

**Verb-Incorporation of the Inherent Reflexive Verb
in Qurʿanic Arabic**

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Abstract

This study is an attempt at showing that the verbal predicate with the /ʔista-/ affix in Qurʿanic Arabic conveys a causative meaning in which there is coreference between either the second or the third argument of this three argument predicate to the subject of this predicate. It is a complex predicate with the /ʔista-/ affix having a dual function. It indicates that its subject is the Causer of the event, rather than its Agent; i.e. the subject simply causes the event to take place either by asking some other entity to accomplish it or behaving in a manner that leads to its accomplishment for his own benefit.

Its second function is that of a reflexive clitic. In this complex predicate, if the fusion is with the logical subject of the base verb, then the Causee has the θ -role Agent and, in turn, it is the third argument that is coreferential with its subject. The second argument, being non-coreferential with its subject, is given syntactic expression, becoming the internal argument of this /ʔista-/ predicate and making it a transitive verb. Accordingly, it takes accusative Case if it is a nominal; and the objective form if it is a pronominal. On the other hand, if the fusion is with the logical object of the base verb, then this argument is coreferential with the subject of the /ʔista/ predicate; and not given syntactic expression. In either case (i.e. whether with the transitive or the intransitive /ʔista/ verb), it is the argument with the θ -role Benefactive that is coreferential to the subject of the /ʔista/ predicate.

1.Introduction

In the analysis of these /ʔista-/ affixed predicates, the grammatical model used is the Generative Grammar of Chomsky (1982a,1986,1988 and 1995), as well as some other Generative Grammarians such as M.T.Guasti (1992, and 1996), A. Alsina (1992), Baker (1988) , M. Everaert (1986),J. Grimshaw (1982) , and ;L. Burzio (1981). As Chomsky's 1995 work is the theoretical framework on which this study is built , a brief survey of this model is given in section 1. 1. ;and in section 1.2. there is a brief discussion of the causatives described by A. Alsina (1992),and M.T.Guasti (1992, and 1996) in Chickewa and Italian respectively so as to show their similarity with the /ʔista-/ predicate in Qurʔanic Arabic. In section 2.1., there is a description of the data with /ʔista-/ transitive verbs ;and in section 2.2. there is a description of the data with /ʔista-/ intransitive verbs. In section 3.,there is an analysis of these data and a summation of the similarity of /ʔista-/ predicate in Qurʔanic Arabic to the above described causatives. In section 4.,there is the derivation of the /ʔista-/ predicate in Qurʔanic Arabic as a causative predicate;and in section 5. there is its derivation as an inherently reflexive verb.

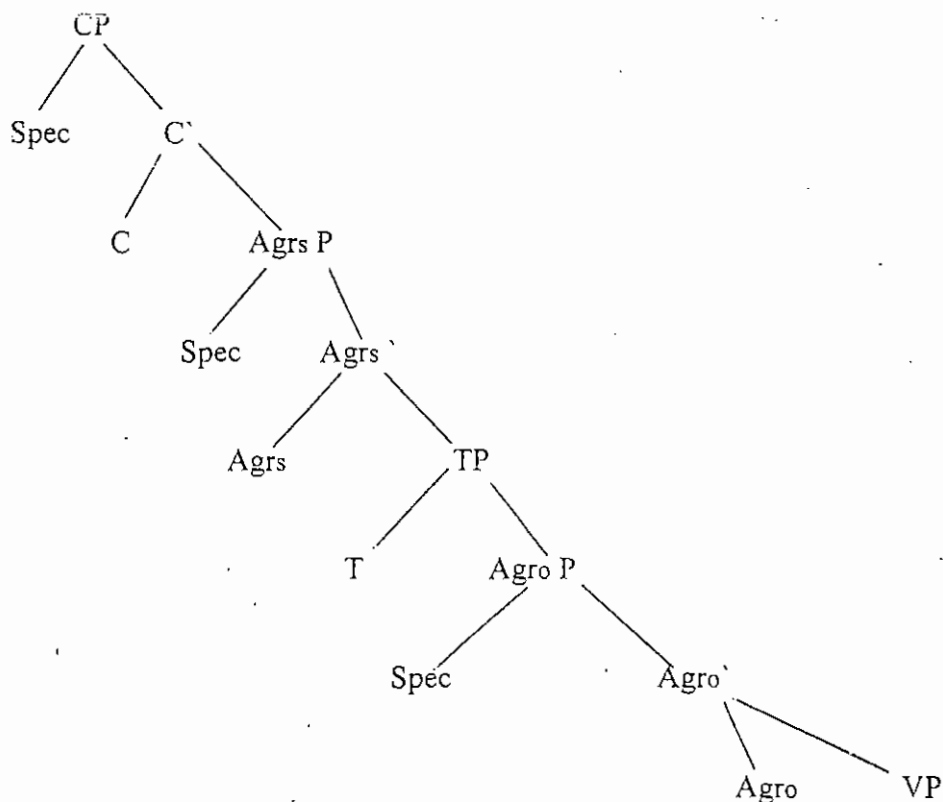
1.1. The Minimalist Program

Chomsky (1995) says that in the principles-and-parameters approach (P&P) "UG provides a fixed system of principles and a finite array of finitely valued parameters";therefore "the language -particular rules reduce to a choice of values for these parameters".(170) In the

"Minimalist Program", UG presents the array of items from the lexicon in a form accessible to the computational system by making use of concepts of X-bar theory,"dispensing with notions as government by a head"(173). This is due to the belief in a "universal morphology",which "has a certain resonance in [his] recent work".(Chomsky,1995: 3)

Considering that the "basic relations are typically 'local'", Chomsky (1995) says that there are two basic local relations:"the *Spec(ifier)-head* relation "and the "*head-complement* relation."(172) The "*head-complement* relation" is not only 'more local' but also more fundamentally associated with thematic relations. Accordingly, "structural Case assignment" has to be recast " in the Spec-head relation."(173);and Chomsky (1995) takes "the basic structure of the clause to be "(173) that in 1.1.1.,in which there are "the Spec-head and head-head relations "i.e. the "core configurations for inflectional morphology"(174):

1.1.1.



(173)

The basic assumption is that there is a symmetry between the subject and the object inflectional systems and that in both positions the relation of NP to V is mediated by Agr, which Chomsky defines as "a collection of ϕ -features (gender, number, person); these are common to the systems of subject and object agreement." (174) Case properties depend on characteristics of T and the V head of VP; therefore T raises to Agrs, forming 1.1.2.a. and V raises to Agro, forming 1.1.2.b.; the complex includes the ϕ -features of Agr and the Case feature provided by T, V.

1.1.2. a. [Agr T Agr]

b. [Agr V Agr] (1995:174)

Therefore, an NP enters into "two kinds of structural relations with a predicate (verb, adjective): agreement, involving features shared by NP and predicate; or Case, manifested on the NP alone". (175) "Both relations involve Agr." (175) There is Agr alone for agreement relations; and the element T or V alone (raising to Agr) for Case relations. "Similar considerations apply to the licensing of *pro*", which is "licensed only in the Spec-head relation to [Agr α Agr], where α is [+tense] or V, Agr strong or V = V *." (176) The "licensing of *pro* thus falls under Case theory in a broad sense." (176)

As regards antecedent government, if we suppose that it is a property of chains, expressible in terms of c-command and barriers, then "the concept of government would be dispensable" (176) in favor of principles of language restricted to local X-bar-theoretic relations to the head of a projection and the chain link relation. Accordingly, "the computational system selects an item X from the lexicon and projects it to an X-bar structure of one of the forms in (1.1.3.), where $X = X_0 = [x \ X]$, which will be the sole residue of the Projection Principle". (189).

1.1.3. a. X

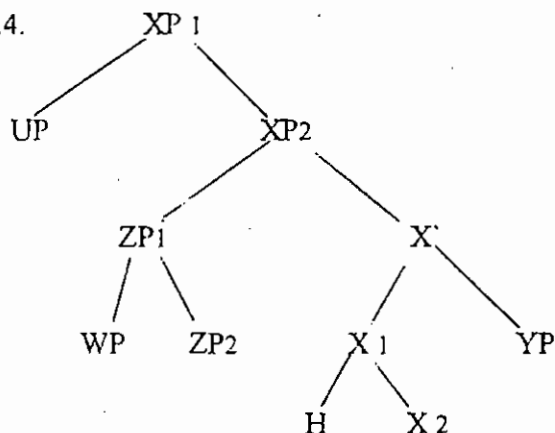
b. $[x \ X]$

c. $[XP \ [x \ X]]$

This rule says that X is a head of an X' or an XP.

"The minimal complement domain of α [is] its *internal domain*, and the minimal residue of α [is] its *checking domain*." (178) Elements of the internal domain are typically internal arguments of α , while the checking domain is typically involved in checking inflectional features. This is demonstrated by 1.1.4., in which if X is a verb; then YP is an internal argument of X.

1.1.4.



However, if X is Agr and H a verb raised to Agr forming the chain $CH=(H,t)$; then the specifier ZP (and possibly the adjoined elements UP, WP) of the checking domain of X and CH will have agreement features by virtue of their local relation to X. They will also have Case features by virtue of their relation to CH. H does not have a checking domain, but CH does (179) because if α "is moved, we do not want the internal and checking domains to be 'redefined' in the newly formed construction, or we will have an element with multiple subdomains". (179) The structure 1.1.4. can only have arisen by raising of H to adjoin to X. "H heads a chain $CH=(H,...,t)$ and only this chain, not H in isolation, enters into head - (α) relations". (177)

Accordingly, there is a distinction between the domain of $CH=(put,t)$ in multi-argument verbs such as *John put the book on the shelf*, which is $\{ NP1, NP2, ZP \}$ and everything they dominate, and the minimal domain of the chain (put,t) , which is only $\{ NP1, NP2, ZP \}$ (the three arguments). Its internal domain is $\{ NP2, ZP \}$ (the internal arguments); and its checking domain is NP1, which is "the typical position of the external argument in this version of the VP-internal subject hypothesis." (180)."

In order to resolve the paradox between the two natural notions of economy: shortest move versus fewest steps in a derivation (i.e. if a derivation keeps to shortest moves, it will have more steps; but if it reduces the number of steps, it will have longer moves), Chomsky (1995) says that we should take the basic transformational operation to be not Move α but *Form Chain*. This is an operation that applies to a structure like 1.1.5.a. to form 1.1.5.b. in a single step, yielding the chain CH of 1.1.5.c. ; and he calls this the "Shortest Movement Condition" (182), as defined in 1.1.6.

1.1.5. "a. e seems [e to be likely [John to win]]

b. John seems [t' to be likely [t to win]]

c. CH = (John, t' , t)" (182)

1.1.6. "If A,B are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from C". (184); i.e. "two targets are equidistant if they are in the same minimal domain". (185)

The "raising to a complement position " is still prohibited by this condition; and ,therefore, we "derive one major consequence of the Projection Principle and the θ -Criterion at D-structure, thus lending support to the belief that these notions are indeed superfluous." (191) And "as the postulation of D-structure has raised empirical problems that have been noticed at once when EST was reformulated in the restrictive P&P framework", (188) Chomsky (1995) dispenses with D-structure. But he maintains that there is a binary substitution operation GT , which is a single generalized transformation; and also the singularly substitution operation of Move - α . (189) The "inner workings of a single operation ,GT" is "on par with some particular

algorithm of Move -*alfa*"; but "it is invisible to the eye that scans only the derivation itself".

The basic "assumption is that operations are driven by morphological necessity: certain features must be checked in the checking domain of a head or the derivation will crash." (199) This is because a lexical item is inserted with its *L-features* from the lexicon. These are features carried by the lexical item selected from the lexicon. There are also features carried by T and Agr; and both these must match or the derivation will crash. For example, "the main verb typically 'picks up' the features of T and Agr (in fact, both Agr_s and Agr_o), adjoining to an inflectional element *I* to form [*I'*]. And with the inflectional features in the lexicon as an intrinsic property (in the spirit of lexicalist phonology), these features are then checked against the inflectional element *I* in the complex [*alfa I*], with "richer morphology tending to be more 'visible'. If the features of *alfa* and *I* match, *I* disappears and *alfa* enters the PF component under Spell-Out. But if they conflict, *I* remains and the derivation crashes at PF. (195).

"The same considerations extend to nouns (assuming the D head of DP to have N-features) and adjectives." (196) Nouns are drawn from the lexicon with all of their morphological features, including Case and ϕ -features, and these too must be checked in the appropriate position and at any stage of a derivation to LF. Therefore, the morphological features of T and Agr have two functions: they check properties of the verb that raises to them, and properties of the NP (DP) that raises to their Spec, ensuring that DP and V are properly paired. (197)

However, "Agr plays only a mediating role: when it has performed its function, it disappears"; i.e. the V-features and the NP -features of an inflectional element disappear when they check V and NP (or N, or DP) respectively. For example, in *John hits Bill* there is subject-verb

agreement, in which case the ϕ -features appear in three positions in the course of the derivation: internal to *John*, internal to *hits*, and in Agrs. The verb *hits* raises ultimately to Agrs and the NP *John* to [Spec. Agrs], each checking its morphological features; then if the lexical items were properly chosen, the derivation converges. Therefore, both Agr and T have two kinds of features (i) V-features that check V adjoined to Agr and those that check the tense of the verb respectively, and (ii) NP-features that check NP in [Spec Agr] and Case respectively. At PF and LF, however, the ϕ -features appear only twice, in the NP and the verb that agree.

Chomsky (1995) also distinguishes between a position that is *L-related* and one that is not. The former position is one "in a local relation to an L-feature, that is, in the internal domain or checking domain of a head with an L-feature." (196) The *narrowly* L-related position is that of the internal domain; while that of *broadly* L-related is that of the checking domain, which can be subdivided into two categories: nonadjoined (Spec) and adjoined. "A structural position that is narrowly L-related has the basic properties of an A-position; one that is not L-related has the basic properties of an A'-position [i.e. a non-A-position]; in particular [Spec, C], not L-related if C does not contain a V-feature." (196)

To distinguish between SVO (or SOV) languages like English (Japanese) and VSO languages like Irish, Chomsky (1995) says that "V has raised overtly to I (Agrs) in Irish, while S and O raise in the LF component to [Spec, Agrs] and [Spec, Agro], respectively." (198) He also observes that the way to express such a difference is "in terms of the strength of the inflectional features" (198); i.e. the NP-feature of T is strong in English and weak in Irish; therefore, NP must raise to [Spec, [T]Agr] in English. But according to the Procrastinate principle, which

is "a natural economy condition (i.e. LF movement is 'cheaper' than overt movement)" (198), this NP raising is barred in Irish (199). On the other hand, in VSO languages 'strong' Agr forces overt verb raising for "if V does not raise to Agr overtly, the V-features survive to PF". "Strong features are visible at PF and weak features invisible at PF. But SVO languages have 'weak' Agr, which blocks the raising of V overtly to Agr. Chomsky (1995) maintains that "a language might allow both weak and strong inflection, hence weak and strong NP-features: Arabic is a suggestive case, with SVO versus VSO." (199) This is because "Agrs and Agro are collections of features, with no relevant subject-object distinction, hence no difference in strength of features." (199)

1.2. A Brief Look at the Causatives described by A. Alsina (1992) and by M.T.Guasti (1992, and 1996) in Chichewa and Italian respectively

As the /?ista-/ predicate in Qurʾānic Arabic is to be shown to have a causative meaning, it is necessary to have a look at the causatives, as described by A. Alsina (1992) and M.T.Guasti (1996) in Chichewa and Italian respectively. In discussing the causatives of transitive verbs, A. Alsina (1992) says that the causee can be expressed either as an argument or as an optional adjunct; and that this variation in structure is the result of a difference in their semantics. He also says that the causative verbs are three-place predicates in which the causer (or agent) [ag] acts on an individual, the patient [pt], bringing about an event. He also observes that the causative formation is a lexical process that involves the fusion of the patient (pt) associated with the causative verb with an argument of the base verb (PRED) so that this argument is semantically an argument of both verbs at the same time. When the patient of the causative verb

fuses with the logical subject of the base predicate (the *causee*), the logical subject becomes an internal argument and is projected into an argument position. But when the patient fuses with the logical object of the base predicate, the *causee* does not become an internal argument; and since it is not an external argument either, it does not receive a syntactic expression. Therefore, it can only be realized by an adjunct; i.e. a PP.

In pointing out the similarity between Chichewa causatives and those of Italian, M.T. Guasti (1996) describes the causatives of Italian as constructions which involve the "causer or agent, the event (or theme), and an optional benefactive role" (299) with dative Case. Also, the *causee* in Italian can be expressed either as an indirect object or as an oblique phrase introduced by the preposition *da*; but the Case is different as it is dative, rather than accusative. And again, the variation between them depends on the semantics of the causatives: in the former case, the *causee* is an argument with a three-place relation holding among the causer, the caused event, and the beneficiary/victim of the causation; but in the latter case "the causer wants some event to be carried out, but exactly who carries it out is irrelevant." (302)

For Guasti (1996), "at D-structure the causative verb heads the matrix VP and takes a small clause complement headed by the infinitive" and there is "verb incorporation (hereafter VI), that is, head-to-head movement of the infinitive to the causative verb" (301) in the syntax because the causative verb is an incorporation trigger (i.e., it behaves like a bound morpheme). Thematic assignment takes place under government, where the causative verb governs the VP small clause and consequently its specifier (the location of the *causee*). And the assumption that the *causee* is "a syntactically shared argument" (Guasti, 1996: 298) is "compatible with current versions of the θ -Criterion", in which "a single NP is allowed to receive more than one θ -role, as long

as the θ -roles are assigned to the same position". (Guasti,1996:300) This is compatible with current versions of the θ -Criterion of Chomsky (1986), in which "each argument α appears in a chain containing a unique visible θ -position P ,and each θ -position P is visible in a chain containing a unique argument α ". (Chomsky ,1986:97)

This point of view is not shared by Alsina (1992). This is why he proposes that a syntactic incorporation analysis of causatives,such as the one proposed by Baker (1988) ,which is formulated in the Government-Binding theory and takes place in the course of a syntactic derivation, cannot account for the Chichewa causatives. For the Projection Principle and the θ -criterion of Chomsky (1982) prohibit the formation of a thematically composite argument;and this is why Alsina proposes that the causative formation is a purely lexical process.

2. Description of the Data

Due to the sacredness of the data with which I am dealing,the whole Verse form is written with the part that is not our concern italicized whenever it is felt that the extraction of the required clause from the Verse as a whole disrupts the total meaning. I have also made use of the HafS Recitation of the Glorious Qur'aan.

2.1: Transitive /?ista-/ Verbs

2.1.1. /?istaġfiru -allaaha / surat ?albaqarah no.199

Imperative verb+/?ista/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+ Def.Art.+nominal
+accusative case

"and ask forgiveness of Allaah." (i.e."You should seek or ASK to have Allaah forgive you.")

2.1.2. /*[jaa?uuka] fa -staġfaru -llaaha wa -staġfara lahum ur-rasuulu/*
suurat ?annisaa? no.64

Perf.verb +PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+PI(2nd per.,masc.,sing.)+conj.+
Perf.verb+ /-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+nominal +accusative
case+ conj. Perf.verb +PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+prep+ PI(3rd
per.,masc.,pl.)+Def.Art.+nominal+nominative case

“they had but come unto thee and ASKed forgiveness of Allaah ,and the Messenger ASKed forgiveness for them.” Lit. Allaah says to the Prophet Muhammad that if the people who had wronged themselves had asked that Allaah would forgive them ;and also ASKed the Messenger to ask Allaah to forgive them, they would have found Allaah Forgiving.

(Pickthall:83)

2.1.3./?*an tastarDi9uu ?awlaadakum/* suurat ?albaqarah no.233

complementizer+Imperf.verb++/sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+
nominal+accusative case+ PI(2nd per.,masc.,pl.)+

“if you wish to give your childern out to nurse ...” . Lit. “If you ask to have your children given out to nurse;i.e. you cause them to receive their meal by suckling.”

2.1.4./*wa -sta\$hiduu NP [\$aahiidayni PP [min rijaalikum]]/* suurat
?albaqarah no.282

conj.+Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+ nominal +accusative
case+ PI(2nd per.,masc.,dual.)+prep+nominal+genitive case
+ PI(2nd per.,masc.,pl.)+

“And call to witness,from among your men ,two witnesses.” Lit “You cause to call two men from your men to give evidence.”

2.1.5./fa -sta\$hiduu 9alayhinna NP [ʔarba9atan PP [ninkum]] /suurat ʔannisaa? no.15

conj.+Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+ prep+ PI(3rd per.,fem.,pl.)+ nominal +accusative case+nunation+prep+ PI(2nd per.,masc.,pl)

“You ASK (make) four of you to give evidence on them.”

2.1.6./ wa yastaftuunaka finnisaaʔi// qul -allaahu yuftiikum fiihinna /suurat ʔannisaa? no.127

Imperf.verb+ PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.) +/-sta/ affix+ PI(2nd per.,masc.,sing.)+prep+ Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case+ Perf.verb+ PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+ nominal+nominative case+ Imperf.verb+ PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+ PI(2nd per.,masc.,pl.)+ prep+ PI(3rd per.,fem.,pl.)+

“They consult thee concerning women. Say : Allah giveth you the decree concerning them.” Lit. They ASK you for your pronouncement concerning women. Say Allaah gives you the pronouncement concerning women.

2.1.7./fa -staḡaaθahu -lla8ii min \$ii9atihi/ suurat ʔalqaSaS no.15

conj.+ Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+ PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+ relative pronominal+ prep+nominal+genitive case+ PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)

“The one who was of his caste (sect) asked him for help.” Lit. The man from his caste ASKED him for his help.

2.1.8./ʔistawqada naaran/ suurat ʔalbaqarah no.17

Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+nominal+accusative case+nunation

" *Their likeness is as the likeness of one who kindleth a fire, and when it sheddeth its light around him Allaah taketh away their light and leaveth them in darkness, where they cannot see.* " (Pickthall:7) Lit. It is he who caused the fire to be lit ;and ,in turn ,it is the fire that sheds light around him (i.e. illuminating his path).

2.1.9.(i)/ yaa ?abati -sta?jirhu / "Oh , my father! Hire him !" .Lit. "Oh father" Make him work for you" .

Vocative +nominal+ PI(1st per.,sing.)+ Imperative verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+ PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)

(ii) / ?inna xayra [man -ista?jarta] ?alqawiyyu -l?amiin/ "For the best (man) that thou canst hire is the strong,the trustworthy." suurat ?alqaSaS no.26 .

complementizer+nominal +accusative case+interrogative pronominal+ Perf.verb+/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+Def.Art.+nominal+ nominative case+ Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case

The verb /?ista?jara / is a transitive verb in both sentences (i) and (ii).

2.1.10./ fa ?i8a -lla8i ?istanSarahu bi-l?amsi yastaSrixuhu / suurat ?alqaSaS no.18

conj+conditional particle+relative pronominal+ Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+ PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+prep+Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case+ Imperf.verb +PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+ +PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+

" He who had appealed to him the day before cried out to him for help."

Lit. Someone (x) asked for someone (y) to make him(x) victorious.

/ʔistanSarahu/ Lit. He asked him (Moses) to make him victorious.
 /yastaSrixuhu/ Lit. He summoned him (Moses) to his help by screaming out for help.

2.1.11./wa qaala -l-maliku (ʔi)?tuunii bihi ʔastaxliShu linafsii/ surat yuusuf no.54

conj+ Perf.verb +PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.).+Def.Art.+nominal+nominative case+ Imperf.verb +PI(1st per.,sing.).+prep+ PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.).+ Imperf.verb +PI(1st per.,sing.).+ PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.).+ prep+nominal+genitive case+ PI(1st per.,sing.)

"And the king said: Bring him unto me that I may attach him to my person." Lit. /ʔastaxliShu/ "I make him my private attendant".

2.1.12./θumma -staxrajaḥaa min wi9aaʔi ʔaxiih/ surat yuusuf no.76

time particle+ Imperf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.).+ PI(3rd per.,fem.sing.).+prep+nominal+genitive case+nominal+genitive case+ PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.).

"then he (Joseph) produced it from his brother's bag."

2.1.13./ʔistazallahumu -\$\$ayTaanu bi-ba9Di ma kasabu/ surat ʔaal9imraan no.155

Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.).+ PI(3rd per.,masc.pl.).+ Def.Art.+nominal+nominative case+prep+nominal+genitive case+interrogative pronominal+ Perf.verb + PI(3rd per.,masc.pl.).+

"Satan alone it was he who caused them to backslide because of some of that (what) they have earned ". Lit. Satan made these people slip because of some of the things they have earned due to his seduction.

2.2: Intransitive /ʔista-/ Verbs

2.2.1. /ʔistasqaa muusaa liqawmihi/ [suurat ʔalbaqarah no.60]

Perf.verb+/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+nominal+prep+nominal+
genitive case+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)

"And when Moses asked for water for his people." Lit. Moses caused His people and Himself to drink.

2.2.2. /ʔista9iinuu bi S-Sabri wa S-Salaah/ suurat ʔalbaqarah no.153

Perf.verb+/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+ prep+Def.Art.+nominal
+genitive case+conj.+ Def.Art.+nominal

"Seek help in steadfastness and prayer." Lit. "You can ASK for help for yourself in steadfastness and prayer."

2.2.3. /fa -sta9faruu li9unuubihim/ suurat ʔaal9imraan no.135

conj+Perf.verb+/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+
prep.+nominal+genitive case+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+

"and implore forgiveness for their sins". Lit. They ASK forgiveness for their sins for themselves.

2.2.4. /ʔista9fir lahum/ suurat ʔaal9imraan no.159

Perf.verb+/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+ prep. +PI(3rd
per.,masc.,pl.)+

So pardon them and "ask forgiveness for them". Lit. Allaah tells the Prophet Mohammad to pardon people and to have himself ASK for forgiveness for the people.

2.2.5. /wa ʔan -tastaqsimuu bi -lʔazlaam/ suurat ʔalmaʔidah no.3

conj.+complementizer+ Imperf.verb+ /-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)
prep+Def.Art.+nominal

"And (forbidden is it) that ye swear by the divining arrows . Lit. It is forbidden that you seek to make the right decision by means of the divining arrows.

2.2.6./ ?istakbara huwa wa junuuduhu fi -l?arDi/ "suurat ?alqaSaS no.39
Perf.verb +-/sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+ strong pronominal
PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+conj+nominal+nominative case PI(3rd
per.,masc.sing.)+prep+Def.Art.+nominal +genitive case

"And he and his hosts were haughty in the land." Lit. "He (the Pharaoh) and his hosts made themselves too big in the lands". *"They deemed that they would never be brought back to Us". (i.e. their Lord)* (Pickthall:381)

2.2.7./?istamsaka bil9urwati -lwu0qaa/ suurat ?albaqarah no.256
Perf.verb +-/sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+ prep+Def.Art.+nominal
+genitive case+Def.Art.+nominal

"He hath grasped a firm handhold." Lit. "He made himself hold a firm handhold as if it were a tightly made knot.

2.2.8./?istajaabu lillaahi wa -r-rasuuli / suurat ?aal9imraan no.172
Perf.verb +-/sta/ affix+ PI(3rd per.,masc.pl.)+
prep+Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case+conj+ Def.Art.+nominal

"They submitted to Allaah and His Messenger". This is a description of the believers. They are those who make themselves answer to Allaah's call to go on fighting on His behalf.

2.2.9./fa ma -stamta9tum bihi minhunna fa ?aatuuuhunna ?ujuurahunna/
suurat ?annisaa? no.24

conj. +interrogative pronominal+ Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(2nd
per.,masc.pl.)+ prep+ PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+ prep+ PI (3rd
per.,fem.pl.)+ conj. + Perf.verb+ PI(3rd per.,masc.pl.)+ PI (3rd
per.,fem.pl.)+nominal+accusative case+ PI (3rd per.,fem.pl.)+

“And those of whom ye seek content (by marrying them) give unto them
their portions as a duty. Lit. Those you have made yourselves to enjoy
from them (fem.,pl) , then give them (fem.,pl) their portions as a duty.

2.2.10./?istamta9a ba9Dunaa bi ba9Din / suurat ?al?an9aam no.128

Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(3rd per.,masc.sing.)+quantifying nominal+
nominative case+ PI(1st per., pl.)+prep+ quantifying nominal+genitive
case+nunation

“We enjoyed one another.” Lit. “ We caused ourselves to enjoy one
another .

2.2.11./yastaxfuuna mina -nnaasi wa laa yastaxfuuna mina -llaahi/ suurat
?annisaa? no.108

Imperf.verb +PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl.)+prep+Def.Art.+nominal+genitive
case +conj+negative particle+ Imperf.verb +PI(3rd
per.,masc.,pl.)+prep+Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case

“They seek to hide from men and seek not to hide from Allaah.” Lit.

” They cause themselves to hide from people and do not cause
themselves to hide from Allaah.”

2.2.12./qad -istakθartum mina -l?insi / suurat ?aal?an9aam no.128

modai+ Perf.verb +/-sta/ affix+PI(2nd per.,masc.pl.)+prep+Def.Art.+
nominal+genitive case

"O ye assembly of the jinn! Many of humankind did ye seduce" i.e. You sought to multiply. Lit. You (the jinn) made yourselves seduce many of the humankind (i.e. the number you seduced multiplied) .

3. Analysis of the Data

In the analysis of the data from Qurʾanic Arabic, I have made use of the notion of one, two ,and three argument predicates (see J.Lyons 1981:116), in addition to "the traditional distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs", in which the transitive verb is one that takes at least one object while the intransitive verb does not. The predicate notion counts not only the direct object and indirect object but also the subject of the verb among its dependents. It also does not presuppose that the dependents of a predicator are necessarily noun phrases.(117)

3.1: The Transitive /ʔista-/ Verbs

In order to analyze the above sentences taken from the Glorious Qurʾaan, the predicate and argument(s) structure of each causative clause is given. Like the causatives described by A. Alsina (1992) and M.T.Guasti (1996) in Chichewa and Italian respectively , the /ʔista-/ predicate is a three -place predicate in which the Causer acts on an individual, bringing about an event. For example in no. 2.1.1., assuming that it has the predicate and argument(s) structure; "*You (x) ask Allaah(y) to forgive you(x)*", it is Allaah who forgives our sins even though man may cause Allaah to forgive his sins if he repents. It may ,accordingly, be said that the Causer of the event of forgiving is man himself ;whereas the Agent or the One who has the authority to forgive is Allaah. The

Causee 1 (i.e. Allaah in this clause) is , accordingly , given syntactic expression, becoming the internal argument of this complex predicate. This is why the word /Allaaha/ has accusative Case. In addition to the Causer (i.e. you :mankind), and the Causee there is also a Benefactive of the action ,which is again mankind and which is not given syntactic expression. The coreference is between the third argument of this predicate, which has a Benefactive role , and the Causer ,which is the subject of the /ʔista-/ predicate. The Benefactive role of the event of "Forgiving may be overtly realized in the related verb form /ḡafara lahu/ "He forgave (for) him ". It is realized as the PP / lahu/. But with the non- /ʔista-/ verbal predicate the subject is the Agent of the act of forgiving.

Taking "*You(x) and the Messengers ask Allaah(y) to forgive you(x)*" as the argument predicate structure of sentence no.2.1.2., the Causer (x) and the Causee (y) are not coreferential. It would have been the wrong doers' asking for forgiveness that would have been the Causer of their being forgiven. And had they asked for forgiveness the Messenger would have also asked Allaah to forgive them. There are two /ʔista-/ predicates in this Verse with two Causers: the people imploring for forgiveness and the Messenger's imploring for forgiveness for the people. This is why / ʔar-rasuulu / has nominative Case, rather than accusative Case. In both cases , it is Allaah who forgives; therefore, the word "Allaah" is given syntactic expression in the first clause, becoming the internal argument of the /-sta-/ verb and taking accusative Case. This is why the verb in the former clause is a transitive verb . But the second clause has an intransitive verb with the PP / lahum / ;i.e." the people", for whom the Messenger implored forgiveness. It is the Benefactive of the event and it is given syntactic expression in the second clause. The coreference in this clause is between the Causer and

the third argument: the Benefactive of the act of forgiveness ("you" i.e. mankind ").

Taking "You [(pl)x] make [your (x) [children (y)]] suckle the milk (of the hired nurse) as the argument structure of clause no.2.1.3., the Causer (i.e.[You x (pl)]) and the Causee [your (x)children (y)] are not coreferential. The subject of the /-sta-/ affixed verb is composed of the men who ask to have their children nursed. They are the Causers of the event ,which is that of their children suckling the milk. The "children" being the Causee , the word / ?awlaadakum / is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ predicate, taking accusative Case. The coreference here is between the Causer and the possessive pronominal of the Causee; i.e. they are your children, in turn "you" is the Benefactive. The notion of nursing itself (i.e. the woman other than the mother who is hired to nurse the baby) is lexicalized in the verb form itself whether with the /-sta-/ affix or in the related verb without the /-sta-/ affix /?arDa9athu / "She has nursed him." In both cases, we have transitive verbs; but with the non-/sta-/ verb the subject is itself the Agent of the action. This is not the case with the /-sta-/ affixed verb form. It is to be noted that this /-sta-/ affixed verb form has lost its nunation in this clause (i.e. instead of /tastarDi9uun/ we have / tastarDi9uu /) because of the presence of /?an/ in initial position .

Taking *You(x) make [[two people(y)] of you(x)]] give evidence [on some people]* as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.4. ,the Causer is [You(x)] and the Causee is [two people(y) of you(x)]. The Causer of the event of providing evidence is "you "(pl.) by your asking for evidence from those who can provide you with evidence. Again as there is no coreference between the Causer and the Causee , the Causee becomes the internal argument of the /-sta-/ verb predicate. The Causee is the " two witnesses" who are the Agents of the event of providing of

evidence. The coreference, on the other hand, is between the Causer and possessive pronominal in the PP /min rijaalikum/. These two witnesses must be two of “your men”. This notion of giving “evidence” is lexicalized in the form of the verb itself as well as in its related verbal forms without the /-sta-/ affix such as /\$ahida /, which may be a transitive verb as in /\$ahidahu/ “He witnessed it” or as an intransitive verb as in /\$ahida bilHaqqi/ “He gave honest evidence”. But in the non-/sta-/ verbs, the subject is the Agent of the witnessing.

Taking *You(x) make [[four(y)] of you(x)] give evidence on them (women)* as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.5, then the Causer [you(x)] and the Causee [four (y) of you (x)] are not coreferential. “You” are the Causer of the act of giving evidence since you have asked for it. The Agent of the event which is the act of providing evidence is the “Four of you”. Accordingly, the head nominal of this NP (i.e. /?arba9atan/) takes accusative Case because it is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ affixed predicate. The coreference here is also between the Causer and the pronominal in the PP /minkum /. The second internal argument of this /-sta-/ affixed predicate is the PP /9alayhinna/; i.e. they provide evidence against them (the women).

Taking *They(x) make you (y) give them(x) a decree on women* as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.1.6, the Causer and Causee are not coreferential. They try to have the Prophet give them His decree concerning women ;but He refrains and says that it is Allaah who will give them His decree concerning women. The Causer is “they”, who ask and try to make You (the Prophet Muhammad) give them Your decree concerning women. Therefore, Causee is the Prophet Muhammad; and as there is no coreference between the Causer and the Causee, it is made the internal argument of this /-sta-/ verb. It makes the form of an object pronominal. The coreference here is between the Causer and the

Benefactive . The PP / finnisaa?i/ gives the topic on which the decree is to be given. The notion of a decree is lexicalized within the verb form and in its related verb form /?afīaa bi / “He gave a decree of something.” But whereas the /-sta-/ verb is a transitive verb , its related verb form is an intransitive verb and its subject is the Agent of the event.

Taking *He (x) made him (y) come to help him(x)* as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.7. , the Causer and Causee are not coreferential. The man from his caste is the subject of the /-sta-/ verb and the Causer of the help since he is the one who called out for help. Moses himself is the Agent of the help. Overtly realized, reference to Moses is represented by an object pronominal form (i.e. /-hu/), making this verb transitive. It is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ verb. The coreference is between the Causer of the help and the Benefactive of the help; i.e. the man that called out for help. In the related verb form /?aḡaaθahu / “He helped him” , it is the subject of the verb that is the Agent of help for somebody else even though both verbs are transitive and the concept of help is internalized within the verb form.

Taking *You (x) make the light (y) to enlighten your(x) way* as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.8., the Causer [You (x)] and the Causee [the light (y)] are not coreferential. It is man who is the Causer of the ignition of the light; and the subject of the /-sta-/ affixed predicate. But it is the light that actually illuminates man's path or his surroundings. It is a kind of torch illuminating man's way. This Verse is about the hypocrites :when they behave properly ,they cause Allaah to ignite a light that illuminates their way ;but it is turned off due to their hypocrisy. The Causee(i.e. / naaran/), being the Agent of the event and non-coreferential with the Causer, is given syntactic expression, in which case it is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ affixed predicate

;and consequently has accusative Case. This /-sta-/ affixed predicate is a transitive verb similar to its related verb form without the /-sta-/ affix (i.e. /ʔawqada naaran/ "He lit a fire.") ;but the subject in the latter case is the Agent ;and / naaran/ is the object . The third argument predicate is again the Benefactive of the event and it is coreferential with the Causer. This is why it is not given syntactic expression. "You cause the light to be lit and in turn this light illuminates your way.

Taking *You (x) make him (y) work for you (x)* as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.1.9. (i), the Causer and the Causee are not coreferential. The one who makes someone else work for him is the subject of the /-sta-/ verb. He is also the Causer of the event of hiring. He is the woman's father ,whom she addresses as /ʔabati/ "my father ". The Causee , the one who will be working (i.e. will be hired) , is Moses . The Causee is the Agent of the event of working for someone ;therefore ,it is given syntactic expression, becoming the internal argument of the /-sta-/ predicate. This is indicated by the pronominal suffix "/-hu/ ", which has the object form,rather than the subject form(which would have been /huwa/).The third argument is the Benefactive of the event and it is coreferential with the Causer.

Taking *He(x) whom (i.e. the interrogative pronominal /man/) , you (y) make him (x) work for you (y)* as the argument structure of sentence 2.1.9. (ii), the Causer is [you (y)] and the Causee is [him] in the clause [man -istaʔjarta] ,which has the /-sta-/ verb /ʔistaʔjarta/. They are not coreferential. The Causer is "You" . Again it refers to her father. The Causee is whoever he hires and has been referred to by the interrogative pronominal /man/. It is also a transitive verb with the interrogative pronominal /man/ as its object. The third argument is the Benefactive of the event ,which is coreferential with the Causer.

Taking *He (x) caused him (y) to make him (x) victorious* as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.1. 10.(i), the Causer and Causee are not coreferential. The man asking for help is subject of the /-sta- / predicate and the Causer of the help because he called out for help. He is the man from His tribe who had asked Moses for His help the day before. The Causee is Moses, who came to his rescue. The Causee is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ predicate; thereby reference to him takes the form of the object pronominal suffix /-hu/. Like its related verb form / naSarahu "He brought him victory", the /-sta-/ verb is a transitive verb; but with the non- /-sta-/ predicate, the subject is the Agent of the victory for someone else. With the /-sta-/ predicate, the subject has been made victorious by an Agent which has been realized as internal argument of the predicate; therefore, the subject is not itself the Agent of the action. Again the third argument has the Benefactive θ -role and is coreferential to the Causer.

Taking *He (x) caused him (y) to come out to him(x) by calling out* as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.10 (ii), the Causer and the Causee are not coreferential. The subject of the /-sta-/ verb is the Causer. It is the man who asked for help from Moses. It was by calling out to Moses that Moses came (to his help). The Causee is Moses. He came as a result of the man's call; therefore, He is the Agent of the event of coming to rescue which in turn is due to the man's call for help. The Causee is given syntactic expression: it is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ verb, realized as the object pronominal /-hu/. The third argument refers to the man who called out; and it is coreferential with the Causer of the event. It has the θ -role Benefactive of the event.

Taking "*I (x) make him (y) loyal to me(x)*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.1.11., the Causer and the Causee are not coreferential. The Causer is the king who wants him (Prophet Yuusuf) to be his

private attendant. The Causee is Joseph (i.e. Prophet Yuusuf), who will be acting (i.e. θ -role Agent) as the private attendant of the king. The Causee is given syntactic expression, becoming the internal argument of the /-sta-/ verb; therefore, it is an object pronominal (i.e. /-hu/). The coreference is between the Causer and the Benefactive argument. For the sake of emphasis, Benefactive argument is given syntactic expression by means of the PP / linafsii / "for myself". This transitive /-sta-/ verb is different from its related verb form /?axlaSa lahu/ 'He was loyal to him', which is an intransitive verb and a two argument predicate. With the non- /-sta-/ predicate, it is the subject that showed loyalty to someone else; but with the /sta-/ predicate, it is the object that is not only made to show loyalty to the subject but also to be his attendant.

Taking "*He (x) made it(y) come out of his (x) brother's bag(z)*" as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.12., the Causer and the Causee are not coreferential. The Causer here is "Yuusuf", who caused the object to come out of his brother's bag (i.e. /min wi9aa?i ?axiih/), the third argument in this three argument predicate. The Causee is the object that came out of the bag. As this is an inanimate object, it came out of the bag (i.e. appeared) due to its Causer. Again being not coreferential with the Causer, the Causee is given syntactic expression, becoming the internal argument of the /-sta-/ predicate. It takes the form of the object pronominal /-haa/; i.e. "it PI (fem., sing)". This verb is transitive, unlike its related verb form /xaraja/ 'He went out', which is intransitive. Whereas the subject of the non- /-sta-/ verb is actually the Agent of going out; the subject of the /-sta-/ verb is only the Causer, making something else come out of something. The coreference here is between the Causer and the Benefactive of the event, who is the Prophet Yuusuf. It is by finding this object in His brother's bag that Prophet Yuusuf could keep His brother with Him.

Taking *Satan (x) made them (y) the agents of their slipping from the straight path by his(x) seduction* as the argument structure of sentence no.2.1.13. the Causer is (satan (x)) and the Causee is (them (y) i.e. mankind). They are not coreferential. Satan is the Causer because he seduced man. This is why /ʔa\$ʔayTaanu/ has nominative Case. But it is mankind who has slipped by his own wrong doings /bi-ba9Di ma kasabu/ "*the wrong things that they have done*"; therefore, he is the Agent and the Causee of the event of slipping. His own wrong doings are the Instrument of his slipping. Since there is no coreference between the Causer and the Causee, the latter is given syntactic expression as the internal argument of this /-sta-/ predicate ;i.e. the object pronominal /-hum/. The coreference here is between the Causer and the Benefactive of the event (i.e. Satan himself due to his seduction of mankind).

3.2: Intransitive /ʔista-/ Verbs

Taking "*Moses(x) caused himself(x) and his(x) people(y) to drink water or something* " as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.1., the Causer and the Causee are coreferential. This is why Moses is not the internal argument of this /-sta-/ verb. As for His people, this has been realized as a PP, leaving the verb /ʔistasqaa/ intransitive even though it is a three argument predicate. By His imploring Allaah, He (Moses) caused himself and His people to drink something. We have a compound Benefactive with the coreferential part of the Benefactive with the Causer not given syntactic expression. But the PP "to His people" is given syntactic expression. The concept of "water" is lexicalized within the /-sta-/ predicate and the related verb form ;e.g./yasqii -lʔarda / "He waters the earth", which is a transitive and a

two argument predicate. But with the non-/sta-/ verb, the subject is itself the Agent of the event of watering.

Taking "*You (x) give yourself (x) help by means of prayer and steadfastness (y)*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.2., there is Coreference between Causer and the Causee. It is understood that it is Allaah, who provides you with help in your prayers and steadfastness. The Causer of the "help" is "you (pl.)" because it is by your asking for help in steadfastness and prayer that Allaah endows you with it. The Benefactive of this help is "yourself", which is the Causee. The Instruments by which you obtain help are "prayers and steadfastness". The notion of help is lexicalized within the verb form itself whether with the /-sta-/ affix or without it as in its related verb form (i.e. /yu9iinuhu/) "He helps him", which is a two argument predicate and a transitive verb; but with its subject as the Agent of the event, rather than simply its Causer.

Taking "*You (x) cause to have your (x) sins (y) forgiven*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.3., we find that there is coreference between its Causer and its Causee. The Causer of the forgiveness is "you" in the sense that you behave in obedience to Allaah's Guidance and ask for His forgiveness; and it is "Allaah", who is understood to be the Agent of the act of forgiving even though the word "Allaah" is not given syntactic expression in this clause. It is mentioned before and after this clause in the same Verse. Again the Causee has the Benefactive role of the event of forgiving; and it is coreferential with the Causer. The sins that are to be forgiven are realized as a PP /li9 unuubihim/. It has the θ -role Recipient of the act of forgiving.

Taking "*You (x) make yourself (x) forgive them (y)*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.4., there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee. It is understood that this forgiveness is from Allaah. The

Causer of the act of forgiveness in this particular case is the Prophet Muhammad , who asks for his people's forgiveness despite all they have done to Him. When the Prophet asks for forgiveness for His people , He himself will have forgiven them ;and when you forgive others you will be forgiven by Allaah. Again, we have coreference between the Causer and the Causee , which has the θ -role Benefactive. As "His people" also has a Benefactive θ -role and is not coreferential with the Causer of the event , it is realized as a PP (i.e. /lahum/).

Taking "*You (x) should not make yourself (x) swear by supernatural powers (y)* " as the argument structure of sentence no.2.2.5., there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee. The Causer here is "you" since it is you who asks the supernatural powers to make your decision and you are warned not to do so. The Causee is "yourself" , with the Benefactive role as you will benefit by the help of the supernatural powers in making your decision. The PP / bi -lʔazlaam / is the Instruments of the supernatural powers. The related verb form ;i.e. /ʔaqsama bi/ "He swore" is different from the /-sta-/ verb in that the subject of the former verb is itself the Agent of the event.

Taking "*He and his soldiers (x) made themselves (x) big in the land for something (y)* as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.6. , there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee. The Causers of their bigness are "he" (the Pharoah) himself and his soldiers. This is why /junuuduhu / has nominative Case;and there is a subject pronominal form ,i.e. /huwa/. They made themselves too big in the land for something (i.e.to accept Moses' Guidance). The PP /fi -lʔarDi/ "in the land " is a Locative. The Causee, which is the Benefactive of the event, is also "themselves";and being coreferential with the Causer ,it is not given syntactic expression.

Taking "*He (x) made himself (x) hold on to something (y)*" as the argument structure of sentence 2.2.7., there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee. The Causer of the event of the verb /ʔistamsaka/ is "he" (i.e. man himself). If he chooses to lead a life of religious values, thereby his tongue would have to refrain from slandering others, his hands would not hit others etc. In these cases, the different organs of the human body would be the real Agents of the act of holding or refraining from evil. The Benefactive role of this refraining from evil doing is man himself since he will be rewarded. That which will be held on to is the Instrument of the event and it is realized as a PP/ bil9urwati - lwuθqaa/ in this complex predicate. The /-sta-/ verb form differs from its related verb form /ʔamsaka bi-l-kitaabi/ "He held on to the book." in the sense that in the latter case "he" is the Agent of the holding on to the book.

Taking "*You (x) make yourselves (x) answer to Allaah and His Messenger (y)*" as the argument structure of sentence no.2.2.8., there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee. The Causer is "they" and the Causee is "themselves" ;i.e.they made themselves answer to Allaah in hope of going to Paradise. Again, the Causee, which is coreferential with the Causer, has the Benefactive role. Man's submission is received by Allaah and His Messenger. It is the third argument ;and it is realized as a PP in this complex predicate (i.e./lilaahi wa -r-rasuuli/). The /-sta-/ verb form is different from its related verb form /ʔajaaba 9ani -s-suʔaali / "He answered the question." in that the subject in the latter case is the Agent of the event of answering.

Taking "*You (x) make yourselves (x) enjoy something (y), then you (x) give portions of duty to those (y) who have caused you enjoyment*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.9., the Causer and the Causee are coreferential. The Causer of the verb /ʔistamt9ta/ is "you" because you

make yourself enjoy yourself by means of the women you marry . It is also the subject of this complex predicate (i.e. with the /-sta-/ affix). The Causee is "yourself ", which has the Benefactive role of this pleasure. What you enjoyed is the third argument and it is referred to by the interrogative pronominal /ma /. It refers to marriage. It has been left dislocated and has the object pronominal in the PP /bihii/ coreferential with it. It may be regarded as having the θ -role Recipient. There is also the optional PP /minhunna /, which is the Instrument of their pleasure.

Taking "*We (x+y) have caused ourselves (x+y) enjoyment by one another: x caused y to enjoy (x) and y caused x to enjoy (y)*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.10, there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee . The Causer is /ba9Dunaa /. It is the subject of the /-sta-/ verb. This is why it has nominative Case. The Causee is not given syntactic expression. It is "ourselves" . It has the Benefactive role. The third argument predicate is "one another". It is given syntactic expression as a PP /bi ba9Din / , the Instrument of the event of enjoyment . The /-sta-/ verb is different from the related verb form /matta9ahu/ " He caused somebody else to have pleasure", in which the subject was the active Agent of the enjoyment of somebody else. This is also found in the verb form /?amta9ahu/ "He gave somebody else enjoyment"; but with /?istamta9a/ , we have the subject as the Causer of the event of enjoyment and a coreferential Causee, which is Benefactive of the event.

Taking "*They (x) make themselves (x) hide from people (y) but do not make themselves hide from Allaah "*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.11. , the Causer and Causee are coreferential. The Causer of the event of hiding is "they". The Causee is also "themselves" ;i.e. that which is made to be hidden. It has a Benefactive role of the event of hiding. The PPs "from people " and "from Allaah " constitute

the third argument of this /-sta-/ predicate. It may be regarded as having the θ -role "Source" as it represents the source of their fear. The hypocrites are afraid from people and not from Allaah. Again, the functional roles of the arguments of the /-sta-/ predicate are different from those of its related verb form /?axfaahu/ "He hid something". In the latter case, the subject is the Agent of the hiding of a non-coreferential object.

Taking "*You (x) made yourselves (x) increase the number of men(y) you(x) seduced*" as the argument structure of sentence no. 2.2.12., there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee. "You jinn" is the Causer of the multiplication because they had mankind seduced. The Causee is also "you jinn". It is not given syntactic expression. And as the "jinn" benefit from this increase, the Causee has a Benefactive role of the event of multiplication. The PP /mina -l?insi/ is the Recipient of the event of multiplication.

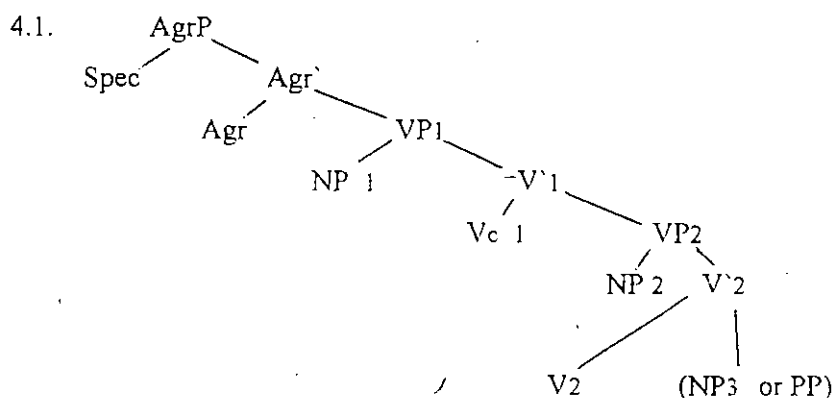
In summation of this analysis, it may be said that the /?ista-/ predicate is a three -place predicate in which the Causer acts on an individual, bringing about an event. This individual is the Causee and if it is the subject of the base verb, it is expressed as an argument, in which case it is the internal argument of the /-sta-/ predicate, as shown by the transitive /-sta-/ predicates. But in such a case the Causee is the Agent of the action or event as distinct from the Causer of the action or event, which is the subject of the /-sta-/ predicate. If, on the other hand, the Causee is the logical object of the base verb, it is not given syntactic expression; and in such a case we have an /-sta-/ intransitive verb. It is coreferential with the subject of this complex predicate; and it has the θ -role Benefactive. Nonetheless, in both cases of the /-sta-/ predicate, there is a fusion of an argument associated with the causative verb (i.e. Causee) with an argument of the base verb (PRED) so that this argument is

semantically an argument of both verbs at the same time. The variation between the /ʔista-/ transitive and intransitive predicates is dependent on their semantics ; i.e. it is dependent on whether there is coreference or non-coreference between the Causer and the Causee and on which argument has the Benefactive θ -role (the second or the third argument of this complex predicate). If there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee ,we have the intransitive /-sta-/ verb form;but if this coreference is between the third argument of this three argument predicate and its subject,then we have the transitive /-sta-/ verb form. As regards the Case of the internal argument of the /-sta-/ predicate, it is accusative, similar to the Chichewa causatives,as described by Alsina ; but the thematic role of the Causee of the intransitive /-sta-/ predicate is Benefactive. It is similar to Italian,as described by Guasti .

4. The Derivation of the /-sta-/ Predicate as a Causative Predicate

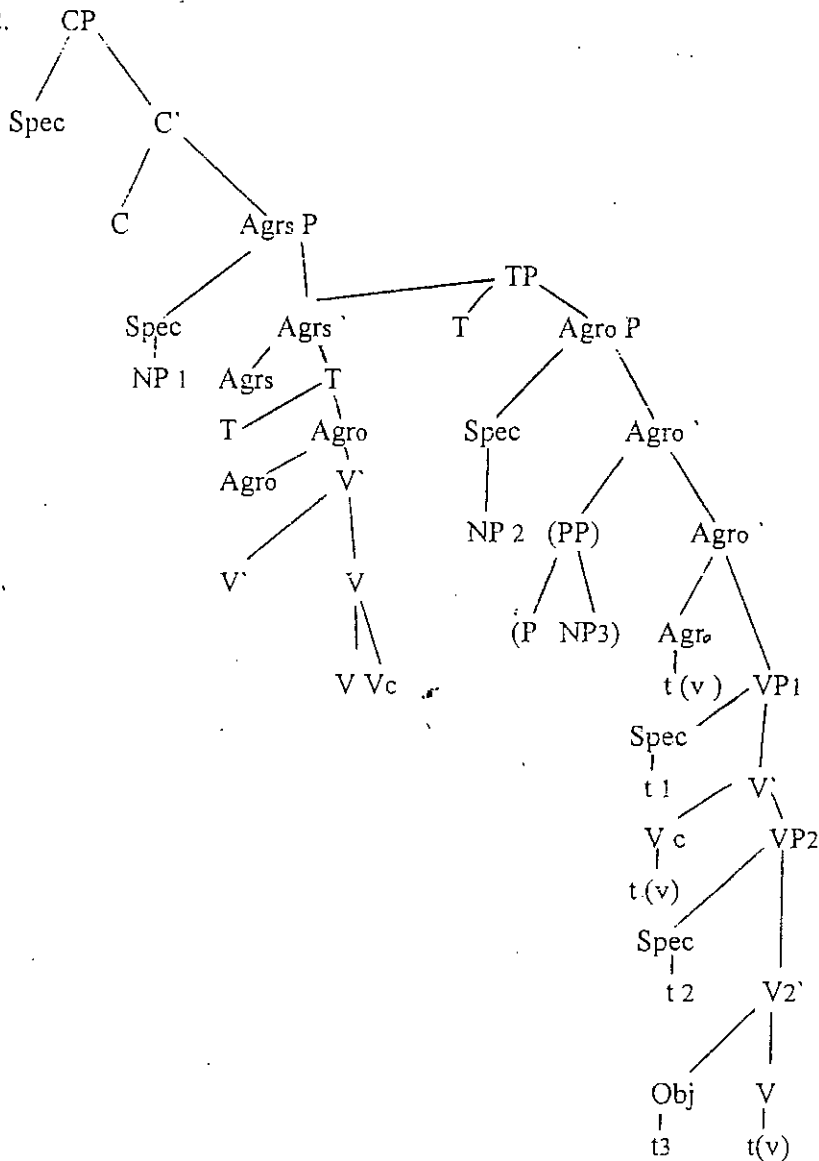
Following Guasti(1996), it is assumed that the derivation of the /-sta-/ predicates in Qurʔanic Arabic takes place in the syntax and that it involves the rule of “verb incorporation “ of “head-to head movement” because the /ʔista-/ affix ,being a bound morpheme, is an incorporation trigger. Also following Chomsky (1995), the incorporation of V to the causative Vc yields the chain (V,t) ,with V adjoined to Vc ;and the complex head [V Vc] , then raises to Agr , forming the new chain ([V Vc] ,t) , with [V Vc] adjoining to Agr to yield *alfa* = [Agr [V Vc] Agr] . (184) This movement is also compatible with Chomsky (1995), who says that if D-structure can be eliminated,then the “Projection Principle and the θ -Criterion can be dispensed with”. (188)

And as the Arabic language has both weak and strong NP-features (Chomsky, 1995: 199), V-raising with the /-sta-/ affix is either overt or simply at LF ,deriving either VSO or SVO sentences;and in such a case "V2 raises to the empty position V1 ", in 4.1. forming a chain.



With the SVO structure, "NP1 raises overtly to [Spec,Agrs] and NP2 (covertly) to [Spec.,Agro])" (Chomsky,1995:180) ;but with the VSO structure , NP1 raises covertly to [Spec,Agrs] and NP2 (covertly) to [Spec.,Agro]). In either case, with V-incorporation , NP2 "raises to [Spec , AgrP] for the sake of Case assignment ,crossing NP 1, the matrix subject or its trace "(Chomsky,1995:184). It is a case of "object raising to [Spec,Agr] (Agr =Agro)", which is the requirement that the Obj must raise to Spec for Case checking, crossing Subj or its trace," (183) as shown in 4.2.

4.2.



In order to deal with the problem of explaining why we find crossing rather than nesting in the Case theory based on the Spec-head relation (rather than on head government) “with VP-internal subject raising to [Spec,Agrs] and object raising to [Spec,Agro],crossing the trace of the VP-internal subject” (185), Chomsky (1995) has defined the Shortest Movement Condition as in 1.1.6., as shown above. Accordingly, there is

no violation of the Relativized Minimality nor is there a violation of the Shortest Movement Condition in 4.2. because the minimal domain of the chain ([V Vc],t) is { NP₁ , VP₁ }. This is because "V-raising formed an enlarged minimal domain for the chain." (Chomsky ,1995:184) It is the "the requirement that substitution operation always extends their target" (191) that allows us to have superraising while not violating the ECP or the Relativized Minimality. This ,in turn, makes "this derivation not only a permissible derivation but actually the only possible derivation in the case of incorporation. (Chomsky ,1995:185) As for "the Case Filter" , it is also now regarded "as an interface condition that requires that "all morphological features must be checked somewhere ,for convergence. " (197) Accordingly ,Chomsky (1995) says that "we can eliminate S-structure conditions on raising and lowering in favor of morphological properties of lexical items,in accordance with the Minimalist Program".(199)

4.2. is a derivation of the transitive and the intransitive /-sta-/ predicates. In the former case , NP 1, the Causer and the subject of this complex predicate, is raised to the Spec of Agrs P, where it is assigned nominative Case. NP2 , its Causee and the subject of the base verb, is treated as the object of the verbal complex(i.e. the /-sta-/ predicate) ;and raised to the Spec of Agr o P , where it is assigned accusative Case. The coreferential argument with the subject of the transitive /-sta-/ predicate is NP3 which is introduced by a preposition assigning to it genitive Case.

In the derivation of the intransitive/-sta-/ predicate , NP 1, also the Causer and the subject of this complex predicate, is raised to the Spec of Agrs P, where it is assigned nominative Case. NP2 , the logical object of the base verb, is coreferential with the Causer ;and therefore, it does not receive a syntactic expression. It may be that when the fusion is with the

logical object of the base verb, the *causee* does not receive a syntactic expression because it is not an external argument. 2 As for the third argument of the intransitive /-sta-/ predicate, it is assigned genitive Case because it is introduced by a preposition. In both cases, the /ʔista-/ predicate being “a complex predicate” determines a reorganization of the Case-marking relationships subject to the Case Frame Preservation Principle of Baker (1988), which assumes that the Case capacities of a complex verb, which is created by VI, are the same as those of a simple verb.

5. The Derivation of the /-sta-/ Predicate as an Inherent Reflexive Verb

It has been assumed here that the /ʔista-/ affix in Qurʔanic Arabic has a dual function: it is an incorporation trigger for verb incorporation of the base verb to the matrix causative verb and it is also a reflexive clitic. Accordingly, the /ʔista-/ verb may be regarded as an “inherently reflexive verb”. The term an “inherently reflexive verb” has been used by Grimshaw (1982) in her analysis of *se* in French, which she has also described as an intransitivizer. Burzio (1981) follows Grimshaw in assuming that *si* in Italian also requires a lexical statement and that it is base generated as a clitic, forming a reduced reflexive. Burzio (1981) also believes that the appearance of the reduced reflexive is linked to the subject position, suspending the assignment of the thematic role to the subject position since these verbs are ergative verbs. This is why there is a local rule coindexing the reduced reflexive with the subject NP. But this rule is different from the Binding Condition A because Burzio, like Grimshaw, denies *si* the status of an argument; therefore, it cannot be a bound anaphor.

In analyzing *zich* in Dutch, Everaert (1986) follows Burzio (1981) in assuming that "inherent reflexivity" involves "object -to- subject movement". Everaert (1986) shows that there are two types of inherently reflexive verbs in Dutch : one with an internal argument, and another with an external argument (i.e. the verb is subcategorized for an object and has an external thematic role to assign). Both types involve object to subject NP movement ;and the number of thematic roles these verbs assign is one less than the number of argument positions available since these verbs are ergative. This movement is "triggered by a potential violation of the Generalized ECP in subject position" and "the theta -criterion", (Everaert ,1986:194) making *zich* bind the NP trace ;and *zich* itself is bound by the NP subject even though it is not locally bound by it.

This movement has been "triggered by a potential violation of the Generalized ECP in subject position" and " the theta -criterion" (Everaert ,1986:194); but this minimalist theory ,as we have seen above, lacks a D-structure and an S-structure (208) ;in turn, the "Projection Principle and the θ -Criterion can be dispensed with" (Chomsky ,1995 :188). Furthermore, the /?ista-/ predicate is a three argument predicate whose subject has an external thematic role as well as an external Case;i.e. it is not an ergative verb,as with the inherent reflexive verbs of Burzio and Everaert. Accordingly, a slightly different solution is proposed for the analysis of the data studied here.This solution is in keeping with Chomsky's (1995) Shortest Movement Condition,as defined above;and with the changes in the binding theory of Chomsky (1995) , as shown in 5.1.,along with his suggestion of dispensing with Principle A.

5.1.

A. If *alfa* is an anaphor, interpret it as coreferential with a c-commanding phrase in D (the relevant local domain)

B. If *alfa* is a pronominal, interpret it as disjoint from every c-commanding phrase in D.

C. If *alfa* is an r-expression, interpret it as disjoint from every c-commanding phrase. (Chomsky, 1995:211)

Looking at 4.2. again, the reflexivity in this inherent reflexive predicate is between one of the NPs of the minimal complement domain (i.e. the *internal domain*, which comprises NP 2, and NP3) of $V_c 1$ to NP1 , which is its minimal residue (i.e. its *checking domain*). And regarding the positions of NP1, NP2 , and NP3 , in 4.2., as being A-positions in accordance with Chomsky's definition of an A-position,³ it is assumed that there are *pros* in these positions. In other words, the NP of Obj of $V2'$, in 4.2. , with the /?ista-/ intransitive verb may be assumed to have a *pro* , which is "licensed only in the Spec-head relation to [*Agr* *alfa* *Agr*]" (Chomsky, 1995:176) . As shown earlier, this NP is the logical object of the base verb , has the θ -role Benefactive , and has not been given syntactic expression. Being a pronominal , it is interpreted as being of disjoint reference to every c-commanding phrase in D , which is $VP2$. This is why it is of disjoint reference to the NP which is the Spec of $VP2$. This NP is given syntactic expression by means of a PP; and has a variety of θ -roles, as shown above. As for the NP which is the Obj of $V2'$, it is only coreferential to the NP that is the Spec. of $VP1$, which is outside its relevant domain and has the θ -role Causer.

Similarly , with the /?ista-/ affixed transitive verb, the NP Obj of $V2'$, in 4.2., is coreferential with the Spec of $VP1$. Likewise, the coreferential NP, whose θ -role is also Benefactive, is given syntactic expression with the transitive /?ista-/ verb by means of its being incorporated in a PP.

This NP ,again being a pronominal (i.e., a *pro* , which is “licensed only in the Spec-head relation to [_{Agr} α _{Agr}]” (Chomsky,1995:176), is of disjoint reference to the Spec of VP2 . which is its relevant D.

In both cases, there is no violation of the Binding Conditions of Chomsky (1995), in which “Condition A may be dispensable” (211). Also in both cases, an “unmarked pronominal can be freely interpreted as either a free anaphor or a bound anaphor” (Everaert ,1986: 206). It is free and also of disjoint reference in its relevant domain;otherwise it may be coreferential. But with the presence of the affix /ʔista-/ in these verbs, the NP with the θ -role Benefactive in this predicate has to be coreferential to the subject of this matrix predicate. It is in this sense that the affix /ʔista-/ has been regarded as a reflexive clitic, making these *pros* coreferential to the matrix subject,which is outside their relevant domains.

Conclusion

Qurʔanic Arabic has a complex predicate that has the /ʔista-/ affix, which has dual function. It is both a causative and a reflexive affix. It makes its subject the Causer of the event or action ,rather than its Agent. It also makes either the Causee or the third argument of this three argument predicate, depending on which argument has the θ -role Benefactive, coreferential to its subject. There are basically two types of the /ʔista-/ predicates: a transitive /ʔista-/ predicate and an intransitive /ʔista-/ predicate. In the former type , the Causer and the Causee are non-coreferential and it is only the latter argument that has the θ -role Agent ;accordingly, the coreference is between the Causer and the third argument , which is introduced by a preposition and has the θ -role Benefactive. The Causee, being non-coreferential with the Causer, is

given syntactic expression, becoming the internal argument of this complex predicate. With the intransitive /-sta-/ predicate, there is coreference between the Causer and the Causee, which also has the θ -role Benefactive. The Causee in this case is not given syntactic expression. The third argument in this type of /-sta-/ predicate is also introduced by a preposition, and involves a variety of θ -roles such as Instrument, Recipient etc.

The implication is that the Causee is given syntactic expression when it has the θ -role Agent, as distinct from that of the Causer θ -role, and in such a case it is of disjoint reference with the Causer. This demonstrates that there is a difference between the θ -role Agent and that of the Causer. It is only the former that involves an active participation or involvement in the accomplishment of the event. The latter only passively participates in the accomplishment of the event either by asking some other entity to do it for his benefit or causing the event in any way to be accomplished again for his own benefit. This is why the coreferential NP to the subject of this /?ista-/ predicate has the θ -role Benefactive be it the Causee or not.

The /?ista-/ affix, having a dual function (i.e. it is both a causative and a reflexive clitic), has been derived by the causative verb incorporation of Chomsky (1995) and its reflexivity has involved a language particular rule, which nonetheless subsumes to the recent changes in the Generative Grammar of Chomsky (1995).

End-Notes

1. Even though the terminology of "Causer" and "Causee", borrowed from A.Alsina (1992) and M.Guasti (1996), has been used in the analysis of the Glorious Qur'aan ;nevertheless, the notion that the Causee is subservient to the Causer is not the intended meaning when referring to Allaah or to the the Prophet as the Causee of the action or the event.
2. This is verified by the fact that when the Causee has an external θ -role, it is given syntactic expression, as shown with the transitive /-sta-/ verb. In this respect, the /?ista-/ predicate is similar to the causative predicates described by Alsina (1992) and Guasti (1996).
3. An A-position has been described by Chomsky (1995) as "a structural position that is narrowly L-related " and that only the position that is "not L-related that has the basic properties of an \bar{A} -positions [i.e. a non-A-position] " .(196)

Notations Used for the Transcription of Qur'anic Arabic

1. *Consonantal Phonemes:*

1.1. Stops:

1.1. 1. /b/ voiced bilabial stop

1.1. 2. /t/ and /d/ voiceless and voiced apical dental stops

1.1. 3. /k/ and /g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops

1.1.4. /ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop

1.1.5. /q/ voiceless uvular stop

1.1.6. /j / voiced palatal stop

1.2.Fricatives

1.2. 1. /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative

1.2.2. /s/ and /z/ voiceless and voiced dental grooved fricatives

1.2.3. /ʃ/ voiceless palatal fricative

1.2.4. /θ / and /ð / voiceless and voiced interdental fricative

1.2.5. /h/ voiceless glottal fricative

1.2.6. /x/ and /ɣ / voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives

1.2.7. /ħ/ and /ʕ/ voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives

1.3. Emphatics

1.3.1. /T/ and /D/ voiceless and voiced dental, apical
emphatic stops

1.3.2. /S/ dental emphatic fricative

1.3.3. /ḡ / voiced interdental emphatic fricative

1.4. Resonants

1.4.1. /r/ trilled resonant

1.4.2. /l / lateral resonant

1.5. Nasals

1.5. 1. /m/ bilabial nasal

1.5.2. /n/ dental nasal

1.6. Semi- Vowels

1.6. 1. /w/ velar semi- vowel

1.6. 2. /y/ palatal semi- vowel

2. Vocalic Phonemes

2.1. /i/ and /ii/ high front, unrounded short and long vowels respectively.

2.2. /u/ and /uu/ high back, rounded short and long vowels respectively.

2.3. /a/ and /aa/ low central unrounded short and long vowels respectively

There are a great variety of allophonic realizations of each phoneme, but they are not our concern in this study.

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