

THE TREATMENT OF CONDITIONAL SENTENCES BY THE MEDIAEVAL ARABIC GRAMMARIANS

(Stability and Change in the History of Arabic Grammar)

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Concept of Conditionality

There are two different and well-defined sets of problems in the field of conditionality (or conditional relation-ship). On the one hand, one has to deal with the syntactic aspects of the question, i. e. with so-called conditional clauses and conditional sentences. On the other hand, one cannot avoid investigating conditionality as an abstract entity or relationship. In the first case, the problems belong to the grammar of a particular language, e. g. Arabic, and the linguist confronts questions such as: which conditional particle is used when, and together with which form of the verbs? When do we have to deal with "real" conditional sentences and when with so called "elliptic" sentences – and other similar, language-specific, formal empirical questions? All these and further syntactic problems are dealt with mainly by linguistics, or to be more precise, the grammars of the particular languages. Questions of a semantic nature, on the other hand, are treated in grammatical literature only per tangentem, its interest not being focused on meaning as independent of its syntactic formulation. In the second case, however, we are faced with problems connected with what the relationships of contents are between the two halves of conditional expressions, how they reflect reality, and what their conceptual values are. These and similar logical-semantic questions are not (or, at least, were not, historically speaking) dealt with within linguistics proper but belong to the scope of logic. Recently, however, there have been trends within logically-based semantics, which have tried to give linguistic answers to these types of questions as well.

The problem of conditional sentences does not occupy, as a rule, a significant place in native Arabic grammar, since it deals first of all with formal

syntactic characteristics and variations of the "pure" or "perfect" conditional sentence, not covering the scope of conditionality even from a purely formal point of view. Here, however, we have to differentiate between the first extant Arabic grammar — Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* — and all later grammatical works. This — as I intend to argue in my paper in detail — seems to be a crucial point for research. Sībawayhi, within his limits, tried to show the semantic — communicative values of formal linguistic structures. This comes from his linguistic methods and his notion of language. For him, syntactic variations have always got their semantic counterparts and he considers it one of the main tasks of the linguist to point to these relationships. Later grammarians, contrary to Sībawayhi, were not able and, 'frankly', did not want, to follow this method which demands great discipline and supposes an overall insight into the basic character of language. They inherited, of course, some general semantic principles (the communicative orientation of Arabic grammar had never ceased to be tangible) from the "great" generation of eighth-ninth century linguists, but on the whole they were mainly interested in syntactic phenomena from normative and pedagogic points of view.

Conditional sentences, as I mentioned before, occupy but an insignificant place in mediaeval grammars. Why, then do I consider it necessary to deal with the problem of "Conditional Sentences in Native Arabic Grammar" in such a detailed way? The answer can be summed up in two points: 1) Since conditional sentences form a comparatively restricted field of phenomena (as far as any separate syntactic field can be regarded as independent), in studying conditional sentences it is relatively easy to survey the methods of Arabic linguists and the historical changes occurring in them. 2) Nevertheless, conditional sentences are not completely without problems for mediaeval Arab grammarians and this is mainly due to two circumstances: a) A single conditional particle (as regent) governs, or is somehow connected to, the verbs in two clauses, while the usual pattern is one governing and one governed word — if there is no conjunction in the sentence. b) The number of elliptic (*mahdūf*) sentences among conditional sentences exceeds the usual average in other fields of Arabic grammar. The elliptic constructions raise further questions of formal analysis and interpretation, and grammarians felt compelled to answer them. The different answers they gave characterize their whole attitude to linguistic analysis. The same can be said of those who did not try to give an answer to a particular question.

1.2 The topics of the present paper

In the following pages I will try to shed some light on how the most famous representatives of mediaeval Arab grammarians treat questions of analysis relating to conditional sentences. I want to pay special attention now to changes in linguistic methods and attitudes of grammarians towards their data.

These changes are reflected in the way they analyse sentences. This latter seems to me all the more important to investigate because in the past both Arab and European scholars had always been inclined to an ahistoric representation in studying the works of Arab grammarians – i. e. one always feels a tendency towards the supposition of one single, indivisible Arabic grammar. 'How often one reads statements containing such references as "in Arab grammarians ... in Arabic grammar ...". This lack of a historic approach has given rise to a distorted picture of mediaeval Arabic linguistics.

In order better to understand the essence of conditionality and conditional sentences, it is necessary to analyse them in a complex and overall way. Such a complex analysis should contain at least the following main steps:

1) The semantic definition of the concept of conditionality.

Arab grammarians in this respect are content with a short definition. They rightly see the essence of conditionality in the fact of uncertainty, i. e. the uncertainty of the fulfilment of the condition and consequently the occurrence of the event subjected to the condition.

This is a non-formal aspect which roughly delimits the scope of conditional sentences and clearly differentiates them from temporal sentences. We can find this definition in the very first Arabic grammar, Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*.¹

وسألته عن إذا، ما منعهم ان يجازوا بها؟
إذا تجيء وقتا معلوما: الا ترى انك لو قلت: آتيك
إذا احمر البسر كان حسنا، ولو قلت: آتيك ان احمر
البسر كان قبيحا. فان ابدا مبهما، وكذلك
حروف الجزاء"

2) The investigation of the implication.

This issue is not dealt with by the Arab grammarians at all, because they are mainly interested in syntactic problems.²

3) The study of the formal criteria of conditional sentences.

Of these criteria three can be emphasized:

- a) the choice of the introductory particle in the protasis
- b) the verb forms used in the protasis and apodosis
- c) the manner of transition into the apodosis.

Since Arab grammarians focused their interest mainly on the above formal criteria, so I also turned my attention to them. In this paper, however, I shall deal only with the first two in some detail, the third (first of all the usage of the particle *fa-*) only being referred to in connection with the first two.

2. Some Terminological Problems

It would seem to be appropriate to start with an analysis of Arabic terminology used in connection with conditional sentences.

The commonest term is *ḡazā'* ("requit"). Sībawayhi interprets it as "involvement of a condition, supposition". The conditional particles (*hurūf al-ḡazā'*) are those that trigger a conditional relation (sentence) (*mā yuḡāzā bihi*). Sībawayhi calls the protasis "the first sentence" (*al-kalām al-awwal*) and the apodosis the "answer" (*ḡawāb* or *ḡawāb al-ḡazā'*). The name of the apodosis refers to the fact that Sībawayhi sees similarities between the interrogative and the conditional sentence. He considers this similarity from several semantic and structural aspects at different places in his book:³

- جوابها (حروف الاستفهام) كجوابه (الجزء ١٠٠٠)
وهي (حروف الاستفهام) غير واجبة كالجزء ١٠٠٠
(يعني غير واقع ، يجوز أن يقع والا يقع)

القول فيه (الجزاء) كالقول في الاستفهام . الا ترى انك اذا استفهمت لم تجعل مابعدہ صلة . فالوجه ان تقول الفعل ليس في الجزاء بصلة لما قبله كما انه في حروف الاستفهام ليس صلة لما قبله ، واذا قلت : حيثما تكن أكن ، فليس بصلة لما قبله ، كما انك اذا قلت أين تكون وانت تستفهم فليس الفعل بصلة لما قبله وتقول : من يضربك في الاستفهام ، وفي الجزاء : من يضربك أضربه ، فالفعل فيهما غير صلة .

In later periods, terminology went through some changes. As for the protasis, the term *ṣart* ("condition") became almost uniformly used, while the earlier name, *ḡazā'* had come to mean apodosis and was used together with *ḡawāb*.⁴

اذا وقع بعد جزاء الشرط فعل . . .

يجوز حذف جواب الشرط

Although both *ḡazā'* and *ḡawāb* were used for the apodosis, later grammarians still regard them as different to a certain extent:⁵

وإذْ جواب وجزاء . يقول الرجل أنا آتيك فتقول اذن

أكرمك ، فهذا الكلام قد أجبتہ به وصيرت اكرامك جزاء

له على إتيانه "

It is worth mentioning that the term *šarṭ* was given the original meaning of *ḡazā'* as well:⁶

وَأَمَّا (أَمَّا) ففِيهَا مَعْنَى الْجَزَاءِ

وَأَمَّا فِيهَا مَعْنَى الشَّرْطِ

There are three other terms that play important roles in the discussion of conditional sentences: *ḡazm*, *ḡāzim* and *maḡzūm*. Sībawayhi states two important things about conditional particles as regents (*ʿāmīl*). One relates to the formal aspect of the sentence: (*ḥurūf al-šarṭ*) *tagzimu l-afʿāl*, the other to its contents: *mā yuḡāzā bihi*. Later, as we have already seen, the original meaning of *ḡazā'* was taken over by *šarṭ* and so, related to this, the expression *mā yuḡāzā bihi* was not used any more. But its place remained unfilled, because the verbal form of *šarṭ* (*šaraṭa*) was never used. This phenomenon is a good illustration of a later tendency to neglect the semantic aspects of the analysis. It was only the formal aspect that remained interesting – what formal (conjugational) consequences the introduction of a conditional particle such as *ʿāmīl* has for the sentence.

3. Conditional Particles

In connection with conditional particles, we also find a multitude of terminologies. This situation, on the one hand, is the result of the terminological differences mentioned above, while on the other hand it follows directly from the fact that grammarians give different lists of the conditional particles, i. e. what they consider to be a conditional particle varies greatly from one grammarian to another.

Let us see first Sībawayhi's opinion:⁷

فَمَا يَجَازِي بِهِ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ غَيْرِ الظَّرُوفِ : مَنْ ، وَمَا ، وَآيِهِمْ

وما يجازى به من الظروف : أي حين ، ومتى ، وابن ، وأنى ،
 وحيثما ومن وغيرهما : ان واذا ما .

These, then are the *hurūf al-ḡazā'* in Sībawayhi's grammar. He states, furthermore, that the "mother" (*umm*) or "root" (*aṣl*) of all the other conditional particles is the *in* because it is the only one which has no other functions.⁸ It might strike the reader at first sight that he makes no mention of *law* and its compounds (*law anna*, *lawlā*, *laumā*). This goes back to Sībawayhi's definition of the conditional sentence, viz. he considers *ibhām* ("uncertainty") to be the decisive factor in conditionality. As for the sentences beginning with *law*, their outcome cannot be considered "uncertain" because they contain an unreal condition – so it is impossible for the events they describe to occur.

Unreal conditional sentences do not seem to have caused problems for Sībawayhi because in another chapter, (باب عدة ما يكون عليه الكلام), where he deals with *law*, he only has one sentence to say about them:⁹

وَأَمَّا (لَوْ) فَلَمَّا كَانَ سَيَقَعُ لَوْقَعُ غَيْرِهِ

The 11th century grammarian, Ibn Ğinnī, in his short compendium, gives a classification of conditional particles which is essentially similar to that of Sībawayhi's. According to him, *in* is the conditional particle par excellence (*ḥarf al-ṣaṭ*) to which other "nouns and adverbs became similar (in use)".¹⁰

Ibn Ğinnī calls "the sisters of *in*" (*aḥawāt in*). This expression, not used by other authors, runs parallel to the expressions *aḥawāt inna* and *aḥawāt kāna* and refers to the basic similarity between the behaviour of the "sisters" to the "root," (*aṣl*).

Other authors show further differences in terminology. Ibn al-Hāḡib, for example, wrote a separate chapter under the title "*al-ḡāzimāt li-l-mudāri'*" and he placed the "conditional words" (*kalim al-muḡāzāh*) among quite different kinds of particles, such as *lam*, *lammā*, *lām al-'amr* and *lā fī nahy*.¹¹

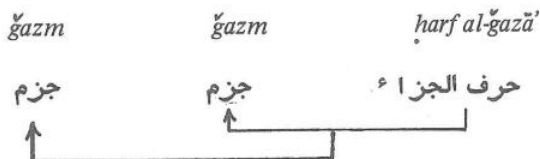
Ibn Mālik ¹² uses the same groupings. That is, he places the conditional particles among the other *ḡawāzim*, differentiating between those "instruments" (*adawāt*) ¹³ that put one verb into *ḡazm* (the "jussive") and others which put two.

We can see from this classification that these authors did not consider the conditional particles as *awāmil* for conditional relationships, but only as formal *awāmil*, i. e. particles which put verbs into *ḡazm*. It follows logically from this development that they drew a parallel between these and other particles which put the verb into *ḡazm*.

This categorization is not used by Sībawayhi. When he speaks about particles which put verbs into *ḡazm* (**بال ما يعمل في الافعال**) **فيجزمها**) he means only those particles which later grammarians classified as the ones which put only one verb into *ḡazm*. So he did not draw a parallel between the ordinary *ḡawāzim* and between the *ḡawāzim* and between the *ḡawāzim* and between the *ḡawāzim* for two reasons. First, as I have already mentioned, he defined the *ḡawāzim* as semantic *awāmil* as well. Moreover, Sībawayhi considered the even formal *amal* rection relationship to be too complex in the case of conditional particles to be defined simply as *ḡawāzim* that put two verbs into *ḡazm* at one and the same time. According to his view, it is only the first of the two verbs that directly takes the *ḡazm* endings on account of the conditional particle. The second of the verb-pair is put into *ḡazm* by the particle and the first verb (already in *ḡazm*) together: ¹⁴

واعلم ان حروف الجزاء تجزم الافعال وينجزم الجواب بما قبله
وزعم الخليل انك اذا قلت : ان تأتني آتک ، فآتک انجزمت
بان تأتني •

Graphically:



By these arrows, I mean to emphasize the basic dependency of the relationships between the elements of the sentence, because it seems to me to be one of the fundamental traits of Sībawayhi's grammar that he points to these dependent relationships and tries to explain the syntactic structures by having recourse to them.

That is why I do not find quite acceptable the view that it is the Bloomfieldian type of immediate constituent analysis that resembles, to a great extent, Sībawayhi's descriptive methods.¹⁵

However, the most significant alteration to Sībawayhi's treatment of conditional conjunctions can be found in al-Zamaḥṣārī's *Mufaṣṣal*. Dealing with his classification of the parts of speech, he discusses the problems connected with conditional sentences scattered over several chapters of his book: among the *hurūf*, among the *af'āl* (*al-mağzūma*) and finally among the *asmā'* (*al-mawṣūlāt*, *al-zurūf*). But the radical change in attitude and approach to the question is best reflected by the way he speaks about the conditional particles. He lists only two, *in* and *law* (not spoken of by Sībawayhi as conditional).¹⁶

ومن اصناف الحروف حرفا الشرط، وهما إِنْ ولَوْ تدخلان على

جملتين فتجعلان الأولى شرطا والثانية جزاء كقولك إِنْ

تضربني اضربك ولو جئتني لأكرمك، خلا ان إِنْ تجعل الفعل

للاستقبال وان كان ماضيا ولَوْ تجعله للمضي وان كان مستقبلا

كقوله تعالى ﴿لَوْ يُطِيعُكُمْ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِّنَ الْأَمْرِ لَعَنِتُّمْ﴾ * وزعم

الفراء ان لَوْ تستعمل في الاستقبال كإِنْ.

A similar definition can also be found in Ibn Mālik's *Alfīya*, notwithstanding the fact that he treats *in* and *law* separately.¹⁸

" لَوْ " حرف شرط ، في مضي ، ويقتل ايلاؤه
مستقبلا ، لكن قبل

The particle *law* also appears among the conditionals in Ibn al-Ḥāḡib's work, which is all the more peculiar since he does not mention it among the *kalim al-muḡāzāt*. But this, after all, can be explained, because he lists the latter under the heading "*al-ḡāzimāt li-l-muḡāriḥ*". What strikes me most, however, is that he does not say a word about *law* in the chapter *al-ṣart wa-l-ḡazā'* either.¹⁹

This change in the interpretation of *law* can already be gathered from the definition given for *law* by al-Mubarrad.²⁰

لَوْ توجب الشيء من اجل وقوع غيره

Let us compare it with Sībawayhi's definition:²¹

وامّا (لَوْ) فلما كان سيقع لوقوع غيره

While in Sībawayhi's definition *law* refers to certainty, i. e. the certainty of the non-occurrence of an event, in Mubarrad's definition *law* expresses uncertainty to the same extent as *in* the so-called conditional particle proper.

Many grammarians had considered *law* in certain contexts as a substitute for *in*, i. e., as having the function of *in* that relates to the future. This circumstance might have played a part in the formulation of Mubarrad's definition above.²²

This gradual change in the interpretation of conditional particles in Arabic grammars of the Middle Ages, briefly surveyed above, also points to the fact that in linguistic descriptions the formal approach, deprived of reference to meaning, gains more and more ground.

4. Verb forms in conditional clauses

The other formal criterion which Arab authors so often deal with is verb forms in conditional clauses. One of the general characteristics of conditional sentences is the temporal sequence of events in the protasis and the apodosis,

because of their logical interrelation. However, when Arab grammarians investigate verb forms in conditional clauses, they do not speak about implications. That is to say, they do not dwell on whether there are differences in meaning between the possible verb forms. This question is really only treated from a formal point of view: do the conditional particles work as formal regents (^C*āmīl*) (putting the verb into *ǧazm*), or not.

The following tables present what verb forms are taken into consideration by five grammarians (Sībawayhi, Ibn Ğinnī, al-Zamahšarī, Ibn al-Ḥaǧīb, Ibn Mālik).²³

Sībawayhi

		1	
		māḍī	ǧazm
2	māḍī		
	ǧazm	/+/	+
	raf ^C	/+/	

Ibn Ğinnī

		1	
		māḍī	ǧazm
2	māḍī		
	ǧazm		+
	raf ^C		

Zamahšarī

		1	
		māḍī	ǧazm
2	māḍī	+	?
	ǧazm	+	+
	raf ^C	+	

Ibn al-Ḥaǧīb

		1	
		māḍī	ǧazm
2	māḍī	+	
	ǧazm	+	+
	raf ^C	+	

Ibn Mālik

		1	
		māḍī	ǧazm
2	māḍī	+	/+/
	ǧazm	+	+
	raf ^C	+	/+/

It can be concluded from the above tables that the only combination of verb forms allowed by all five authors is *ǧazm* + *ǧazm*. This is because it was regarded as the basic pattern of a conditional sentence. As Sībawayhi puts it:²⁴

حروف الجزاء تجزم الافعال وينجزم الجواب بما قبله

4.1 Ibn Ğinnī

Of the five, he alone mentions only this basic combination, but this may reflect the brevity of the chapter he devotes to this question. In formulating his rule, he adopts Sībawayhi's view:²⁵

والشرط وجوابه مجزومان تقول ان تقم اقم تجزم تقم بان
وتجزم اقم بان تقم جميعا وكذلك بقية اخواتها.

There is another possible reason why Ibn Ğinnī mentions only this possibility – that although Sībawayhi lists other additional combinations, he considers only this one to be correct. He relates the others to this one and explains them through it.

4.2 Sībawayhi

If we disregard the table representing Ibn Ğinnī's view and compare the views of the others, it becomes conspicuous that it is only Sībawayhi who makes no mention of the combination *māḍī + māḍī*, thus apparently excluding sentences with *māḍī* in their apodosis. This is explained by al-Sīrāfī in his commentary in the following way:²⁶

اصل الجواب ان يكون فعلا مستقبلا ، لانه شيء مضمون فعله
اذا فعل الشرط او وجد مجزوما ملتبسا بما قبله من الشرط

At the same time we cannot disregard the fact that Sībawayhi also mentions this combination in another chapter (باب ما يرتفع بين الجزمين) (ويجزم بينهما) where he discusses his preference for the constructional parallelism:²⁷

واحسن ذلك أن تقول: ان تأتيني لا آتتك (جزم+ جزم) ،
 كما ان أحسن الكلام أن تقول: ان اتيتني لم آتتك (ماض+ماض)
 . . فاذا قلت: ان تفعل فأحسن الكلام ان يكون الجواب أفعل
 لأنه نظيره من الفعل . واذا قال: ان فعلت فأحسن الكلام
 ان تقول: فعلت ، لأنه مثله .

I did not include this construction in the table because Sībawayhi does not deal with it in the chapter on conditional sentences (باب الجزاء) and consequently does not build it into his system. From the above quotation, however, it becomes evident that he does not deny its existence and even its correctness in usage. ²⁸

The most important statements of Sībawayhi with regard to verb forms in conditional clauses can be summarized in the following four points:

(1) حروف الجزاء تجزم الأفعال وبينجزم الجواب بما قبله 29

This definition emphasizes the essential dependent relationship between the elements of a conditional sentence.

(2) لا يكون جواب الجزاء إلا بفعل أو بالفاء 30

(3) الجواب بالفاء في موضع الفعل 31

(4) أصل الجزاء الفعل 32

It becomes evident from points 2) and 3) that there are two kinds of apodoses according to Sībawayhi: one introduced by a verb and another introduced by *fa-*, this latter being of secondary importance compared to the first. As we can see from point 3) this secondary character is defined both from the point of view of the verb and that of *fa-*.

قبح في الكلام ان تعمل إِنْ أو شيء من حروف الجزاء
 في الأفعال حتى تجزمه في اللفظ ثم لا يكون لها
 جواب ينجزم بما قبله...لما كانت إِنْ العاملة
 لم يحسن الا ان يكون لها جواب ينجزم بما قبله .
 فهذا الذي يشاكلها في كلامهم اذا عملت .

33

What also becomes clear from the above quotation is that Sībawayhi, as has already been mentioned, defines conditional particles as regents in two ways, once as semantic, (*mā yuḡāzā bihi*) and once as formal, (*ḡāzim*) regents. The two evidently cannot take over the other's function, since conditional sentences may contain verb forms other than *ḡazm*, although this is the most usual form.

Later on, Sībawayhi evaluates and explains every conditional sentence collected in his book as examples of the above four fundamental statements. Here I want to deal only with the verb forms of the particle + verb + verb (*ḡarf + fi^cl + fi^cl*) construction regarded by him as primary. The way Sībawayhi discusses these forms is characterized by a kind of arbitrariness. Contrary to later grammarians, he does not discuss each verbal form which can occur in conditional clauses in a previously defined order, but instead, he speaks about them rather at random, according to where his train of thought leads him, and so as to fit in with his arguments best. Therefore, he frequently falls into a vicious circle when trying to explain the occurrence of the verb form in a given clause by using the other, and then, in turn, explaining the other verb by the first one.

However, I do not want to follow here his course of argument, but to try to instead examine what he says about each combination on the basis of my table.

What Sībawayhi had to say on the *ḡazm + ḡazm* and the *māḡī + māḡī* construction we have already seen. So I shall now concentrate only on the other possibilities:

ǧazm + māḍī

This construction is not mentioned by Sībawayhi at all. This may partly be the result of what I have already said about the māḍī + māḍī combination (see esp. the commentary of Sīrāfi) and partly of his fourth statement or rule, quoted above. This rule can be regarded as the cardinal point in his argument to which he likes to turn to when explaining conditional sentences.

ǧazm + raf^c

He states its inappropriateness and refutes it on the basis of the following explanation:³⁴

لا يحسن إن تأتني آتيك ، من قبل ان إن هي العاملة

For the same reason, says Sībawayhi, this construction cannot be used even if its constituent parts are inverted:³⁵

ولا تقول آتيك إن تأتني ... لأنك أخرت إن وما عملت
فيه ولم تجعل لإن جوابا ينجزم بما قبله .

So, in Sībawayhi's opinion, it cannot alone satisfy the requirements of a conditional sentence if the *in* is to function properly as regent in the protasis – it is obligatory to have an apodosis in which *in* is recognised as formal regent.

māḍī + ǧazm

I put this construction into parentheses, pointing to the fact that Sībawayhi considers it as secondary compared to the basic ǧazm + ǧazm combination. Let us see Sībawayhi's arguments on this question:³⁶

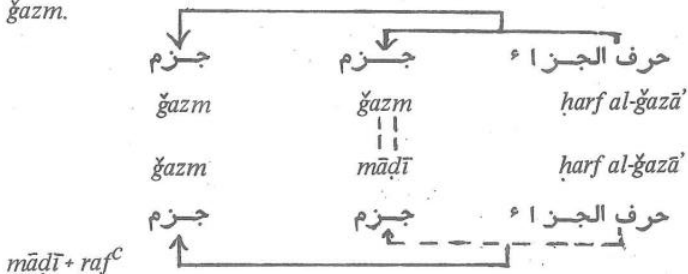
وقد يقال : إن آتيتني آتك وإن لم تأتني أجرك ، لان هذا
في موضع الفعل المجزوم ، وكأنه قال : إن تفعلل أفعلل

ومثل ذلك قوله عز وجل * مَنْ كَانَ يُرِيدُ الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا
 وَزِينَتَهَا نُوفِّ إِلَيْهِمْ أَعْمَالَهُمْ فِيهَا * فَكَانَ فَعَلًا .

The key-word in his argument is to be found in the term *mawḍiʿ*. This is one of the most important terms used by Sībawayhi for the explanation of the functions of linguistic elements within the structure of language.³⁷

Mawḍiʿ means the function of the elements in relation to their place within the structure. If one element takes over the function of another, it acquires, as a rule, part of the other's rights (*haqq*).³⁸

So this is why the verb in the apodosis may take *ḡazm* in this combination – the *māḍī* form in the protasis does not only occupy the place of the original *ḡazm* but it takes over its role, too, and has some of its rights, such as that connected with a conditional particle: it governs the verb in the apodosis in *ḡazm*.



This combination, similarly is put within parentheses, referring to the fact that Sībawayhi does not accept it as a simple conditional sentence but as one requiring derivative explanation. In his opinion, if the verb form of the apodosis is *raf*, it cannot be regarded as a real *ḡawāb* but is clause existing independently of the conditional sentence. The real *ḡawāb* is omitted (*ḥudifa*)³⁹ in this case. That is:

ان أتيتني	أتيك	أي	أتيك	إن أتيتني
<i>māḍī</i>	<i>raf</i>		<i>raf</i>	

Here the *ḡawāb* can be omitted only because the conditional particle does not play the role of a formal regent (*ʿāmil*), being followed by a verb in *māḍī*,

and not in *ǧazm*. According to rule no. 4 (see above), Sībawayhi also accepts the construction *māḍī + raf^c*, but on the basis of the same rule he refuses to accept the structure of the following sentence-types:

raf^c + ǧazm

* آتِيكَ إِنْ تَأْتِي

ǧazm + raf^c

* إِنْ تَأْتِي آتِيكَ

Through the above examples we can gain a better understanding of the essence of the term *mawḍī^c*. Let us examine the following four sentence types or condensed rules:

(1) *māḍī + ǧazm*

إِنْ أَتَيْتَنِي آتِكَ

(2) *māḍī + raf^c*

إِنْ أَتَيْتَنِي آتِيكَ

(3) * *ǧazm + raf^c*

* إِنْ تَأْتِي آتِيكَ *

(4) *ǧazm + ǧazm*

إِنْ تَأْتِي آتِكَ

We can see that although Sībawayhi explains (1) by resorting to the term *mawḍī^c* (i. e. the *māḍī* takes the place of the *ǧazm* and its rights) he does not regard it as necessary to explain why the *māḍī* in (2) does not also take over the obligations, of the *ǧazm* (i. e. that it cannot be followed by a verb in *raf^c*). That is why (3) is not a well-formed sentence). It seems to me that he uses the term *mawḍī^c* in quite an ad hoc way, – i. e. he resorts to it whenever he finds it difficult to explain a construction – but he does not use it in a systematic way.

After the above four examples, Sībawayhi deals briefly with four other types of construction. These are not counted among the true conditional sentences, and so Sībawayhi discusses them in more detail in a separate chapter (باب الجزاء إذا كان القسم في أوله).

(1) * *ǧazm + mu'akkad*

* إِنْ تَأْتِي لِأَفْعَلٍ

(2) * *ǧazm + mu'akkad*

* لِئِنْ تَفْعَلْ لِأَفْعَلٍ *

(3) *māḍī + mu'akkad*

إِنْ أَتَيْتَنِي لِأَكْرَمَتِكَ

(4) *lam + ḡazm + mu'akkad*

إِنْ لَمْ تَأْتِنِي لِأَعْمَتِكَ

The correctness or incorrectness of these four sentences is also decided on the basis of the much-quoted rule no. 4. According to this, (1) and (2) are not well-formed sentences, because the *mu'akkad* form (*li-'af'alanna*) cannot be considered the apodosis of a true conditional sentence. But, on the other hand, as is known, a protasis with *ḡazm* cannot do without an apodosis. On the contrary, (3) and (4) can remain without a *ḡawāb* because the protases are not in *ḡazm*.

Here I should like to emphasize the significance of substitution in Sibawayhi's linguistic analysis. This is another of the methods he employs to accept or refuse a sentence-type.

In conclusion, Sibawayhi accepts only one combination of verb forms as "true" or "basic" conditional sentence, and he starts with this basic type when he explains the other acceptable versions. Following and simplifying his method, Ibn Ğinnī deals in his compendium only with the so-called fundamental case, *ḡazm + ḡazm*. However, he is justified in this by the brevity and the pedagogical motives of his work.

The other grammarians discussed here class more combinations as being well-formed and true conditional sentences. In the following pages we can see how they analyse and evaluate these sentence types.

4.3 al-Zamahṣarī

He does not dwell too much upon the analysis of verb-forms but only lists those combinations he considers possible:⁴⁰

ولا يخلو الفعلان في بابٍ إن من ان يكونا مضارعين او ماضيين
او احدهما مضارعا والآخر ماضيا . فاذا كانا مضارعين فليس
فيهما الا الجزم . وكذلك في احدهم ————— اذا

وقع شرطاً ، فإذا وقع جزاءً ففيه
الجزمُ والرفعُ .

We can infer that he probably does not consider these structures to be on an equal footing only from the fact that he does not give examples of these combinations, except in the case of *māḍī + raf^c*, the existence of which he supports by citing a verse, the same one we encountered in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*:⁴¹

* وان أتاه خليل يوم مسألة * يقول لا غائب مالي ولا حرم⁴²

Other interesting points can also be found in al-Zamaḥṣārī's text. Let us examine the next paragraph:⁴³

والشرط كالاستفهام في أن شيئاً مما في حيزه لا يتقدمه
ونحو قولك أتيك إن تأتني وقد سألتك لو أعطيتني ليس
ما تقدم فيه جزاءً مقدّماً ولكن كلاماً وارداً على سبيل
الإخبار والجزاءُ محذوفٌ .

1. Structurally, he draws a parallel between conditional and interrogative sentences.⁴⁴

2. He does not relate the structure *raf^c +* أتيك إن تأتني (*raf^c +* *gazm*) to the أتيك إن تأتني combination (*gazm + raf^c*) which he anyway, excluded in his previously quoted list as one of the possible structures.

4.4 Ibn al-Ḥāḡib

Let us see what he and his 15th century commentator, Molla Ḡāmī, have to say on verb-forms occurring in conditional clauses. Here is the concise text

- (1) فان كانا (الفعلان) مضارعين او الاول فالجزم
 (2) وان كان الثاني فالوجهان
 (3) واذا كان الجزاء ماضيا بغير قد لفظا او معنى لم
 يجز الفاء في الجزاء
 (4) وان كان مضارعا مثبتا او منفيا بلا فالوجهان
 (5) والا فالفاء

Although the examples given by Molla Ğāmī, do not seem to be much more than condensed rules, they do shed light on how the above rules are to be interpreted:

- ad 1) -a) إن تزرنني أكرمك
 "If you visit me (*ǧazm*) I treat you hospitably (*ǧazm*)"
 -b) إن تزرنني فقد زرتك
 "If you visit me (*ǧazm*, it would be proper), as I have (already) visited you (*faqad + māḍī*)"

Example b) is especially worthy of our attention since, although from Ibn al-Hāǧib's text we may infer that he allows the *ǧazm + māḍī* combination, from this example it becomes clear that no real conditional sentence is meant by this structure. What we find here is a conditional sentence with "shift", i. e. where the apodosis is not the logical outcome of the protasis. We can rightly suppose that al-Zamahšarī, in his concise formulation of this combination, was referring to the same type of conditional sentence. That is why I put a question mark in the place in the table relating to his views on possible verb forms in conditional sentences.

Concerning the same point, Molla Ğāmī supplies a reason for the necessary occurrence of *ǧazm*: ⁴⁶

- ad 2) -a) *māḍī + ǧazm*
 -b) *māḍī + raf^c*

إن أتاني زيد آتِه
إن أتاني زيد آتِيه

Structure (a) is explained in a similar way to the previous explanation given for the occurrence of *ğazm*. The appearance of the *ğāzim* in the sentence is stated as the cause of *ğazm* (الجزم لتعلقه بالجازم وهو اداة الشرط).⁴⁷

Attention has to be drawn to the fact that, contrary to Sībawayhi, Molla Ğāmī does not consider it necessary to explain the appearance of *māḍī* in the protasis. In his commentary on (2/b), Molla Ğāmī gives a reason only for the second verb's being in *raf*^c. He sees its cause as the appearance of *māḍī* in the protasis, separating the *cāmīl* (*in*) from the second verb and "weakening" their inter-dependence.⁴⁸

No allusions are made to the effect that he would not consider it the *ğawāb* of the condition.

ad 3) -a) إن خرجت خرجت – The apodosis is *māḍī* in its form (*lafzan*).

-b) إن خرجت لم أخرج – The apodosis is *māḍī* only in its meaning (*ma^cnan*)

We have already seen in (1/b) that according to Molla Ğāmī, the basic type of conditional sentence which has *māḍī* in the apodosis, is the conditional sentence with "shift". That Ibn al-Ḥāḡib held the same view is best proved by this 3rd point where he felt it necessary to explain the *māḍī* + *māḍī* combination. This he did by contrasting it with the conditional sentence which contains *māḍī* introduced by *qad* in the apodosis since this is the structure they considered natural.⁴⁹

Molla Ğāmī deems it necessary to explain why the use of *fa-* is not permitted in this case. He reasons as follows:⁵⁰

لم يجز الفاء في الجزاء لتحقق تأثير حرف الشرط

فيه من جهة المعنى لقلب معناه الى الاستقبال فاستغنوا

فيه عن الرابطة الدالة على كونه جوابا

Here he explains the twofold role of *fa-* in conditional sentences which will serve as a starting point for his following explanations. But these are outside the scope of our present concern, i. e. the treatment of verb-forms.

4.5 Ibn Mālik

He summarizes in two verses his teachings on verb-form in conditional sentences:⁵¹

وَمَا ضَيَّبِنِ ، أَوْ مُضَارِعِينَ
وَبَعْدَ مَا ضَرَفَعَكَ الْجَزَا حَسَنًا
تُلْفِيهِمَا - أَوْ مُتَخَالِفِينَ
وَرَفَعَهُ بَعْدَ مُضَارِعٍ وَهَنًا

These brief lines show that Ibn Mālik, similar to Ibn Ğinnī, al-Zamahšarī and Ibn al-Ḥāḡib, does not argue but makes statements of seemingly incontestable facts. The reason for this similarity is because they had like aims, since all of them wrote their works with pedagogical intention.

On the basis of Ibn Ḳaḡl's commentary written on Ibn Mālik's *Alfīya*, these two verses can be interpreted as follows:
Four combinations of verb-forms are possible:

1) *māḡī* + *māḡī*

إِنْ قَامَ زَيْدٌ قَامَ عَمْرُو

It is remarkable that this combination, which is not emphasized by Sībawayhi, is mentioned as the first possibility by Ibn Mālik and consequently his commentator, Ibn Ḳaḡl. Although Ibn Ḳaḡl states that:⁵²

يَكُونَانِ (الْفَعْلَانِ) فِي مَحَلِّ جَزْمٍ

Although the exact meaning of the term *maḡall* is not clear in grammatical literature,⁵³ we may infer from this remark that in Ibn Ḳaḡl's opinion *ḡazm* + *ḡazm* is the basic structure of a conditional sentence.

2) *muḡāri* + *muḡāri*

إِنْ يَقُمْ زَيْدٌ يَقُمْ عَمْرُو

This combination means nothing more than *ḡazm* + *ḡazm* as is well shown by Ibn Ḳaḡl's examples. And since this is the case we find no explanations.

3) *māḡī* + *muḡāri*

إِنْ قَامَ زَيْدٌ يَقُمْ عَمْرُو

Nor can we find any explanation for this structure, although it would be justified for two reasons: firstly the occurrence of *māḡī* in the protasis and,

secondly the occurrence of *raf^c* in the apodosis – be it only in a verse cited by Ibn ^cAqīl.

4) *muḍārī^c + māḍī*

إِنْ يَقُمْ زَيْدٌ قَامَ عَمْرُو

This structure is considered to be rare by Ibn ^cAqīl, and that is why it is put in parentheses in the table. To support his claim that this combination occurs not only in poems but in prose, too, our author cites a *hadīth*, something which is otherwise only infrequently referred to by Arab grammarians:⁵⁴

مَنْ يَقُمْ لَيْلَةَ الْقَدْرِ عُفِّرَ لَهُ مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِهِ

This was made necessary by the fact that the Koran does not contain such a structure.⁵⁵ As I have already pointed out in my treatment of Ibn al-Ḥāḡib's text, the *ḡazm + māḍī* combination does not usually mean a real conditional sentence, but one with "shift", where the apodosis is introduced by *faqqad*.

Commenting on Ibn Mālik's second verse, quoted above, Ibn ^cAqīl writes as follows:⁵⁶

إذا كان الشرط ماضيا والجزاء مضارعا - جاز

جزم الجزاء ورفعهُ، وكلاهما حسنٌ. فتقول: إن

قام زيد يقم عمرو، ويقتوم عمرو...

وان كان الشرط مضارعا والجزاء مضارعا وجب

الجزم (فيهما) ورفع الجزاء ضعيف .

From these few lines we can see that, similar to his fellow grammarians quoted in this paper, who wrote after the time of Sībawayhi, Ibn ^cAqīl in this work of his does not try to account for the correctness or the unacceptability of various structures: he does not aim at creating a system out of the formal or semantic criteria of conditionality, but merely lists these different structures without even relating them to one another or explaining them according to these criteria.

5. Basran-Kufan controversies about conditional sentences

The views of Kufan grammarians are scattered in different sources. For our purposes, we confined ourselves to the use of al-Anbāri's work devoted to the treatment of controversies between the Arabs' two traditional grammatical schools.

In it, we find a great number of controversial points between the followers of these schools concerning conditional sentences. From the many, I should like to present only one that can shed light not only on the differences between Kufan and Basran views and explanations, but also on the point that we cannot speak of a unified Basran school, suggesting that the image of these schools was created retrospectively.

The question is why the apodosis of the conditional sentence is in *ḡazm*.⁵⁷ According to Kufan views, this verb is in *ḡazm* because the neighbouring verb, i. e. the verb of the protasis, is in *ḡazm*, too (*maḡzūm* *ʿalā-l-ḡiwār*).⁵⁸ An evaluation of this analysis is beyond the scope of our present study⁵⁹ but we have to remark that this is one of the techniques used by the Kufans, which the so-called Basran grammarians rarely employed.

Let us now examine what lies behind the Basrans' explanation according to which there is a regent (*ʿāmil*) that governs the ending of the apodosis in *ḡazm*.⁶⁰

This regent is explained in three ways:

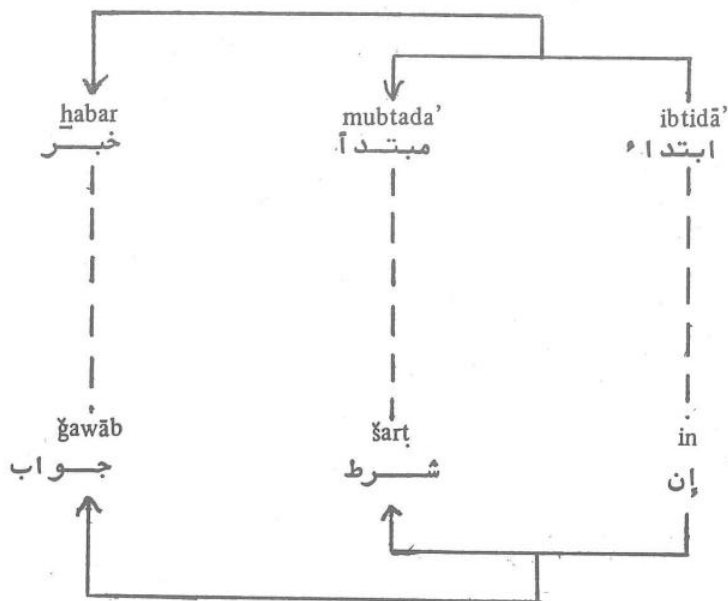
- most of the Basrans held the view that the regent is the conditional particle itself,
- according to others, the conditional particle and the protasis together form the regent,
- and according to the third group of these grammarians, the regent is the verb of the protasis alone.

We can see that the view of the third group differs only in its wording from the Kufan view, since both parties consider that the reason for the second verb's being in *ḡazm* is that the verb of the protasis has the same ending.

This is not the case with the first two views. These are the outcomes of two different linguistic analyses. The first is the view of those grammarians (like Ibn al-Ḥaḡīb, Ibn Mālik, etc.) who saw in the particle *in* and in the other

conditional particles only a formal *ʿāmil*, and as such they classed them with those particles that govern the verb following them in *ḡazm*: but at the same time they contrasted them with these latter particles, since conditional particles govern two verbs at the same time.

Contrary to this, Sibawayhi, the first representative of the other view, and his followers, like Ibn Ya^cīṣ, make the explanations given to the *ḡazm* form of the verb in the apodosis, fit into a much stricter formal system of analysis. This systematic approach is used by Sibawayhi, among others, in explaining the structure of the nominal sentence when he says that the *muḡtada'* (i. e. the factual part of a sentence) and *ibtidā'* (i. e. the abstract relationship between the two main parts of the nominal sentence) together act upon the *ḡabar* as its regent (*ʿāmil*).⁶¹



6. Az early compendium

We can regard the views expounded above on the history of mediaeval Arabic grammar-writing from a different angle if we consider a work, entitled *Muqaddima fīl-naḥw*, traditionally attributed to the Basran grammarian Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar (+796). Two remarks can be made even after a quick look into the book. The first is that *law* and *lawlā* are not treated¹ by the author. The second is, and it is of a more general nature, that already the chapter-headings reveal the aim of the book, which is to explain and classify the different endings.

Conditional sentences are treated in a few lines in the chapter entitled *hurūf al-ḡazm*, i.e. words that put the verb in *ḡazm*:⁶²

والشرط والجزاء هو مضارع للجزم ، لأن الشرط جوابه مثله ،
قال الله تعالى في الشرط والجزاء * وَإِنْ تَشْكُرُوا يَرْضَهُ
لَكُمْ * ولولا الجزم لكان يقول: (يَرْضَاهُ لَكُمْ) فقس على

63

هذا .

On the basis of the few lines quoted above we can state the following. Examining the terminology used by Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar we find that *ṣarṭ* is used for protasis, and *ḡazā*, and *ḡawāb* together are used for apodosis. From his concise sentences, naturally, it cannot be elucidated whether he distinguishes between these two latter, nevertheless we can state, that his terminology, in this respect, does not coincide with that of Sībawayhi, his contemporary, but with that of later grammarians.

His text is too condense to find out which particles he considers to be conditional ones, but *law* is possibly excluded from them, since it is not mentioned here nor elsewhere, as it causes no formal problems. As the Koranic example for conditional sentences contains *in*, we can consider that Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar, similarly to Sībawayhi, regarded it as the conditional particle par excellence.

As for the verb-forms in the clauses, *ǧazm* + *ǧazm* is emphasized by our author. This emphasis, similarly to later grammarians, is evident already from the chapter-heading (*Ḥurūf al-ǧazm*). This formal approach is not in the spirit of Sībawayhi, who – although also considers it to be the basic case – does not regard upon conditional particles as merely formal regents, but as semantic ones, as well.

It follows from the foregoing that the later grammarians did not want to reproduce in a condensed form the rules from Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, but rather aimed at a reformulation of earlier short compendia, like that of Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar, more or less expounding them and extending the formalization in them. This extension of formalization is reflected in the answers given to the question: Why are verbs in conditional clauses in *ǧazm*? According to Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar – as far as we can judge it from his few lines – the conditional particle and the verb of the protasis together cause the verb of the apodosis stand in *ǧazm*. This becomes clear from the emphasis with which he states the similarity of the verb of the apodosis to that of the protasis. He shares this view with Sībawayhi, his contemporary. Later grammarians, going further in formalization and regarding conditional particles only as formal regents, did not examine the explanations lying behind the above view, did not look for structural parallels like Sībawayhi did. They looked for a simple formal cause for the *ǧazm* in the apodosis, and they found it in the conditional particle *in*. From that time on we encounter *in* as a word that puts verbs into *ǧazm*. Since grammarians who follow this explanation does not debate with Sībawayhi in this question, it also strengthens our view that although Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* was highly estimated among grammarians, they did not want to follow its complicated analyses but on the basis of early "Introductions", looking for formal reasons, gave trivial explanations that seemed to be evident, were easy to remember and suitable for their pedagogical aims.

7. Quasi-conditional sentences

All the questions raised by Arab grammarians in connection with conditional sentences cannot be treated here, so only one further point is examined in the following paragraphs, which supports the existence of a linguistic framework in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and its lack in the works of later grammarians treated above. It can also be stated that, as it has already been pointed out above, Sībawayhi's linguistic analysis does not correspond to the Bloomfieldian Immediate Constituent analysis, but rather to the transformational grammar of Z. S. Harris, if we insist on finding a 20th century parallel for it, though being aware of the deficiencies of this kind of comparison.

Our question is in connection with structures containing two phrases, the first being an imperative (*amr*), a prohibition (*nahy*), a question (*istifhām*), a wish (*tamanni*) or a proposition (*ʿard*), in which cases the verb of the second phrase is in *ḡazm*. This formal connection helped early Arab grammarians discover the nature of the semantic connection between the clauses.

According to al-Ḥaṣīl⁶³, these two phrases, similarly to conditional sentences, form *one* structure, the protasis of which is a conditional clause (*ṣarṭ*). So the second phrase is the apodosis (*ḡawāb*) of this conditional clause, that acts as a formal regent governing the verb of the second clause in *ḡazm*. Sībawayhi illustrates this relationship with the following examples⁶⁴:

”the meaning of the sentence”

imperative: أمر : اعطني آتِك ، إن يكن منك إتيان آتِك

prohibition: نهى : لا تفعل يكن خيرا لك

question: استفهام : اين بيتك أزرِك؟ إن أعلم مكان بيتك أزرِك

wish: تمن : ليته عندنا يحدثنا ، إن يكن عندنا يحدثنا

proposition: عرض : الا تنزل تُصِب خيرا .

Sībawayhi does not only interpret the meaning of the sentences containing imperative, prohibition, question, wish or proposition, as a condition but also alludes to that all of them may be substituted by an imperative. This statement of Sībawayhi leads us to the recognition that we can look for the original form of condition in imperative.

Summing up it can be said that through the remarks of Arab grammarians on the structural analysis of conditional sentences, on the one hand we can obtain an insight into the history of Arabic linguistics. On the other hand, these remarks lead us to the conclusion that the results of these linguists have significance also from a general linguistic point of view.

NOTES

1. Sībawayhi: *al-Kitāb*, I–V. ed. ^CAbd al-Salām Muhammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1973, vol. III, p. 60.
2. This has mostly been considered a question of logic and not dealt with in grammars except in recent times, cf. A. Kratzer: *Semantik der Rede, Kontexttheorie – Modalwörter – Konditionalsätze*, Scriptor, 1978 and D. K. Lewis: *Counterfactuals*, Oxford, 1973.
3. Sībawayhi: vol. I. p. 99, vol. III, p. 59.
4. Ibn ^CAqīl: *Šarḥ ^Calā-l-alfīya*, I–II, Cairo, 1965¹⁴, pp. 377, 380.
5. al-Zamahšarī, *Kitāb al-mufaṣṣal fī-l-naḥw*, ed. J. P. Broch, Christianiae, 1859. p. 151.
6. Sībawayhi: vol. IV, p. 235, al-Zamahšarī, p. 151.
7. Sībawayhi: vol. III, p. 56.
8. *ibid.*: vol. III, pp. 63, 112.
9. *ibid.*: vol. IV, p. 224.
10. Ibn Ğinnī, *Kitāb al-luma^C fī-l-naḥw*, ed. Hadi M. Kechrida, Uppsala, 1976. p. 54.
11. Ibn al-Ḥāğib: *al-Kāfīya*, in: Molla Ğāmī: *al-Fawā'id al-điyā'iya*, Molla Ğāmī ^Calā-l-kāfīya, Istanbul, n.d. pp. 227–229, According to Molla Ğāmī's explanation (*šarḥ*), Ibn al-Ḥāğib called conditional particles *kalim* („words”), because they are not homogeneous – some are *asmā'* („nouns”) and some are *ḥurūf* („particles”). This is a noteworthy explanation since originally *ḥarf* did not only mean a part of speech („particle”) but a function, too. This means that even an *ism* was allowed to occur in the function of *ḥarf*.
12. Ibn Mālik, *Alfīya*, in: Ibn ^CAqīl: op. cit. p. 22.
13. It might be for the same reason that Ibn Mālik used the expression *adawāt* that Ibn al-Ḥāğib felt compelled to apply *kalim*.

14. Sībawayhi, vol. III, pp. 62–63.
 15. cf. M. G. Carter: "An Arab Grammarian of the Eighth Century", *JAOS*, 93,2 (1973), pp. 146–157.
 16. This view then became generally accepted and is even followed in today's Arabic grammars. Nevertheless, we can read the opinions of grammarians, much later than al-Zamahšarī, that he committed a fault when he listed *law* among the conditional particles, cf. al-Murādī: *al-Ġanā al-dānī fī ḥurūf al-māʿānī*, ed. Tāhā Muḥsin, Bagdad, 1976, p. 294:

فقال الزمخشري وابن مالك: "لو" حرف شرطه وأبى قوم تسميتها
 حرف شرط، (وغلط الزمخشري في عدها من ادوات الشرط) . لان
 حقيقة الشرط انما تكون في الاستقبال، و"لو" انما هي
 للتعليل في الماضي، فليست من ادوات الشرط.

17. al-Zamahšarī, p. 150.
 18. Ibn Aqīl, p. 385.
 19. This strange controversy characterizes contemporary Arabic grammars as well.
 20. al-Azharī: *Tahdīb al-luġa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1964–1967, vol. XV, p. 414.
 21. Sībawayhi, vol. IV, p. 224.
 22. Contrary to these grammarians, however, al-Zamahšarī regards *law* only as a conditional particle referring to past possibilities. So when he speaks about the uncertainty (*ibhām*) of conditional sentences, he includes only sentences introduced by *in*. Cf. for example al-Zamahšarī, p. 150:

ولا تُستعمل إِنْ الا في المعاني المحتملة المشكوك في كونها
 ولذلك قُبِحَ إِنْ احمر البسر كان كذا وإن طلعت الشمس آتِك
 الا في اليوم المغيم .

23. These tables include only cases when:
 – both the protasis and the apodosis are verbal sentences;
 – the apodosis is the logical outcome of the protasis, without temporal shift, i. e. it is not introduced by *qad*;
 – there is no ellipsis (there is *ġawāb*; it is not introduced by *fa-*; the *šarṭ* does not lack a conditional particle);
 there is no inversion.

24. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 62.

25. Ibn Ğinnī, p. 54.

26. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 63, fn.

27. *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 91.

28. Although he does not make it explicit, he may have regarded this latter construction as characteristic mainly of the language of prose and everyday speech. This view can be supported by the fact that the Koran and early poetry did not resort to it very frequently (cf. R. Tietz: *Bedingungssatz und Bedingungs Ausdruck im Koran*, Tübingen, 1963). Sībawayhi himself, however, uses exclusively this construction when writing conditional sentences in his own text, e. g.:

vol. III, p. 72.: ”

فان شغلت هذه الحروف بشيء جازيت

vol. III, p. 76.: ”

وان شئت جزمت

29. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 62.

30. *ibid.*, p. 63.

31. *ibid.*, p. 64.

32. *ibid.*, p. 91.

33. *ibid.*, p. 66.

34. *ibid.*, p. 67.

35. *ibid.*, p. 66.

36. *ibid.*, p. 68.

37. As mentioned above, he also uses this term to explain the relationship between two kinds of apodosis (*ḡawāb*): one introduced by *fa-* and the other by a verb.

38. Cf. C.H.M. Versteegh: ”The Arabic Terminology of Syntactic Position”, *Arabica*, 15,3. (1978), pp. 261–281.

39. This explanation can easily be accepted on a formal ground, but seems rather artificial, the direct result of the fact that this kind of sentence does not fit into his grammatical system.

40. al-Zamahṣarī, p. 150.

41. al-Zamahṣarī does not comment upon this combination, and, as I have already pointed out, the occurrence of a structure in a poem cannot be regarded as proof of the correctness of that form or structure in the actual language.

42. al-Zamahṣarī, p. 150, Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 66.

43. al-Zamahṣarī, pp. 150–151.

44. The different aspects of this resemblance are treated by Sībawayhi, as well. (See above.)

45. Molla Ğāmī, pp. 228–229.
46. *ibid.*, p. 228.
47. The name Molla Ğāmī gives to conditional particles is also significant: *kalimāt al-ṣarṭ wa-l-gazā'* "words relating to condition and requital" (protasis and apodosis), justifying by the choice of the terms the *ğazm* in both clauses of the conditional sentence.
48. Molla Ğāmī, p. 229.
49. We can find the reason for it in the fact that in the Koran, the language of which was to be described by our grammarians, there is a fairly large number of conditional sentences with "shift", whereas the plain *māqīl*+*māqīl* combination is rare, as has already been pointed out.
50. Molla Ğāmī, p. 229.
51. Ibn ^cAqīl, vol. II, pp. 370, 373.
52. *ibid.*, p. 371.
53. cf. C.H.M. Versteegh, p. 278.
54. Ibn ^cAqīl, vol. II, 372.
55. Cf. R. Tietz, pp. 8, 68.
56. Ibn ^cAqīl, vol. II. pp. 373–374.
57. al-Anbārī: *al-Insāf fī masā'il al-ḥilāf*, I-II. ed.: Aḥmad Amīn, Cairo, 1982, vol. II. pp. 602–607.
58. *ibid.*
59. Cf. K. Dévényi: "Muğāwara: A Crack in the Building of *fī rāb'*", Proceedings of the 13th Congress of the U.E.A.I., Venice, (1988)
60. al-Anbārī, vol. II, pp. 608.
61. *ibid.*, vol. I. pp. 44–46.
62. Ḥalaf al-Aḥmar, *Muqaddima fī-l-naḥw*, ed. ^cIzz al-Dīn al-Tanūhī, Damascus, 1961, pp. 48–50.
63. *ibid.*, p. 50.
64. Sībawayhi, vol. III, p. 93.