

ASPECT IN PALESTINIAN ARABIC

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ملخص البحث

تفحص هذا البحث كيفية التعبير عن هيئة الفعل في تراكيب اللهجة الفلسطينية و ذلك لتبين الفروق المميزة لصفة الفعل التام عن نظيره غير التام، و قد تأتي له تحديد الفروق في الأشكال التي تتعلق بغير التام. فعلى سبيل المثال تمت معالجة الصيغة الشرطية و الصيغة الدلالية و صيغة الأمر، بغية تبيان وظائفها و مدى إسهامها في التعبير عن الفعل غير التام في هذه اللهجة. و تم التعامل مع العلاقة بين هيئة الفعل التام و صيغته الشرطية لتعزيز رأي الباحث في أن اللهجة الفلسطينية تميز الفعل التام بطريقة تشير إلى أن الفعل قد اكتمل تماماً. و عالج البحث كيفية التعبير عن العلاقة بين الفعل و الزمن دون حاجة إلى عنصر زمني مميز في شكل الفعل.

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how aspect is expressed in Palestinian Arabic, to be referred henceforth (PA). The paper will only deal with the verb morphology in PA with regard to the aspectual distinction perfective/imperfective. This paper also discusses the morphology of the verb, aspectual distinctions, and the coding of aspectuality. Distinctions among the various forms found in the imperfective, e.g., subjunctive, indicative, and imperative will be discussed extensively in order to show their discourse functions and how they contribute to the expression of imperfectivity in PA. The relationship between the perfective aspect and the conditionals will also be dealt with to support my claim that when PA marks verbs for perfectivity, it also does so to mark completed actions. The paper will also examine how time reference is coded in PA, since tense is not marked on the verb forms.

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VERBS IN PALESTINIAN ARABIC

Verbs in PA are inflected for two aspects, the perfective and the imperfective. Actions that are completed are coded as perfective, and actions that are not completed are coded through the imperfective aspect morphology. Temporal reference as we shall see in section 8 is coded through temporal adverbials and verb subordination of a specific type that differs from those in English. PA makes a distinction between two genders, feminine and masculine and three modes: subjunctive, indicative and imperative. The distinction between the subjunctive, indicative, and the imperative occurs only in the second person of the imperfective aspect.

THE VERV STEM

The simple form of the PA verb is the third person singular masculine form of the perfective aspect, as in the verb *gatal* "he killed". This form, henceforth, will be taken as the citation form of the verb, and other inflected forms will be treated as being derived from it.

INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY OF THE PA VERB

The perfective aspect in PA refers to completed actions regardless of whether they are completed a long or a short time before or after the time of speaking. What is of great importance and significance in this respect is that the event is completed or is supposed to be completed when it is referred to by the speaker. The imperfective aspect, on the other hand, is used to refer to actions that have not been completed at/or before the time of speaking. This aspect also refers to actions that have not started, but are yet to come, as in: *'b-ye-kteb ?in šaa ?allah'* (he writes, God willing), or (he will write, God willing). To remove ambiguity, the speaker sometimes uses a set of particles and auxiliary verbs, to be discussed later. The perfective aspect indicates the categories of number, person, and gender by means of suffixes, whereas the imperfective aspect uses prefixes for persons, and suffixes for gender and number. Furthermore, the imperfective aspect has a set of particles to indicate modes which do not occur with the perfective. (the root k-t-b means write)

Table 1

Perfective			Imperfective	
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
1	katabt	katabna	?akteb	nekteb
2m	katabet	katabtu	tekteb	teketebu
2f	katabti	katabtin	teketbi	teketebin
3m	katab	katabu	yekteb	yeketbu
2f	katabat	kataben	tekteb	yeketeben

As is clear from the table, the third person singular masculine, henceforth 3sm, has no suffix. In addition, unlike Modern Standard Arabic, to be referred to henceforth (MSA), PA does not have a special mark for dual, since it has merged with the plural forms.

ASPECT IN PA

Due to the lack of literature on Palestinian Arabic, I will attempt to account for aspect in the light of the framework proposed by Comrie (1976). I will not review his entire treatment of aspect, but will clarify some points in each aspect to support the claim that PA marks two aspects, perfective and imperfective type.

In defining aspect, Comrie (1976) cites Holt (1943), who states that aspects are different ways of viewing the internal, temporal constituency of a situation. The fact is that every situation must have a beginning, a middle, and an end. According to Comrie, the verb that is used to describe any situation is said to have perfective meaning if the situation being referred to by the verb is not divided into individual phases. If a language marks this reference to a total situation in its verb morphology, then this language has perfective aspect. On the other hand, if the speaker wants to focus on one phase of the situation, then the form of the verb will most likely be in the imperfective. An example of this is the English sentence:

- 1- John's reading.
(Comrie 1976"4)

The focus here is not on the total situation. It is only the action being carried out by the time of utterance. The speaker, in fact, carries us

into the middle of the action where we see John involved in a reading process. This is different from a sentence such as:

2- John read the book.

which does not, in one way or another, comment on the way John was reading, nor on the relevance of John's action to the time of utterance.

Comrie summarizes the differences between perfective and imperfective in that:

the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forward to the end of the situation, and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is not one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end. (1976: 26)

Thus, the perfective is different from the imperfective in that it denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without any consideration whatsoever of the internal temporal structure, while the imperfective refers to the temporal constituency being described. In other words, the situation is being from within, Lion (1968:703-19).

We must also clarify the difference between perfective / imperfective and perfect/imperfect. Perfect should be understood at this point different from perfective in that it "refers to a past situation which has present relevance," as in

3- His arm has been broken

Comrie (1976: 12)

Some languages like Bulgarian and Old Church Slavonic have both perfective / imperfective and perfect / imperfect, and both differences are marked in the morphology of the verb. Perfect expresses a relation between two time points: the time of the prior situation and the state resulting from the prior situation, Friedrich (1974), Leech (1971), and Palmer (1974). The English sentence '*I have received some money*' speaks of both past and present. The receiving of the money took place some time in the past, and the result is that the speaker has money in his pocket or bank account. Perfect can also be viewed in a progressive form which also suggests that it may behave like the imperfective aspect in its

view of the internal constituency of the situation. Perfective, on the other hand, cannot be used in progressive form because of its global depiction of a sentence as a whole complete action.

It is important to distinguish between the notions "complete" and "completed" here. In this respect, Comrie states that

The perfective does indeed denote a complete action, with beginning, middle and end. The use of completed, however, puts too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of the situation, than on any part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole. (1976: 18)

Comrie claims that the perfective in languages that have perfective aspects often indicates the completion of the situation when explicitly contrasted with an imperfective form, whereas the imperfective indicates a situation that is in progress. In this case he claims that the only semantic element introduced by the perfective is that of the termination of the situation. This view of the behavior of the perfective aspect as involving completed actions is similar to the view of the predictive as a resultative, indicating successful completion. However, the resultative meaning is one possible type of perfectivity, and Comrie believes that "the term 'resultative', like the term 'completed', puts unnecessary emphasis on the final stage of the situation rather than on its totality." (p: 21).

Perfective/imperfective aspect in PA

The perfective aspect in PA functions on the basis of the completion of the situation being talked about or observed. For instance, if a person is watching a group of soldiers and informing another person who is hiding beside him what the soldiers are doing, s/he might say:

4. wegfu
they stopped.

After few minutes, s/he says:

5. gaʕadu ?I-š šajarah
 sat they under the tree
 They sat under the tree

Omar:

6. wein Mo ammed?
 where Mohammed
 Where is Mohammed?

Zaid:

7. b- ye-graa ?i-j- jariideh.
 act- read he the newspaper
 He is reading the newspaper.

Thus, verbs in PA are inflected for two purposes: imperfective (incomplete actions) and perfective (completed actions) as in (4-5). Thus, the verb in an independent clause is put in the imperfective form when it designates states or events that are not in the past or not completed, as in the answer Zaid gives to Omar's question in (6-7).

However, when the verb designates completed events or states, then it is put in the perfective form as in:

Omar:

8. ?eyš ʕamal ?
 what did Mohamed
 What did Mohamed do ?

Zaid:

9. Katab ?i-d-darrs.
 Wrote the - lesson
 He wrote the lesson.

The imperfective aspect is marked and made more specific in (7) by the particle 'b' which indicates that the action of the verb is still not
 ye-kteb ?i-d-darrs' (he is going to write the lesson). The difference between the two particles is that

the first marks factuality and the second marks anticipation. These may correspond to the present tense and the future tense in English. However, they do not necessarily refer to time in relation to the time of speaking.

The verbs with the prefix 'b' always translate into verb+ing in a' can be dispensed with and the sentences will have the same meaning:

10. ha- maʔ na?
 ant. go you with us
 Are you going with us?

11. truu maʔ na?
 go you with us
 Are you going with us?

The difference between the two sentences is not in their expression of futurity, but in where the decision comes from; in (10) the questioner is asking for an opinion or a decision, whereas in (11) the speaker is inviting the addressee to go with them. This does not necessarily mean that the imperfective aspect is only marked by these two particles and that it is only used without these particles and it denotes generalities and habits, as in:

12. ye-1ʔab fotboll.
 He-play football.
 He plays football.

They also indicate potentialities as in:

13. ye-kteb darrs
 he-write lesson his
 He writes his lesson.
 Or He can write his lesson.

Let us now look at the behavior of these particles in PA and see how it is different from a language like English.

The 'b-' and 'a-' are prefixed to the imperfective verb form. They may take within their scope, more than one verb in the one sentence as in:

14 a ye-zuur wi ye šuuf be nafs-uh
antic. He-visit and he see by him-self
He will visit and see by himself.

15. b- ya-kteb wi ye-tbaʔ ?I-d- darrs
act- he-type the lesson
He writes and types the lesson.
Or He is writing and typing the lesson.

Here the prefix 'b' is used to indicate a non-complete state or activity. However, when the speaker wants to emphasize the continuity of the action s/he uses the particle 'ʔ *ammal*' to indicate that the action is actually taking place at the moment of the utterance. This particle is usually translated into English with the progressive '-ing' forms as in:

16. ʔ ammal b- ye- ?i-s- sayaarah
cont. act.- he- warm the car
He is warming the car.

17. ʔ ammal b- ye-kteb ?i-d- darrs
cont act- he-write the-lesson
He is writing the lesson.

Compare these with:

18. ?imbaari šuftuh b- ye- ?is-s-sayaarah
Yesterday, I saw him act. - he warm the car
Yesterday, I saw he was warming the car.

Sentence (18) translates into the past because the verb 'šuft' is considered a perfective action in that it took place before the time of speaking. The tense is marked on the temporal adverbial '?imbaari'. This

will be discussed later in this paper. In (16) and (17) '*ʕammal*' is different from the English one in that it occurs with stative as well as dynamic verbs as in:

Omar:

19. huweh ma b- ye heb
 he not act- he- love Mohamed
 he does not like Mohamed .

Zaid :

20. huweh ʕammal b-ye-ʕrefuh šwayeh šwayeh
 he cont. act-he-know him little little
 He is getting to know him little by little.

Omar:

21. tyeb haða ye-gaʕ fil mašaakel
 right this antic .- he-fall in problems
 Right, he will run into trouble .

Zaid:

22. xaleeh. ʕamaal b- ye-twarat šawayeh šawayeh
 leave him cont. act- he-involve little little
 Leave him. He is involving little by little
 OR leave him alone. He is getting involved little by little.

Note that verb phrases with '*ʕammal*' sometimes behave like the English '-ing' forms, in that they denote states that are interrupted but repeated during a certain time period.

The prefix 'b' also indicates repetitive actions and the actuality of the verb when used with stative verbs and verbs that express an action such as the 'coming and the going from a place to another' as in:

23. b- ye-ji ye-šuuuf-ha kul ʕisbuuʕ
 act- he-come he-see -her every week
 He comes and sees her every week

24. b- a ʕašhar fii maktiab-i la -as- saaʕ ah ʕi nein

act- I stay in office -my to -the- hour two
 be ?il leyl
 in the night
 I stay in my office till two am.

'*ʔ ammal*' can be used here to emphasize the continuity of the action, as in:

25. ʔ ammal b- ?asshar fii maktab-I la -as- saaʔ ah
 cont. act- I stay in office-my to -the- hour
 ?thnein be ?il leyl
 two in the night
 I stay in my office till two am.

'*ʔ ammal*' emphasizes the actor's immediate involvement in what s/he is doing. In most of the examples that include the particle '*ʔ ammal*', (16, 17, 20,22, and 25), the actor is seen in the middle of an action as in '*b-*' depicts the action as a continuing one, as in the answer to the question, 'what do you do?', One may answer as '*b-ʔ adaris ?ingilizi*' (I teach English). '*b-*' here has a habitual tense. It is not clear whether the speaker is or is not carrying the act of teaching when s/he utters the sentence. However, if s/he uses the particle '*ʔ ammal*' s/he indicates that s/he is teaching at this particular moment.

PA demonstrates a number of forms for this particle: '*ha*', '*rah*', and the full form '*raye*'. The first two forms '*ha*' and '*rah*' are typical of the northern rural part of Gaza, and the form '*raye*' is typical of the main city in Gaza. However, due to the size of Gaza Strip, the three forms may be heard in various areas including the main city. The main form, '*ha*', is also typical of the Palestinians in Jordan. These particles are always followed by the imperfective form of the verb, and they never coincide with the particle '*b*'. The function is to show that the action referred to is impending in the future, as a result of certain events or claims already

under way. They are usually translated in English as "going to, or "will", as in:

26. a- šuuf-uh ?il youm
ant. -I see -him the day
I am going to see him today.
27. ra -inzuur ?il muxtaar
ant.-visit the mayor
we're going to visit the mayor.
28. gad eyš ti-stana hnaak.
How long ant. stay-you there
How long are you going to stay there?
29. ?ana ?albes wa ?a- -ak
I ant. wear I and I-follow-you
I'm going to put on my clothes and follow you.
30. ha ha ?i-z- zahir ?inna ni-tš aša
Ha, Ha. the- clearly we ant. we-eat (dinner)
Ha, Ha, It seems that we're about to eat.

Note that in the last sentence, '*rah*' translates into 'about to' because the context contributes a sense of immediacy and imminence involved. It must be understood at this point that 'ha' is not a future marker because it does not behave like, for instance, the future in English. 'a' can be deleted without changing its imperfective aspect.

Verbs in the imperfective aspect are inflected for three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. I will start with the first two because they have many common features and they can easily be confused.

The Indicative Mood

For the term 'mood', the researcher has based his analysis on the definitions of Halliday (1970), Household (1971), and Jespersen (1929)

who offered a comprehensive list of terms that linguists have used in their analysis of mood in different languages. The indicative in PA is often used in assertive predications and is marked by the prefix 'b' which is sometimes preceded by 'ʔ *ammal*'. It is also marked by 'a', 'ra ', and 'raye ' to express anticipatory actions. 'b', 'a', and 'ra ' are prefixed to the imperfective form of the verb preceding the person prefix.

The Subjunctive

The subjunctive is different from the indicative in that it does not express assertions. Instead, it is used for suggestions and invocations. The subjunctive is used in various subordinate syntactic positions and is expressed by a bare person prefix, Vendler (1972).

Thus, when speakers use this, they never use the prefix 'b', 'a', 'ra ', or the particles 'raye ' or 'ʔ *ammal*'. A comparison between subjunctives and indicatives will help explain this better:

31. be-truu -i ʔ a-z- zafeh maʔ -na.

act-go-you (f.) to-the wedding wit us
Are you going to the wedding with us?

32. truu -i ʔ a-z- zafeh maʔ -na.

go-you (f.) to-the wedding wit-us.
Will you go to the wedding with us?

Also, the subjunctive verb may follow verbs that are in the perfective aspect, completed sense, when they are sentence initial:

33. batal ye-lʔ ab maʔ -le-wlad

stop he-play with-the-boys
He stopped playing with the boys.

34. ab ye- maʔhum

love he-he go with them
He loved to go with them.

35. ?itmana ?innuh ?bn-uh ye-tla? barrah
 hope that son-his he-go outside
 He hoped that his son will go outside.

36. awal ye- gen? - uh
 tried he he convince him
 He tried to convince him.

37. faddal y-akul fii beyt-uh
 prefer he eat in house his
 He preferred to eat in his house.

These sentences become ungrammatical if the indicative follows these perfective verbs. The only common feature among all these sentences is that the verb preceding the subjunctive is always in the perfective form.

The Perfective Aspect Time Reference

The verb in the perfective aspect refers to an event or a state either in the past or in the present. It does not imply anything about the current relevance of this event or state. This is translated into English either in the past tense as in '*gatal*' (he killed), or in the present perfect; (he's killed), depending on the context. For example:

38. ?il ?ustað ? ala -al- madraseh
 the teacher go to the school
 The teacher went to school.

39. ?abu- y ð -il- xarouf
 father my slaughter he the lamb
 My father slaughtered the lamb.

40. ?akal-t wala lessa

eat you or not
 Did you eat yet?
 Or Have you eaten yet?

41. gaabalt-uh ʔ edet marrat
 meet I him several times
 I met him several times.
 Or I've met him several times.

Suppose that you meet someone who is in an unusual condition.
 You may ask:

42. ʔeyš al maʔ ak
 what happen with you
 What happened to you?
 OR What's happened to you?

The perfective in (42) translates to English present perfect because the consequent state is still currently in force. It is as if the speaker is trying to say: 'it is strange to see you in this shape, what happened?' Thus, the situation is the decisive factor in the translation of PA sentences into English. However, the verbs in the perfective form in PA are all similar to the past tense verbs in English.

Stative Verbs

Verbs such as *'fhemit'* (understood), *'ʔrefit'* (knew), *'ʔadrakt'* (realized), and *'rta it'* (relieved) are stative verbs. They are used in the perfective aspect and they are always translated into English stative verbs in the present form.

Examples:

43. taweh ʔadrakt -il- maʔ na
 now I realize -the- meaning
 Now I realize the meaning.

44. halgeit fhemit -il- ge a-h kul-ha

this time understand I -the-story-f. all-her
 Now I understand the whole story.

45. taweh ʔ refit -iss-
 now know I -the- right thing
 Now I know the right thing.

Verbs that also have the sense of completion and are expressed at the time when they are just completed are used in PA in their perfective form, whereas they are translated into English present perfect:

Situation: A group of people go to ask for the hand of a girl. At the bride's house only a small group of men sit inside a closed room and decide the dowry and the time of the wedding. The groom waits outside, and after a while a man comes out of the closed room and says:

46. ʔitafagna
 agree we
 We agreed
 Or We have agreed.

Situation: someone tries to buy something, and after they settle on the price one of them says:

47. ʔitafagna
 agree we
 We agreed.
 Or We have agreed.

Verbs like these are numerous in PA and they all have one thing in common; they are used immediately after the action is completed. This can also be taken to refer to actions that have immediate past meaning, indicating that there is that possibility of the perfective aspect being used to refer to past events.

Situation: someone is teasing someone else, and the one teased says:

48. xajalt- ni ya raajel
 embarrass- you me Oh! Man
 You embarrassed me, man,

or someone pleases someone else and the one pleased says:

49. basatet- ni wallahi
 please- you me by God
 By God, you pleased me.

Note that these verbs occur in sentence initial position because of their importance to the speaker, for the action is more important than the initiator or the cause of this situation.

The Perfective Aspect in Conditional Clauses

Palestinian Arabic perfective aspect in conditional clauses is an interesting phenomenon. The perfective aspect is associated with conditionals that are marked by the particles '?iða ', 'law', and '?in' that all mean "if".

1. ?iða

?iða is a conditional particle used mainly with the perfective aspect, indicating actions that have not been fulfilled or are not expected to be fulfilled:

50. ?iða ru exsar
 if go-you ant- you-lose
 If you go, you will lose.
51. ?iða daras- t b- t- en
 if study-you act-you-succeed
 If you studied you would succeed.
 Or If you study, you will succeed.

In these examples the perfective aspect is used to describe a condition that is not fulfilled at the time of the utterance, nor is it certain to be fulfilled in the future.

The imperfective verb may depict a real situation in the future and it may depict a hypothetical situation, too. The imperfective is also found used in '?iða clauses' to perform a totally different function. Let us examine some examples to see how it is different from the perfective aspect.

Compare the (a) and (b) examples: θ

52 a. ?iða b- t- xale ?i-d- darrs b- a-ʔ ti- ik
 if act- you-finish the- lesson act-I-give-you
 hadeyeh
 present
 If you finish your lesson, I will give you a present.

52 b. ?iða xala t ?i-d- darrs b- a-ʔ ti- ik hadeyeh
 if you finished the lesson act I give you present.
 If you finished your lesson, I would give you a present.

53 a. ?iða b- halgeit ma b- t-exsar
 if act. you go now not act- you-lose
 If you go now, you would not lose.

53 b. ?iða halgeit ma b- t-exsar
 if you went now not act- you-lose
 If you went then, you would not lose.

Note that the perfective aspect is used when the situation described is completely hypothetical; however, when the situation described is real, the 'ʔiða clause' must be in the imperfective aspect. In sentence (a) of each example above, the chance for the application of the action may not exist at the time of the utterance; however, in sentence (b) the person addressed is partially involved in the action, which upon completion will bring the results described in the 'ʔiða clause'.

Furthermore, the speaker of sentence (b) of each example expects the performer of the action to complete it and consequently the action will be fulfilled. Sentence (a) of each example, on the other hand, do not imply that the action is expected to be fulfilled in the near future. In fact the imperfective aspect can be dropped from the 'ʔiða clause' if the action is to be fulfilled:

54. b- ?abattel ?iða fii mudayaga
 act- withdraw if in annoyance
 I will withdraw if there is annoyance

55. ba- ?a gʕ ud ?iða ma fii maniʕ
 act- I- sit if not in refusal
 I will sit if you don't mind.

56. ba- ?a-mši ?iða fii zaʕ al
 act- I-leave if in anger
 I will leave if there is anything wrong.
 OR I'm leaving if there is anything wrong.

The action is dependent on an actual situation that is seen and felt by the speaker. Usually the action is fulfilled immediately unless there is something extraordinary to stop it. In that case, the opposite of the action in the main clause is fulfilled. In addition, the two verbs in the conditional sentence can be placed in the perfective form:

57. ?iða ?akal b- yekuun šefi
 if ate he act was recovered
 If he had eaten, he would have recovered.
 OR If he has eaten, he will have recovered.

Note that this is different from English in that it is not clear whether the person ate or not. Unlike in English, it is difficult to distinguish between counterfactual conditions and possible conditions. English treats sentence (56) differently, whereas PA uses the same sentence in either way.

2. ?in

The conditional particle '*in*' (if) is used in clauses with perfective aspect, for example:

58. ?in ʕ azamt yezʕal
 if invite him ant- mad he
 If you invite him, he will get mad.

59. ?in ma jara yemuut
 if not run ant-die
 If he does not run, he will die

60. ?in ma ?akal ʕ al
 if not eat he ant. I feel mad

65. a. ?išma (pfv) ʔ emel, miš ha- (Ipfv) ye-saafer
 whatever he do, not ant. he-travel
 Whatever he did, he would not travel.
- b. ?išma (Ipfv) b-ye-ʔ mal, miš ha (Ipfv) ye-saafer
 whatever act-he-do, not ant. he-travel
 Whatever he is doing, he will not travel.
- c. ?išma (Ipfv) ye-ʔ mal, miš (Ipfv) ye-saafer
 whatever he-do, not ant. he-travel
 Whatever he does, he will not travel.

Note that in (a) the person being talked about is hopeless. He has done everything possible, but the decision that he would not go was already made. In (b) he is actually involved in doing something which may give him the chance to go, whereas in (c) he is either doing something or will do it later.

How these Aspects Behave in Discourse

It may be possible that PA has tense like standard Arabic, which Wright (1898) stated as having tense, but it is still unclear at this point that PA can be considered as a tensed language. Comrie's claim that Modern Standard Arabic has relative tense might be applicable to PA, but I am not in a position now to approve or disapprove it. This needs further analysis and large data based on which we can base our judgement. The imperfective, for instance, can express actions that have present or past time reference. Many of the examples presented in this section illustrate how the imperfective and the subjunctive have a relative future reference.

The temporal reference of any verb in PA is not marked morphologically on the verb; however, it is expressed lexically:

66. ?ašuuʔ-ak bukra
 see -you tomorrow
 I shall see you tomorrow

If he does not eat, I will be mad.

61. ?in aja - ih
if come he ant- we-welcome-him
If he comes, we will welcome him.

62. ?in šaa ?allah
if will God ant- we-go
God willing, we will go.

3. law

Conditionals that are expressed by '*law*' are always in contradiction to the expectation, for example:

63.a. law la selem
if go he then saved he
If he had gone, he would have been saved.

63.b. law leʔ eb maʔ -hum la faaz
if play he with-them then won he
If he had played with them, he would have won.

Note that in this case the two verbs are in the perfective aspect. In some cases '*law*' is followed by '*kan*' 'was' which functions here as the main verb:

64. law kan makaan-i la maat
if was he place -my then died he
If he had been in my place, he would have died.

In addition to the above three conditional particles, there are a number of other conditional particles such as '*?iřma*' (whatever), '*mīnma*' (whoever), '*mahma*' (whatever), '*keifma*' (however), '*weinma*' (wherever), that are always followed by the perfective aspect when they express hypothetical conditions. However, when they are used to express expected conditions and common existing things, they are followed by the imperfective aspect:

67. b-ʔaajy ʔitha nawwar ʔil burtgan
 act- come me when flower the orange
 I shall come when the orange trees flower.

The verbs 'ʔašunf' and 'ʔaa y', when used in isolation, mean 'see' and 'come' respectively. However, when they are examined as parts of the sentences and the discourse, it becomes clear that the temporal adverb 'bukra' sets the temporal reference of the verb. Likewise, the subordinate temporal clause, 'itha nawar ʔil burtgan' functioning here as a temporal adverbial forces 'ʔaa y' to be interpreted as 'I shall come'. If we accept that the perfective / imperfective opposition is an opposition of tense, we will have to consider why 'nawar' has future time reference. The question that arises at this point is, since the flowering has not taken place, why is the verb perfective? The verb 'nawar' is perfective not because it has absolute time reference which is usually used to distinguish tense, but because of its relative time reference which indicates that 'the flowering of the orange trees' will precede 'my coming'. Thus, the coming is pending on the fulfillment of the first action, the flowering. This is similar to what Comrie (1976:79) said about MSA.

When the perfective aspect is examined from the viewpoint of time reference, we may say that it is used to express events that have been completed. The time reference of the two events that are treated as completed actions which presumably happened before the time of utterance, are logically sequenced in PA according to which of the two happened first. The two events will both be encoded by the perfective. The position of the events in discourse and the use of adverbials such as 'baʔed', and 'gabel' that mean 'after' and 'before', respectively, help put the events in a logical sequence that corresponds to the time at which they took place. In case an action was completed before the other in the same sentence as in sentence (68), the completed action will be treated as perfective and the incomplete action will be treated as imperfective.

68. ra (Pfv) gabel ma (Ipfv) yeʔmal-ha
 go he before do her
 He went before he did it.

Sequentiality is a construction of time as a succession of events in a linear order which is a basic characteristic of tense. Tense relates the time of the situation to some other time, usually the time of speaking, Lyons (1968). Since PA does not mark the verb for tense, how then is the issue of time reference handled? It should be clear now that the semantic structure of the PA sentences incorporating perfective verbs gives clear indications that when the perfective verbs are used in discourse, they always indicate actions or states relative to other actions in the same discourse. However, when the sentence containing the perfective verb is taken out of discourse context, it becomes uncertain whether it refers to a completed event in relation to other events, or to a certain point in relation to another point in the same action. For instance, in the sentence:

69. (Pfv) katab ?awal maktuub
 write first letter
 He wrote the first letter.

It is not clear whether the verb is marked for the perfective aspect in relation to the second letter that the writer is expected to write, or in relation to the time of speaking. If we take the action as related to the time of speaking, we have to face a problem finding the point of reference of the verb '*katab*'. In a similar situation where a man refuses to write something, but remains sitting behind his desk. People leave him alone for a while but they continue watching to see whether he will change his mind and start writing after that. Fifteen minutes later the man starts writing and one of the people watching him says:

70. hay-uh (Pfv) katab
 here he write
 He is starting to write.

Another case is when people are waiting the arrival of someone and the moment he arrives one says:

71. hay-uh (Pfv) ?aja
 here-he come
 Here he comes.

In both events the verbs are perfective, even though they refer to events that can still be observed by the speaker. Relation to the time of speech does not condition the perfective aspect here. The reference is to a

certain point of the action as completed in relation to another action. The action of writing in (70) is treated as completed one in relation to the act of refusal to write. Since everyone in the group of people who are watching the writer is hoping for the act of writing to begin, and since the writer has started writing, then their hope has been achieved. Likewise, the verb *'a a'* in (71) is perfective not because of reference to the time of utterance, but to the point where the completion of the action ends the wait.

The time reference of any of the verbs in (69-71) can only be expressed lexically through temporal adverbials. Sentence (69) can be viewed as past relative to the time of speaking if a word such as *'imbaari'*, *'al-maaddy'*, or *'ili-faat'* meaning 'yesterday' and 'last' respectively, is included in the sentence to establish the time reference:

72. *'imbaari* (Pfv) *šuft-uh b- yekteb maktuub*
 Yesterday see -him act- he write letter
 I saw him writing yesterday.

73. (Pfv) *'aia 'i-š- šaħer 'il maaddy*
 come the month the last
 He came last month.

Note that the time reference of the complement clause *'b-yekteb maktuub'* is relative to that of the verb in the main clause. Since the verb in the main clause is treated as prior to the time of utterance as a result of the preceding temporal adverbial, the imperfective verb in the complement clause is also treated as prior to the time of speaking. Similarly, in a sentence such as:

74. *'il 'sbuu' 'il maaddy* (Pfv) *'ismi'it 'innuh*
 the week the last hear that
 (Ipfv yekteb maktuub
 ant-write letter
 Last week, I heard that he would write a letter.

The anticipatory imperfect verb in the complement clause has a time reference prior to the time of speaking. Tense subordination of this kind does not exist in English, in which the tense of the complement verb is shifted to agree with that of the main verb. This is what we may refer to as sequence of tense in English, e.g., 'I saw he was writing', or 'I saw him

writing' when the complement verb is reduced to a (verb+ing), Quirk, et. al (1977).

To conclude this paper, we may say that the time reference of sequence of events in PA is indicated by temporal adverbials and not by overt markers on the verb. Thus, it is concluded that the verb in PA is inflected for aspect only, and that the temporal relationship among aspectuals is marked by temporal adverbials.

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