DE GRUYTER MOUTON

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A typology of the Arabic system of MOOD

Abstract: This article is about the interpersonal side of the clause in Arabic. It more specifically studies all the different speech functions inherent in the exchange of meanings: offer, command (viz. proposals), statement, and question (viz. propositions). The main question that this article seeks to answer is how Arabic realizes these different speech functions through variations in MOOD choices. The purpose of the article is to fill a gap in the literature. In fact, there have not been many major attempts to describe the Arabic system of MOOD in the reference grammars of Arabic. Although this article defines the delimitation of the system of MOOD in Arabic from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics, it also draws from the work of earlier Arab grammarians which has been either ignored or misinterpreted for centuries. For the purpose of this study, dialogic texts from various sources have been analysed including scenes from movies, plays, novels, and *The Noble Quran*. The findings show that the system of MOOD in Arabic is different from its English counterpart and from that of other languages.

1 Introduction

This article studies dialogic negotiation in Arabic in order to define the systemic organization of MOOD options and their mode of realization. The Arabic system of MOOD is the main resource for construing dialogic exchanges. An exchange in systemic functional grammar is about "giving or demanding" a commodity. This commodity can be either "goods-&-services" or "information". Goods-&-services are exchanged through proposals (offers and commands). As to information, it is exchanged through propositions (statements and questions). The paradigmatic nuances that characterize each exchange type define the basic parameters of the semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION (Teruya et al. 2007). In general, goods-&-services are more "concrete"

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and exist independently of language. In offers and commands, language serves to facilitate the exchange of goods-&-services whereas information is more abstract and exists through language. In statements and questions, the commodity of exchange is constituted in language. The level of abstraction that characterizes information exchange may explain why children learn to exchange goods-&-services first but that is another issue beyond the scope of this paper (cf. Halliday [1984] for more about this point).

The system of MOOD in Arabic, like its counterpart in many other languages (cf. Geng 2022; Lai and Geng 2023; Li 2023; Matthiessen 2004; Teruya et al. 2007; Teruya 2017), operates at clause rank and is the core of the interpersonal metafunction. It covers the sum of grammatical resources for enacting the aforementioned exchanges. This study is based on a comprehensive, text-centered and meaning-oriented systemic functional approach where generalizations about a language system are defined in terms of the global dimensions of stratification, instantiation, and metafunction, and the local dimensions of axis and rank. This article will start with a brief literature review before analyzing a dialogic passage to highlight the interpersonal aspects of language in an actual dialogic exchange. Once these main aspects are highlighted then the next step is to look from below and examine the main elements responsible for carrying a dialogic exchange forward. Once the clause is looked at from below, the section after that will look at the clause from round about that is it will look at the system of MOOD and the different modes of its realization. The advantage of looking at the system from these angles is that one gets to also see how the interpersonal system interacts with the textual and experiential ones.

2 Research background

This article is an important contribution to the description of the system of MOOD in Arabic. In fact, most of the recent reference grammars of Modern Standard Arabic (cf. Cantarino 1974; Carter et al. 2004; Holes 2004; Ryding 2005) have not touched on this aspect of interpersonal exchange construed by the clause. One of the reasons maybe the fact that it is easier to follow main stream studies of Arabic and focus on common ground topics pertaining to structural aspects, such as clause structure, verbal classes, derivational patterns, connectives and conjunctions, prepositions etc. than explore notions that had been touched upon by early Arab grammarians and were quite unique to the Arab tradition and as such quite obscure and more challenging to explain and to develop.

Early Arab grammarians (e.g. Al-Jurjani n.d.;[1] Al-Mubarrad 1994; Assabti 1986; Azzamakhshari 2004; Ibn Aqeel 1980; Al-Ansari n.d.; Ibn Jinni 1957; Ibn Malek 1968; Sibawayh 1988) who lived approximatively between the 8th and 14th century A.D. had talked about the most basic unit that should form the nucleus of an exchange of information, i.e. the smallest unit necessary to understand a sentence. Overall, they all seemed to agree that while in a verbal sentence (VSO), it is the Subject + the verb, in a nominal sentence (SVO or NN), it is the theme and the rheme.[2] Sibawayh who lived in the 8th Century A.D. labelled these elements in his book ʾalkitāb which is considered by many as the first and ultimate source in traditional Arab grammar ʾalmusnad wa ʾalmusnad ʾilayhi ('the predicate and that which the predicate is assigned to'). Around the 4th century of the Arab calendar, which corresponds to the 10th century AD, onward Arab grammarians in their discussions of the nucleus of the "sentence" started calling ʾannawāt ʾalʾisnādiyya ('the predicating nucleus') which forms the main part of the sentence ʾalʿumda ('the Base') and the rest of the sentence ʾalfaḍla ('the Remainder/ Residue') (cf. Al-Istirbathi 1993; Al-Maliqi 2002; Al-Ukbari 1976; Assabti 1986; Assayyuti 1992; Ibn Assarraj 1985; Ibn Jinni 1957; Ibn Malek 1990; Ibn Yaaish n.d.).[3] Some (e.g. Salman 2009) say that it is Ibn Jinni who first used the term Residue. Others (cf. Bu Abbas 2016) say that it is Al-Mubarrab who first used it and before him Ibn Al-Muthanna (died 825 AD) who used the word faḍlun to mean something extra, not necessary. Arab grammarians also discussed predication in what they called ʾaǧǧumla ʾaṭṭalabiyya ('the requesting sentence'), which they divided to five or six types: negative and positive imperative, the interrogative, the vocative, offer and hope (cf. Al-Istirbathi 1993; Al-Maliqi 2002; Assayyuti 1992; Ibn Malek 1968). However, the main point here is not to argue about exactly who used these terms first or the extent to which the work of Arab grammarians differed from one another as this lays beyond the scope of this article (cf. Owens [1990] for more information about the topic. Although some of his views along with those of Versteegh [1993] would be strongly contested if presented to Arab scholars). The main point here is that although medieval Arab grammarians discussed many notions, which are fairly similar to those discussed by Halliday centuries later, their discussions appears to be quite fragmented at best as they had not fully set their discussions within a comprehensive theoretical paradigm similar to SFG, i.e. the exchange of goods-&-services. By keeping the terms "Base and Residue" (cf. Section 3 below), this article will not only pay homage at the unique work of Arab grammarians

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1 The dates of publication are quite misleading. In fact, Sibawayh died in 796 AD, Al-Mubarrad died in 898, Ibn Jinni in 1002, Al-Jurjani 1078, Azzamakhshari in 1143, Ibn Malek in 1274, Assabti in 1289, Ibn Hishem in 1360 and Ibn Aqeel in 1367.

2 The terms "sentence" and "theme and rheme" are used as per the Arab tradition (cf. Bardi 2008; Cantarino 1975; Owens 1988; Ryding 2005).

3 Here too the dates of publication are quite misleading as Ibn Assarraj died in 929 AD, Ibn Yaish in 1159, Al-Ukbari in 1219, Al-Maliqi in 1302, Al-Istirbathi in 1315 and Assayyuti in 1505.

but also aim to show how their work could potentially have been developed and expanded.

MOOD systems and their modes of realization have been studied in Systemic Functional linguistics for over thirty years now (cf. Bardi 2008; Caffarel 1996; Caffarel et al. 2004; Teruya 2007; Teruya et al. 2007 to name a few). This article is an addition to these studies, it has analysed a variety of genres e.g. plays, novels, newspaper articles, movie scenes and one man shows. The data chosen is mainly from dialogic texts. The unit of the analysis is the clause both free and bound i.e. independent and dependent, since it is these main clauses that serve as the domain of mood as defined by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). The article at rare occasions covers minor clauses too, just to highlight the potential of the Arabic language or compare it to English and other languages. Finally, regarding the glossing of the examples in Arabic, it is based on the Leipzig glossing rules as they are quite useful in clarifying the way the interpersonal MOOD realizations are construed in Arabic.[4] The article will start immediately after this section with a general overview of the interpersonal structure of the clause in Arabic through the analysis of a verbal exchange in a dialogic text taken from a novel and then it will discuss the different types of Mood and their realizations in the sections after that.

3 The Arabic MOOD system: a dialogic sample

The following is an extract from a novel called *A world without maps* (Munif and Jabra 2004). All the extra details in the narrative which are used to dramatize the dialogic exchange have been removed for the sake of practicality. The exchange is a back and forth between two characters, it will be used to illustrate how Arabic construes mood options in a dialogic exchange.

(1) *ʾiġfir*   *lī*   *ḍuʿfī*   *yāʿalāʾ* …
      forgive- IMP:2MSG   to-me   weakness.2MSG-my.POSS.GEN   o.VOC alaa.NOM
      Predicator-(SBJ)   Complement Complement   Vocative
      'Forgive my weakness, Alaa …'

(2) *ʾaḥaftinī*   *nāmī*   *ʾalʾāna.*
      scare-3FSG:PFV-me.OBJ.GEN   sleep-IMP:2FSG   DEF-now.ADV.ACC
      Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement   Predicator-(SBJ)   Adjunct
      Mood Base   Mood Base   Residue
      'You scared me … Go to sleep now.'

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4 The Leipzig glossing rules (https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php) are adapted to suit the characteristic of the Arabic language, which is a synthetic language. The first line of the transliteration is without hyphens as it is extremely hard at times to physically divide a word into clear cut separate morphemes.

(3) *ʾataʿrifu*   *man*   *ʾanā?*
Q.POLAR-2MSG:IPFV-know   who   I
Negotiator Predicator-(SBJ)   Complement   Subject
            Mood Base   Mood Base
'Do you know who I am?'

(4) *ʾanti*   *ʾimraʾaẗun*   *ʾaḫraǧtuhā*   *min ʾaḥadi ʾaḥlāmī ʾalqadīmaẗi.*
you   INDF.woman-   pull out-1SG:PFV-   from INDF.one-MSG.GEN dream-
           FSG.NOM   her.OBJ.ACC   FPL.my.POSS.GEN DEF-old-FSG.GEN
Subject   Predicator-(SBJ)-   Adjunct
                           Complement
                           Mood Base   Residue
           Complement
Mood Base
'You are a woman I pulled out of one of my old dreams.'

(5) *wa*   *lakinnaka*   *lā*   *taʿrifu*   *man*   *ʾanā*
and   but-you   NEG   2MSG:IPFV-know   who   I
(z)   (z) Subject   Neg   Predicator   Complement Subject
            Mood Base   Mood Base
'But you don't know who I am.'

(6) *ʾanti*   *ʾimraʾaẗun*   *ʾarādat*   *ʾan* *tarā*   *ʿayn faǧǧār …*
you   INDF.woman-FSG.NOM want-3FSG:PFV that   3FSG:SBJV-see   ain fajjar
Subject   Predicator-(SBJ) (z)   Predicator-(SBJ) Complement
                           Mood Base   Mood Base   Residue
           Complement
Mood Base
'You are a woman who wanted to visit Ain-Fajjar …'

(7) *ʿalā'*   *ʿalā'*   *ʾa*   *lam*   *tafham*   *baʿd?*
alaa   alaa   Q.POLAR   NEG   2MSG:JUSS-understand yet-ADV
Vocative   Vocative   Negotiator   Neg   Predicator-(SBJ)   Adjunct
                                             Mood Base   Residue
'Alaa, Alaa. Haven't you understood yet?'

(8) *māḏā*   *ʾafhamu*   *hal*   *tarakti*   *lī*   *ʿaqlan*   *ʾafhamu*   *bihi*
Q.what   1SG:IPFV-   Q.POLAR leave-   to-me   INDF.brain- 1SG:IPFV-   with-he
          understand   2FSG:PFV   MSG.ACC   understand
Comple-   Predicator- Negot-   Predicator- Comple-   Predicator- Adjunct
ment   (SBJ)   iator   (SBJ)   ment   (SBJ)
                                                                Mood Base   Residue
                                                    Complement
Residue Mood Base   Mood Base Residue
'Understand what? Have you left me a brain so I can understand?'

(9) ʾa   lam   taʿrifnī   baʿd
     Q.POLAR   NEG   2MSG:JUSS-know-me.OBJ.GEN   yet.ADV
     Negotiator Neg   Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement   Adjunct
                        Mood Base   Residue
     'Haven't you recognized me yet?'

(10) lam   ʾaʿrifki
      NEG   1SG:JUSS-know-you.OBJ.3FSG.GEN
      Neg   Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement
      Mood Base
      'I haven't.'

(11) ʾanā   ʾibnaᵗu šihāb ḫālid ʾadham
      I   INDF.daughter-FSG.NOM shihab khalid adham
      Subject Complement
      Mood Base
      'I am the daughter of Shihab Khaled adham.'

(12) hakaḏā!   wa   bihaḏihi ʾassurʿaᵢ!
      like-that.ADV.ACC and   with-this.3FSG.GEN DEF-speed-FSG.GEN
      Adjunct   (z)   Adjunct
      Residue
      'Like that! And this fast!'

(13) ʾanā   mumaṯṯilaᵗun ǧayyidaᵗun   ʾa-   lastu   kaḏalika?
      I   INDF.actress-FSG.NOM INDF.good- Q.POLAR   NEG COPULA-I   so.ADV.ACC
                                   FSG.ADJ.NOM
      Subject Complement   Negotiator NEGCOP-SBJ Adjunct
      Mood Base   Mood tag
      'I am a good actress, aren't I?'

(14) wa   lakinnaki   ġayru muqniʿaᵢn
      and   but-you.3FSG.GEN   not INDF.convincing-FSG.GEN
      (z)   (z)-Subject   Complement
             Mood Base
      'But you are not convincing'

(15) ġayru muqniʿaᵢn?   ʾa   tadrī   limāḏā?
      not INDF.convincing-FSG.GEN Q.POLAR   2MSG:IPFV-know   Q.WHY
      Complement   Negotiator Predicator-(SBJ) Adjunct
      Residue   Mood Base   Residue
      'Not convincing? Do you know why?'
      (Munif and Jabra 2004: 202–203)

The dialogic exchange above offers a comprehensive illustration of how Arabic congruently construes the declarative, interrogative and imperative. It contains different examples of speech functions, namely statement (e.g. Examples 4, 5, and 6), question (e.g. Examples 3, 7, and 8) and command (e.g. Examples 1 and 2). It sheds some light on the proto-typical elements in the clause that realize exchanges of information and goods-&-services. Generally speaking, in statements and questions, the declarative and interrogative structures of the clause include three elements that keep recurring and which form "the main block". These elements are the Subject, "the Finite" and the Predicator. They are necessary for the realization of the statement, carrying the exchange forward and also giving the clause its negotiatory value. In the imperative clause only the Predicator is needed. However, since the Predicator is marked for Subject, this means that both are an integral part of construing the imperative.

The beginning of Example (2) shows the synthetic fusional nature of Arabic. It demonstrates how a clause can be just a single inflectional word denoting multiple syntactic/semantic features. In fact, just the very first word construes a clause by itself, it is made of a Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement *ʾaḫaftanī* ('you scared me'). This characteristic is of particular importance and will come up later in the discussion about the Mood elements (cf. Section 4.2).

Another important point which will be discussed further in Section 5.1.2 is the role of intonation in construing the interrogative and the exclamative. In fact, the first segment in Example (15), which construes a polar interrogative and Example (12) which construes an exclamation are no different in terms of structure from Examples (10) or (11) which construe statements. Some of the clauses in both examples are elliptical but what they lack in words they make up for in intonation. Like in Spanish and French (cf. Teruya et al. 2007), the prototypical means of the realization of Mood types is intonation. The declarative is realized by a falling tone, the polar interrogative by a rising tone and so is the exclamative. Just for the sake of clarity, Example (12) construes mock surprise and disbelief not a typical exclamative. Saying that intonation is the prototypical means for prosodic expressions does not mean that it is the only means to construe these different Mood types. Like French (cf. Teruya et al. 2007), Arabic needs more than intonation at times to realize other types, for instance juncture prosody is essential in construing elemental interrogatives.

In regards to the clause as an interpersonal move, as mentioned above there is a block that is necessary in carrying the dialogic exchange forward. This block will be referred to as the Base or the Mood Base. This term is inspired by the work of classical Arabic grammarians, who state, as mentioned earlier (cf. Section 2), that each clause typically has a predicative nucleus which forms its backbone. This predicative nucleus is made of Subject or a Theme also called *musnad ʾilayhi* ('attributed to') and a verb/Rheme also called *musnad* ('attribute or added to'). Both form what Arab

grammarians called *ʾalʿumda* ('the Base – the backbone') of the clause. Everything else is called *ʾalfaḍla* 'Residue' (cf. Al-Istirbathi 1993; Al-Maliqi 2002; Al-Ukbari 1976; Assabti 1986; Assayyuti 1992; Ibn Assarraj 1985; Ibn Jinni 1957; Ibn Malek 1990; Ibn Yaaish n.d.). The extensive interpersonal structure of the Arabic clause typically consists of: [Negotiator] ^ [Predicator 1-(SBJ)] ^ [Subject] ^ Predicator 2-(SBJ) ^ [Complement] ^ [Adjunct] as in Example (16).

(16)	*lam*	*takun*	*hudā*	*tazūrunā*	*ḫilāla ʾalfatraẗi ʾalʾūlā baʿda ʾassiǧni.*
	NEG	3FSG:JUSS-be	huda-ACC	3FSG:IPFV-visit-us.OBJ.ACC	during DEF-period-FSG.GEN DEF-first-FSG.ACC after DEF-prison-MSG.GEN
	Neg	Predicator 1	Subject	Predicator 2-Complement	Adjunct
	Mood Base			Residue	

'Huda didn't use to visit us during the first period [her fiancé spent] in jail.' (Munif 2001: 146)

Some of the terms which have been used in the description of other languages especially English will not be used in the description of Arabic. In fact, as Arabic is a different language from English, using the same terminology which is used in describing English will give a false impression that one is trying to force foreign concepts on a language that is inherently different. I am referring in particular to the 'Finite'. In Arabic, the first verbal group exhibits characteristics that are different from those in other European languages (please cf. Caffarel's description of French [1996]; Steiner and Teich's description of German [2004]; the description of Spanish in Teruya et al. [2007] and Bardi's description of Arabic [2008, 2022]). With the exception of *kāna* (and another handful of auxiliaries), the remaining verbal groups occurring in intial position, though instrumental in construing phase and modality, play a very limited role in construing time like their counter part say in French or Spanish. As to polarity, it is important to note that quite often it is either the first – Examples (17) and (20) – or the second verbal group – Examples (18) and (19) – that can be preceded by a negative particle (cf. Cantarino [1974: 108, 1975: 115]), unlike languages such as English for instance which mainly relies on the auxiliary/Finite to construe negation. The term Predicator is used in this description of Arabic instead because it is more neutral than Finite.

(17)	*lam*	*yakun*	[*ǧadāʾunā*]	*yaḥtamilu*	*ʾakṯara min ʿašri daqāʾiqa*
	NEG	3MSG:JUSS-be	lunch-MSG-our.POSS.ACC	3MSG:IPFV-endure	more of INDF.ten-FSG.GEN INDF.minute-FPL.ACC
	Neg	Predicator 1	[Subject]	Predicator 2	Adjunct
	Mood Base			Residue	

'Our lunch lasted no more than 10 min.' (Munif 2001: 43)

(18) *kānat*   [*'ummī*]   *lā tad̲kuru*   *fī 'al'ayyāmi   'illā rağab.*
                                                          'al'aẖīraẗi

      be-   mother-FSG-   NEG 3FSG:IPFV-mention in DEF-day-FPL.GEN except rajab
      3FSG:PFV   my.POSS.GEN   DEF-last-FSG.GEN

      Predicator 1 [Subject]   Neg Predicator   Adjunct   Adjunct
      Mood Base   Residue

      'In her final days, my mum didn't talk about anybody a part from Rajab.'
      (Munif 2001: 77)

(19) *yağibu*   *'an lā na'ẖuḍa*   *binnaẓariyyāti.*
      3MSG:IPFV-be-obligatory   that NEG 1PL:SBJV-take   with-DEF-theory-FPL.GEN
      Predicator 1-(modal: (z) Neg Predicator 2-(SBJ) Adjunct
      obligation)
      Mood Base   Residue

      'We must **not use** theories.'
      (Al-Haj Ahmed 2003: 16)

(20) *lā yağibu*   *'an takūna*   *fī 'aydī 'alluṣūṣi wa 'alfasaqaẗi wa*
                                               'almuğrimīna wa ğayri 'al'uqalā'i.

      NEG 3MSG:IPFV-be- that 3FSG:SBJV-   in INDF.hand-FPL.GEN DEF-thief-MPL.GEN
           obligatory   be   and DEF-degenerate-MPL.GEN and
                                               DEF-criminal-MPL.ACC and not DEF-
                                               mature-MPL.GEN

      Neg Predicator 1- (z) Predicator   Adjunct
           (modal: 2-(SBJ)
           obligation)
      Mood Base   Residue

      'It must not fall in the hands of thieves, degenerates, criminals and
      immature.'
      (Masud and Jumua 1991: 335)

The second verbal group in a verbal group complex is a lexical verb that construes the event. Not the first though, which typically construes modality, phase and temporality. Both predicators in this sense complement each other. While the first is lacking in terms of construing the event, the second is lacking in terms of construing modality and phase. To differentiate between both in this article, the first will be called Predicator 1 and the second Predicator 2. The term Negotiator refers to negative as well as polar interrogative particles, that is any particle that has a role in construing polarity and the interrogative (c.f. Bardi [2008] for more information about the negative particles in Arabic and their role in construing polarity, temporal values, modality viz. propositions and proposals in general).

To conclude, through the examples above one can see how speech functions are realized by different MOOD options, namely statement by the declarative, command by the imperative, and asking for information by the interrogative. Even though a part of the terminology is inspired by the work of medieval Arab grammarians, most of the work on the interpersonal metafunction is based on Halliday's work. The next section will look into the interpersonal structure of the clause more thoroughly.

4 The interpersonal structure of the Arabic clause: a look from below

There are three main elements in the interpersonal structure of the clause responsible for carrying the exchange forward. Each plays a major role in the realization of the indicative mood (i.e. the declarative, interrogative and exclamative). These are the Subject, Predicator 1/(Finite equivalent) and Predicator 2. They constitute the backbone of the clause, what is called the "Mood Base" in this description of Arabic. All the other elements which fall outside this block constitute the "Residue". Each of these main elements will be dealt with briefly below.

4.1 The Subject

The Subject can be realized by a nominal group as in Example (16) or (17), a free-standing pronoun as in Example (13) or as a cliticized pronoun attached to the verbal group as in Example (1) or (2). It can also be attached to a coordinating (*) or subordinating conjunction as in Example (5*). Looking from below, from the structural end of the system, it is difficult to define the Subject solely based on its positioning in the clause, as it can be located before the verb (SVO) or after it (VSO), or albeit less frequently towards the end of the clause (VOS) as in Example (21). This could be one of the reasons why Arab grammarians came up with two different 'defining concepts' when they tried to describe this role. They called the one in VSO clauses ʾalfāʿil ('the doer') and they called the other in SVO clauses ʾalmubtadāʾ ('Theme'). Halliday's theory in this sense solves centuries old notional conflict in the work of Arab grammarians as it manages to put all those notions within a cohesive paradigm.

(21)

'innamā	*yaḫšā*	*'Allaha*	*min 'ibādihi*	*'al'ulamā'u.*
indeed-that	3FSG:IPFV-fear	Allah-ACC	from people-MPL-his.POSS.GEN	DEF-scholar-MPL.NOM
(z)	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct	Subject
		Residue		
	Mood Base			

'Those truly fear Allah, among His Servants, who have knowledge.'
(*The Noble Quran* 35: 28) – Yusuf Ali's translation.

An efficient way of defining Subject would be to adapt a "trinocular perspective as per the stratificational model of language" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 119). However, as there is a difference in the way languages construe the clause, this notion may be applicable to some languages in a more straightforward manner than it is to others, especially when it comes to the view from below. As mentioned, Arabic has two major types of clause structures, namely VSO and SVO, a fact that puts Arabic in the group of languages whose Subject is hard to define, especially when looked at from below.

In SFG the view from round about consists of looking at the same elements in the clause but in different metafunctional surroundings. In English, for instance, Subject from round about is the element that combines with the Finite to form the Mood element in the interpersonal metafunction, and it is the same element that is the unmarked Theme in the textual metafunction. When this is applied to Arabic, Subject or *'almusnad 'ilayh* would be that element which combines with the Predicator in a VSO clause to form the Mood element/the Base; it is equivalent to *'alfā'il* and *nā'ib 'alfā'il*, depending on whether the clause is active or passive. But, unlike English, it is not the unmarked Theme in this context, but rather part of the Rheme as in Example (22) (cf. Bardi 2008). This means that in order to fully define Subject, the view from above needs to be considered too.

(22)

ğā'a	*ḥāmidu*	*ba'da 'alġurūbi*	*bisā'aïn.*
come-3MSG:PFV	hamid-NOM	after DEF-sunset-MSG.GEN	by-INDF.hour-FSG.GEN
Predicator	Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct
Mood Base		Rheme	
Theme	Rheme		

'Hamed returned 1 h after sunset.'
(Munif 2001: 217)

From above, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 119): define Subject as the element that "carries modal responsibility, the responsibility for the validity of what is being predicated, stated, questioned, commanded or offered in the clause". In Arabic, this is by far the best spot to look from to define what Subject is. In fact, in spite of structural variations, in all active clauses, the Subject remains semantically unaffected.

Regardless whether the clause is verbal or nominal, the Subject is the one responsible for the validity of what is being stated, the one around whom what is being predicated revolves.

In cases where the passive is used, a participant other than the Agent – (the deputy-Agent in the Arab tradition) – is the one which has modal responsibility assigned to it. In clauses with more than one Complement, there may be a shift in focus depending on which Complement takes the place of the Subject. However, in spite of this shift, it is clear that the validity of what is being stated rests on just one element in the clause, the Subject. In conclusion, the Subject in Arabic is not associated with just one fixed position as for instance its English counterpart, it can occur in clause initial position, or somewhere in the clause after the verbal group.

Customizing the trinocular stratificational perspective to Arabic is the most optimal means in this endeavour to define Subject. Looking from below is helpful in recognizing the Subject (however it should not be totally relied upon). Looking from round about provides more focus. From this position, traditional Arab grammar could be of some help, especially in terms of the work carried out on predication. Although, the view from round about gets us closer to defining what Subject is, it is the view from above which remains by far the best position. In other words, semantics rather than structure or position should be relied upon in one's attempt to define what Subject is. There is one final point I would like to add in conclusion. Arab grammarians call the Subject *ʾalfāʿil* and they also call it *ʾalmusnad ʾilayh.* I find the second term more neutral and more appropriate as it sums up the view from above in a fairly straightforward way.

4.2 The Finite versus the Predicator

The Predicator in Arabic is necessary in the realization of different mood options as well as in the negotiation process. It consists of a lexical verb realizing an event of doing, happening or being. It may conflate with the "Finite" as per Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) description of English when it is realized by a verbal group simplex as in Example (23).

(23)	*ʿāda*	*ʿiṣmatu*	*ʾilā ğawwi ʾalmaraḥi*	*marraẗan ʾuḫrā.*
	3MSG:PFV-	ismat.NOM	to INDF.atmosphere-MSG.GEN	INDF.time-FSG.ACC
	return		DEF-fun-MSG.GEN	INDF.other-FSG.ACC
	Predicator	Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct
	Mood Base		Residue	

'Ismat went back to having a fun time one more time.'
(Munif 2001: 56)

When the verbal group is complex, the first element may play a role similar to the auxiliary in some of the European languages e.g. French and English. In these situations, this auxiliary-like element will be the key element in making the clause arguable. It has its infixed Subject, it controls the temporal value of the clause as a whole etc. In this clause type, the second constituent of the verbal group, which mostly plays a limited part in the construal of the clause as an interpersonal move, will consequently be a part of the Residue as in Example (24).

(24) | *kānat* | *rūḥī* | *taḥtariqu* | *maʿa ʾarrasāʾili.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3FSG:PFV-be | soul.FSG-my.POSS.GEN | 3FSG:IPFV-burn | with DEF-letter-FPL.GEN |
| My soul used to burn with the letters | | | |
| Predicator 1 | Subject | Predicator 2 | Adjunct |
| Mood Base | | Residue | |

‘My soul used to burn with the letters.’
(Munif 2001: 55)

There are some cases where the burden of construing the interpersonal meaning may be shared by more than one Predicator. In fact when the verbal group is quite complex (cf. serial verb constructions in Bardi [2008, 2022]), while the first Predicator construes the temporal value, the second may construe modality. The least important part of the verbal group in this case is typically separated from the rest of the verbal group by the particle *ʾan* and is treated as part of the residue as in Example (25).

(25) | *lam* | *nakun* | *nastaṭīʿu* | *ʾan* | *nataǧawwala* … |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG | 1PL:JUSS-be | 1PL:IPFV-able | that | 1PL:SBJV-wander |
| Neg | Predicator 1-(SBJ)-temporal | Predicator 2-(modal: ability) | (z) | Predicator3 |
| Mood Base | | | Residue | |

‘We were not able to take a walk …’
(Munif 2001: 79)

Table 1 is about the major systems related to FINITENESS within the domain of the verbal group and which may be realized by either Predicator 1 or Predicator 2 or by both.

4.3 The Complement

The Complement is typically an element in the clause that has the potential to be Subject (Halliday 1994). There are instances where it plays a major role in the clause and other instances where its role is not as important. Consequently, depending on this, there are times where it is part of the Mood Base and others where it is part of

Table 1: Major systems at work at verbal group level.

SYSTEM	POLARITY	TEMPORAL VALUES (ASPECT + TENSE)		MODE	VOICE
Features + realization	Negative polarity is realized by a negative particle either before the auxiliary (Predicator 1) or before the event (Predicator 2)	Perfective or imperfective realized by the form of the verb servings as event or the auxiliary-like verbal group operator.	Time construed by particles and/or auxiliary-like verbal group (Predicator 1) and/or Event (Predicator 2).	Indicative perfect or imperfect, jussive subjunctive imperative typically by a verbal group simplex (i.e. a Predicator) + particles	Active/passive realized a Predicator.

the Residue. Listed below are a few instances where the Complement should be treated as a part of the Mood base:

(1) When the Complement occurs in a fully nominal clause (NN),[5] it should be treated as a part of the block that carries the exchange forward as in Example (26).

(26)	ʾanā	mumaṯṯilaẗun ǧayyidaẗun	ʾa-	lastu	kaḏalika?
	I	INDF.actress-FSG.NOM INDF.good-FSG.NOM	Q.POLAR	NEG COPULA-I	so.ADV
	Subject	Complement	Negotiator	NEG-COP-(SBJ)	Adjunct
	Mood Base		Mood Tag		

'I am a good actress, aren't I?'
(Munif and Jabra 2004: 203)

There are two points which Example (26) makes clear. First, how in these nominal clauses the meaning is incomplete and totally obscure without the Complement (I …). Second, in seeking confirmation about the statement she made, the female character uses a question tag which mainly consists of a negative copula (NEG-COP) that is a verb-like negative word + an adverbial element. The use of the copula highlights

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5 The distinction between nominal and verbal clauses has been focused on too much in the Arab tradition for understandable reasons, i.e. if we look from below that is from the structure end of the system, it is the first feature that grabs the attention (clauses with verbal groups vs. others without). However, if we view clauses "from roundabout" and "from above", then "nominal clauses" will turn out to be just one pattern of realization in 'relational' and existential clauses – i.e. relational or existential clauses unmarked in terms of aspect and polarity.

an important fact about the nature of nominal clauses (cf. footnote 5). The example also gives an idea about Tags in Arabic, which typically are an invitation to agree (isn't it so? or isn't he/she/I/they so?). They are more similar to the French tag *n'est ce pas?* than the English one (Finite + Subject). In fact, tags in English rely on Mood Elements and are more of an attempt to get confirmation about the statement than an invitation to agree about the statement.

(2) The Complement may be construed by an affix – a pronoun tied to the verbal group. In this situation, the Complement becomes a part of the block responsible for carrying the argument forward. In fact, in arguing about the validity of the statement, the nominal group construing complement in the initial clause is often replaced by an affixed pronominal in the ensuing clause as in the short exchange below.

(27)

lā	*lam*	*yaqtulū*	**_hādī_**	*'anta*	*tatawahham!*
NEG	NEG	3MPL:JUSS-kill	hedi	you.2MSG	3MSG:IPFV-hallucinating
Neg	Neg	Predicator-(SBJ)	Complement	Subject	Predicator
Mood Base			Residue	Mood Base	

'No, they haven't killed Hedi. You are hallucinating!'
(Munif 2001: 142)

(28)

*qatalū**hu*** …	*qatalū**hu*** …	*qatalū**hu*** …
kill-3MPL:PFV-OBJ-him.NOM	kill-3MPL:PFV-OBJ-him.NOM	kill-3MPL:PFV-OBJ-him.NOM
Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement	Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement	Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement
Mood Base	Mood Base	Mood Base

'They killed him … They killed him … They killed him …'
(Munif 2001: 142)

When the Complement is construed by a free-standing nominal group, it is part of the Residue as in Example (27). The reason is that its role then is less crucial in arguing about the validity of the statement than when it is construed by a pronominal form. Said form is typically tied to the verbal group, making them one component hard to split up. Languages with a synthetic fusional nature similar to Arabic have the potential to use different inflectional morphemes to represent a variety of syntactic and semantic features in one component.

To conclude, at its most basic the interpersonal structure of the clause responsible for carrying the exchange forward i.e. the Mood Base may be construed by just the Subject + the Predicator. The Predicator may be construed by a verbal group complex or simplex. When it is construed by a verbal group simplex the Predicator conflates with 'the Finite' and both construe the Mood Base. However, when the

verbal group is complex, the Predicator is split into two elements i.e. Predicator 1 and Predicator 2. In this situation the Mood Base is construed by Subject + Predicator 1 which plays a role similar to that of the Finite in other languages such as English. The Mood Base may be construed by Subject and a Complement in polarity and temporality unmarked relational clauses. It may also be construed by one fused component viz. a Subject + a Predicator + a Complement (i.e. Predicator-(SBJ)-Complement). Table 2 is an attempt to account for the potential realization of different Mood types and the placement of different elements within these interpersonal clauses.

The Parentheses are for elements which may not be there. Some are not essential, others are already present under a different form e.g. the Subject.

5 Mood types and their realizations in Arabic

The system of MOOD grammaticalizes speech functions. In Arabic like in many other languages, (cf. Caffarel et al. 2004; Teruya et al. 2007), the primary contrast in this system is between 'indicative' and 'imperative' that is the exchange of information (proposition) and the exchange of goods-&-services (proposal). Within the 'indicative' clauses, the main systemic contrast is between giving information which is enacted by the 'declarative and demanding information which is enacted by the 'interrogative'. As discussed earlier, from below Arabic may seem not to differentiate between most of the mood types. The imperative and the indicative for instance may start with a verbal group. A thematically marked imperative may even start with a nominal group similar to an indicative SVO clause. The position of the Subject and the verb i.e. grammatical prosody, which is essential in a language like English is not that relevant in Arabic. The realizations of mood types in Arabic is mainly prosodic that is realized by phonological prosody i.e. intonation/pitch movement. There is also juncture prosody which consists of mood particles occurring initially at the boundary of the clause (cf. Matthiessen 1995: 464) which is quite important in construing the elemental interrogative type. The sections below will discuss and highlight the variation and relevance of the different mood type realizations (cf. Figure 1 for a general idea about different MOOD systems in Arabic).

5.1 The indicative

As just mentioned, within the 'indicative', the main systemic contrast is between giving information which is enacted by the 'declarative and demanding information which is enacted by the 'interrogative'.

Table 2: Mood types and their potential realization.

MOOD	Possible realizations						
Indicative							
Declarative							
SVO	(Subject)	(Comment Adjunct)	(Predicator 1)	(Operator)	(Predicator 2)	(Complement)	(Adjunct)
Interrogative							
VSO	(Neg)	(Predicator 1)	(Subject)	(Neg)	(Predicator 2)	(Complement)	(Adjunct)
Elemental	Q-word	(Neg)	Predicator[a]	(Subject)	(Complement)	(Adjunct)	
Polar	(Q-Polar)	(Neg)[b]	Predicator[a]	(Subject)	(Complement)	(Adjunct)	
Exclamative[c]	Exclamative particle		Adjectival form/Complement	Subject	(Complement)		
Imperative							
Negative	Neg	Predicator[a]	(Complement)	(Adjunct)			
Positive	Predicator[a]	(Complement)	(Adjunct)				

[a]Predicators in Arabic bear the mark of the Subject i.e. Predicator-(SBJ), which means that the Subject is always there even if it is not physically apparent. [b]Negative polar interrogative are possible only with one Q-Polar particle ʾa, with the other particle hal polarity is positive. As mentioned, the polar interrogative particle is optional, even in negative polar interrogative. [c]The exclamative may be realized by just a statement with rising intonation. In these cases, the exclamative expresses surprise or astonishment rather than actual exclamation. Arab grammarians would treat the exclamative, as an SVO clause. They would argue that the adjectival form is an invariable perfect verb that takes the form of the verbal pattern ʾafʿala. They would treat the exclamative particle as a pronominal group which functions as Subject/Theme, the rest of the clause, that is the adjectival form, as a Predicate/Rheme and the nominal group (free standing)/pronominal form (bound) as a Complement (cf. Section 5.1.3).
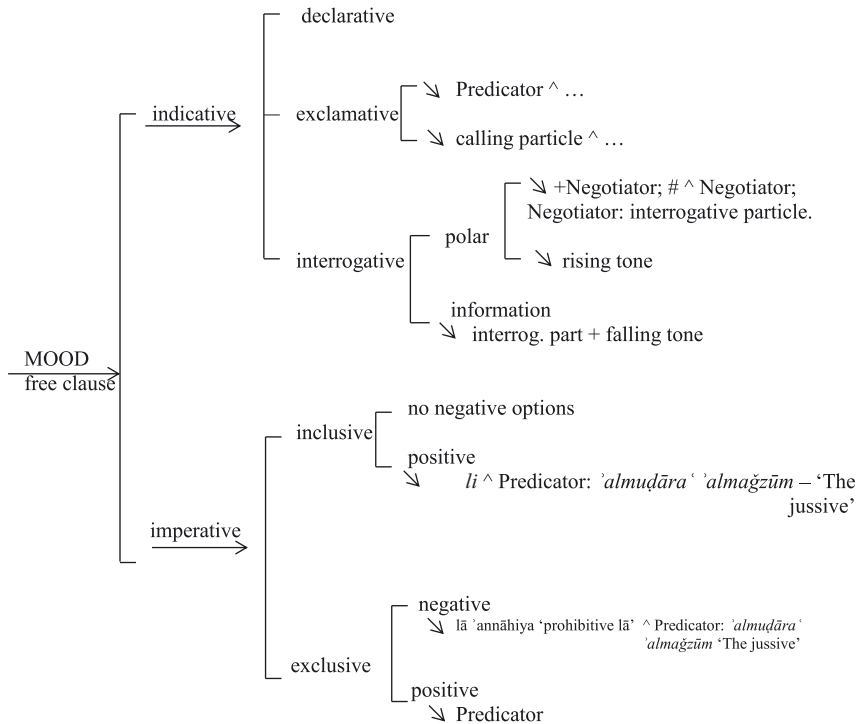
```
                          ┌─ declarative
                          │
                          │                  ┌─ ↘ Predicator ^ …
              ┌─ indicative →├─ exclamative ─┤
              │           │                  └─ ↘ calling particle ^ …
              │           │
              │           │                        ┌─ ↘ +Negotiator; # ^ Negotiator;
              │           │            ┌─ polar ────┤   Negotiator: interrogative particle.
              │           └─ interrogative ─┤        └─ ↘ rising tone
              │                        │
              │                        └─ information
              │                           ↘ interrog. part + falling tone
  MOOD ─────→ │
  free clause │                        ┌─ no negative options
              │           ┌─ inclusive ─┤
              │           │             └─ positive
              │           │                ↘      li ^ Predicator: ʾalmuḍāraʿ ʾalmaǧzūm – 'The
              │           │                                                           jussive'
              └─ imperative →│
                          │             ┌─ negative
                          │             │  ↘ lā ʾannāhiya 'prohibitive lā' ^ Predicator: ʾalmuḍāraʿ
                          └─ exclusive ─┤                                   ʾalmaǧzūm 'The jussive'
                                        └─ positive
                                           ↘ Predicator
```

Figure 1: Primary MOOD systems in Arabic.

5.1.1 The declarative

The declarative is the congruent realization of statements. A statement is one of four SPEECH FUNCTIONS. The remaining three are offer, command and question. A statement can be either positive or negative. In Arabic statements may vary in structure, they can be SVO, VSO or NN (i.e. relational clauses unmarked for aspect or polarity).[6] This variation in clause structure is all about the way the speaker chooses to present information in a verbal exchange (cf. Bardi [2008] for more information).

    Interpersonally, in spite of this SVO-VSO variation in structure, the ultimate function of a statement is giving information or responding to a request for

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6 The distinction between nominal and verbal clauses has been focused on too much in the Arab tradition. Earlier descriptions of Arabic grammar tried to extensively study how these different 'clause types' are realized and highlight the contrast between clauses which are nominal (N+N, SVO) and those that are verbal (VSO). From the angle of the experiential semantics of the clause as a figure, 'nominal clauses' are just one pattern of realization in 'relational' and existential clauses unmarked in terms of aspect and polarity; the realization of the intersection of the unmarked terms in the systems of POLARITY and ASPECT (Matthiessen 2004).

information. As we mean through grammar, it should come as no surprise that the Mood Base is a dynamic unit which reflects what is going on in the clause as an interactive move. However, there are minor and major changes. For instance, notice the difference in the clause structure in the following two examples.

(29a)   *ḥaraǧat*   *ʾalkalimātu*   *min ʾafwāhinā*   *ṣalbaẗan.*

come.out-3FSG:PFV	DEF-word-FPL.NOM	from mouth.FPL-our.POSS.ACC	INDF.hard-FSG.ACC
Predicator	Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct
Mood Base		Residue	

‘The words came out of our mouths hard.’
(Munif 2001: 124)

(29b)   *min ʾafwāhinā*   *ʾalkalimātu*   *ḥaraǧat*   *ṣalbaẗan.*

from mouth.FPL-our.POSS.ACC	DEF-word-FPL.NOM	come.out-3FSG:PFV	INDF.hard-FSG.ACC
Adjunct	Subject	Predicator	Adjunct
	Mood Base		
Residue			

‘Out of our mouths, the words came hard.’
(adapted from Munif 2001: 124)

At first look the clause structure may give the impression that these clauses are very different i.e. construing two different functions. However, when we look closer, it will become clear that although the order in which the elements of the Mood Base is different, both examples are construed by the same elements (Subject + Predicator). In Arabic, this means that ultimately the bottom line is the same and that the change in the form/structure, just signals a difference in focus, in what is deemed more news worthy (cf. Bardi [2008: Ch. 5] – the textual metafunction).

There are instances when the Mood Base would expand further and include an element in addition to the Subject + Predicator, i.e. typically a Complement. As mentioned, this element has the potential to be Subject and is often important in arguing about the validity of the clause as in Example (30).

(30)   *dafaʿanī*   *biyadin raqīqaẗin*   *ʾamāmahu.*

push-3MSG:PFV-me-OBJ.GEN	with-INDF.hand-FSG.GEN INDF.delicate-FSG.GEN	front-MSG-his.POSS.NOM
Predicator-(SBJ)- Complement	Adjunct	Adjunct
Mood Base	Residue	

‘He gently pushed me in front of him.’
(Munif 2001: 110)

In discussing the elements that are part of the Residue, Arab grammarians made it clear that they were not referring to elements that are essential in terms of the

completion of the meaning. They argued that there are instances when an Adjunct for example is necessary to complete the meaning of the clause. They argued that these elements are part of the Residue because the meaning can be construed without them (cf. Al-Samarrai 2000, 2007; Al-Sheikh 2009).[7] To make their point clear, they listed examples similar to Example (31).

(31) | *lā* | *tamši* | *fī ʾalʾarḍi* | *maraḥan* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NEG | 2MSG:IPFV-walk | in DEF-earth-FSG.GEN | INDF.exultant-MSG.ACC |
| Neg | Predicator | Adjunct | Adjunct |
| Mood Base | | Residue | |

    'and walk not in the earth exultant'
    (*The Noble Quran* 17: 37) – translation in Pickthall et al. (n.d.).

In Example (31), which by the way construes a proposal not a proposition, Arab grammarians argued that if we stop at the Subject + Predicator i.e. "Don't walk", the meaning would be incomplete or at least different from what is intended which proves that the Residue (more precisely the Adjunct in this case) is quite necessary in completing and clarifying the meaning; "Don't walk **overjoyed**" not just "don't walk". However, it should still be treated as part of the Residue as there is more to the elements of the Mood Base than just clarifying/completing the meaning.

    Finally, a statement may also be a metaphoric realization of other speech functions such as command as in Example (32).

(32) | *yağibu* | | *ʾan* | *nafala* | *šayʾan.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3MSG:IPFV-be.obligatory | | that | 1PL:SBJV-do | INDF.thing-MSG.ACC |
| Predicator 1-(modal: obligation) | (z) | | Predicator 2-(SBJ) | Complement |
| Mood Base | | Residue | | |

    'We have to do something.'
    (Munif 2001: 152)

It is not because this and other points have not been mentioned in this section that they are not important. It is just that this article is just an overview (cf. Bardi [2008] for a more extensive idea about modality and the clause as an interpersonal move).

5.1.2 The interrogative

Interrogatives typically realize questions – demands for information. Questions can be either "polar" or "elemental". "Polar" interrogatives are those in which the speaker would like to check the validity of a statement by seeking a "*yes/no*

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7 Here too, the publication dates may be misleading as both Al-Samarrai and Al-Sheikh examine notions discussed by early Arab grammarians. Al-Sheikh is also citing Al-Samarrai in his work.

response". Elemental interrogatives are those in which the speaker seeks to get some information about something – an entity, a place, a reason etc. Arabic has two ways of realizing the interrogative. The first is through the prosodic mode of expression – phonological prosody i.e. Tone contours. The second is through juncture prosody i.e. particles occurring at clause extremities – in case of Arabic typically in clause-initial position (cf. Matthiessen 1995: 462–465). The sections below will deal with the realization of both polar and elemental interrogatives.

5.1.2.1 Polar interrogative

Polar interrogatives are typically realized by an interrogative polar particle, either *ʾa* or *hal* as in Examples (33) and (34). Although the presence of these mood particles is important in the realization of polar questions, their role remains quite limited in the enactment of the clause as a move in an exchange, especially if one compares them to the role of the other constituents of the Mood Base or even the constituents of the Residue. Their contribution to the interrogative aspect of the clause can also be compromised by the fact that the speaker can choose not to use them and still the clause can be interrogative, as in Example (35). Their peripheral role in Arabic seems to be reinforced even further by the fact that *ʾa*, not *hal* though, can occur before the textual elements in the clause as in Example (36).

(33)	*hal*	*ʾaʿtabiru*	*haḏā*	*ʾiʿtirāfan?*
	Q.POLAR	1SG:IPFV-consider	this.DEM.MSG	INDF.confession-MSG.ACC
	Negotiator	Predicator-(SBJ)	Complement	Complement
		Mood Base	Residue	

'Should I consider this a confession?'
(Khal 2012: 109)

(34)	*ʾa*	*taḏkuru*	*ğumlaˇta fawwāz?*
	Q.POLAR	2MSG:IPFV-remember	INDF.sentence-FSG.ACC fawwaz.GEN
	Negotiator	Predicator-(SBJ)	Complement
		Mood Base	Residue

'Do you remember Fawwaz's sentence?'
(Khal 2012: 171)

(35)	*wa*	*saʾalti*	*ʿannī?*
	and	ask-3FSG:PFV	about-me
	(z)	Predicator-(SBJ)	Adjunct
		Mood Base	Residue

'And you asked about me?'
(Munif and Jabra 2004: 337)

(36)

ʾa	wa	hakaḏā	yaznā	ʾaddahru	bilʾamali ʾalbikri?
Q.POLAR	and	like-that	3MSG:IPFV-fornicate	DEF-time-MSG.NOM	with-DEF-hope-MSG.GEN DEF-virgin-MSG.GEN
Negotiator	(z)	Adjunct	Predicator Mood Base	Subject	Complement
			Residue		

'Is this how time defiles new hope?'
(Al-Mesadi 2000: 120)

There are quite a few differences between *ʾa* and *hal*. The most relevant in this context is their interaction or in case of *hal* the lack thereof with negative particles (cf. Bardi [2008] for more information). Examples (37) and (38) show that while the negative particle *lā* is typically used with *ʾa* to construe a negative polar question. When it is used with *hal* the meaning changes from negative to incitement or blame depending on whether the 'perfective' or 'imperfective' are used. It is important to add that in MSA, especially in translated texts, *hal* may be used with a negative particle as in Example (39).

(37)

ʾa	lam	taksab	mālan?
Q.POLAR	NEG	2MSG:JUSS-earn	INDF.money-MSG.ACC
Negotiator	Neg	Predicator-(SBJ) Mood Base	Complement Residue

'Haven't you earned money?'
(Al-Mesadi 2000: 189)

(38)

hallā	ʾibtaʿadta	ʿannī	qalīlan
INT-PTCLE	keep.away-2MSG:PFV	from-me.GEN	INDF.little-MSG.ADV.ACC
Negotiator	Predicator-(SBJ) Mood Base	Adjunct/Complement Residue	Adjunct

'Would you keep away from me a little.'
(Fawzi 2019: 29)

(39)

hal	lā	tataqabbalu	munāqašaïa ʾaḥada zumulāʾika	ḥawla ʾuslūbi ʿamalika?
Q.POLAR	NEG	2MSG:IPFV-accept	INDF.discussion-FSG.ACC INDF.one-MSG.ACC colleague-MPL-your.POSS.2MSG.ACC	about INDF.style-MSG.GEN work-MSG-your.POSS.2MSG.ACC
Negotiator	Neg	Predicator-(SBJ) Mood Base	Complement Residue	Adjunct

'Do (not) you accept your colleagues' question about your working style?'
(Abu Nasr 2017: 290)

Arabic does not require grammatical prosody i.e. any special ordering of words or particles in order to construe a question. Phonological prosody, "the prosodic mode of

expression" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 140), i.e. intonation and stress is all it takes to change a statement into a question. Intonation, which in the case of polar interrogatives is rising, is what makes the difference among the interrogative types and between the interrogative and declarative. Elemental interrogatives are quite different though.

5.1.2.2 Alternative interrogative

Instead of eliciting a response, alternative questions are interrogatives that typically offer two options to the listener to choose from. The options normally come at the end and are separated by *ʾam* or *ʾaw* 'or' as in Examples (40), (41), (42), and (43).

(40)

hal	*humā*	*damʿatā ḥuznin*	*ʾam*	*faraḥin?*
Q.POLAR	they	INDF.tear-FDU.ACC INDF.sadness-MSG.GEN	or	INDF.joy-MSG.GEN
Negotiator	Subject	Complement	(z)	Complement
	Mood Base			

'Are they tears of sadness or joy?'
(Munif and Jabra 2004: 143)

(41)

hal	*turīdīna*	*ʾan*	*tašrabī*	*ʾam*	*ʾan*	*tasbaḥī?*
Q.POLAR	2FSG:IPFV-want	that	3FSG:SBJV-drink	or	that	3FSG:SBJV-swim
Negotiator	Predicator-(SBJ)	(z)	Predicator-(SBJ)	(z)	(z)	Predicator-(SBJ)
	Mood Base					

'Do you want to drink or to swim?'
(Munif and Jabra 2004: 53)

(42)

ʾa	*ʾaṣnaʿu*	*ʾalqahwaᵗa*	*ʾalʾāna*	*ʾaw*	*baʿda*	*ʾan*	*taḥliqa?*
Q.POLAR	1SG:IPFV-make	DEF-coffee-FSG.ACC	DEF-instant-ADV.ACC	or	after	that	2MSG:SBJV-shave
Negotiator	Predicator-(SBJ)	Complement	Adjunct	(z)	(z)	(z)	Predicator-(SBJ)
	Mood Base	Residue					Mood Base

'Shall I make coffee now or after you shave?'
(Munif 2001: 100)

(43)

ʾalḥaqqu	*ʿalā man*	*ʿalā ʾalḥayāᵗ*	*ʾam*	*ʿalā ʾalbašar?*
DEF-right-MSG.MSG	on who	on DEF-life-FSG.GEN	or	on DEF-people-MPL.GEN
Subject	Complement	Complement	(z)	Complement
Mood Base		Residue		

'Who is to blame life or people?'
(Munif and Jabra 2004: 166)

While three of the four interrogatives above (Example 40, 41, and 42) start as polar the last Example (43) is elemental in the first half (*the blame is on who*?). Alternative questions are quite often elliptical and overall have their own prosodic/stress patterns, where stress is on the first option/alternative and the tone immediately rising on the second.

5.1.2.3 Elemental interrogative

According to Teruya et al. (2007: 877): "Many Languages, perhaps all, have some kind of Wh element operating in the interpersonal structure of the clause, but languages vary with respect to the range of transitivity functions, that it can be conflated with. In many languages, participants and circumstance functions can be queried, so they can be conflated with the *Wh* elements. In some languages, it is also possible to query the Process …". In Arabic, elemental interrogatives are questions through which the speaker aims to get some information about a Subject or a Complement (a participant) or an Adjunct (a circumstance) but not a Process. Unlike polar interrogatives where the interrogative particle can be omitted as explained, elemental questions are characterized by the presence of an interrogative particle that varies according to the information sought by the speaker.

In regards to tone, elemental questions are characterized by stressing the question word which is at the beginning of the clause. Normally, tonicity which is elevated on the question word goes down as the speaker moves towards the end of the clause which is marked by a slight rise in tone. This is unlike what happens with polar interrogatives where the tone keeps rising from the beginning and is at its highest at the end. Tone is important in both types of question. It is often what makes the difference between the interrogative and the declarative.

Although elemental interrogative particles are similar to some extent to polar interrogative ones, (they are typically junctural i.e. both tend to be placed at the beginning of the clause), elemental interrogative particles have a different role in the interpersonal structure of the clause that especially depends on the kind of information the speaker means to get relating to a participant (serving as Subject or Complement) or a circumstance (serving as Adjunct). Consequently, they could be Adjuncts as in Example (44). As Adjuncts, they are part of the Residue of the clause. They can also be Complements as in Example (45). As Complements, they are part of the Residue as well, except in fully nominal clauses as in Example (47). Finally, some of them may occur as Subject as in Example (46). As Subject, such interrogative pronouns are a part of the Mood Base.

(44)   *kayfa*   *ʿarafti?*
         Q.HOW   know-2FSG:PFV
         Adjunct   Predicator-(SBJ)
         Residue   Mood Base
         'How did you know?'
         (Munif 2001: 118)

(45)   *fa-* *-māḏā*   *samiʿta?*
         so   Q.WHAT   hear-2MSG:PFV
         (z) Complement   Predicator-(SBJ)
             Residue   Mood Base
         'So what did you hear?'
         (Al-Mesadi 1992: 45)

(46)   *man*   *sayuwaqqiʿu*   *ʾalʾāna*
         Q.WHO   3MSG:FUT-sign   DEF-instant.ADV.ACC
         Subject   Predicator-(SBJ)   Adjunct
         Mood Base   Residue
         'Who will sign now?'
         (Munif 2001: 45)

(47)   *wa* *man*   *ʾanta?*
         and Q.WHO   you.2MSG.ACC
         (z) Complement Subject
             Mood Base
         'And who are you?'
         (Al-Mesadi 2000: 130)

Elemental particles unlike polar ones may appear at the end of the clause as in Example (48), but this does not happen too often i.e. not the norm. It would thus appear that the unmarked principle for these particles is the same as in many other languages (but by no means all; see e.g. Matthiessen (2004): *Wh*/Theme).

(48)   *ʾiḏnan* *yakūnu*   *ḏalika* *matā?*
         so   3MSG:IPFV-be that   Q.WHEN
         (z)   Predicator   Subject Adjunct
             Mood Base   Residue
         'So that will be when?'
         (Al-Mesadi 2000: 43)

Textually, an interrogative clause in Arabic whether polar or elemental starts with a question word that may be a Negotiator i.e. *hal* or *ʾa* or a wh-word. Similarly, a positive imperative clause starts with the Negotiator *li* (cf. Section 5.2 below). The

beginning of the clause is also where negative particles are placed. The fact that these elements are placed in initial position shows that in Arabic as in many other languages (cf. Matthiessen 1995) they are assigned information focus but not of the marked type. It is important to add that while the wh-word construes a topical Theme, the interrogative element in a polar interrogative question construes an interpersonal Theme as in Examples (49) and (50).

(49) | *hal* | *ʾaʿtabiru* | *haḏā* | *ʾiʿtirāfan?* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Q.POLAR | 1SG:IPFV-consider | DEM-this.MSG.ACC | INDF.confession-MSG.ACC |
| Negotiator | Predicator-(SBJ) | Complement | Complement |
| | Mood Base | | |
| Interpersonal | Topical | Rheme | |
| Theme | | | |

Shall I consider this a confession?
(Khal 2012: 109)

(50) | *matā* | *ʿudta* | *min ʾafġānistān?* |
|---|---|---|
| when | come.back-2MSG:PFV | from afghanistan |
| Adjunct | Predicator-(SBJ) | Adjunct |
| | Mood Base | |
| Residue | | |
| Theme | Rheme | |

'When did you come back from Afghanistan?'
(Khal 2012: 106)

5.1.2.4 The Mood tag

The Mood tag in Arabic is the same whether the clause is verbal (Example 51) or nominal (Example 52). The same tag *ʾalaysa kaḏalika* 'isn't that so?' is used for nominal and verbal clauses regardless of polarity i.e. whether the clause is positive or negative, compare Examples (52) and (53). In Example (54), the negative copula has a Subject pronoun attached to it, which makes it slightly different from the aforementioned tag. The clause in Example (54) can take the same tag i.e. *ʾalaysa kaḏalika*, but by choosing to use *ʾalaysat kaḏalika*, the speaker has slightly altered the focus of the tag from the fact itself to the participant, that is from *isn't that so*? to *isn't 'she/it' so?*.

(51) | *sanarā* | *ʾašyāʾan laḏīḏataʾan* | *ʾalaysa kaḏalika?* |
|---|---|---|
| 1PL:FUT-see | INDF.thing-FPL.ACC INDF.delicious-FSG.ACC | Q.POLAR NEGCOP-3MSG also |
| Predicator- | Complement | Mood tag/Negotiator |
| (SBJ) | | |
| Mood Base | Residue | |

'We'll see some yummy things, isn't that so?'
(Mahfudh 2016: 72)

(52)   *ʾismuka*   *ḥasan ʾibrāhīm*   *ʾalaysa kaḏalika?*
       name-MSG-your.POSS.2MSG.ACC   hasan ibrahim   Q.POLAR NEGCOP-3MSG also
       Subject   Complement   Mood tag/Negotiator
       Mood Base
       'Your name is Hasan Ibrahim, isn't that so?'
       (Mahfudh 2015: 378)

(53)   *ʾAllahu*   *lā*   *yuḥibbu*   *ʾaẓẓulma,*   *ʾalaysa kaḏalika?*
       Allah.NOM   NEG   3MSG:IPFV-love   DEF-injustice-MSG.ACC   Q.POLAR NEGCOP-3MSG also
       Subject   Neg   Predicator   Complement   Mood tag/Negotiator
       Mood Base   Residue
       'Allah doesn't like injustice, isn't that so?'
       (Basiuni 2018: 239–240)

(54)   *ḥayātī*   *hādiʾaŭun wa ʾāminaŭun …*   *ʾalaysat kaḏalika?*
       life-FSG-   INDF.quiet-FSG.NOM and INDF.secure-FSG.NOM   Q.POLAR NEGCOP-3FSG also
       my.POSS.GEN
       Subject   Complement   Mood tag/Negotiator
       Mood Base
       'My life is quite and secure, isn't it so?'
       (Hashim 2006: 21)

To conclude this section, it is clear from the examples above that the Mood tag in Arabic is more similar to the Mood tag in French, Japanese or German than that in English. Similar in the sense that the Mood tag in those languages is "some invariant expression" rather than a replay of the Mood element as is the case in English (Matthiessen 2004: 551). In terms of constituency, the Mood tag in Arabic is realized by a Negotiator: *Yes/no* interrogative particle = *ʾa* + a negative copula *laysa* + a conjunctive type of adverbial *kaḏalika* ('so/like this'). It is similar to the French Mood tag *n'est ce pas?*, as both are typically invariable and are in the negative, whereas the tag in English varies according to the Mood element inside the main clause and is either negative or positive in terms of polarity depending on the Mood element in the main clause (Matthiessen 2004).

5.1.3 The exclamative

The exclamative in Arabic is one of the minor clauses. It is typically used to express wonder and astonishment. It is covered in this article albeit briefly because of its a-typical structure. Although said structure is quite similar to that of the interrogative (cf. Section 5.1.2), it actually functions more as a statement as it supplies information. The exclamative clause starts with an invariable particle, followed by an

adjectival form, followed by a nominal or pronominal form. Arab grammarians treat the invariable particle as a Theme, the adjectival form as verbal because it is derived from the verbal pattern *ʾafʿala* and they treat the noun that follows as a Complement as in Example (55a). Actually, the particle is more of a quantifier than an invariable element. Semantically it makes more sense to treat what follows as an adjectival form 'Complement' followed by a noun 'Subject' as in Examples (55b) and (56). Tonic prominence in this clause is placed on the adjectival form, that is the centre of the clause when the clause is at its simplest or at the beginning (i.e. right after the exclamative particle).

(55a)   *mā*   *ʾaǧmala*   *ʾalʾayyāma ʾalmāḍiyyaïa!*
        how   INDF.most.beautiful-FSG.ACC   DEF-day-FPL.ACC DEF-past-FSG.ACC
        Subject/Theme   Predicator   Complement
        Mood Base   Residue
        'How beautiful the past days were!'
        (Mahfudh 1961: 20)

(55b)   *mā*   *ʾaǧmala*   *ʾalʾayyāma ʾalmāḍiyyaïa!*
        how   INDF.most.beautiful-FSG.ACC   DEF-day-FPL.ACC DEF-past-FSG.ACC
        Adjunct   Complement   Subject
        Residue   Mood Base
        'How beautiful the past days were!'
        (Mahfudh 1961: 20)

(56)   *mā*   *ʾaqalla*   *ṣabraka!*
        how   INDF.little-MSG.ACC   patience-MSG-your.POSS.2MSG.ACC
        Adjunct   Complement   Subject
        Residue   Mood Base
        'How small your patience is!'
        (Al-Mesadi 1992: 56)

Although quite frequently used, this is not the only "unusual" clause in Arabic that construes the exclamative. There are others as in Example (57). The clause in Example (57) is construed by a 'calling' particle *yā* 'ô' followed by two prepositional phrases. The first is a pronominal form construing the "topic" of the exclamation attached to a preposition e.g. *lahu* ('to him') or *laka* ('to you') etc. The second is a preposition *min* ('of') + a noun, as in Example (57). The noun typically clarifies what is distinctive about the topic of the exclamation – *min murāʾin* ('of a hypocrite'). Some grammarians treat the clause as elliptical.

(57)   *yā*   *laka*   *min murā'in!*
        o   to-you.2MSG.ACC of INDF.hypocrite.MSG.GEN
        (z) Adjunct   Adjunct
        Residue
        'What an hypocrite you are!'
        (Mahfudh 2016: 18)

5.2 The imperative

The imperative in Arabic is used for commands in two different ways. The first is to dispense orders and the second as an optative type, used in prayers. The difference between the two is in the status of the speaker and addressee. While, in giving orders, the speaker has more authority, in prayers, the opposite is true.

In Arabic, cf. Example (58), the Predicator in a clause that is 'imperative' in mood is realized by a verbal group that is 'imperative' in mode when the polarity is 'positive' or a verbal group that is 'jussive' in mode when the polarity is either 'negative' – Example (59) or positive, Example (60).

(58)   *'ibḥaṯ*   *'awwalan*   *'an ṭarīqin mustaqīmin …*
        search-IMP:2MSG INDF.first-MSG.ACC for INDF.road-MSG.GEN INDF.straight-MSG.GEN
        Predicator-(SBJ) Adjunct   Complement
        Mood Base   Residue
        'First look for an honest way …'
        (Mahfudh 1961: 16)

(59)   *lā*   *taḥruǧ*   *'an mawḍū'i 'albinti*
        NEG go.out-IMP:2MSG from INDF.topic-MSG.GEN DEF-girl-FSG.GEN
        Neg Predicator-(SBJ) Adjunct
        Mood Base   Residue
        'Don't leave the topic of the girl'
        (Mahfudh 1961: 13)

(60)   *'iǧlisī*   *wa*   *linataḥaddaṯ*   *fī hudū'in …*
        sit.down-IMP:2FSG and IMP PTCLE-1PL:JUSS-talk in INDF.quiet-MSG.GEN
        Predicator-(SBJ) (z)   MOOD PTCLE Predicator-(SBJ) Adjunct
        Mood Base   Mood Base   Residue
        'Sit down and let's talk calmly.'
        (Mahfudh 1961: 121)

In general, all these options exhibit a similar intonation pattern to the imperative mode when expressing a command. The imperative which is realized by a falling

tone and in which the verbal group is the most salient element in terms of tonicity has a more limited system of PERSON than the indicative. The verbal group in the imperative is marked mainly in terms of addressee subjects i.e. 'you'. Arabic differentiates between five types of addressee subjects. These are masculine singular: *ʾanta*, feminine singular: *ʾanti*, feminine/masculine dual: *ʾantumā*, masculine plural: *ʾantum* and feminine plural: *ʾantunna*. In the imperative mode, which construes positive command, the system of PERSON is exclusive as in Example (61). In contrast, the jussive mode can be used either in negative command which is typically exclusive as in Example (62) or in positive command which is rather inclusive as in Example (63). The Mood Base of the imperative mood is made of the Predicator and an infixed-Subject mark when it is construed by the imperative mode. The one construed by the jussive, on the other hand, is made of either *lā ʾannāhiya* or *lām ʾalʾamr* + Predicator + Subject mark.

(61) *ʾiqraʾ*　　　　　*biṣawtin ʿālin*
　　　read-IMP:2MSG　　with-INDF.voice-MSG.GEN INDF.loud-MSG.GEN
　　　Predicator-(SBJ)　Adjunct
　　　Mood Base　　　　Residue
　　　'Read with a loud voice'
　　　(Munif 2001: 45)

(62) *lā*　*taqul*　　　*ḏalika*
　　　NEG　say-IMP:2MSG　that.
　　　Neg　Predicator-(SBJ)　Complement
　　　Mood Base　　　　　Residue
　　　'Don't say that'
　　　(Mahfudh 1982: 133)

(63) *fa-*　*lnuʾaǧǧil*　　　　　　*ḥadīṯa ʾaḏḏikrayāti*
　　　so　　IMP PTCLE-1PL:JUSS-postpone　INDF.talk-MSG.ACC DEF-memory-FPL.GEN
　　　(z)　MOOD PTCLE　Predicator-(SBJ)　Complement
　　　　　Mood Base　　　　　　　　Residue
　　　'Let's postpone talking about memories.'
　　　(Mahfudh 1982: 7)

The system of FINITENESS in a positive imperative clause is limited compared to its counterpart in a declarative clause due to the fact that the verbal group in the imperative mode has a default temporal reference which is very limited. It is more developed, however, when the clause is construed by a negative or positive jussive mainly because of polarity rather than the temporal value it construes, which in the case of the jussive is still very limited too.

6 Conclusion

In Arabic, speech functions are realized by different MOOD options, namely statements by the declarative, commands by the imperative, and asking for information by the interrogative. Both the declarative and interrogative include three major elements necessary to carry forward the negotiation process. These are the Subject, auxiliary like verbal group (Predicator 1/Finite), and Predicator. The imperative, however, is slightly different from the declarative, although it too consists of a Predicator with a bound or infixed Subject marker. In Arabic, whether the clause is declarative or imperative, the Predicator bears the mark of the Subject, which varies in terms of number [viz. singular, dual, or plural] and gender [viz. masculine or feminine]). In terms of finiteness, the focus is modal rather than temporal or other when the clause typically enacts a strong demand for goods-&-services and not an exchange of information. Finally, prosody plays an important part in exchanges which are basically realizations of MOOD choices. It is through intonation i.e. tone (pitch contour), that in Arabic, one can tell the difference between a statement, a command or a question especially since inversion or (grammatical prosody) does not apply to Arabic where word order is similar both in the interrogative and declarative. In fact, as the structure of the declarative clause is either VSO or SVO, as discussed, it is prosody rather than word order that makes the difference between clause types. Matthiessen (2004) has frequently pointed out that grammatical prosody is an "exotic" feature, which is quite rare and that most languages construe these distinctions in speech functions differently.

To conclude, "the interpersonal system of MOOD of every languages [sic] has evolved together with and in the environment of, the experiential system of TRANSITIVITY and the textual systems of THEME and INFORMATION. It interacts with both: the interpersonal structure of the clause is organised textually and it gives interpersonal value to the transitivity structure of the clause" (Teruya et al. 2007: 877). In Arabic, as demonstrated above, this interaction is manifested through the fact that interpersonal elements of the negotiatory type are placed in initial position and as such are assigned considerable information focus. Experientially, the interaction is manifested mainly in the way elemental questions are construed i.e. how question words conflates with transitivity roles (cf. Bardi 2008).

Appendix: List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DEF	definite (article)
DEM	demonstrative
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite (article)
INT	interpersonal
IPFV	imperfective
JUSS	jussive
M	masculine
MOD	modal
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NMLZ	nominalization
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PTCLE	particle
Q	question particle
SBJV	Subjunctive
SG	singular
VOC	vocative

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