la-) fa’ala and law fa’ala... (fa-)sa-yaf alu

a. iḍā

Of examples given by Badawi et al., three must be, according to us, reinterpreted as Present Unreal. It requires only one example to show this: iḍā kāna kāṭibu l-īnšā’ī mulimman bi-miṣili ḫāḍhihi (sic) l-lugāṭi kāna aqdara ’alā murāṣalati-him, if the secretary of the chancellery was conversant with such languages as these he was more able to correspond with them [namely foreign people] (Badawi et al., 2004 : 653)³⁵. This, as we see, makes no sense. The translation given by Badawi et al. indeed does not work, for a semantic reason on one hand (and with regard to common sense, because what the secretary of the chancellery has reproached about is precisely his lack of any foreign language...) and for a syntactic reason on the other hand. This is because, in order to interpret (despite the meaning) the second kāna as an imperfect or preterite, it would necessarily have required that fa- be prefixed to it; fa- which in these cases, never fails to distinguish a Perfect form verb/[or a] jussive introduced by lam from a verb with a Perfect form and sense. Thus this sentence can not be understood as anything other than the following: "If the secretary of the chancellery was more conversant with such lan-

³⁴. The authors evoke equally timidly the existence of a structure in law fa’ala... (fa-)sa-yaf alu, which they interpret as law fa’ala... yaf alu, and here we see a difference (see footnote above 109).

³⁵. We should note that Badawi et al. do not reference their examples.

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guages [but this is not the case], he would be more able to correspond with them. We will give other examples of this Present Unreal syntax in īḍā.

(33) al-wāḥidu hunā lā yarā zawḡata ṣadiq-hi lākin īḍā qābala-hā fī Lunduna saharā ma’an (Warda : 241)
"Here, a man does not see the wife of his friend, but if he met her in London, they would go out together"

Here, the restriction implied by lākin ("but"), that is to say the refutation of a present or future reality, indicates the interpretation as an Unreal.

(34) īḍā waḍa’ta fī-hā gamalan tahawwala ilā ṭayrin min ma’dinīn yaṭīru ʿafḍala min ayyi ṭayrin (Al-Numūr : 60)
"If you put a camel there, it would turn into an iron bird flying better than any bird"

In this example, it is the absurdity that proves the Unreal status of the sentence.

(35) fa-īḍā adafnā ilā ḍalīka anna l-duwala l-’arabiyyata bi-ḥukmi ēmānī-hā bi-l-risālātī l-sāmāwiyyatī wa-l-advānī yaḡ ’al-hū ṣqrī bi-l-ṣiḥrī la-waḏagnā anna ḍanī’a ḍāḥihi l-ḥusabī tanfi... (Ḍāt : 32)
"By adding that the Arab States, by virtue of their attachment to the revealed [Abrahamic] religions, feel closer to the West than the East, we would see that all of that would completely deny..."

It is clearly here the presence of the lām in imitation of the syntax of law which allows to interpret this as an Unreal, and specifically, because of īḍā, as a Present Unreal.

(36) īḍā sā’ada-hu Zakariyā kāna ḍalīka ʿafḍala (Rīgāl : 46)
"If Zakariyā helped him, it would be better"

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36. We here draw attention to the fact that in languages like French, the phrase "S’il faisait beau, je sortirais" can be interpreted either as Potential ("If the weather is nice I will go out") or as Present Unreal ("If the weather was nice, I would go out"). It is therefore a case of ambiguity that only the context can remove. The intrinsic difference between Potential and Unreal indeed lies in the necessary existence of an implicit 'but' in the case of the Unreal ("but the weather is not/will not be nice" for the Present Unreal and "but the weather was not nice" for the Past Unreal). Then it is especially that 'but' that allows us to differentiate between the two meanings of the phrase "If the weather was nice, I would go out": the one of direct speech, with existence of a 'but', which is indeed a Present Unreal, and that of reported speech, which only has a syntactic form of Past Unreal for narrative reasons and because of the concordance of tenses, but not involving 'but', which would make it belong to the Potential. Let us consider the following sequence happening at night or in a closed room without knowledge of the weather: A.: "If the weather is nice, I will go out (Potential); B.: "What did A say? ; "C.: "He said that if the weather was nice he would go out" (Potential, because there is no 'but' that could afford to connect this sentence to Unreal). On the difference between direct speech and reported speech, see among others Abi Aad (Abi Aad, 2001 : especially 49-72).

37. The syntax is not clear. Especially, we do not know what would be the subject of yaḡ ’al-hū. Maybe there is here a misprint and it lacks an indefinite relative pronoun mā ("what makes them closer to West than to East...").
"If you told us their names, maybe it would mitigate your situation"

"If you were both going tonight destroy the tomb of the saint and his tree, I would take upon myself the responsibility of contacting the police"

"For a long time he watched himself bearing the crushing weight. Nobody helped him, not even his friend Mansûr. If anyone asked him what he thought about his friends and colleagues, he would say that there was nothing to be expecting from them"

"The father's heart was then filled with curiosity and he questioned himself about the secret of the absurdity of fate, which he did not know. The secret then answered him: "The secret of the absurdity of fate is not a caprice but a debate that only companions of the secret will know; because fate, if it wanted to hurt a creature, would make it live, and if it wished it well, would make it die"

"Kahlân! If Man hated confinement and restriction, he would ask for abundance of the sea and would rejoice in such plentitude"

b. law

"Sa‘îd, I lost hope of seeing the Messiah. If he rose, if he appeared, if he came from the Kaaba, branding his gold saber, Zakariyâ would opposed him, he would prevent him from coming to us"

"If ever [the bombing] continued, it would be impossible to go out"

38. This sentence could take a Potential interpretation, if there were not an implicit but, but they will not continue, (the heroine, writing her diary at the end of the day, succeeding in stopping the bombing).
2. Past Unreal

a. law fa’ala... (la-)(mā) faʿala

La- is semi-systematically placed at the beginning of the apodosis, and even before the negation there of the latter (which is still, as is conventional, mā faʿala), showing structures in la-mā faʿala. The context given by the following example shows that although this syntax is linked to the Past Unreal, lākin(na) + perfect verb ("but" + past tense verb) leaves no doubt about the possible interpretation.

(45) law saʿalta-nī ʿan ḍālika la-dalaltu-ka ʿalā tarīqatīn ḫiddī saḥlatīn, lā tukallifū tamanan! lākinna-ka fakkarta bi-ṭarīqati-ka (Al-Čāziya : 133)

"If you had asked me about this, I would have indicated to you a very easy method, which costs nothing! But you thought according to your method"

In the same manner as above, lākinna comes here to impose an Unreal and, associated with a past tense verb (fakkarta), a Past Unreal.


"The children ran as fast as they could. When they were far away, they stopped, panting, faces red-den. Muḥammad said: if he had caught us, he would have beaten us"

The context here shows that the only possible interpretation is that of the Past Unreal.

(47) wa-law kāna mu aqqadan bi-sababi lawnī-hi ka-mā qāla Haykalun mā ġalasa bi-l-sāʿāti kullā yawmin fī-šamsi (Dāt : 38)

"If [Anwar al-Sadāt] had had a lot of hang ups about the color of his skin, as Haykal said, he would not have spent hours in the sun every day"

(48) la-qad fakkara wālīdī bi-l-amri: law aḡḡara ǧurfatayni wa-sakana maʿa zawāṭī-ḥi l-kashāʾī fī l-ṭaliṭati ʾidān la-ʾāṣa mā tabaqqa la-hu mina l-ḥayāṭī mustaqīrīn (Riḡāl : 41)

"My father had thought about it: if he had rented two rooms and lived with his lamed wife in the third, then he would have lived out what remained of his life well installed"

(49) wa-law ţaʿa ʾahadu-humā qabla l-āhare aw bāda-hu, la-marrati l-unmūru fawqa saṭḥī ayyūmī miṭla-mā nzalaqa ālāfu l-awliyāʾi ilā nisyaʿīnī wa-lākinna-humā ţaʿa maʿān (Al-ʿAšiq : 77)

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39. Same remark as in (43). Compare again this syntax with that of the immediately preceding: cf. example below (46).
"If one of the two had come before the other, or after him, things would have moved on just as thousands of saints have slipped into oblivion; but they came together"

(50) law saqaṭat Rahyūtu ḍāʿati l-minṭaqatu l-muḥarraratu (Warda : 315)
"If ever Rahyūt had fallen, the liberated area would have been lost"

(51) wa-lākin law raʿaytumū-hum wa-taʿammaltum waḡūha-hum llatī tanḍaḡu bi-mā tusammūna-hu fi muʿ ṣami-kum saʿ ādatan la-ayqantum bi-ḥadwā rihlati-him wa-ūmuntum bi-riṣālati (Malakūt : 128)
"But if you had seen them and had seen their faces which were perspiring with what you call happiness in your language, you would have been assured of the success of your journey, you would have believed in the prophecy"

(52) wa-law šāʾa la-amkana-hu an yuqaddima qiṣṣata-hu bi-miṭli mā qaddama bi-hi masrīḥyyata-hu l-Sudd (Haddaṭa : 32)
"If only he had wanted, it would have been possible for him to present his story as he presented his play al-Sudd [The Dam]"

(53) wa-law lam takun qābilatan li-l-zawāḡī fi naẓari l-qaryati, la-mā aqḍama l-šambiṭu ʿalā ḫibatī-hi li-bni-hi (Al-Ǧāziya : 28)
"And if she had not been fit for marriage in the eyes of the village, the garde-champêtre would not have undertaken to engage her to his son"

(54) wa-law taraka-hum la-ḡāʾi-hu bi-suyūf-him (Al-Zayni : 299)
"If he had let them be, they would have come to him with their swords"

b. law faʿala... kāna yaf alu

Note finally that we find in Arabic press an alternative to faʿala for the Past Unreal, kāna sa-yaf alu, as Badawi et al. note (Badawi et al., 2004 : 645-646), a solution of which we only have three occurrences in our corpus:

(55) ʿiqābun ʿaḥaru law kāna ṭāda-hu munḍu ṭalāṭi sanawāṭin la-mā kāna, al-ʿāna ʿalā l-aqalli, yaktartiṭu bi-hi, mīṭla-mā yaf alu ḫaḍīhi l-lahžata (Al-ʿĀṣiq : 28)
"Another punishment: if he had not got used to him over three years, then he would not have been, now at least, preoccupied by him, as he is at the moment"

4. Data Analysis

It seems thus that we should replace the presentation of Modern Standard Arabic's hypothetical systems with another presentation, quite different from that of the grammars, regarding the language of this period.
Classically there were two particles attributed to the expression of conditional clauses, in and law. Later, the circonstant idā, initially reserved for the Eventual, gradually ousted in to supplant it in the expression of the Potential. The classic distinction between operators allowed us to place in their fields verbal forms generally considered neutral from a temporal point of view. It was generally mādi (perfect) although it appears that the primary form of the in systems was the mudāri maḏzūm (jussive). All works consulted regarding Modern Standard Arabic continue to reproduce this strict dichotomy idā-Potential vs law-Unreal. Buckley puts it as follows: "The temporal meaning of the verb will depend on the meaning of the condition (Buckley, 2004: 739). To that solely semantic criterion we oppose a syntactic criterion which is expressed thus: "On the temporal form of the verb of the apodosis (and therefore on its meaning) and the conditional particle will depend the significance of the condition".

Indeed, concerning Modern Arabic's hypothetical system, and this is the most prominent new feature, we observe at first, probably under the influence of an unique if (si in French, if in English), the synonymization of Classical Arabic conditional operators. Idā has come to mean, in addition to its traditional tasks, and standing beside law for whom this role was historical, the Unreal (present), while law, in turn, also expresses the Potential as well as the Unreal.

The result of this synonymization is a necessary upheaval of the traditional system in which operators, and operators only, carried the meaning and permitted a conferral to the considered statement of one of the values involved (Eventual/Potential, Unreal). This upheaval is then reflected by the introduction of a kind of sequence of tenses, where the modern apodosis now gains a tense value. We can see that a system similar to our English (or French) sequence of tenses thus began, and have made note of it here:

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41. So much so that in is now juts in residual use (we find only 16 examples within our study, that is to say 5.65%), most commonly confined to a few idioms like in sā'a llah or for the expression of concessive clauses (wa-in, but this is beyond our purpose which focuses on hypothetical systems).

42. With the exception that for his examples, Zamaḥšarī (Al-), 1999: 416, places in the field of in, specifying that it is used in the sense of the future ("in" taqā'alu l-fa'la li-l-istiqaḇāli wa-in kāna mādiyān) jussives (it is to say muḏārī) and not the perfect: in tadrib-nū adrib-ka ("if you hit me I'll hit you") and places in the field of law, specifying a contrario that it is used to express a condition in the past (wa-"law" taqā'alu-hu li-l-mādi wa-in kāna mustaqbil), perfects: law ḥu-ta-nū la-akramtu-ka ("if you came/had come, I honored you/would have honored you"). In doing so, he still seems to retain for these so-called neutral verbal forms a certain tense value. Moreover Ayoub, 2003 notes the semantic implication of the speaker attached to maḏzūm contrasting with the neutral utterance value of mādi.

43. As the first two examples given by Zamaḥšarī (Al-), 1999: 416 tend to show. Moreover, Pierre Larcher seems to favour a jussive origin of the hypothetical in systems, noting that one finds in fact very few systems in fa'ala... fa'ala in Quranic Arabic, and actually none in fa'ala... lam yaf'al nor in lam yaf'al... fa'ala; and the only denial of jussive yaf'al is lā yaf'al, the only negative system present in the Koran being illā [< in + lā] yaf'al... lā yaf'al. See Larcher, 2003a and Larcher, 2008.

44. Which we believe we have shown, in a colloquial form of Arabic, Egyptian, the reality and the syntactic implications in Sartori, 2009.

45. For the French, see Grévisse, 2001 or Riegel et al., 2004: 509.
Table 2. English sequence of tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>if/when</td>
<td>Preterite/Past Continuous</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present Eventual</td>
<td>&quot;zero conditional&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present/Past Continuous</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present Eventual</td>
<td>&quot;first conditional&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present Future (Simple or Continuous)</td>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>&quot;second conditional&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Future (Simple or Continuous)</td>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>&quot;third conditional&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Present/Conditional</td>
<td>Present Unreal</td>
<td>&quot;second conditional&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Present Conditional</td>
<td>Present Unreal</td>
<td>&quot;second conditional&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Present/Conditional</td>
<td>Present Unreal</td>
<td>&quot;second conditional&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite/Past Continuous</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Present/Conditional</td>
<td>Present Unreal</td>
<td>&quot;second conditional&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect/Pluperfect</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Perfect/Conditional</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>Past Unreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Present/Conditional</td>
<td>Present Unreal</td>
<td>&quot;second conditional&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is indeed likely that under the influence of European languages like French and English, the Arabic system of the expression of the conditional has changed.

The distinction between the different statuses of the conditional seems now to take place through a contrastive syntax, which moves the Arabic system closer to "sequence of tenses" systems like the above. Nevertheless, this sequence is not perfect (read: it is not a perfect imitation of systems such as the French or English for example), since the verb of the protasis retains its neutral temporal value: it is a perfect\(^{47}\) in the field of an operator of the conditional to indicate that the statement is made in the framework of a hypothetical system. It is then the verb of the apodosis, the form of which is very different from that of hypothetical systems of Classical Arabic, which has a tense value to allow us to distinguish between the hypothetical statuses, and this pertains to the model of languages like French or English. This is no longer the operator only that demonstrates the meaning of a conditional clause, but rather the relationship between the operator and the verbal form of the apodosis. We are therefore no longer in an essentialist system as in CA, but in a relational one.

In the case of ḍā, the latter has retained an Eventual sense. In doing so, and in imitation of European languages, it has become natural, in the case of the Present Eventual, to use a mudāri which is the equivalent of French’s indicative present tense in si/quand il fait beau je sors and the English present in "if/when the weather is nice I go out", and a máḍi in the case of the Past Eventual like quand il faisait beau, je sortais, "when the weather was nice I used to go out".

In this manner, for the Potential it was perhaps seen as more natural now to have, instead of the classic fa’ala with its non-temporal value, and by contrast to the latter (fa’ala), a semantic and syntactic future (sa-yaf’alu), which is the Arabic equivalent of the French future in s’il fait beau je sortirai and of the English future in "if the weather is nice I will go out".

In return, ḍā could retain in its field in apodosis a māḍi which would come then to designate the Present Unreal, the context here allowing a distinction from the Past Eventual.

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46. Case of ambiguity between the Potential and the Present Unreal. See above.

47. Except very few law yaf’alu, the imperfect indicating here a Present Unreal.
Law retains for itself the anteriority in the expression of the Unreal. In imitation of European languages, the Present Unreal acquires the equivalent meaning of the French conditional in *s'il faisait beau (mais il ne fait pas beau) je sortirais* or English in "if the weather was nice (but it is not) I *would go* out", whose links with the indicative future form are evident. The form of the Arabic future *sā-yafˈalu*, equivalent to that future (respectively -*rais*/would) becomes conditional as the apodosis of law.

The Past Unreal could therefore only be designated by an apodosis of a past verbal form (*faˈala* or *kāna sa-yafˈalu*) in the field of law.

It thus became possible to make a system in *law* express, on the model of *iḏā*, a third hypothetical status, the Potential, through the use of the last verbal form not yet used in apodosis, the *mudāriʿ marfāʿ* (*yafˈalu*). Badawi et al. have noted this (2004 : 636, 647-648), although, as mentioned, we do not fully agree with them on the topic of their presentation data.

We arrived, so it seems to us, at the next state concerning the apodoses based on the operators observed:

Table 3. Verbal forms in the apodosis of the hypothetical system of Modern Literary Arabic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eventual</th>
<th>Potential</th>
<th>Present Unreal</th>
<th>Past Unreal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iḏā</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fa-yafˈalu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>fa-(inna-hu))sa-yafˈalu</em></td>
<td><em>faˈala</em> **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>law</em></td>
<td>non-existent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yafˈalu</em></td>
<td>* (fa-(inna-hu))sa-yafˈalu***</td>
<td>* (la-)faˈala*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* case of ambiguity between the Present Eventual and the Potential
** case of ambiguity between the Past Eventual and the Present Unreal
*** case of ambiguity between the Present Unreal and the Potential

5. Conclusion

The emergence of a new layer in modern Arabic does not necessarily invalidate the previous layer, which makes data interpretation difficult. It seems, however, that this is no longer only the operator that determines the meaning of the conditional clause, but the operator in connection with the verbal form of the apodosis. This verb is in charge of a temporal value where classically (and as is still the case today for the one verb of the protasis) it was a verbal form tending to be perfect and neutral from a temporal point of view. However this upheaval, even if it is visible over a period of forty years, seems not have allowed the system to regain full coherence, as the three major cases of ambiguity reflect: *iḏā faˈala... faˈala* (Past Eventual and Present Unreal), *iḏā faˈala... yafˈalu* (Present Eventual and, less often, the Potential) and *law faˈala... (fa-(inna-hu))sa-yafˈalu* (Present Unreal and less often the Potential). These cases of ambiguity, as we see, relate essentially to *iḏā* which also does not cover the whole core of the conditional (Potential and Unreal); in contrast to *law*, which also offers, it seems, a more stable system. It is therefore possible that we find ourselves in an intermediate phase between two states of the language. Ultimately, *iḏā* could return to its pre-classical and classical domain, the Eventual, and then *law* would supplant it in the core of the conditional (Potential and Unreal), as can be observed in some dialects, especially Egyptian. This assumption would be realized only if the development in question were not perceived as too colloquial by speakers inclined to over-correction. In any case, it is already possible to hear on the airwaves uses conforming to what
is found in the literary works used here. Thus, in a newsletter broadcast by BBC Arabic on April 4th 2009, in connection with elections to be held in Eastern Europe, the journalist, speaking of a woman standing for election, said: *law untuhibat... sa-takūn awwala -mrā’a...* This we can not translate in anyway other than "if she is/was elected... she will be/would be the first woman..." We find in this example both the absence of the *fa-* that should have been used according to classical rules, and the use of *law* to express a *fact to come* and, in addition, *possible, i.e. a Potential*. This fact remains: the language, as it is practised today, and for at least the past forty years, does not coincide with the vast majority of descriptive works that surround it. The question thus arises of what we are teaching...

Bibliography.


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48. More recently, *Al-ʿArabiyya* channel, on March 2nd 2011, was reproducing and summarising Muʿammar al-Qaḍḍāfī’s speech 20 days into the Libyan revolution. The script was as follows: *iḏā lam tastaqīr Ḵubṭiyat sa-yataḥawwatal-l-bahru al-mutawāṣṣītu ʾilā qarsanatin* ("If Libya does not remain stable, the Mediterranean Sea will turn to piracy"). Here we see once more the same syntax we showed in our literary corpus, and where only a Potential interpretation is possible, due to the threatening tone used by the leader of the Great Ġamāḥirīyya.


Mis‘idlī, Maḥmūd, (1997), [1979], Ḥaddaṭa Abū Hurayra qāla..., Tunis, Dār al-Ḡanūb li-l-naṣr, 4ème éd.


