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Citation	関西アラブ・イスラム研究. 2003, 3, p. 85-99
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://doi.org/10.18910/105834
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Analysis of the Verbal Forms Introduced by Conditional Particle *ʔin*¹⁾

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条件詞 *ʔin* に導かれる条件節の動詞形式についての試論

イスラム世界の文学、学術語の基礎である古典アラビア語は、アラブ文法学者たちによって、8世紀以降、それまでの(コーランや前イスラム期の韻文で使用されていた)前古典アラビア語に基づき規範化され定型化されたものである。これまでは、前古典アラビア語と古典アラビア語の概念はすでに区別されており、両者における文法現象の違いについても指摘されているものの、両者の違いを明瞭に意識した研究は知られていない。博士論文ではコーランのアラビア語の条件文構造の分析において条件詞 *ʔin* に導かれる条件節(以後、*ʔin* 節と表記)の動詞形式を分析対象の一つとして扱ったが、本研究はテーマを *ʔin* 節における動詞形式の機能に限定して論じたものである。

コーランのアラビア語に観察される *ʔin* 節の全用例を個々に調べた結果、*ʔin* 節で使われる動詞形式の相違は、*ʔin* 節が示す行為や状態に対する話者の認識方法に由来する可能性を提示した。一方、古典アラビア語では、*ʔin* 節の動詞形式と話者の認識方法との間に明瞭な相関関係は認めがたく、動詞形式は単なる条件節の標識として機能すると考えられる。

本研究で取り上げた *ʔin* 節の動詞形式に関する限り、話者の認識方法が *ʔin* 節の動詞形式に反映されるコーランのアラビア語と、動詞形式が単なる条件節のマーカーにすぎない古典アラビア語の間に統語的な相違が存在する結論に達した。今後は、コーランのアラビア語が古典アラビア語とは異なる独自の統語体系を持つ言語であること実証するために、その統語体系の全貌を明らかにする必要がある。そのために今後は、条件文構造以外の言語現象についても詳細に調べる必要があると思われる。

1. Introduction

In Modern Arabic grammar, conditional structures are defined as complex sentences having two constituent clauses. The clause containing a conditional particle (CP) is a subordinate clause, whereas the CP-free clause is referred to as a main clause. In Arabic there are three CPs (*ʔin*, *ʔidā*, *law*): *ʔin* and *ʔidā* are defined as elements which introduce a simple condition, in contrast to *law* which is said to introduce hypothetical clauses.

The conception of CP has changed with the development of grammatical theory. Ac-

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1) This paper is based on my D. thesis submitted to Osaka University of Foreign Studies in 2002.

cording to Sībawayh (n.d., vol. 5:56) , not only *ʔin* but also many other words that imply the conditional meaning, such as *man* (who), *mā* (what), *ʔayyu-hum* (which of them), *matā* (when), *ʔayna* (where), are considered as CPs, but he does not treat *law* as a CP. Al-Zamaḡṣarī (1879: 150) limits CP only to *law* and *ʔin*, then defines *ʔin* as a real CP and *law* as an unreal CP. As to *ʔidā*, both Sībawayh (ibid., vol. 3: 60) and al-Zamaḡṣarī (ibid.: 68) consider it a conjunction for time reference. On this point Moriguchi (1999: 54, 2001a: 162) shows that in the course of time, *ʔin*, which is scarcely used in modern Arabic literature was replaced by *ʔidā*.

As mentioned above, it appears that the conditional structure of Arabic is one of the diachronical linguistic phenomena.²⁾ There arises a question how CP was used in the Pre-Classical Arabic, the basis of the Classical Arabic.

The previous studies mainly analyzed synchronic usages of CP, therefore little was clarified verbal forms in conditional structures. For example, for *ʔin*-clause, one of two verbal forms namely the perfect or the jussive, is used, whereas the difference of meanings caused by the two verbal forms is still obscure. Moreover, there are many examples, where *ʔin*-clause is postponed, what is called an inverted conditional sentence. Traditionally some recognize the non-permutability of the protasis and the apodosis, and others do not distinguish the cases of an inverted conditional sentence from a normal conditional sentence. For example Sībawayh (ibid., vol. 5: 56) and al-Zamaḡṣarī (ibid.: 150-151) do not consider the *ʔin*-clause as apodosis. Wright (1898) and Fischer (1972) do not draw a sharp line between an inverted conditional sentence and a normal conditional sentence. Peled (1992: 5) agrees with Sībawayh and al-Zamaḡṣarī. Kinberg (1977: 7) also omits the inverted conditional sentence from the conditional sentence. Although the Tietz's indication "a change of logical point of view by the inverted conditional sentence" (1963: 30) is noteworthy, she does not show any sufficient explanation. The present paper does not treat the inverted conditional sentences.³⁾

The aim of this paper is the examination of the use of verbal forms in *ʔin*-clause of Qur'ānic Arabic, which is one of the Pre-Classical Arabic, in order to elucidate the conditional structure in it.

This analysis proceeds by comparing Qur'ānic Arabic with descriptions in the traditional Classical Arabic grammar as for the conditional sentence. The descriptions are chiefly dependent on al-Zamaḡṣarī (1879) and Ibn Ya'īš (n.d.), who completed traditional grammatical theory.⁴⁾

Additionally, this paper will show mutual relations between verbal forms in *ʔin*-clause and their properties. The properties are usually classified according to McCarus' classification (1976: 19-21) into states, activities, acts and inchoatives. In this classification the difference between activities and acts is merely the property of active participle.

2) The differences between the Classical Arabic and the Pre-Classical Arabic have been pointed out by Fischer (1972). In spite of the great number of differences, no grammatical analysis of them is presented in his study.

3) Moriguchi (2002: 99) considers the inverted sentence as a conditional sentence.

4) Moriguchi, 2002: 7

Then this paper does not deal with the active participle. Therefore verbs are classified to states (S), acts (A), and inchoatives (I). The classification of properties used in this paper is listed in Table I.

Table I

Classification	Feature of meaning	Perfect	Imperfect	Example
① States (S)	state, situation, nature	completion of the change to the state	state – progression – habituation	<i>'arafa</i> (to know)
② Acts (A)	action	completion of the action	+ progression + habituation + future	<i>kataba</i> (to write)
③ Inchoatives (I)	change of state, location	completion of the change	– progression + habituation + future	<i>dahaba</i> (to go)

2. Definition of terms

Definition of technical terms used in this paper is as follows.

- 1) In the most common theory, verbal forms are but two in number, the one expressing a finished act (Perfect) the other an unfinished act (Imperfect).⁵⁾ However, in this paper the perfect means a suffixal conjugate form and the imperfect means a prefixal conjugate form.
- 2) Tense is the grammaticalisation of location in time that is based on the definition given by Comrie (1985: 9).
- 3) Aspect includes not only different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie, 1976: 3) but also a subjective view of the speaker, namely speaker's perception of a certainty, a possibility and an authenticity of actions.

3. Description of previous studies of verbal forms of *'in*-clause

3.1. Simple verbs

As Sībawayh (ibid., vol. 3: 62, 68) and al-Zamaḡṣarī (ibid.: 150) pointed out, the earliest explanation for the usage of verbal forms in *'in*-clause can be summarized in two points.

- 1) Two verbal forms that are regularly used in *'in*-clause are the perfect and the jussive.
- 2) The basic form is the jussive, and the perfect is a substitution for the jussive.

Also in the traditional Classical Arabic grammar, some typical grammarians such as Wright (1896) and Fischer (1972) point out that two verbal forms, the perfect and the

5) Wright, 1896, vol. 1: 51

jussive, are used in *ʾin*-clause. But they do not focus on the use of two verbal forms, because they regard both forms as mere marks of protasis.

In addition, as Moriguchi (1999: 54, 2001a: 161-162) states, the perfect is used in almost all examples and the jussive hardly used at the very beginning of the Classical Arabic literatures.⁶⁾ As a result, the difference between two forms was scarcely mentioned. McCarus (1976: 4) states clearly that the jussive is substitution for the perfect.

As for the perfect Reckendorf (1921: 484) and Brockelmann (1913: 636) say that tense is decided not by verbal forms but by a context. Cantarino's explanation (1975, vol. 3: 313) is similar to them.

3.2. Complex verbal forms

In some cases, a main verb of *ʾin*-clause is preceded by *kāna*. This case is called "the complex verbal form." Sibawayh and al-Zamaḡṣarī do not distinguish the complex verbal form from the simple verbal form. As for Wright (1898, vol. 2: 15-16), he indicates the following three points for the use of *kāna*.

- 1) If the verb *kāna* is prefixed to the correlative clauses, the perfect has the historical sence (English past tense).
kānū ʾin balaḡū balaḡū "If they exerted themselves to attain an object, they attain it."
- 2) If the verb *kāna* is inserted between *ʾin* and the perfect in the protasis, the perfect retains its original meaning.
ʾin kuntum ʾāmantum bi-llāh fa ʿalay-hī tawakkalū "If ye have believed in God, place your trust in Him."
- 3) If the verb *kāna* is followed by the imperfect, the imperfect is rendered into the present meaning.
ʾin kuntum tuḥibbīna allāh fa ittabiʿū-nī "If ye love God, then follow me."

And Fischer's statements (1972: 637, 643) are similar to Wright.

Reckendorf (1898: 689-690, 695 and 1921: 486-488) states as follows.

- 1) Üblicher ist die Präteritalisierung des Perf. durch vorangesetztes *kāna*.
ʾin kunta ʾaṣabta bi-ḥabsi-him fa qad ʾaḡṭaʾta fī taḡlītī-him "Wenn du ihre Gefangensetzung mit Recht vorgenommen hast, so hast du mit ihrer Freilassung einen Fehler begangen."
- 2) Nicht selten dagegen steht der Indik. gedeckt durch Vorangehendes *kāna*.
ʾin kāna yanfaʿu-ki al-yaqīn fa sāʾilī "Wenn dir die Wahrheit nützt, so frage."

And Brockelmann's statements (1913: 637, 643) are similar to Reckendorf.

At the same time, they regard the time reference as being dependent on the context. Peled (1992: 72) says, "the function of the auxiliary *kāna* is to satisfy the basic requirement of the *ʾin*-prot[asis] to a *qatala* form," but this does not explain a difference be-

6) Though there is only one case in 38 examples in Ibn al-Muqaffa' (n.d.), any other case is not found in Moriguchi (1999, 2001a).

tween “*ʔin* + the perfect” and “*ʔin* + *kāna* + the perfect.” Tietz (1963: 22, 41) agrees with Reckendorf and Brockelmann.

Regarding these facts, the following questions arise:

- 1) The grammatical grounds of Sībawayh and al-Zamaḡṣārī’s description.
- 2) Usages of two verbal forms (the perfect and the jussive).
- 3) If “*kāna* + the perfect” means the preterite, it contradicts with the meaning of *ʔin*, because *ʔin* simply indicates a condition (Wright, 1898, vol. 2: 340).
- 4) Difference between “*ʔin* + the perfect” and “*ʔin* + *kāna* + the perfect.”

These questions are analyzed in the following Chapter.

Table II

Verbal forms	Number of examples
<i>ʔin</i> + the juss.	127
<i>ʔin</i> + the perf.	110
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>yakun</i> + the imperf.	1
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>yakun</i> + S-P ⁷⁾	12
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>kāna</i> + the perf.	9
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>kāna</i> + the imperf.	3
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>kāna</i> + S-P	34

4. Verbal forms that are used in *ʔin*-clause

4.1. Data

Examining all *ʔin*-clauses of Qurʾānic Arabic, the distribution of verbal forms used in *ʔin*-clause is shown in Table II. From among all the examples eighteen examples are listed.

[*ʔin* + the jussive]

- 1) *wa-ʔin* *yurid-ka* *bi-ḡayrin* *fa-lā* *rādda* *li-faḡli-hī*
conj.-conj. juss.3.m.sg.-pro.2.m.sg. prep.-gen.m.sg. conj.-neg. acc.m.sg. prep.-gen.m.sg.-pro.3.m.sg.
and if wish you with benefit not return to favour His
If He do design some benefit for thee, there is none can keep back His favour. (10.107)
- 2) *wa-ʔin* *tuḡīʿū-hū* *tahtadū* If ye obey him, ye shall be
conj.-conj. juss.2.m.pl.-pro.3.m.sg. juss.2.m.pl. on right guidance. (24.54)
and if obey him guide
- 3) *ʔin* *naṣaʿ* *naḡsif* *bi-him* *al-ʿarḡa* If We wished, We could
conj. juss.1.pl. juss.1.pl. prep.-pro.3.m.pl. def.-acc.f.sg. cause the earth to swal-
if wish sink by them ground low them up. (34.9)
- 4) *ʔin* *yaṣaʿ* *yuskin* *ar-rīḡa* If it be His Will, He can
conj. juss.3.m.sg. juss.3.m.sg. def.-acc.m.sg. still the Wind. (42.33)
if wish still wind
- 5) *wa-ʔin* *tadʿu-hum* *ʔilā* *al-hudā* *fa-lan* *yahtaduwa* *ʔiḡan* *ʔabadan*
conj. juss.2.m.pl.- def.- conj.- subj.3.m.pl. adv. adv.
-conj. pro.3.m.pl. prep. gen.m.sg. neg. accept then never
and if call them to right way not accept then never
If thou callest them to guidance, even then will they never accept guidance. (18.57)

7) S-P is a sentence which begins with the subject, and the predicate is not a verb.

[ʿin + the perfect]

- 6) *wa-ʿin ʾarādā fiṣālan ʿan tarāḍin min-humā wa-tašāwurin fa-lā junāḥa*
 conj.- perf. acc. gen. prep. conj. conj. acc.
 conj. 3.m.du. m.sg. prep. m.sg. pro.2.m.du. gen.m.sg. neg. m.sg.
 and if wish weaning about mutual consent in them and joint consultation not sin
ʿalay-himā
 prep.-pro.3.du. If they both decide on weaning, by mutual consent, and after
 on them due consultation, there is no blame on them. (2.233)
- 7) *ʿin ʾaṭaʿna-kum fa-lā tabḡū ʿalay-hinna* If they return to obedience, seek
 conj. perf.3.f.pl.- conj. juss. prep.- not against them means (of an-
 pro.2.m.pl. -neg. 2.m.pl. pro.3.f.pl. noyance). (4.34)
 if obey you not oppress on him
- 8) *wa-ʿin qīla la-kum irjiʿū fa-irjiʿū* If ye are asked to go back,
 conj.- perf. prep.- imper. conj.- go back. (24.28)
 conj. 3.m.sg. pro.2.m.pl. 2.m.pl. imper.2.m.pl.
 and if say to you return return
- 9) *fa-ʿin ʿalimutumū-hunna muʾminātin fa-lā tarjaʿū-hunna ʾilā al-kuffāri*
 conj.-conj. suf.2.m.pl.-pro.3.f.pl. acc.f.pl. conj.-neg. pre.2.m.pl.-pro.3.f.pl. prep. def.-gen.m.pl.
 and if ascertain they believers then not back them to unbelievers
 If ye ascertain that they are Believers, then send them not back to the Unbelievers. (60.10)

[ʿin + yakun + the imperfect]

- 10) *ʿin takūnū taʾlamūna fa-ʾinna-hum yaʾlamūna kamā taʾlamūna*
 conj. juss.2.m.pl. indica.2.m.pl. conj.-adv.-pro.3.m.pl. indica.3.m.pl. prep. indica.2.m.pl.
 if be feel pain verily they suffer like suffer
 If ye are suffering hardships, they are suffering similar hardships. (4.104)

[ʿin + yakun + S-P]

- 11) *ʿin taku miṭqāla ḥabbatin min kardilin fa-takun fī ṣaḡratin ʾaw fī*
 conj. juss. acc. gen.f.sg. prep. gen.m.sg. conj.- conj. prep.
 3.f.sg. m.sg. gen.f.sg. juss.3.f.sg. prep. gen.f.sg. conj. prep.
 if be Weight seed of mustard and be in rock or in
as-samawāti... If there be (but) the weight of a mustard seed and it were
 def.-gen.f.pl. ... (hidden) in a rock or (anywhere) in the heavens... (31.16)
 heavens

[ʿin + kāna + the perfect]

- 12) *wa-qāla Mūsā yā qawm-i ʿin kuntum ʾāmantum bi-allāhi fa-ʿalay-hī*
 conj.- prop. adv. gen.m.sg.- conj. perf. perf. prep.- conj.-prep.-
 perf.3.m.sg. 3.m.sg. pro.1.sg. 2.m.pl. 2.m.pl. gen.m.sg. pro.3.m.sg.
 and say Moses O people my if Be believe with God on him
tawakkalū ʿin kuntum muslimīna Moses said: "O my People! If ye do (really)
 juss. conj. perf. acc. believe in God, then in Him put your if ye
 2.m.pl. 2.m.pl. m.pl. submit (your will in Him)." (10.84)
 depend if be Muslim
- 13) *ʿin kuntu qultu-hū fa-qad ʿalimta-hū* Had I said such a thing,
 conj. perf. perf.1.sg.- conj.- perf.2.m.sg.- Thou wouldst indeed have
 1.sg. pro.3.m.sg. adv. pro.3.m.sg. known it. (5.116)
 if be say him already know him

- 14) 'in kāna kabura 'alay-kum maqām-ī wa-tadkīr-ī bi-'āyātī allāhi
 conj. perf. perf. prep.- nom.m.sg.- conj.-nom.m.sg.- prep.- gen.
 3.m.sg. 3.m.sg. pro.2.m.pl. pro.1.sg. pro.1.sg. gen.f.pl. m.sg.
 if be become too hard on you standing my and memento my with sign God
fa-'alā allāhi tawakkaltu If it be hard on your (mind) that I should stay
 conj.- gen. suf.1.sg. (with you) and commemorate the Sign of God,
 prep. m.sg. yet I put my trust in God. (10.71)
 upon God trust
- 15) 'in kunta ji'ta bi-'āyatin fa-'ati bi-hā If indeed thou hast come
 conj. perf. perf. prep.- conj.- prep.- with a Sign show it forth.
 2.m.sg. 2.m.sg. gen.f.sg. juss.2.m.sg. pro.3.f.sg. Forth it (7.106)
 if be come with sign bring Forth it

['in + kāna + the imperfect]

- 16) qul 'in kuntum tuhibbūna allāha fa-ittabi'ū-nī Say if ye do love
 imper. conj. perf. indica. acc. conj.- God, follow me.
 2.m.sg. 2.m.pl. 2.m.pl. m.sg. imper.2.m.pl.-pro.1.sg. (3.31)
 say if be love God obey me
- 17) 'in kuntunna turidna al-ḥayāta ad-duniyā wa-zīnata-hā fa-ta'ālayna
 conj. perf. indica. def.- def.- conj.-acc.f.sg. conj.
 2.f.pl. 2.f.pl. acc.f.sg. acc.f.sg. -pro.3.f.sg. -imper.2.f.pl.
 if be wish life world and embellishment it come
 If it be that ye desire the life of this world, and its glitter, then come. (33.28)

['in + kāna + S-P]

- 18) wa-'in kāna miṭqāla ḥabbatin min kardilin 'ataynā bi-hā
 conj.- perf. acc. gen.f.sg. prep. gen. perf. prep.-
 conj. 3.m.sg. m.sg. m.sg. m.sg. 1.pl. pro.3.f.sg.
 and if be weight seed of mustard bring forth it
 And if there be (no more than) the weight of a mustard seed, we will bring it (to account). (21.47)

4.2. 'in + the jussive and 'in + the perfect

The jussive and the perfect rival each other in number. The jussive is used in 127 examples, whereas the perfect is used in 110 examples. Unlike in the Classical Arabic, the perfect is not superior to the jussive in number. Sībawayh and al-Zamakhsharī's description (3.1) does not seem to base only on number.

4.2.1. Verbal forms and property of verbs

In 1) ~ 5) the jussive is used, and in 6) ~ 9) the perfect is used. It is difficult to point out mutual relations between verbal forms and the properties of verbs, because the verbal forms do not always reflect these properties (states, acts, inchoatives). For example, both *yurid* (to want) in 1) and *'arāda* (to want) in 6), although they are different in form, indicate S (the state). Similarly, in 2) and 7) both of the jussive *tufī'ū* (to obey) and the perfect *'ata'na* (to obey) indicate A (act). On the contrary, in 3) and 4), the jussive form *naṣa'* (to want) and *yaṣa'* (to want) are used, but the former sentence indicates I (inchoative) and the latter indicates S (state).

4.2.2. Verbal forms and time reference

In 1)~9) none of the verbal forms refers to any specific time. Nevertheless the specific time may be posited in the context. But in any case, *ʔin* never indicates the preterite. For instance, in 5) “accepting guidance” is carried out in the present or in the near future.

4.2.3. Verbal forms and the aspect

It is clear from 4.2.1. that the property of verb does not decide which verbal form to be used. The jussive is used in one case and the perfect in another, even if a verb used in *ʔin*-clause is the same. Additionally from 4.2.2., it is clear that verbs used in *ʔin*-clause always indicate the present or the near future, so verbal forms also do not decide the specific time.

Then, on what do verbal forms depend? We will try to compare the usages of two verbal forms to make clear this question.

In 1) the jussive *yurid* (to want) is used under the context that “even when we suffer under trials and tribulations, it is for our good, and no one can remove them except He, when, in His Plan, he sees it to be best for all concerned. On the other hand, there is no power that can intercept His blessings and favours...” (Ali, 1934: 512). In this case, it is only a possibility whether God wants to bless or not, namely *ʔin*-clause does not premise that God wants to bless.

In 6) the perfect *ʔarādā* (to want) is used under the context that “the principle applies equally to the father and mother in wedlock: each must fulfill his or her part in the fostering of the child...” (ibid., 1934: 93). In this case, the decision on whether or not to wean was already made by parents, namely, what is suggested in 6) is the decision by mutual consent but not a possibility of the decision.

This assumption may be applied to many other examples.

In 2) the jussive *tufīʔū* (to obey) is used under the context that “the responsibility for your conduct rests entirely on yourselves” (ibid., 1934: 914). It seems that *ʔin*-clause does not suppose believer’s obedience to God on the fixed scene but the possibility of their obedience to God.

In 7) the perfect is used under the context that “even if the wives were disobedient to their husbands, all past faults are forgotten after regeneration” (ibid., 1934: 190). In this case *ʔin*-clause premises that the wives return to obedience.

As mentioned above it seems that a choice between two verbal forms is made according to the speaker’s perception about an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause.

In 4) what is suggested is merely a possibility of God’s Will but not a God’s Will itself. In this case verbal form used in *ʔin*-clause is the jussive. Whereas in 8) it is premised that the believers are actually asked to withdraw. In this case verbal form used in *ʔin*-clause is the perfect.

Consequently, the jussive is used in the cases where only the possibility of an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause is supposed, while the perfect is used in the cases where an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause is recognized to be done.

4.3. 'in + kāna + the perfect

4.3.1. Mutual relations to the properties of verbs

In the form of “'in + kāna + the perfect,” three classes of verbs (S, A, I) are used in the same frequency, so that it is difficult to recognize mutual relations between verbal properties and the form of “'in + kāna + the perfect.”

4.3.2. The time which is referred by kāna

As is mentioned in 3.2., *kāna* in “'in + kāna + perfect” means the preterite. If *kāna* means the preterite, how does it effect on 'in-clause? Now, we will try to examine the relation between *kāna* and the property of main verb.

First, take a look at main verb used in 12). It shows States 'āmana (to believe). If *kāna* means the preterite, 'āmana (to believe) indicates temporary belief to God in the past, whereas on account of property of 'āmana (to believe), a belief to God may be understood to be continued until the speech time. At the same time a simple verb of States used in 9) 'alimtumū (to ascertain), also means that ascertainment continues until the speech time. In a word, a difference between “'in + kāna + the perfect” and “'in + the perfect” is obscure.

Second, if *kāna* means the preterite, 'in kuntu qultu in 13) indicates unreal condition. Essentially an unreal condition is introduced by another CP law. That is to say kuntu qultu disagrees with the function of CP 'in.

From these two points, *kāna* may be interpreted as being independent of a past time reference.

4.3.3. The aspect referred by kāna

In this section the difference between “'in + kāna + the perfect” and “'in + the perfect” will be compared to make clear the function of *kāna*. In 6) it is premised that the parents consent on weaning but the process of consent to the weaning, namely whether a weaning will be done or not is beside the question. Whereas, in 12) it is consciously stressed that people believed in God in the past and the effect of their belief remains.

In 8) it is premised that believers are asked to withdraw, however it is not described here whether the command actually affects them or not. While, 13) indicates that Jesus said what he didn't know and his utterance has effect until the speech time because of “*kāna* + perfect.”

Consequently, when a speaker intends to influence on an action/a situation of 'in-clause to exist, a verbal form is not “the perfect” but “*kāna* + the perfect.”

4.4. *kāna*/yakun + the imperfect

4.4.1. The aspect referred by the imperfect

As mentioned in 3.2., in complex verbal forms *kāna* may be combined with both the perfect and the imperfect, so the difference between “*kāna* + the perfect” and “*kāna* + the imperfect” comes into question.

In 16) *tuḥibbūna* (to like) suggests that Muslims continue to believe in God, moreover in 17) *turidna* (to want) suggests that women habitually wish comfortable life.

The examples shown above make it clear that “*kāna* + the imperfect” is used when a speaker perceives an action/a situation of clause to be continuous.

4.4.2. The aspect referred by *kāna*/*yakun*

As mentioned in 4.2.3., the difference between two verbal forms of simple verbs is based on the speaker’s perception about an action/a situation of *ʾin*-clause, namely the jussive is used when a speaker suggests just only a possibility of an action/a situation occurring, while the perfect is used when he recognizes an action/a situation to be done. In the same way as simple verbs, the verbal form of *kāna* in complex verbal forms is either the jussive or the perfect.

In 10) the form of *kāna* is the jussive under the context that “the man of Faith is full of hope in God, whereas the man without Faith has nothing to sustain him” (ibid., 1934: 214). In this case what is supposed is just only a possibility that the hardships continue. Whereas, 17) is the words of Prophet to his wives. In this case the situation that “his wives habitually wish for ease or worldly glitter” (ibid., 1934: 1113) is premised.

In conclusion, the difference between “*yakun* (3.s.m.juss.) + the imperfect” and “*kāna* (3.s.m.perf.) + the imperfect” is also based on the speaker’s perception about continuity of an action/a situation of *ʾin*-clause. In other words, in the case where only a possibility of a continuative action/a situation of *ʾin*-clause is suggested, “*yakun* + the imperfect” is used, whereas in the case where an action/a situation of *ʾin*-clause will be recognized to continue, “*kāna* + the imperfect” is used.

4.5. *Kāna*/*yakun* + S-P

When S-P is introduced by *ʾin*, *kāna* is always inserted between *ʾin* and S-P. Even in such a case the verbal form of *kāna* is either the jussive or the perfect. Based on our analysis in 4.2.3. and 4.4.2., it is reasonable to conclude that jussive is used only when a possibility of S-P is supposed, whereas the perfect is used when the situation of S-P is premised.

For example, in 11) the form of *kāna* is the jussive under the context that “this verse may be supposed to be general direction flowing from Luqmān’s teaching to men” (ibid., 1934: 1084). In this case only a possibility that something light like a mustard-seed exists is supposed. In 18) the form of *kāna* is the perfect under the context that “Not the smallest action, word, thought, motive, or predilection but must come into the account of God on the day of Judgment” (ibid., 1934: 832). In this case, the existence of something light like a mustard-seed is premised. However, it may be suitable to say that a possibility of existence of something like mustard-seed is supposed because 18) is description of the Day of Judgment which is beyond human power.

Therefore we can not help recognizing that the difference between “*ʾin* + *yakun* + S-P” and “*ʾin* + *kāna* + S-P” is less clear than in other cases mentioned in 4.2.3. and 4.4.2.

5. Summary of the verbal forms in *ʔin*-clause

5.1. Difference between the jussive and the perfect

Most of the previous studies did not consider the difference between the two verbal forms. Because, they focused on the function of *ʔin* by comparing with the function of *law*. This paper certifies that verbal forms have relevance to neither the property of verbs nor the time referred. However, the verbal forms in *ʔin*-clause depend on the speaker's perception about an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause. That is to say, the jussive indicates that a speaker suggests a possibility of an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause, whereas the perfect indicates that a speaker recognizes that an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause will be done.

5.2. The function of *kāna*

Reckendorf (1898: 689-690, 695) and Brockelmann (1913: 637, 643) state that *kāna* combined with the perfect refers the past time and *kāna* combined with the imperfect is a marker of conditional clause. However, if we accept their statements the function of *kāna* contradicts to that of *ʔin*, and then a difference between “*ʔin* + perfect” and “*ʔin* + *kāna* + perfect” seems obscure.

This paper presents the following points concerning *kāna* of *ʔin*-clause.

- 1) *kāna* does not refer the preterite under any circumstances.
- 2) The verbal form of *kāna* depends on the speaker's perception about an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause.
- 3) The speaker's perceptions in simple verbs and complex verbal forms are summarized into Table III.

We will take up *qāla* (to say) to make clear the speaker's perceptions.

<i>ʔin yaqul</i>	If there is a possibility that he will say
<i>ʔin qāla</i>	If it is true that he will say
<i>ʔin yakun yaqūlu</i>	If there is a possibility that a influence of his utterance will exist actually
<i>ʔin kāna yaqūlu</i>	If it is true that he will continue to say
<i>ʔin kāna qāla</i>	If there is a possibility that he will continue to say

6. The verbal forms used in *ʔin*-clause in the Classical Arabic

In this section, we will examine the verbal forms used in *ʔin*-clause in the Classical

Table III

<i>ʔin</i> -clause	Speaker's perception			
	Reality	Possibility	Continuity	Influence of change
<i>ʔin</i> + the juss.	—	+	—	—
<i>ʔin</i> + the perf.	+	—	—	—
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>yakun</i> + the imperf.	—	+	+	—
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>kāna</i> + the imperf.	+	—	+	—
<i>ʔin</i> + <i>kāna</i> + the perf.	+	—	—	+

Arabic to compare with those of Qur'ānic Arabic, namely the Pre-Classical Arabic.

6.1. Relation between verbal forms and speaker's perception

At first several verbal forms used in *ʔin*-clause of typical prosaic Arabic literatures in the Classical Arabic listed below, then usage of these verbal forms are examined.

[ʔin + the jussive]

19) ʔin	taltamis	riḏā	jamīʔi	an-nāsi	taltamis	mā	lā	yudraku
conj.	juss.	acc.	gen.	def.-	juss.	rel.	neg.	indica.
	2.m.sg.	m.sg.	m.sg.	gen.coll.	2.m.sg.			3.m.sg.
	if	request	agreement	all	people	request	what	not reach

If you require the agreement of all people, you require what does not reach an agreement. (al-Muqaffa', n.d.: 70)

[ʔin + the perfect]

20) ʔin	istašarta	ar-rijāla	ṣahara	li-an-nāsi	min-ka	al-ḥājatu	ʔilā	raʔyi
conj.	pref.	def.-	perf.	prep.-def.-	prep.-	def.-	prep.	gen.
	2.m.sg.	acc.m.pl	3.m.sg.	gen.coll.	pro.2.m.sg.	nom.f.sg.		m.sg.
	if	ask for advice	man	appear	to people	from you	need	to opinion
		ḡayri-ka						
	gen.m.sg.-pro.2.m.sg.							
	another you							

If you ask someone for advice your need of help will become known in public. (Ibid, n.d.: 70)

[ʔin + yakun + the perfect]

21) ʔin	taku	qad	ʔašābat-kum	mušibatun	fī	ʔikwāni-kum	bi-dunūbi-kum	fa-qad
conj.	juss.	adv.	perf.3.f.sg.-		prep.	gen.m.pl.-	prep.-gen.m.pl.-	conj.-adv.
	3.f.sg.		pro.2.m.pl.	nom.f.sg.		pro.2.m.pl.	pro.2.m.pl.	
	if	be	already	attack you	misfortune	in	brother you	with sin you and already
	ʔašābtum	miṭlay-hā	qablu	min	ʔaduwwi-kum			
	suf.2.m.pl.	acc.m.du.-pro.3.f.sg.	prep.	prep.	gen.m.pl.-pro.2.pl.			
	attack	double it	not	from	enemy you			

Though a catastrophe befell you in the death of your brethren because of your sins, before that you had smitten your enemy with double that (I. Hiš III, 125, 3)

[ʔin + kāna + the perfect]

22) ʔin	kāna	nahā	ʔan	qatl-ī	qad	kuntu	ʔablaytu-hū	dālika
conj.	perf.	perf.	prep.	gen.m.sg.-	adv.	perf.	perf.1.sg.-	dem.m.sg.
	3.m.sg.	3.m.sg.		pro.1.sg.		1.sg.	pro.3.m.sg.	
	if	be	forbid	about	killing my	already	be	try him that

If he forbade killing me, I have done everything possible to deserve it of him. (Wāq I, 80, 13)

[ʔin + kāna + S-P]

23) fa-ʔātī-him	fa-ʔaḏāu	dālika	fī-him	tumma	ʔuqbilu	ʔilay-ka	ʔin	šāʔa
conj.-indica.1.sg.-	conj.-	dem.	prep.-		conj.	indica.	prep.-	conj.
pro.3.m.pl.	indica.1.sg.	m.sg.	pro.3.m.sg.		1.sg.	pro.2.m.sg.	conj.	perf.
and go them	and put	that	in them	then	near	to you	if	wish
allāhu	fa-ʔin	ʔalḥaq-ka	fa-wa-allāhi	la-ʔakūnanna	min	ʔanšāri-ka	qāla	fa-ʔin
nom.	conj.-	juss.1.sg.-	conj.-conj.-	adv.-		gen.m.pl.-	perf.	conj.-
m.sg.	conj.-	pro.2.m.sg.	gen.m.sg.	ereng.1.sg.	prep.	pro.2.m.sg.	3.m.sg.	conj.

God and if follow you and and God verily be from supporter you say and if
kunta fāʕilan fa-ʕajjil I will go and give it to them. Then I will go to you,
 perf. acc. conj.- God willing, and if I reach you, by God, I will be one
 2.m.sg. m.sg. imper.2.m.sg. of your supporters. He said: “If that is what you intend
 be doer then quickly to do, then do it quickly.” (Ṭab II/1, 305, 2)

- 24) *lā yatamannayanna ʔaḥadu-kum al-mawta min ḍurrin ʔaṣāba-hū fa-ʔin kāna*
 neg. energ.3.m.sg. nom.m.sg.- def.- gen. perf.3.m.sg.- conj.- perf.
 not wish someone you death then harm hit him and if be
lā budda fāʕilan fa-li-yaquli allāhumma...
 neg. acc.m.sg. acc.m.sg. conj.-adv.-juss.3.m.sg. acc.m.sg.
 not escape doer and verily say God

No one of you should ever wish death to himself because of hardship that may hit him; and if one cannot help it, one should say: “O God...” (Buḳ IV, 48, 6)

The verbal forms used in 19) ~ 24) and speaker’s perception are indicated in Table IV.

Table IV

Exp	Verbal forms	Speaker’s perception	Possibility	Reality
19)	jussive (ʔin <i>taltamis</i>)	the possibility that you have an occasion to request an agreement	+	—
20)	perfect (ʔin <i>istaṣarta</i>)	the possibility that you have an occasion to ask for someone	+	—
21)	jussive (ʔin <i>taku qad ʔaṣābat</i>)	the recognition that a influence of misfortune will exist	—	+
22)	perfect (ʔin <i>kāna nahā</i>)	the recognition that influence of his prohibition will exist	—	+
23)	perfect (ʔin <i>kunta fāʕilan</i>)	the recognition that you will do	—	+
24)	perfect (ʔin <i>kāna lā budda fāʕilan</i>)	the possibility that you will do	+	—

6.2 The aspect indicated by the verbal form

In 19) a sermon is given to rulers. In this case, ruler’s request for an unanimous agreement may be only a possibility. Therefore the verbal form used in *ʔin*-clause is expected to be the jussive. And actually the jussive is used. In 22) it is premised that “He forbade killing me and in 23) it is premised that “You do your intended purpose.” Therefore both verbal forms are expected to be the perfect. And actually the perfect is used. In these examples the relation between verbal forms and speaker’s perception agrees with that in Qur’ānic Arabic. Although 20) is a sermon like 19), the verbal form is the perfect contrary to our expectation. Because, in 20) just only possibility that rulers ask someone advice is supposed. In 24) only a possibility that “someone gets into trouble” is supposed. Therefore the jussive is expected as a verbal form, nevertheless actually the perfect is used, while in

21) “A catastrophe befall you” is premised, even so, the jussive is used.

As we have seen, it seems that the jussive and the perfect are used in *ʔin*-clause without any difference, and in the course of time the perfect became a single verbal form of *ʔin*-clause. Consequently, verbal forms are likely to be irrelevant to speaker’s perception about an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause in the Classical Arabic.

7. Conclusion

Although a large number of previous studies have pointed out that either of the two verbal forms, the jussive or the perfect, is used, little is known about the difference in their meanings. Since the verbal form of *ʔin*-clause is considered as just only a marker of protasis and after that the perfect became a single form of *ʔin*-clause in the Classical Arabic. Contrary to the Classical Arabic, Qurʾānic Arabic distinguishes the usages of the jussive and the perfect.

This paper suggests that the verbal form of *ʔin*-clause in Qurʾānic Arabic is based on the speaker’s perception. In other words, the verbal form suggests how the speaker recognize an action/a situation of *ʔin*-clause. However in the very beginning of the Classical Arabic the jussive and the perfect became interchangeable, and finally the perfect seemed to settle into a standard verbal type of *ʔin*-clause.

Transcription

ء=ʾ ب=b ت=t ث=ṭ ج=j ح=h خ=k د=d ذ=d ر=r ز=z س=s ش=š ص=ṣ
ض=ḍ ط=ṭ ظ=ẓ غ=ġ ع=ġ ف=f ق=q ك=k ل=l م=m ن=n ه=h و=w ي=y

Abbreviation in the gloss lines

acc.	accusative	imper.	imperative	prep.	preposition
adv.	adverb	imperf.	imperfect	pro.	pro-noun
coll.	collective noun	indica.	indicative	prop.	proper noun
conj.	conjunction	juss.	jussive	rel.	relative pro-noun
def.	definite article	m.	masculine	sg.	singular
dem.	demonstrative pro-noun	neg.	negative	sub	subjunction
du.	dual	nom.	nominative	1.	first person
energ.	energetic	part.	particle	2.	second person
f.	feminine	perf.	perfect	3.	third person
gen.	genitive	pl.	plural		

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