Abstract

This paper discusses the manner in which the Traditional Arab Grammarians classified the Arabic verbs; they, basically, referred to the theory of transitivity for this purpose. As this theory was unable to account for the grammatically ungrammatically of various Arabic sentences, we opt for theta - theory of Chomsky (1991) to solve the problems faced by the traditional analysis. With the help of theta - theory, we put Modern Standard Arabic verbs in specific sub - groups on the basis of their semantic. All intransitive verbs require one essential argument. However, the nature of that essential argument differs from verb to verb depending on some semantic factors. For instance, we find that some intransitive verbs may take an agent, others a theme or an experiencer as their argument. Transitive verbs that need two essential argument can also be divided in subgroups on the basis of the types of theta - roles that their argument will have. We find that ditransitive verbs may require three essential argument in a well - formed sentence. We have realized that Arabic, like languages, has some unique verbs that take a CP as one of their argument. The nature of these verbs and their theta - roles have also been discussed in detail in the course of our analysis. As this theory regards NP, IP, PP & CP essential argument, all the problems of classification verbs are solved.
The Traditional Approach

Arabic is an inflectional language in which a verb can be conjugated into various forms. The Arab grammarians divided the verbs phonologically into (a) triliteral and (b) quadrilateral forms of the root. Their analysis indicates that the maximum number of verbs used in Arabic are triliteral. However, the quadrilateral verbs are less in number and rarely used. They realized that the tri-consonantal form *fa'ala* is the unique base - root for all triliteral verbs and out of which many other forms are derived in different ways to express modifications of the meaning conveyed by the same base - root. As for the quadrilateral verbs, the base - root form is *fa'ala* and out of which three other forms are derived. The resulting forms of the verbs in this fashion do not convey the meaning carried by the base - form as compared to that of the triliteral *fa'ala*. They correspond in their syntactic properties to a few derived forms of the triliteral. At first, we explain the triliteral verb forms the
Arab grammarians’ point of view and illustrate the way they used these forms as criteria to classify the Arabic verbs into transitive and intransitive.

The base - form faḍala is generally transitive or intransitive in significance. If the vowel of the second consonant is ā, the derived forms are either transitive as in qatela ‘to kill’ or intransitive as in jahaba ‘to go’. The vowel i in the same position generally has an intransitive significance; the derived forms indicate a temporary state as in the verb farīha ‘to be glad’. The vowel u in the same position also produces intransitive verbs that indicate a permanent state as in hasuna ‘to be beautiful’. Out of the paradigm faḍala, the derived forms (i) faḍḍala, (ii) faḍala, (iii) tfaḍala (iv) ? tfaḍala and (v) ? istaḍala are generally transitive in significance. The form faḍḍala yields transitive verbs that show intensiveness or extensiveness. It implies the intensive sense if the act is done with great violence as in darraha ‘to make someone beat violently’. Likewise, it shows the extensive sense of the verb if the act is done violently either during a long period of time as in farraqa ‘to disperse’, or by a number of individuals as tawwafa ‘to make someone go round often’, or by a repeated act as in qattaqa, ‘to massacre’. The intensive root faḍḍala yields the causative sense of the verb. For instance, the verb which is basically intransitive in the form faḍila as in farīha ‘to be gald’ becomes mono - transitive in faḍḍala as in farraha ‘to gladden someone’; the verb which is mono - transitive in faḍala as in kataba ‘to write’ becomes di - transitive in faḍḍala as in kattaba ‘to make someone write something’. The second form faḍala expresses the effort that acts upon the object, in which case, the concept of reciprocity is created i. e., the effort is accidentally a mutual one as in qatela ‘to fight with someone’. If the verb in the root faḍila is intransitive and denotes a state as in khasuna ‘to be rough’, it becomes mono - transitive in faḍala and retains the same quality as in khāsana ‘to treat someone harshly’. The third form ?taḍala indicates that if the verb in
faḍala is intransitive as jalasa ‘to sit’, it becomes a mono - transitive in faḍala as in qajlasa ‘to make someone sit down’. However, if the verb is mono - transitive in faḍala as in ḥakala ‘to eat’, it becomes di - transitive in ḥakkala ‘to give someone something to eat’ in the new form. The fourth from ḥifḍala is basically a transitive verb, it indicates the reflexive sense because it reflects the quality of the object in the form faḍala. For instance, the verb kasaba ‘to earn’ becomes ḥiktasaba ‘to earn one’s living’. Out of the reflexive form, the reciprocal sense can be derived; this syntactic phenomenon is common in Arabic, for example, the verb qatala ‘to fight’ in faḍala becomes ḥiqatila ‘to fight with someone’ in this form. The fifth form ḥistafaḍala converts the factual significance of the verb in faḍala into a reflexive denotation form of the verb. For instance, the verb ḥaslama ‘to give up’ becomes ḥistaslama ‘to give oneself up’.

The paradigm faḍala is also a source of other forms such as: (i) tafaḍala, (ii) ḥinfaḍala (iii) ḥifḍala (iv) ḥitaḍala, and (v) ḥifḍaḍa. All these forms are generally intransitive in their nature. The first form tafaḍala is a source of inchoative intransitive verbs in Arabic. The intransitive verb reflects the state of object denoted by its transitive equivalent and is brought by to be its result. For instance, the transitive verb kassara ‘to break something into pieces’ becomes ḥakassara ‘to get broken into pieces’ in the new form. the second source of inchoative intransitive verbs is the base - form ḥinfaḍala. The verb, in this case, reflects the quality of the object of the transitive verb in the form of faḍala as in kasara ‘to break’ to be its effect in the intransitive sense in the from of ḥin faḍala as in ḥinkasara ‘to get broken into pieces’. The third source of inchoative intransitive verbs in Arabic is the form ḥifḍaḍa. The verb in this form changes the result of action happens to the object in the transitive sense into a state in the intransitive sense. For instance, ḥawa ‘to roast’ is changed into intransitive ḥistawa ‘to roast meat’ to
denote the state resulted from the act of roasting. The fourth form ta'fala is an intransitive form which is, basically, derived from the intransitive root fa'ala. For instance, the intransitive verb baka ‘to cry’ becomes tabaka ‘to pretend to cry’. However, if the root in fa'ala is transitive, as in qatala, the resulting form is also transitive as in taqala ‘to fight with someone’. The fifth form of this group is ?if’alla which is very rarely used in Arabic. It normally expresses the colors in an intensive manner. For instance, the color ?asfar ‘yellow’ as a noun becomes an intransitive verb as ?isfarra ‘to become yellow’ in the form of ?if’ alla.

The second criterion to which the Arab grammarians referred in classifying the verb is the quadrilateral base - form fa'ala. It carries the same syntactic properties of the triliteral root fa'ala. In other words, this form denotes transitive sense of the verb that shows action as in dahraja ‘to roll something’ and it also denotes intransitive sense of the verb to show intensiveness as in harwala ‘to run quickly’. There are three other forms derived out of fa'ala. These forms includes (i) ta'fala (ii) ?if'nlala and (iii) ?if'alalla. We start with ta'fala which syntactically corresponds to the triliteral root ta'ala. It yields intransitive verbs, for example, the verb ta'saytama ‘to act like a devil’ is a specimen of the verbs. The second form ?if'nlala matches the triliteral form ?infa'ala in producing intransitive sense of verbs. The quadrilateral verbs that belong to this category are less in number and rarely used. The verb ?ibransaqa ‘to flourish’ is an example of the verbs. The third form ?if'alalla is also intransitive and expresses an extensively or intensively high degree of act, state or quality as in ?idhalamma ‘to be very dark’, ?itma? anna ‘to be at rest’ and ?isma? alla ‘to be very hard’ respectively.

The Arab grammarians concluded their analysis that the verbs that designate a state, a condition or a quality are intransitive verbs and can only be in the
active form since they are confined to the subject (as in marīḏa ‘to be sick’); the verbs that donate an act and take an object are transitive and can be in the active and passive forms as in (gaṭala ‘to kill’ and qūṭila ‘to be killed) respectively.

The Adopted Approach

The transitivity theory as a paradigm used by the Traditional Arab Grammarians is not an adequate mechanism to categorize the verbs of Arabic in a precise manner. This is because it cannot guarantee the well-formedness of sentences in which a transitive verb is used. For instance, waḍa‘a ‘to put’ is a mono-transitive verb in Arabic needs only one object NP; however, (1a) is not a well-formed sentence of Arabic.

1a. *waḍa‘a - a
    put past,3rd, sg, masc,NOM DET book ACC

   *He put the book’

1b. waḍa‘a - a
    put past,3rd, sg, masc,NOM DET book ACC
    eala al-
    on DET

   [tāwilat] -i
   [table] LOC
   [hunāka]
   [there]

   ‘He put the book [on the table’] [there]
The difference between (Ia) and (Ib) cannot be shown in terms of transitivity of *wāda'a* 'to put'; in both the sentences, the object NP *al-kitāba* 'the book' is overt. It can however, be shown by pointing out that (Ib) has a locative NP/or PP, which (Ia) does not have. In other words, the verb *wāda'a* needs three arguments, namely, the agent, theme and location. The theta - theory of Chomsky (1981, 1986 & 1992) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1991, [1995]) helps us in explaining the ungrammaticality of (Ia) and the grammaticality of (Ib) in a principled manner which the concept of transitivity cannot explain adequately. This is due to the fact that the principles of theta - theory account for the thematic relations of a predicate with its essential arguments. The term "essential argument" is a cover term for the entities that must be overtly used to guarantee the grammaticality of the sentence. The thematic relations ensure that each argument bears one theta - role and each theta - role is given to one and only one argument, (see Chomsky, 1986: 184-185). We opt for theta - theory to categorize, in particular, Modern Standard Arabic verbs into specific semantic classes on the basis of the nature of the theta - roles they might have in their theta - grid. We find that Arabic has intransitive verbs that take one essential. This argument bears the theta - role of agent as discussed in section (1.1), or argument an experiencer as in (1.2) or a theme as in (1.3). It has mono-transitive verbs that take two essential arguments; these arguments bear the theta - roles of agent and theme as discussed in (2.1), or agent and goal as in(2.2), or agent and accompaniment as in (2.3), or experiencer and theme as in(2.4). There are di-transitive verbs that take three essential arguments; these arguments have the theta - roles of agent, theme and goal as discussed in (3.1), or agent, theme and location as in (3.2) or agent, experiencer and theme as in 3.3). The verbs are discussed as follows:
VERBS WITH ONE ESSENTIAL ARGUMENT

Intransitive verbs of Arabic can be classified in sub-groups on the basis of the nature of essential arguments they take. In this paper, we will discuss them separately.

1.1. Verbs That Need Only Agent as an Essential Argument

There are intransitive verbs that take agent as an essential argument. For instance, we can put verbs such as sabaha ‘to swim’ in one sub-group, the subject of which has the agentive thematic relation with the verb. We may look at (2) to illustrate this point.

2a SABAHA ‘to swim’:
   Agent

2b sabah -a -t al -bint -u
   swim past, 3rd, sg fem DET girl NOM

‘The girl swam’.

(2b) can be expanded, as in (2c):

2c sabah -a -t al -bint -u 6abra
   swim past, 3rd, sg fem DET girl NOM across
   al -nahr -i
   DEL river LOC

‘The girl swam across the river’.

In (2c), the subject NP al-bintu ‘the girl’ is the essential argument for the verb sabaha ‘to swim’ and has the theta - role of agent. The prepositional phrase 6abra al-nahri ‘across the river’ is the location. It is not essential part of the theta - grid of the verb sabaha ‘to swim’. However, it gives additional information about the place of swimming.
The agentive thematic role is an essential part of the theta-grid of the verb șaraxa ‘to cry’, as in (3):

3a. ȘARAXA ‘to cry’:
    Agent
ab. șarax -a
    al -tîfl -u
    cry past, 3rd, sg, masc DET child NOM

‘The child cried’.

(3b) can be expanded into a sentence such as (3c):

3c șarax -a
    al -tîfl -u fi al -fîrâsî -i
    cry past, 3rd, sg, masc DET child NOM in DET bed LOC

‘The child cried in the bed’.

In (3c) the NP al-tîflu ‘the child’ is the essential argument. The prepositional phrase fi al-fîrâsî ‘in the bed’ is an additional element and has the theta-role of location.

We notice that in (2) and (3) the essential arguments are agents because they voluntarily do the action. Other arguments are adjuncts as they give additional information. Some other verbs of the type are given in (4):

4. i)  cāda ‘to gallop’ (1) ii)  ḡatasa ‘to dive’
    iii) jalasa ‘to sit’ iv)  tazalla’ja ‘to ski’
    v)  zana ‘to commit adultery’ vi)  cāta ‘to yell’
    vii) raka‘a ‘to kneel down’ viii) hamsa ‘to whisper’
    xi)  sajada ‘to prostrate’ (for prayers) ix)  zaḥafa ‘to creep’
    xi)  ḥalafa ‘to swear’ xii)  maṣa ‘to walk’ (2)

All these verbs in Arabic indicate activity (as against ‘state’).
There are intransitive verbs in Arabic that take only one essential argument; it could be agent if it is [+ voluntary] or theme if it is inanimate. The verb gādara ‘to depart’ illustrates the points, as in (5) and (6) respectively.

5a  GĀDARA 'to depart': Agent

5b  gadar -a    zaid -un ila irbid -i
    depart past,3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM for Irbid Loc
    al - bārihata
    DET - yesterday
    'Zaid departed for Irbid yesterday'

In (5b), the argument zaidun 'Zaid' is the agent; it voluntarily wills the action of departure. However, gādara 'to depart' may take an inanimate subject in which case it has the theta - role of the theme, as in (6):

6  gādar -a    al -qiṭār -u ila
    depart past,3rd, sg, masc DET trsin NOM for
    al - eqabat -i mundu sa atayin -i
    DET Aqaba LOC for two hours LOC

    'The train left for Aqaba two hours ago'

In (6), the argument al-qiṭāru 'the train' is the theme because it undergoes the action of departure. Some other verbs of this type that take agent / theme are given in (7):

- 10 -
Some Arabic verbs of this type do not have exact equivalents in English. For instance, the Arabic verb ?abida ‘to run wild like an animal’ is different from rakada ‘to run’, though they need the same type of theta - role i.e., the agent.

8a  ? ABIDA  ‘to run wild like an animal’:  Agent
     - a zaid - un  
     run-wild-like-an-animal  past,3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM

‘Zaid ran wild like an animal’

(8b) specifies that the argument zaidun ‘zaid’ ran exactly like a wild animal for instance, ?awrun ‘a bull’ or ? asadun ‘a lion’, etc). If the agent runs a race so as to exercise or imitate a peaceful animal like a horse while running, we cannot use verb ? abida. In this case, we have to use a more general verb like rakada ‘to run’, as in (9):

9a RAKADA  ‘to run’ Agent
     - a zaid - un bisurat\'atin
     run  past,3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM quickly
mitlu   al - his\'aniu
like del horse

‘Zaid ran fast like a horse’
9c rakad - a zaid - un
*?abida
run past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM

‘Zaid ran’.

As the agent zaidun ‘Zaid’ runs like al-hišānu ‘the verb ? abida ‘to run wild like an animal’ is not used. Nor can it be used in (9c). Some other verbs that have a more restrictive sense than their English counterparts are listed in 10):

10 i) ? anita ‘(for a man) to pose as a woman in dress and behaviour’
ii) ? ahila ‘(for a man) to get ready to marry a girl
iii) barbara ‘to chat noisily at a stretch’
iv) ? inbalaha ‘to behave like a stupid’
v) tarifa ‘to live in luxury’
vi) jakhka ‘to dress up in a funny manner’
vii) ? ihtaba ‘to sit with one’s legs drawn up and rapped in his/her garments’
viii) ḥada ‘to sing while riding a camel’
ix) tahammasa ‘to work with zeal’
x) ? adlaja ‘to set out at night’
xi) ? istad ? aba ‘to act cruelly like a wolf’
xii) samsara ‘to act as a broker’

We may note that some of these verbs has a meaning, the range of which is narrower than that of its broad English equivalent. For instance, the verb to pose’ has a wider range of connotation than the verb ? anita, but that does not make a difference insofar as the number of arguments needed by them is
concerned. However, some Arabic verbs are different from English from this point of view. For instance, *iṣṭakḥāra* ‘to ask God for guidance’ is overtly an intransitive verb which needs only one argument, the agent, whereas the English verb ‘to ask’ needs three arguments agent, source and theme. The difference can be illustrated by the example in (11):

11. *iṣṭakḥār* -a zaid -un fi
    ask-God-for-guidance past,3rd,sg,masc Zaid NOM at
    al - masjid i
    DET mosque   LOC

‘Zaid asked God for guidance at the mosque’

Some other verbs of this type are listed in (12):

12  i) *iṣṭagfara*  ‘to ask God for forgiveness’
    ii) *irtazaqa*  ‘to gain livelihood’
    iii) *irtasā*  ‘to accept bribe’

There are some verbs in Arabic that are basically intransitive but can be used transitively, in which case they take cognate objects (i.e., an object which is derived from the same root of the matrix verb). For instance, we may look at *ganna* ‘to sing’ which is used as an intransitive in (13b) but as a transitive in (13c):

13a  GANNA ‘to sing’: Agent, (Theme) zaid -un
13b  gann -a
    sing past,3rd,sg,masc Zaid NOM

‘Zaid sang’
Another verb of this type is *kadaba* ‘to lie’, as uses in (14):

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
14b & 
\text{KADABA} & \text{‘to lie’} : & \text{Agent, (Theme)} \\
& \text{kadab} & - a & \text{e'amr} & - un \\
& \text{lie} & \text{past}, ^3 \text{rd}, \text{sg}, \text{masculine} & \text{Amr} & \text{NOM}
\end{array}
\]

‘Amr lied’

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
14c & \text{kadab} & - a & \text{e'amr} & - un \\
& \text{lie} & \text{past}, ^3 \text{rd}, \text{sg}, \text{masculine} & \text{Amr} & \text{NOM}
\end{array}
\]

‘Amr lied a lie’

We may note that (14c) is a natural expression in Arabic but its English counterpart is not. Some other Arabic verbs that can be used transitively with cognate objects are listed in (15):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
15a & i) \text{ma'sa} \quad \text{‘to walk’} & ii) \text{nima} \quad \text{‘to sleep’} \\
& iii) \text{khafa} \quad \text{‘to be scared’} & iv) \text{jalsa} \quad \text{‘to sit’} \\
& v) \text{zagrada} \quad \text{‘to trill’} & vi) \text{la'iba} \quad \text{‘to play’} \\
& vii) \text{sarakhha} \quad \text{‘to cry’} & viii) \text{qatasa} \quad \text{‘to sneeze’} \\
& i) \text{raqsasa} \quad \text{‘to dance’ (a dance)} & \\
& ii) \text{rakada} \quad \text{‘to run’ (a race)} & \\
& iii) \text{ganna} \quad \text{‘to sing’ (a song)}
\end{array}
\]

We may point out that the English equivalents in (15b) (i.e. ‘to dance’, ‘to run’ and ‘to sing’) are intransitive and can be used transitively to take cognate objects. (See Jackendoff (1990: 185-186)).
1.2. Verbs That Need Experiencer as an Essential Argument

Another type of intransitive verbs takes experiencer rather than agent as the only essential argument. The argument involuntarily experiences the event which can be mental or physical. We may look at (16) to illustrate this point.

16a. قاتسة (CATA5ASA) 'to sneeze' Experiencer
16b. قاتس - a al -rajul - u
sneeze past,3rd,sg,masc DET man NOM

'The man sneezed'.

In (16b), the NP al-rajulu 'the man' is the experiencer; it is the essential argument for the verb قاتسة 'to sneeze'. This NP involuntarily experiences sneezing. Suppose this essential argument voluntarily sneezes to draw the attention of someone, then it is an agent rather than an experiencer. We may contrast (17) with (16) to illustrate this point.

17. قاتس - a al -rajul - u ماعتاميدان
sneeze past,3rd,sg,masc DET man NOM deliberately

'the man sneezed deliberately'.

We may look at similar other verbs whose essential argument is experiencer, as in (18) and (20):

18a. تأثتاء 'to stammer' Experiencer
18b. تاء - a zaid - un
stammer past,3rd,sg,masc Zaid NOM

'Zaid stammered'.

In another context the same essential argument may indicate a deliberate action, as in (19):
19. taʔtaʔ - a zaid - u qaʕidān
stammer past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Intentionally

‘Zaid stammered intentionally’.

20a. CARAJA ‘to limp: Experiencer
20b. ʔaraj - a laʕib - u kurata al -qadām i
limp past, 3rd, sg, masc player NOM ball DET foot GEN

‘The football player limped’.

In (20b), the NP laʕib kurata al-qađami ‘the football player’ is the experiencer; he limps unwillingly perhaps because of an accident whereas in (21) he is the agent because he limps deliberately.

21. ʔaraj - a laʕib - u kurata al -qadām i
limp past, 3rd, sg, masc player NOM ball DET foot GEN
li ʔarqalati naʕira - hu
 to obstruct opponent his

‘The football player limped to obstruct his opponent’.

It is evident from (18-21) that these verbs require an experiencer as their essential argument when the action is not volitional. However, the same argument NPs can be used in another context as agents when the action is done wilfully. Some other verbs that express physical event and take an experiencer as their argument are given in (22).

22. i) laʕtaʔ aba ‘to yawn’   ii) saʕara ‘to snore’
 iii) saʕala ‘to cough’   iv) tanahhada ‘to sigh’
v) ʔariqa ‘to perspire’   vi) ʔariqa ‘to feel
vii) barada ‘to feel cold’   viii) ʔistadfaʔa ‘sleeplessness’
ix) hawzaqa ‘to hiccup’   x) daʕkha ‘to feel dizziness’
 xi) ʔiʕataɬama ‘to reach puberty’
 xii) khankhana ‘to speak in a nasalised manner’
xiii) tadarrana ‘to suffer from tuberculosis’
There are some other intransitive verbs in Arabic which take the experiencer as their only argument. The English equivalents of some of these Arabic verbs are indicated by the verb ‘to be’ followed by a predicative adjective [i.e. be + adjective] as in (23); other verbs may be indicated by the verb ‘to have’ followed by an NP [i.e. have + NP] as in (24):

23. i) sakata ‘to be silent’
    ii) fasuha ‘to be eloquent’
    iii) marida ‘to be sick’
    iv) nahila ‘to be physically emaciated’
    v) xadira ‘to be numbed’
    vi) ?ibtall ‘to be wet’
    vii) ?habilat ‘to be pregnant’

24 i) kalifa ‘to have brownish skin’
ii) ?injaraba ‘to have scabies’
iii) damacat ‘to have watery eyes’
iv) ?ajhadat ‘to have a miscarriage’
v) ?hadat ‘to have menses’

We may note that the Arabic verbs in (24) are intransitive whereas their English counterparts are transitive, as is obvious from (25):

25. ?injarab -a zaid -un
    has scabies past, 3rd, sg, masc. Zaid -NOM
    ‘Zaid has scabies’

In other words, though ?injaraba has only one argument, zaidun, the experiencer, the English equivalent of (25) has two arguments, Zaid the experiencer, and scabies, the theme.
In addition to the type of verbs discussed above, Arabic has verbs that indicate mental state and require experiencer as their essential arguments. We may look at (26-28) to illustrate this point.

26a.  ABASA  
\[ 'to be gloomy' : \] Experiencer

26b.  abus  
\[ -a \]
\[ ?ab -i \]
\[ be gloomy \]
\[ past, 3^{rd}, sg, masc. \]
\[ father NOM my \]

'My father was gloomy'.

In (26b), the subject NP ?abi 'my father' is the only essential argument that the verb 'abasa 'to be gloomy' needs. This argument is the experiencer because it indicates the mental state in which the person is. Another verb of this type is fariḥa 'to be happy', as in (27):

27a.  FARIḤA  
\[ 'to be happy' : \] Experiencer

27b.  rarih  
\[ -a \]
\[ al \]
\[ -mulakīm \]
\[ -u \]
\[ be happy \]
\[ past, 3^{rd}, sg, masc. \]
\[ DWT \]
\[ boxer NOM \]

'The boxer was happy'.

In (27 b), the NP al- mulakimun 'the boxer' experiences an emotional state of happiness. (28) is another instance of this type.

28a.  IKTABA  
\[ 'to be happy' : \] Experiencer

28b.  ikta?ab  
\[ -a \]
\[ al \]
\[ -marīd \]
\[ -u \]
\[ be depressed \]
\[ past, 3^{rd}, sg, masc. \]
\[ DET \]
\[ patient NOM \]

'The patient was depressed'.
In (28b), the subject NP *al- manṣūr* 'the patient' has the theta - role of experiencer who is in the state of depression. Some other static verbs of the type are given in (29):

29.i) *hazina* 'to be sad'  ii) *sama* 'to be in high spirits'

III) *qanîtâ* 'to be despondent' iv) *ḥajâ* 'to be agitated'

v) *sâ' idâ* 'to be comfortable' vi) *zâha* 'to be gland'

vii) *tarîbah* 'to be gleeful' viii) *?ibtâhâja* 'to be cheerful'

ix) *?indâhâxa* 'to be excited' x) *malla* 'to be bored'

xi) *?ajkhtâ?â* 'to be mistaken' xii) *raḍîya* 'to be satisfied'

xiii) *c azûma* 'to be famous' xiv) *ḥarûna* 'to be stubborn'

xv) *c ajâba* 'to be astonished' xvi) *ra' unat* 'to be frivolous'

xvii) *fakhâ* 'to be happy' xviii) *majudâ* 'to be glorious'

xix) *?inza' aja* 'to be worried' xx) *hâlûc a* 'to be impatient'

xxi) *qaṣâ*a 'to be cruel' xxii) *?adîba* 'to be angry'

xxiii) *?intâc âda* 'to be annoyed' xxiv) *?âhammasa* 'to be over-zealous'

xxv) *tawâdâc a* 'to be humble' xxvi) *khasûna* 'to be rough'

We may note that these verbs in Arabic have predicative adjectives as their English counterparts which are linked to the experiencer by the verb to be.

We may also note that most Arabic verbs that indicate involuntary physical event or mental state take only experiencer as their argument as do their English counterparts even though there is difference in regard to their structure. An Arabic sentence with any of these verbs needs only an NP, a linking verb and a predicative adjective. However, some verbs of this group such as *?injariba* 'to have scabies' and *?ajhadat* 'to have miscarriage' differ in regard to their thematic structure. They take only one argument, namely, the
experiencer whereas their English equivalents need two arguments, and theme.

1.3 Verbs That Take Theme as an Essential Argument

Arabic has a group of verbs which requires theme as an essential argument, as in (30):

30a.  

MATA  

‘to die’  

Theme

30b.  

māt  

die  

-a  

past, 3\textsuperscript{rd}, sg, masc.  

zaid  

Zaid  

-NOM  

-zaid  

‘Zaid died’.

In (30b) the NP \textit{zaidun ‘Zaid’} is the only essential argument for the verb \textit{māta ‘to die'} which has the theta - role of theme. If we compare (30b) with (18b), the difference between the theme and the experiencer becomes clear.

18b.  

taʔtaʔ  

stammer  

-a  

zaid  

Zaid  

-NOM  

-zaid  

‘Zaid stammered’

In (30b), \textit{zaidun ‘Zaid’} undergoes an event which indicates a change of state whereas (18b) merely indicates what \textit{zaidun ‘Zaid’} does; there is an indication of the change of state or the theme undergoing the action indicated by the verb.

The verbs which have theme as the essential argument in the subject position are inchoative or change - of - state verbs. They include intransitive verbs which have their transitive counterparts\(^4\) Such transitive verbs take theme as one of the essential arguments whereas the intransitives have only theme as their argument. For instance, we may look at (31) and (32):
Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid

31a. ?INFAJARA  ‘to get exploded’:

31b. ?infajar -a -t al -qunbula -t -u

get exploded past, 3rd, sg, fem DET bomb fem NOM

faj?atan
suddenly

‘The bomb (got) exploded suddenly’

in (31b), the subject NP al- qunbulatu 'the bomb' is the theme. The inchoative intransitive verb ?infajara 'to get exploded' in (31b) is different from the transitive verb fajjara 'to explode' in terms of the essential arguments that it needs; the latter needs two essential arguments, the agent and the theme. We may look at (32) to illustrate this point.

32a. FAJJARA(5)  ‘to explode’  Agent, Theme

32b. fajjar -a al ?irhabiy -u al -qunbula -t -a

explode past DET terrorist NOM DET bomb fem ACC

‘The terrorist exploded the bomb’

32c. *fajjar -a al -?irhabiy -un

explode past, 3rd, sg, masc. DET terrorist NOM

*'The terrorist exploded’

32d. *fajjar -a al -qunbula -t -a

explode past, 3rd, sg, masc. DET bomb fem ACC

*'--exploded the bomb’

In (32b), the subject NP al-?irhabiyu 'the terrorist' is the agent and the object NP al- qunbulata 'the bomb' is the theme. The fact that (32c) is ungrammatical indicates that the transitive verb fajjara 'to explode' needs two
essential arguments. The ungrammaticality of (32d), in relation to (32b) indicates that the theme cannot be used as the only argument with the transitive verb ilitation of (32d), in relation to (32b) indicates that the theme cannot be used as the only argument with the transitive verb if the sentence is in the active voice. The arguments in (32b) will bear the same thematic relations with the verb even when it is in the passive form of the sentence, as in (33):

33. fujjur -a -t al -qunbula -t -u "alayadi
be exploded past, 3rd, sg fem DET bomb fem NOM by
al -?irhabiyu
DET terrorist

'The bomb was exploded by the terrorist'

Some inchoative intransitive verb of Arabic which take theme as their only argument have ta as the prefix, as in (34a), some others start with ? in, as in (34b):

34a. i) tabarra?a 'to get acquitted'
ii) takhadadara 'to get anaesthetized'
iii) tadarra 'to get wimanowed'
iv) takhandada 'to get trenched'
v) tasallaba 'to get stdffned'
vi) ta6adda 'to get tortured'
vii) tadammara 'to get damaged'
viii) tambajana 'to get crashed'
x) tajammada 'to get frozen'
x) ta?abbada 'to get jailed'
x) takassara 'to get broken'
xii) tafarraqa 'to get dispersed'
xiii) taqota6a 'to get cut into pieces'
xiv) tadarraba 'to get agitated'
xv) takhawafa 'to get afraid'
xvi) takabbara 'to get proud'
xvii) ta6arriba 'to become an Arab'
xviii) tana?ara 'to become Christian'
xx) ta?asada 'to become as a lion'
xxi) ta6allama 'to become learned'

34b. i) ?infata? 'to get opened'
ii) ?inxada6a 'to get scratched'
iii) ?inkasara 'to get broken'
iv) ?inqa6a 'to get cut'
v) ?inxada6a 'to get cheated'
vi) ?inhadafa 'to get deleted'
Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid

vii) ḍinbatara 'to get amputated' viii) ḍinbalta 'to get transmitted'

ix) ḍinbarama 'to get twisted' x) ḍinbarra 'to get trimmed'

xi) ḍintaqaba 'to get pierced' xii) ḍinḥalla 'to get untied'

xiii) ḍinkhatafa 'to get kidnapped' xiv) ḍinsala 'to get intoxicated'

 xv) ḍindaqama 'to get contracted' xvi) ḍinkasa 'to get uncovered'

xvii) ḍindmaja 'to get incorporated' xviii) ḍinqala 'to get uttered'

xix) ḍindalara 'to get hidden' xx) ḍinhazama 'to get defeated'

xxi) ḍinqada 'to get led' xxii) ḍinnjarra 'to get dragged'

xxiii) ḍinharnaqa 'to get stupid' xxiv) ḍinadama 'to get non-existent'

xxv) ḍinṣada 'to get repeated' xxvi) ḍinjalagha 'to get bolted'

xxvii) ḍintaṣafa 'to get extinguished' xxviii) ḍinjalaba 'to get crucified'

xxix) ḍinza'aja 'to get worried' xxx) ḍintalaqa 'to get started'

xxx) ḍintaṣara 'to get victory'

There are some other verbs that take theme as argument though they are not inchoative verbs.

35. i) ḍama 'to float' ii) tadaffaqa 'to flow'

iii) ḍara 'to rotate' iv) talāša 'to vanish'

v) ḍara 'to fly'

It may be noted that the verb ḍama 'to float' is used only when the theme is inanimate, as in (36) and (37).

36a. ḍAMA 'to float': Theme

36b. ḍam -a -t al -ʔakhsab -u

float past, 3rd, sg, fem DET wood NOM

ma' al -tayyār -i

with DET current COMM

The wood floated with the current'
'The body floated with the current'.

in case a swimmer floats (rather than swims) in a swimming pool, a different verb *tafa 'to float' is used, as in (38) but not *ama, as in (39):

38. *tāf -a al -sabbāh -u
   float past, 3rd, sg,masc DET swimmer NOM
   -māe al -tayyār -i
   with DET current COM

   'The swimmer floated with the current'.

39. *c-ām -a al -sabbāh -u
   float past, 3rd, sg,masc DET swimmer NOM
   -māe al -tayyār -i
   with DET current COM

   *'The swimmer floated with the current'.

The verb sabāha 'to swim' takes only an animate subject which will be the agent (rather than the theme) as in (40):

40. sabāh -a zaid -un khamṣa -a māiyata
    swim past, 3rd, sg,masc Zaid NOM five ACC hundred
    mītir -in bi khamṣa c-āṣrati
    meters GEN in five ten
    daqīqat -in
    minutes GEN

   'Zaid swam five hundred meters in fifteen minutes'
The kind of animate and inanimate distinction that is relevant for َعُما, َفأ and َبأ is not applicable to َأفا َعُ to fly. It may take either an inanimate theme, as in (41) or an animate theme, as in (42):

41. َأفا -أفا(it) َأفا al َأفا َأفا irat -أنا
  َأفا fly past, 3rd, sg َأفا fem DET kite NOM
  َأفا al َأفا َأفا w-aqiyaa َأفا -أنا
  َأفا paper َأفا NOM

'The kite flew'.

42. َأفا -أفا fly past, 3rd, sg َأفا DET bird NOM

'The bird flew'.

The verb َفأفا 'to beat' and َأما 'to grow' are used intransitively in a unique manner. The former is used only with reference to the beating of the heart and the latter with reference to the growth of plants.

43a. َفأفا 'to beat' Theme

43b. َفإفا -أفا beat past, 3rd, sg, masc DET heart NOM

  َفإفا al َأفا َأفا -أفا qalb -أنا

  َأفا bisur tatin kabiratin very

'The heart was beating very fast'.

In (43b), al- qalbu 'the heart' is the theme. In case this argument is replaced by another argument, say َأفا َفأفا َأفا the white of the egg; the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (44):
44. *khafaq -a baiyād -u al -baiyād -i
    beat past, 3rd, sg, masc white NOM DET egg GEN

    *"The white of the egg was beating' 

however, the ungrammaticality of (44) cannot be attributed to the theme being inanimate. In (45) the same NP is the theme but the sentence is grammatical. It is because the verb has been used as a transitive.

45a. KHAFQA  'to beat' Agent, Theme
45b. khafaq -a ʿamr -un
    beat past, 3rd, sg, masc Amr NOM
    baiyād -a al -baiyād i
    white ACC DET egg GEN

    'Amr beat the white of the egg'.

46a. NAMA  'to grow' Theme
46b. nam -a -t al -garsat-t -u
    grow past, 3rd, sg fem DET plant fem NOM

    'The plant grew'.

In (46), the argument al- ʿgarsatu 'the plant' is the theme. In case this argument is replaced by another argument, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as in (47):

47. *nam -a al -tifl -u bisurʾatin
    grow past, 3rd, sg, masc DET baby NOM fast

    'The baby grew fast'.

If al- tiflū 'the baby' is the theme, Arabic will use another verb kabura for 'to grow up', as in (48):

    'The baby grew up'.

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It may be pointed out that some of the Arabic verbs discussed above are similar to their English counterparts with regard to their thematic structure, i.e., they need the theme as the only essential argument. However, they differ with regard to the nature of the theme. For instance, Arabic has two verbs for the English verb 'to float'; ًُama takes an inanimate theme whereas tafa tades an animate theme.

To sum up, intransitive verbs in Arabic need only one essential argument. That argument may be agent, experiencer or theme. The intransitive verb that indicates a volitional event takes an agent, the one that indicates a non-voluntry physical event or a mental state takes an experiencer and the one that indicates the change of state takes a theme as its argument. Inchoative intransitive verbs which are semantically and morphologically related to their transitive counterparts take the theme as the only essential argument.
VERBS THAT NEED TWO ESSENTIAL ARGUMENTS

Transitive verbs in Arabic are verbs that require at least two essential arguments for their theta - grid. They are classified in sub- groups on the basis of the nature of the theta - role they might have.

2.1 Verbs Which Take Agent and Theme as Essential Arguments

2.1.1 Inchoative Transitive Verbs

Some transitive verbs that take agent and theme as essential arguments are inchoative; they express the change of state of an entity. Inchoatives may be intransitive or transitive. If they indicate merely the change of state, they are intransitives (as in the door opened); if they also indicate what brought about the change of state, they are transitives (as in John opened the door). We have already discussed the theta - role requirement of intransitive inchoative verbs in 1.3. We now discuss some transitive verbs of this type. Let us consider the theta - grid of the verb hadama 'to demolish', as in (49):

49a. HADAMA 'to demolish': Agent, Theme

49b. hadam -a al -c aduw -u al -j isr -a

demolish past, 3rd, sg, masc DET enemy NOM DET bridge ACC

'The enemy demolished the bridge'.

49c. *hadam -a al -c aduw -u

demolish past, 3rd, sg, masc DET enemy NOM

*"The enemy demolished'.

49d. hudim -a al -j isr -u

be demolished past, 3rd, sg, masc DET bridge NOM

'The bridge was demolished'.

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(49b) indicates that the NP al- ṣaduwwu 'the enemy' is the agent and the NP al- ḥisra 'the bridge' is the theme. As the theme is an essential argument, its absence makes the sentence ungrammatical, as in (49c); the agent alone cannot make this sentence grammatical. (49d) is grammatical because it is the theme that occupies the subject position in the passive sentence. The fact that in (49d) the theme alone is able to make the sentence grammatical indicates that it is an obligatory element in the structure. We may note that (49e) is also a possible sentence of Arabic.

49e. inhadam -a al -jisr -u
get demolished past, 3rd, sg, masc DET bridge NOM

'The bridge got demolished'.

The difference between (49d) and (49e) is that (49d) implies agent theta-role whereas (49e) has no such implication. Some transitive inchoative verbs that belong to this set are listed in (50):

50. i) farama 'to chop' ii) jazzaʔa 'to divide'
   iii) mazzaza 'to splinter' iv) jada 'to crumple'
v) fattata 'to mutilate' vi) dammara 'to destroy'
vii) kasara 'to break' viii) ṣada 'to crack'
ix) ṣaqqa 'to split' x) ḥaraqa 'to burn'
xii) lawwana 'to color' xii) khaddara 'to anaesthetize'
xiii) jammada 'to freeze' xiv) ṣata 'to open'
xv) ṣaglaqa 'to close' xvii) ṣallaba 'to stiffen'
xvii) gallasqa 'to shrink' xx) ṣaqa 'to pulverize'
xix) qaqa 'to cut' xxii) mazzaza 'to tear'
xxi) barama 'to twist' xxiv) robata 'to tie'
xxii) batara 'to amputate' xxvi) tabaxa 'to cook'
2.1.2 Verbs Of Accomplishment

Some other verbs that take agent and theme as essential arguments are verbs of accomplishment which, according to Vendler (1967: 106-107), "imply the notion of unique and definite time periods". Vendler considers running a mile and srowing a circle examples of verbs of accomplishment whereas simply running, an example of an "activity". We think the difference between the two can be pointed out in terms of number and nature of arguments they overtly take. The verb of accomplishment will have not only an agent but also a theme, which is not necessary for an activity verb. Thus, (51) has only one argument but (52) has two:

51. I ran

52. I pushed the cart.

Arabic sentences with verbs of accomplishment need two essential arguments. For instance, we may look at the verb sajaala 'to record'.

53a. SAJJALA 'to record': Agent, Theme

53b. sajaal -a al -muṭrib -u al-
record past, 3rd, sg, masc DET singer NOM DET
?uqniya -t , -a
song fem ACC

'The singer recorded the song'.

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Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid

53c. *sajjal -a al -mutrib -u
record past, 3rd, sg, masc DET singer NOM
'* The singer recorded'.

53d. sujjil -a -t al -?ugniya -t -u
be recorded past, 3rd, sg fem DET song fem NOM
'The song was recorded'.

53c. *insajjal -a -t al -?ugniya -t -u
get recorded past, 3rd, sg fem DET song fem NOM
'The song got recorded'.

In (53b), the NP al- mutribu 'the singer' has the theta - role of agent and the NP al- ?ugniyata 'the song' has the theta - role of theme. When the theme is deleted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (53c); whereas its occurrence in the passive form makes it grammatical, as in (53d). The fact that (53c) is not possible indicates that this verb has no intrasitive counterpart and is not inchoative. Some other verbs that can be used in the same way are as follows:

54. i) tawwara 'to revolutionize' ii) tawwaja 'to crown'
   iii) jallada 'to cover/ bind' iv) khābara 'to contact'
v) ʿataqa 'to release' vi) ʿanteja 'to produce'
vii) ʾistawila 'to capture' viii) sada 'to construct'
ix) sawwa 'to level' x) ʿatqa khitāban 'to deliver a speech'

2.1.3 Verbs of Achievement

Vendler (1967) differentiates the verbs of accomplishment from the verbs of achievement. While verbs of accomplishment refer to a unique and definite
period of time, verbs of achievement indicate that "achievements occur at a single moment" (p. 103). In other words, verbs of achievement "involve unique and definite time instances" (p. 103).

Some verbs of achievement in Arabic take agent and theme as their essential arguments. We may look at the verb rāhana 'to bet' as an example, as in (55):

55a. RĀHANA 'to bet': Agent, Theme.
55b. rāhan a zaid -un anna -ha
    bet past,3rd, sg,masc Zaid NOM that it
    sawfa tumīrū gadan
    would rain tomorrow
    'Zaid betted that it would rain tomorrow'

55c. *rāhan a zaid -un
    bet past,3rd, sg,masc Zaid NOM
    *
    'Zaid betted'

In (55b), the argument zaidun 'Zaid' is the agent and the argument anna sawfa tumīrū gadan 'that it would rain tomorrow' is the theme. (55c) is ungrammatical due to the absence of the theme; the agent alone is insufficient to make it grammatical. Some other verbs of achievement that take agent and theme are given in (56):

56. i) tullaqa 'to divorce' ii) rahana 'to mortgage'
    iii) ?intaqada 'to criticize' iv) tāhāza 'to notice'
    v) ?ankara 'to deny' vi) barhānā 'to prove'
    vii) ?istantaja 'to conclude' viii) ?rifā 'to know'(8)
    ix) qālā 'to say' x) ?aija 'to adjourn'
    xi) qarrara 'to decide' xii) ?aqarrā 'to report'
    xiii) ?tarafa 'to confess'
However, not all verbs of achievement take agent and theme as their arguments, some of them take agent and goal, as in 2.2.

In short, inchoative tervs and some verbs of accomplishment and achievement take agent and theme as their essential arguments.

2.2 Verbs Which Take Agent and Goal as Essential Arguments

Some verbs of achievement in Arabic take the theta - roles of agent and goal rather than agent and theme as their essential arguments. For instance, we may look at (57):

57a. RAḤHABA 'to welcome': Agent, Goal
57b. ?urahhib u bi daif - i
       welcome past,l,sg,masc NOM of guest GEN my

'I welcome my guest'.

In (57b), the verb ?urahhibu 'to welcome' indicates the action performed by the speaker who may not be overtly mentioned. The null subject may then be reflected by the AGR of the verb and have the theta - role of agent. The PP bi daif 'of my guest' has the theta - role of goal. Some other verbs of this type can be listed as follows:

58. i) hann?a 'to congratulate' ii) salla 'to party'
     iii) taḍarr?a 'to supplicate to' iv) ?tadara 'to apologize'
     v) naḥaba 'to lament' vi) baraka bi 'to bless'
     vii) la?ana 'to curse' viii) saxira min 'to deride'
     ix) ?asfaqa?ala 'to pity' x) taḍammar?a min 'to complain'
     xi) ?ihtarama 'to respect' xii) madaḥa 'to praise'
     xiii) ?ihtaqara 'to ridicule' xiv) ?tarada?ala 'to object to'
     xv) ?uḍjibabi 'to admire' xvi) wabbaxa 'to scorn'

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Another class of verbs in Arabic that takes the theta - roles of agent and goal involves some verbs of motion, such as in (59):

59a. ṢAᶜADA  'to ascend': Agent, goal
59b. saᶜ ad -a -al -xaṯib -u ᵇala
    ascend past, 3rd, sg, masc DET speaker NOM on
    al -minbar -i
    DET pulpit loc

'The speaker ascended the pulpit'.

59c. suᶜ id -a -al -minbar -u
    be ascended past, 3rd, sg, masc DET pulpit NOM

'The pulpit was ascended to'.

In (59b), the NP al- xaṯibu 'the speaker' is the agent and the PP ᵇala al-minbari the pulpit' is the goal. (59c) indicates that the theta - role of goal is enough to have a well-formed sentence. Some other verbs that can be used in this manner are as in (60):

60. i) daxala 'to enter' ii) tasallaqaᶜ ala 'climb up'
    iii) qašaza faṣqa 'to leap over' iv) waṯabaᶜ ala 'jump up'

2.3. Verbs Which Take Agent and Accompaniment as Their Essential Arguments

Arabic has a class of verbs that take the theta - roles of agent and accompaniment. The term *accompaniment* indicates a mutual dependence of action between two arguments in the sentence. A verb of this category needs the theta - roles of agent and accompaniment (9), as in (61):
Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid

61a. ʔISTAHABA 'to accompany': Agent, Accompaniment

61b. ʔistahab -a zaid -un hind -an
accompany past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Hind ACC
'Zaid accompanied Hind'.

61c. ʔustuhib -a t hind -un bi zaid -in
be accompanied past, 3rd, sg, fem Hind NOM by Zaid INST
'Hind was accompanied by Zaid'.

In (61b), the NP zaidun 'Zaid' bears the theta - role of agent and the NP hindan 'Hind' bears the theta - role of accompaniment. The latter can function as the subject of the grammatical sentence, as in (61c). Some other verbs of this type are given in (62):

62. i) tasajara ma'c 'to quarrel with' ii) tanafasa ma'c 'to compete with'
   ii) masa ma'c 'to walk with' iv) wakaba 'to escort'
   v) taqalala ma'c 'to fight with'

Gruber (1976: 72 - 75) uses the verb 'pursue' to illustrate the theta - roles of agent and accompaniment. Lahiqa, the Arabic equivalent of 'pursue' has the same theta - role requirement, as is shown in (63):

63. lahiq -a zaid -un al -lisṣ -a
pursue past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM DET thief ACC
'Zaid pursued the thief'.

In (63), zaidun, 'Zaid' is the agent and al- lisṣa 'the thief' is the accompaniment. Some other verbs of this type used by Gruber (1976) are to chase tarada', to follow tabī'a' and lead qāda':

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2.4. Verbs Which Take Experiencer and Theme as Their Essential Arguments

Arabic has verbs of physical and mental perception which require two essential arguments to have a well-formed sentence. We may look at the verb *ra/*a 'to see' to illustrate the point.

64a. RA?A "to see": Experiencer, Theme
64b. ra? -a zaid -un al -jamal
    see past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM DET camel
    -a al -barihata
    ACC DET yesterday

'Zaid saw the camel yesterday'.

64c. *ra? -a zaid -un al -barihata
    see past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM DET yesterday

'Zaid saw yesterday'.

64d. ru?iy -a zaid -un al -barihata
    see past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM DET Yesterday

'The camel was seen yesterday'.

(64b) has zaidun 'Zaid' as the experiencer and al- jamala 'the camel' as the theme. The theme cannot be deleted; if it is deleted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (64c), whereas the sentence becomes grammatical if the only overt argument is the theme in the passive sentence, as in (64d). the verb *ra/*a 'to see' indicates the involuntary act of seeing, i. e., it can be used in the abilitative sense, as in (65):
We may note that the verb ra?an 'to see' in (65) is different from the verb nazara ila 'to look at' in (66). The latter indicates only a volitional action:

66. nazara -a -t ila al -wardat -i
    look past, 3rd, sg fem, NOM to DET rose LOC
    'She looked at the rose'.

In (66), the null subject is recoverable from the AGR of the verb nazarat ila to look at' and it is the agent; the NP al-wardat 'the rose' is the theme. The verb nazara ila 'to look at' is different from the verb ra?an 'to see' in the sense that the former cannot absorb the theme, as in (67), but the latter can, as in (65) given above.

67. *nazara -a -t ila
    look past, 3rd, sg fem, NOM to
    *'She looked at'.

Similar other verbs of sensory perception in Arabic are listed in (68):

68. i) ḍiqqa 'to taste'  ii) samma 'to smell'
      iii) lamasa 'to touch'  iv) samà'a 'to hear'
      v) sa'ara bi 'to feel'

We may now look at some emotive verbs that take theme and experiencer as their essential arguments, as in (69):
69a. SARRA 'to please': Theme, Experiencer

69b. sarr -a tasarım -O -ha zaid -an

please past, 3rd, sg, masc behaviour NOM her Zaid ACC

'Her behavior pleased Zaid'.

69c. surr -a zaid -un

bepleased past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM

'Zaid was pleased'.

(68b) indicates that tasarım 'her behavior' is the theme and zaidan 'Zaid' is the experiencer. (10) (69c) indicates that the experiencer is enough to produce a well-formed sentence. In other words, the verb sarra 'to please' may permit the suppression of the theme. Some other verbs of this type are: ?isma?zza 'to disgust' ?arbaka 'to confuse' and ?ahrajja 'to embarrass'.

In short, most of the transitive verbs of Arabic that need two essential arguments to produce a well-formed sentence take agent and theme as their essential arguments. Most of these verbs fall in some natural semantic classes. They are inchoative verbs, and some verbs of accomplishment and achievement. Some verbs of achievement and motion select agent and goal rather than agent and theme. Some verbs of motion take agent and accompaniment. Some verbs of physical and mental perception and some emotive verbs take experiencer and theme in their theta-grid.
VERBS THAT NEED THREE ESSENTIAL ARGUMENTS

Arabic has some transitive verbs that require three essential arguments in a well-formed sentence. The nature of these arguments depends on the nature of the verb. The arguments might be realized in the form of an NP, PP, IP or CP.

3.1. Verbs Which Take Agent, Theme and Goal as Essential Arguments

The verbs of this type describe the change of possession of an entity from one argument to another, they are verbs of transaction or exchange. They may take the agent and the theme in the form of an NP and the goal, either in the form of an NP or a PP. We may look at the verb ?ac ʔa 'to give', as in (70), to illustrate the point.

70a. ʔaʕʔa 'to give': Agent, Theme, Goal
70b. ʔaʕʔa -a zaid -un kitāb -an
give past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM book ACC
li hind -in
to Hind DAT
70c. ʔaʕʔa -a zaid -un hind -an
give past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Hind ACC
kitāb an
book ACC

'Zaid gave a book to Hind'.

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In (70b), the NP *zaidun 'Zaid' is the agent, the NP *kitaban 'a book' is the theme and the PP *li hindin 'to Hind' is the goal. In (70c) the goal *li hindin 'to Hind' precedes the theme *kuṭaban 'a book' and is in the form of a PP whereas in (70d) it is an NP. (70c) and (70f) are ungrammatical because the theme has been deleted from (70c) and the goal from (70f). In the passive form of the sentence the theme or the goal may be used as the subject, as in (71a) and (71b) respectively:

71a. *uṭiyyā -a kitāb -un li hind -in
    be give past, 3rd, sg, masc book NOM to Hind DAT

    'A book was given to Hind'.
Both in (71a) and (71b) the agent has not been overtly mentioned. We may note that (71c) has the passivized form of the verb ?a'ta 'to give' but the goal, which is expressed by the PP li hindin 'to Hind' in the dative form, remains unchanged; it does not become the subject of the passive sentence. This is not the case with English, as is obvious from (72):

72. *To him was given a book.

some other verbs of exchange that have agent, theme and goal in their theta-grid are listed in (73):

73. i) ?a'ara 'to lend' ii) wahaba 'to bestow'

iii) sallama 'to hand over' iv) zuwwada 'to supply'

v) ?ahda 'to present' vi) manaha 'to grant'

In these verbs, some of the essential arguments are expressed in the form of NPs and others in PPs whereas in some other verbs of this class the theme is expressed as an infinitival construction. We may look at (73) to illustrate the point:
73a. NASAHA 'to advise': Agent, Theme, Goal
73b. nasah -a zaid -un əamr -an
advise past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[PRO ?an ya?tiya mubakkiran]

IP to come early

'Zaid advised Amr [PRO to come early].'

73c. *nasah -a zaid -un [PRO ?an
advise past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM to
ya?tiya mubakkiran]

come early

'Zaid advised [PRO to come early].'

In (73b), the NP zaidun 'Zaid' is the agent, the NP əamran 'Amr' is the goal
and the IP PRO ?an ya?ti mubakkiran 'PRO to come early' is the theme.
73c) is ungrammatical because the goal, which is an essential argument, is
missing in it. We may note that the verb nasaha 'to advise' cannot have
theme in the form or a CP, as is obvious from (74).

74. *nasah -a zaid -un əamr -an
advise past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[anna əala hind -an ta?tiya mubakkiran

cp that should Hind ACC come early

'Zaid advised Amr [that Hind should come early].'

Some other verbs of this type that have agent, theme and goal are listed in
75):

75. i) ?arsada 'to direct' ii) tarajja 'to request'

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Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid

iii) əraja  'to beg' iv) ənasada  'to implore'
v) əsajjəa  'to encourage'

We may note that each of these verbs may have an infinitival clause as the theme but not a CP as is obvious from (76 - 80):

76a. əarsad -a zaid -un əamr -an
direct past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[PRO liʔan yamkuta fi əamman - i] to stay in Amman LOC

'Zaid directed Amr to stay in Amman'.

76b. *əarsad -a zaid -un əamr -an
direct past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[anna əalai -hi yamkuta fi əamman - i] that should to stay in Amman LOC

'Zaid directed Amr [that he should stay in Amman}'.

77a. taraj -a zaid -un əamr -an
request past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[PRO ?an yaʔtiya hind -an baʔda al - nuqd to give Hind ACC some DET money

'zaid requested Amr to give Hind some money'.

77b. *tarajj -a zaid -un əamr -an
request past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[anna əalai -hi yaʔtiya hind -an baʔda al - nuq̲udi that should to give Hind ACC some DET money

'Zaid requested Amr [that he should gibe Hind some money]'.
78a. raj -a zaid -un c'amr -an 
beg past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC 
[PRO ?an yasūqa al -sayyārat -a] 
IP 
to drive DET car ACC

'Zaid begged Amr to drive the car'.

78b. *raj -a zaid -un c'amr -an 
beg past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC 
[anna c'alai -hi yasū qa al -sayyārat -a] 
cp 
that should he drive DET car ACC

'Zaid begged Amr [that he should help Hind]'.

79b. nasad -a zaid -un c'amr -an 
implore past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC 
[PRO ?an yusaفدa hind -an] 
IP 
to help Hind ACC

'Zaid implored Amr [that he should help Hind]'.

79b. *nasad -a zaid -un c'amr -an 
implore past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC 
[anna c'alai -hi yusaفدa hind -an] 
cp 
that should he help Hind ACC

'Zaid implored Amr [that he should help Hind]'.

80a. șajja -a zaid -un c'amr -an 
encourage past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC 
[PRO ?an yasbahā] 
IP 
to swim

'Zaid encouraged Amr to swim'.

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Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid | Jalabneh

80b. *sajja\(^c\) -a zaid -un \(^c\)amr -an
encourage past, 3\(^{rd}\), sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
[anna \(^c\)alai -hi yasbaha]
that should he swim

'Zaid encouraged Amr [that he should swim].'

3.2. Verbs Which Have Agent, Theme and Location as Essential Arguments.

Arabic has verbs of location that need agent, theme and location as essential arguments. With these verbs, the agent and the theme are in the form of NPs and the location is in the form of NP or PP. We may look at the verb \(wada\(^c\)\) 'to put', as in (81), to illustrate the point.

81a. \(WADA\(^c\)\) A 'to put': \ Agent, Theme, Location
81 b. \(wada\(^c\)\) -a zaid -un al -kitab -a
put past, 3\(^{rd}\), sg, masc Zaid NOM DET book ACC
\(^c\)ala al -tawila -t -i
on DET table fem LOC

'Zaid put the book in the table'.

81c. \(wada\(^c\)\) -a zaid -un al -kitab -a
put past, 3\(^{rd}\), sg, masc Zaid NOM DET book ACC
hunaka
there

'Zaid put the book there'.

81c. *\(wada\(^c\)\) -a zaid -un al -kitab -a
put past, 3\(^{rd}\), sg, masc Zaid NOM DET book ACC

*'Zaid put the book'.

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81c. *wada<sup>c</sup> -a zaid -un hunāka
    put past, 3<sup>rd</sup>, sg, masc Zaid NOM there

    *'Zaid put there'.

In (81b), the verb wada<sup>c</sup>a 'to put' has the NP zaidun 'Zaid' as the agent, the
object NP al- kitāba 'the book' as the theme and the PP 'ala al- tawilati 'on
the table' as the location. (81c) has the NP hunāka 'there' as the location.
(81d) is ungrammatical because the location has been omitted and (81e) is
ungrammatical because the theme has been deleted. In a passive sentence
with this type of verb, the agent may be deleted, as in (82a) but not the
location, as in (82b):

82 a. wudi<sup>c</sup> -a al -kitāb -u
    be put past, 3<sup>rd</sup>, sg, masc DET book NOM
    al - tawila - t - i
    DET table fem LOC

    'the book was put on the table'.

82 b. *wudi<sup>c</sup> -a al -kitāb -u
    be put past, 3<sup>rd</sup>, sg, masc DET book NOM

    *'The book was put'.

Some other Arabic verbs that have agent, theme and location are listed in
83):

83. i) ḥadāla 'to insert' ii) ḥafīza 'to keep'
    iii) sakaba 'to pour'
3.3. Verbs That Take Agent, Experiencer and Theme as Their Essential Arguments.

This group of Arabic verb takes agent, experiencer and theme as essential arguments. It describes a verbal action that leaves a psychological impact on the experiencer. The impact is conveyed in the form of an IP or PP but not a CP. We may examine the verb *hatta 'to urge' in (84) to illustrate the nature of theta - roles it might have.

84 a. HATT -a 'to urge': Agent, Experiencer, Theme,

84 b. hatt -a zaid -un cAmr -an
urge past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC

[PRO ?an yadrus al -riyādiyyatī]
IP
to study DET maths

'Zaid urged Amr to study maths'.

84c. *hatt -a zaid -un cAmr -an
urge past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC

'*Zaid urged Amr'.

84d. hatt -a zaid -un cAmr -an
urge past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC
lakinna -hu lam yastaʃ 'u hatta ṣairi -hi
but he not could urge else someone

'Zaid urged Amr but he could not urge someone else'.

84 e. hatt -a zaid -un cAmr -an cala
urge past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC of
al -dirāsat i
DET study LOC

'Zaid urged Amr of the study'.
In (84b), the verb *hatta* 'to urge' has the NP *zaidun* 'Zaid' as subject and the NP 'amran 'Amr' and the IP *PRO ano yadrusa al- riyadiyati* 'to study maths' as its complements. They bear the theta-roles of agent, experiencer and theme respectively. As the theme is an IP, its predicate *ano yadrusa* 'to study' has its own theta-grid. The lack of IP as an essential argument makes the sentence ill-formed as in (84c). however in a contrastive argument situation, such as (84d), the theme may not be overt. (84e) indicates that the theme is *alia* al-dirasati 'of the study' in a form of a PP. The Arabic verb *hatta* 'to urge' cannot take a theme in the form of a CP, as in (85):

85. *hatta* -a zaid -un *amr* -an [anna

urge past, 3rd, sg, masc Zaid NOM Amr ACC that

*alia* hi yadrusa al -riyadiyati]

should he study DET maths

"Zaid urged Amr [that he should study maths]."

We may note that the Arabic verb *hatta* 'to urge' differs form its English equivalent in regard to the form of its theme; in Arabic only an infinitival construction can be the theme whereas in English it could be a CP an IP, an infinitival clause or a PP. Some other verbs of this type are given in (86):

86. iv) *haddara* 'to warn' vi) *amara* 'to command'
     viii) *?argama* 'to coerce' x) *ajbara* 'to compel'
     xii) *haffaza* 'to urge' xiii) *mana* 'to prevent'

We may note that each of these verbs in (86) may have an infinitival construction as the theme as in (87) but not a CP, as in (88):
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<th>Arabic Verbs And Their Theta - Grid</th>
<th>Jalabneh</th>
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<tr>
<td>87. ḥaddar -a /ʔ amara /ʔ argama/</td>
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<td>warn past, 3rd, sg, masc command</td>
<td>coerce</td>
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<td>?ajbara /ḥaffaza zaid</td>
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<td>compel urge zaid</td>
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<td>ṣamr -an [PRO ?an</td>
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<td>Amr ACC IP to</td>
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<td>yadhaha ila ṣamman -i Amman LOC</td>
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'Zaid warned/ commanded/ coerced/ compelled/ urged Amr to go to Amman'.

88. *ḥaddar -a /ʔ amara /ʔ argama/ |         |
| warn past, 3rd, sg, masc command  | coerce  |
| ?ajbara /ḥaffaza zaid            | -un     |
| compel urge zaid                 | NOM     |
| ṣamr -an [anna alai -hi CP      |         |
| Amr ACC that should he           |         |
| yadhaha ila ṣamman -i Amman LOC  |         |

'Zaid warned/ commanded/ coerced/ compelled/ urged Amr that he should go to Amman'.

In brief, the verbs that need three arguments have something in common; they take agent and theme as their first two arguments. However, they are distinct from each other with regard to the nature of the third theta - role. For instance, some verbs have goal, some location and some experiencer as the third argument. Another important point to note is that when the theme is a
proposition, it is in the form of an infinitival clause or a PP rather than a CP.

To sum up, in this paper we have discussed some Arabic verbs form the point of view of essential arguments they may take in their theta-grid. We have found that the predicates that indicate volitional event (e.g. sabaha 'to swim') take agent, those which indicate mental state (e.g. 'abisa 'to be gloomy') or physical event (e.g. āṭasa 'to sneeze') take experiencer and inchoative intransitive predicates (e.g. ?inFajara 'to get exploded') take theme as their essential argument. Among the verbs that need two essential arguments, change of state (i.e., inchoative) verbs (e.g. dammara 'to demolish') and some verbs of accomplishment (e.g. sajjala 'to record') and some verbs of achievement (e.g. rāhana 'to bet') take agent and theme. Some verbs of achievement (e.g. rahhaba 'to welcome') and some verbs of motion (e.g. waḍaḍa 'to ascend') take agent and goal. Another class of verbs of motion (e.g. waḳaba 'to escort') take agent and accompaniment. Verbs of physical and mental perception (e.g. raʔa 'to see') take experiencer and theme. Two arguments- agent and theme- are common to all verbs that need three arguments. However, they differ in regard to the nature of their third argument. For instance, some verbs take goal (e.g. aʔa 'to give'), some verbs take location (e.g. waḍaḍa 'to put') and some take experiencer (e.g. ḥatta 'to urge'). However, the form of the theme with ḥatta urge type verb is an infinitival clause or a PP but not a CP.

In earlier studies Marantz (1948), Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Grimshaw (1990), Jackendoff (1990) and Pesetsky (1995) have discussed in detail the issues involving the argument-structure (or theta-grid) of verbs but they have not attempted to group them together in terms of semantic similarities. Though there may be a controversy about some of the verbs being put in one
semantic class rather than another, we have found this kind of subclassification useful to understand the Arabic verbs from a new perspective.
CONCLUSIONS

We began this article with a detailed analysis of some theoretical issues that have led to the categorization of Arabic verbs. We have noted that the concept of transitivity was not accurate enough to account for the grammaticality and ungrammaticality of the sentences in (1) because the Arab grammarians merely expressed the relation between the verb \textit{wada}^c a 'to but' and the subject and the object in terms of transitivity; whereas, the addition of the prepositional phrase \textit{c}ula al- \textit{fawilati} 'on the table' is not regarded a part of the subcategorization properties of the verb \textit{wada}^c a; and the location is added to \textit{al- musnad ilayihi} 'the predication' to accomplish the meaning of the sentence. Due to this reason, we have adopted Chomsky's- theta - theory (1981, 1987 & 1992) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1991 [1995]). We have used it as a universal mechanism to examine the semantic as well as syntactic properties of a predicate to ensure the grammaticality of sentences in Arabic. We have found out that Chomsky's approach is better than the traditional one in the sense that, through it, we could discuss the thematic relations between a predicate and its arguments in a precise and economical manner and accounted for every entity in the predication. It has been proved that an argument bears one theta - role and each theta- role is given to one and only one argument, this theta - role is selected on the basis of the semantic as well as syntactic properties of its predicate. The theta - theory makes the analysis, easier because it considers NPs, PPs, IPs and CPs to be arguments and theta - role bearers; they are a part of the lexical properties of the predicate used in a sentence. It also makes an obvious distinction between the verbs of the same group on the basis on the basis of the kind of theta - role that the argument might denote. After all, we have concluded that Chomsky's
generalizations of theta - roles are basically correct. For instance, we have
categorized the Arabic verbs in subgroups on the basis of the nature of the
theta - roles that they may have in their theta - grids. We have started with
intransitive verbs that require one essential argument. The theta - role may,
however, differ depending upon the properties of the verb. It can be an agent
if the verb indicates a volitional event, as in the case of sabaha 'to swim'.
The verb gadara 'to depart' takes an agent if the only essential argument is
animate, and theme if it is inanimate. The Arabic intransitive verb ?abida 'to
run- wild- like- an- animal' takes an agent. We may note that Arabic has
many such verbs which do not have single units as their English equivalents.
The intransitive verb ?istakhara 'to ask- God- for- guidance' needs only an
agent. However, its nearest English counterpart 'to ask' needs three agrume-
nts agent, source and theme. It is so because the source God and the theme
forgiveness are absorbed in the verb. The intransitive verb ǧanna 'to sing'
needs only an agent as an essential argument. However, it can be used transi-
tively in which case it takes a cognate object as another essential argument.
In case an intransitive verb, in Arabic, indicates a non- volitional event, the
only essential argument it takes is the experiencer. For instance, the verb
'atasa 'to sneeze' indicates a physical event and takes an experiencer as its
only argument. Some other verbs that indicate physical events are sakata 'to
be silent' and ?injaraba 'to have scabies'; they take an experiencer as an
essential argument. Verbs that indicate mental state also need an experiencer
as their only essential argument as the verb fariha 'to be happy'. Not only
agent and experiencer but also theme can be an essential argument for some
Arabic intransitive verbs, for instance, māta 'to die'. ?infajara 'to get
exploded' and ǧama 'to float'. We may note that ǧama 'to float' takes an ina-
nimate argument whereas sabaha 'to swim' takes an animate argument the
theta - role of which is agent. However, this kind of animate and inanimate distinction is not always relevant. For instance, the verb *tāra* 'to fly' takes theme as its argument whether it is animate or inanimate.

Transitive verbs in Arabic have also been sub-grouped on the basis of the essential theta - roles they may have. Verbs that take agent and theme include inchoative transitive verbs (e.g. *dammara* 'to demolish'), verbs of accomplishment (e.g. *saffala* 'to record') and verbs of achievement (e.g. *rāhana* 'to bet'). Verbs that take agent and goal include some verbs of achievement (e.g. *raḥaba* 'to welcome') and some verbs of motion (e.g. *ḍada* ḍala 'to ascend'). Verbs that take agent and accompaniment as their essential arguments include verbs like *qāṣataḥab* 'to accompany' and *wākaba* 'to escort'. Some verbs of physical and mental perception (e.g. *raʔa* 'to see') and emotive verbs (e.g. *sarrā* 'to please') need experiencer and theme as their essential arguments.

Verbs that take three essential arguments in their theta - grids have something in common; they have agent and theme as their first two argument. However, they differ in regard to the third argument. For instance, some verbs of exchange (e.g. *ʔaḍ̱a* 'to give') need the theta - role of goal as their third argument whereas verbs indicating location (e.g. *waḍ̱a* 'to put') need location as their third argument. The data from Arabic shows that *ḥatta* ('to urge') type verbs need experiencer as their third argument.

To sum up, this work has tried to test whether the theta - theory of the Principle and Parameters Theory (1991) can be suitably applied to Modern Standard Arabic verbs and we have found that it is the case. We have looked at various types of Arabic verbs to find out how many essential arguments they need to have well-formed sentences and what are the possible theme-
atic roles of these arguments. We have found that Arabic may need one, two, or at best, three arguments to have well-formed sentences. Insofar as the verbs that need only one argument are concerned, the important point of distinction seems to be [+ volitional]. Verbs indicating volitional act need agent whereas verbs indicating involuntary events or physical and mental states need experiencer. Inchoative intransitive verbs need only a theme. The verbs that need agent and theme as their two essential arguments are inchoative verbs, or verbs of accomplishment, or achievement. The verbs that need experiencer and theme as their two essential arguments are verbs of physical and mental perception and emotive verbs. Some verbs of achievement and motion need agent and goal, others, experiencer and theme. Among other, verbs that need three essential arguments are (a) verbs of exchange that need agent, theme and goal and (b) verbs of location that need agent, theme and location. In a few cases, Arabic verbs like English verbs insofar as the number and types of arguments that need are concerned, but many are different. The similarity is mainly because there are verbs that take cognate object. For instance, the verb ġamma 'to sing' is an intransitive verb in Arabic, but it can be used transitively, in which case, it takes the cognate object ?ugniyatan 'a song'; likewise, its English counterpart, 'to sing' is an intransitive verb and is used transitively to take the cognate object 'a song'. The difference is mainly because of the nature of the theta – role of theme.

For instance, the verb ḥatta 'to urge' requires the theme in a form of IP and PP; however, in English the verb 'persuade' requires the theme in a form of CP, IP or a PP.

We can say that the theta - roles are universal properties and through them we are able to sort out Modern Standard Arabic verbs and put them in vari-
ous semantic groups on their basis, this unique exercise is economical and offers precise results. The theta - theory as a model is needed because we can say with certainty that every verb, in the paper, is precisely examined and listed in a distinct group. With this detailed analysis of Arabic verbs, we have succeeded in making the generalizations of theta - theory correct in Arabic; these generalizations contribute to better understanding of Arabic syntax; meanwhile, they enrich the field of research in Arabic by following new perspectives.
FOOTNOTES

(1) Some linguists (e.g. Hale and Keyser (1993)) call such verbs 'unergative verbs'.

(2) According to Vendler (1976: 106), such verbs "call for periods of time that are not unique or definite".

(3) Pesetsky (1979: 19 - 18) calls such verbs 'experiencer predicates'.

(4) As Sinha (1979: 254) points out, it is the characteristic of the inchoative verb that the action it describes transitively entails an event that can be described by its intransitive use.

(5) Both the verbs ?infajara 'get exploded' (intransitive) and fajjara 'explode' (transitive) are derived from the same verb-root fajar (transitive).

(6) We may note that in English open, scratch, break, cut, crash and freeze are transitive as well as intransitive verbs. In Arabic, intransitive verbs of this type take ?in or ta as their prefixes.


(8) It is difficult to treat verbs such as ya?arifu 'to know' categorically as a verb of "achievement". It is a verb of achievement in (1) but not in (ii):

i) fajas tan 'araf -a -ha zaid -un
    suddenly know past it Zaid NOM
    'Suddenly, Zaid knew it'.

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(9) The theta-role of accompaniment is used by Jackendoff (1990: 97) as it implies the relationship of mutual dependence between arguments.

(10) Another possible alternative is that *tasarufuha* 'her behaviour' is treated as the instrument and *zaidan* 'Zaid' as the experiencer.
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Arabic symbols on the left-hand column are used here for the transliteration of the Arabic text and the symbols on the right-hand column are used for transliterating Arabic names and titles, as is the common practice.
ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviation have been used in this paper:

ABL: Ablative
ACC: Accusative
AGR: Agreement
COM: Comitative
CP: Complementizer Phrase
DAT: Dative
DET: Determiner
Fem: Feminine
GEN: Genitive
I: First Person
II: Second Person
III: Third Person
3rd: Third Person
INST: Instrumental
IP: Inflectional Phrase
LOC: Locative
Masc: Masculine
NOM: Nominative
NP: Noun Phrase
Past: Past Tense

PP: Prepositional Phrase

Sg: Singular

Vol: Volitional