

THE MULTIPLE FUNCTIONALITY OF THE PRONOUN 'ULĀ'IKĀ IN THE QUR'ĀN¹

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Demonstrative pronouns may function as deictic or anaphoric pronouns. The demonstrative pronoun *'ulā'ika* in Arabic is the focus of this paper. It is argued that in the Qur'ān, besides being an anaphoric/resumptive pronoun, which primarily functions as the syntactic subject, it has three additional functions: (1) as a resumptive pronoun of the left-dislocation construction, helping in retrieving the predicate, which usually consists of a short clause following a 'heavy' subject. (2) Possibly it has the same function as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, 'separation pronoun'—namely, *'ulā'ika* occurs in a simple sentence where it separates a definite subject and a definite predicate. It also occurs between subject and predicate, while both are constructed as relative clauses, and between a 'heavy' subject and indefinite predicate. (3) As a number marker in conditional clauses that are headed by the conditional particle *man*, and two kinds of number agreement are exhibited in the clause: singular and plural. *'ulā'ika* in this case marks the transition from the grammatical-number feature associated with *man* to the notional number of *man*.

Key words: demonstrative pronoun, separation pronoun, heaviness, left-dislocation structure, predicate-marker, number-marker, segmentation device.

1. Introduction

Demonstrative pronouns are very common in Arabic. In the Arabic grammatical treatises the medieval Arab grammarians' interest seems primarily focused on the demonstratives' morphology and their deictic use (see Dror 2016: 131–133). Deictic expres-

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sions are linguistic elements whose interpretation refers to some aspect of the speech situation. Deictic expressions are divided into three semantic categories: person, place, and time. Thus, personal pronouns such as *I* and *you* denote the speech participants; deictic place expressions refer to object, locations or persons (apart from the speech participants); and deictic time expressions indicate a temporal reference point relative to the time of the speech unit. All languages have at least two demonstratives locating the referent at two different points of a distance scale (Diessel 1999: 35–36). For example, in Arabic the demonstrative pronoun *hādā* in the sentence *hādā kitābun ġadīdun* ‘this is a new book’ is a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the deictic centre. *dālika* in the sentence *dālika r-raġulu ‘aḥī* ‘that man is my brother’ is a distal demonstrative indicating that the referent is located at some distance from the deictic centre. Demonstratives occur in different syntactic contexts (Diessel 1999: 58), as demonstrated in the following example, where the demonstrative pronoun *‘ulā ‘ika* functions also as the subject:

- (1) *allaḡīna ‘ātaynā-humu l-kitāba yatlūna-hu ḥaqqā tilāwati-hi ‘ulā ‘ika*
yu‘minūna bi-hi wa-man yakfūr bi-hi fa-‘ulā ‘ika humu l-ḥāsirūna (Q
 2:121)

‘Those to whom We have given the Book recite it as it ought to be recited—**those** are the ones who truly believe in it, and whoever disbelieves in it, **they** are the losers.’²

Besides the demonstrative pronouns’ syntactic function, they also have an important pragmatic function in the communicative interaction. They are used to orient the auditor in the speech situation, focusing her or his attention on objects, locations or persons. Additionally, they are used as anaphoric pronouns, with an important role in keeping the text cohesive and comprehensible (see Dror 2016: 137). In Example 1 the (first) demonstrative pronoun *‘ulā ‘ika* refers to the previous subject (*allaḡīna ‘ātaynā-humu l-kitāba*). If the listener identifies the referent easily, s/he can keep tracking the discourse participants, because the connection between the two sentences can only be understood when the referent’s identity is clear (see Diessel 1999: 93 and Dror 2016: 137).

This paper focuses on two prominent syntactic structures in which *‘ulā ‘ika* occurs: left-dislocated structures and verbless clauses. I shall argue that apart from being an anaphoric pronoun/resumptive pronoun, *‘ulā ‘ika* can perform any of the following communicative functions: (1) helping retrieve the predicate located after a ‘heavy subject’; (2) similar to *ḍamīr al-faṣl* ‘the pronoun of separation’, separating the definite subject and the definite predicate in simple sentences; (3) as an agreement marker indicating the transition from grammatical agreement to notional agreement.

² The translation of the Qur’ānic verses is based on Fakhry’s modern translation (1998). However, in various instances I changed that translation of *‘ulā ‘ika*. Sometimes I did not agree with the parsing of the verses as reflected in Fakhry’s translations, as I did in Q 2:121.

2. 'ulā'ika Functioning as a Predicate Marker in Left-dislocated Structures

The most prominent feature of the structure under discussion in this section is the complexity of the grammatical subject. Inasmuch as more new syntactic components are introduced between the subject and its predicate, integrating the predicate (verbal or prepositional) is harder, because increasing effort is required to identify the subject and the predicate, where identification is crucial for the correct interpretation of the utterance. I assume that the demonstrative particle 'ulā'ika, which resumes a lengthy extraposed subject, signifies where the subject ends and the predicate begins. This idea was already suggested by Geller (1991) who examined cleft sentences with a pleonastic pronoun in the Hebrew Bible. According to Geller, in both *x pronoun y* and *x y pronoun* structures the pronoun can resume a lengthy initial extraposed phrase which may consist of a relative or participial phrase, or a compound co-ordinated phrase as, for example, in:

(Gen 2:19) וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא-לוֹ הָאָדָם נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, הוּא שְׁמוֹ

wěḵāl 'āšer yiqrā' lô hā 'ādām nepēš ḥayyāh hū' šēmō 'Whatever man called it...that was its name.'

The aim of introducing the resumptive pronoun *hū'* is a matter of linguistic perception. The resumption of the lengthy extraposed phrase helps the listener to grasp the function of the syntactic components in this larger sentence (Geller 1991: 21).³

Next I elaborate the function of 'ulā'ika in the flow of the Qur'ānic discourse.

- (2) *allaḍīna yu'minūna bi-l-ġaybi wa-yuqīmūna ṣ-ṣalāta wa-mimmā razaqnā-hum yunfiqūna wa-llaḍīna yu'minūna bi-mā 'unzila 'ilay-ka wa-mā 'unzila min qabli-ka wa-bi-l-'āḥirati hum yūqinūna 'ulā'ika 'alā hudan min rabbi-him* (Q 2:3–5)⁴

'Those who believe in the unseen perform the prayer and give freely from what We provided for them, and who believe in what was revealed to you, and what was revealed before you; and firmly believe in the life to come—**those** are guided by their Lord.'

Considering the second example, the Qur'ānic commentators suggest four optional analyses of the demonstrative particle 'ulā'ika:

- A new clause begins with 'ulā'ika, and hence this pronoun is analysed as a subject, while the prepositional phrase 'alā hudan min rabbi-him 'on guidance from their Lord' serves as its predicate.
- The co-ordinated relative clauses preceding 'ulā'ika function as subjects and 'ulā'ika serves as predicate, and the prepositional phrase takes the place of *ḥāl*

³ The idea that resumptive demonstrative pronouns may occur in Arabic after a long extraposed nominal phrase was also raised by Khan 1988: 20.

⁴ More examples are: Q 8:75; 14:3; 23:61.

- ‘circumstantial clause’ (as-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, *ad-Durr al-maṣūn*: Vol. 1, 101; az-Zamaḥṣarī, *al-Kaššāf*: Vol. 1, 52; ar-Rāzī, *Maḥāṭib al-gayb*: Vol. 1–2, 31–32).
- (c) The complete clause *‘ulā’ika ‘alā hudan min rabbi-him* ‘Those are on guidance from their Lord’ takes the place of a nominative (substantive) (*al-ḡumla fī maḥall r-raf*), whereas *‘ulā’ika* serves as the subject and the prepositional clause serves as its predicate. Furthermore, the demonstrative particle *‘ulā’ika* is used for *iḥtišāṣ* ‘specification’,⁵ or as Zamaḥṣarī explains, *wa-iḥtassa l-muttaqūna bi-’anna l-kitāba la-hum hudan* ‘[by introducing *‘ulā’ika* into the utterance] God specifies the godfearing [by saying that they are those for whom] the holy book (i.e. the Qur’ān) is a guidance’.
- (d) The relative clauses function as subject, *‘ulā’ika* serves as *badal* ‘apposition’ or *bayān* ‘determinative of the kind’, and the prepositional phrase *‘alā hudan* ‘on guidance’ functions as the predicate, whereas the second prepositional phrase *min rabbi-him* ‘from their Lord’ takes the position of an adjective qualifying the word *hudan* ‘guidance’.

If we need to define the structure type shown in Q 2:3–5 by modern linguistic terminology, ‘left dislocation’ would be the most adequate term to describe it. In modern linguistics ‘left dislocation’ has been referenced by scholars using various terms such as ‘extraposition sentence’, ‘cleft construction’, ‘casus pendens’ or ‘pendent nominatives’; in Hebrew it might be ‘yihud sentences’, which are initial sentences with a special arrangement of the syntactic components. At the beginning of the sentence stands a noun in the nominative followed by the rest of the sentence which contains a pronoun that refers to the noun placed in the initial position (Margolin 2013: 225).⁶

Thus, ‘yihud sentences’ can be divided into two parts: extraposition topic (ET) and extraposition comment (EC). The special arrangement of the constituents serves to emphasise the focus of information (Margolin 2013: 223–225). Consider the following example:

אגב, הבולים הנדירים באמת, הנושנים – אלה אינם מפוארים כלל

‘By the way, the really rare stamps, the very old ones—these are not at all fancy.’

It is defined by Margolin as a simple *yihud sentence*, where there is a pause between the two sentence parts, and is analysed as follows:

⁵ Diessel (1999: 71) calls this type *pronominal demonstrative determiners*.

⁶ This definition is similar to the following definition of left dislocation: ‘A phrase (usually but not always a noun phrase) occupies the first position of the (root) clause and...this phrase is connected with that clause through the intermediary of some anaphoric element which I will loosely refer to as the resumptive element.’ See Anagnostopoulou, Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997: 4; cf. Crystal 1997: 217; Rodman 1974: 437, 447–448; Gregory and Michaelis 2001: 1667; and Givón 2001: Vol. 2, 265–266.

Extrapolation Topic			Extrapolation Comment
אגב	הבולים הנדירים באמת	הנושנים	אלה אינם מפוארים כלל
By the way	the really rare stamps	the very old ones	—these are not at all fancy

According to Margolin, this *yihud sentence* has been created by placing the element ‘the really rare stamps, the very old ones’ at the beginning of the sentence as the extrapolation topic and by the addition of the demonstrative pronoun ‘these’ which refers to the preceding noun (Margolin 2013: 231–233).

Syntactically, Q 2:3–5 demonstrate the same structure as the Hebrew sentence, therefore Q 2:3–5 can be regarded as ‘left dislocation’ or as a ‘*yihud sentence*’. The two relative clauses are placed at the beginning, functioning as the extrapolational topic, while the demonstrative pronoun refers to both of them. This pronoun together with what follows it are separated from the first part by a pause, and by this arrangement of the components, the stress lies on the final element in the sentence. However, I argue that since the dislocated subject is a complex constituent, the main difficulty in Q 2:3–5 is identifying the discourse focus, i.e. the predicate. The demonstrative particle *'ulā'ika*, therefore serves not only as an anaphoric pronoun / resumptive pronoun, but also as a formal marker helping to retrieve the predicate; more accurately, it contributes to a correct segmentation which prevents misinterpretation of the complete utterance.

I now advance the hypothesis that the interaction among length/weight/heaviness, structural complexity and word order change led to the two-fold function of *'ulā'ika* in left-dislocated structures: an anaphoric pronoun stressing the focus and a predicate marker. Note, however, that although here I examine structures exhibiting left dislocation, I make no attempt, beyond a few peripheral observations, to penetrate the factors which caused the dislocation in the examined Qur'ānic verses or to explain its communicative function in the Qur'ānic discourse.

Extensive literature deals with the influence of syntactic weight on word order variations, such as Siewierska's (1993) study on Polish structures. She refers to Hawkins (1990, 1992), who recognises the influence of weight on word order, arguing that word-order variation and comprehension of the utterance are determined primarily by performance principles following from left-to-right item-by-item. According to him, the ‘Early Immediate Constituent’ (EIC) is a principle which defines a preference for a linearisation pattern that allows the quickest recognition of the immediate constituent of syntactic grouping (Siewierska 1993: 233; Francis 2010: 39). Otherwise stated, parsing speed will depend on the order in which IC (Immediate Constituents) and words are arranged. Consider the following two examples:

- (a) I VP[*introduced*] NP[*some friends that John brought to the party*] PP[*to Mary*]
- (b) I VP[*introduced*] PP[*to Mary*] NP[*some friends that John brought to the party*]

These sentences contain three ICs: V NP and PP. Since the NP in sentence (a) is heavy, the distance separating the VP from the PP is long. In sentence (b), however, the heavy

NP has been shifted, hence the distance between the the NP and the PP is shorter. Thus, this rearrangement of the constituents is much easier to process, because the VP can be recognised and immediately attached to the PP much more quickly (Hawkins 1990: 227–228; 1992: 197; 1994: 57).

By this principle, the preferable pattern in Arabic should be short–long linearisation. Namely, the short syntactic constituent, which is the quickest for recognition, should be placed in a more leftward position (Siewierska 1993: 238). Hawkins (1990) shows that the transformational rules such as heavy NP shift, particle movement and extraposition improve the left-to-right IC-to-word ratios. That is, in these structures the more complex constituent moves to the right, while the shorter constituents are positioned at the beginning (Hawkins 1990: 246). However, as will be shown, the examples discussed in this section challenge this principle. The left dislocation of the subject has affected the linearisation, and instead of moving from the short/light item, which listeners can immediately identify with the long/heavier item, we now confront a much more complex structure, in which the heavier syntactic unit is placed in initial position.

Before explaining how the demonstrative *'ulā'ika* contributes to the ease of processing, the terms ‘weight’ and ‘syntactic heaviness’ should be briefly explained. They can refer to the length of a syntactic unit, that is, the number of words in each syntactic unit. In this connection Hawkins has developed an algorithm that assigns to every clause a given EIC ratio. For its recognition the Immediate Constituent should have a specific number of words, fewer than other numbers (Hawkins 1990: 234). I shall not implement this algorithm, because in this study weight is measured simply in terms of the number of words contained in the syntactic units in question. So with a glance at Q 2:3–5, we see clearly the unequal words ratio of 20 words⁷ (compounding the subject) vs. four words (compounding the predicate).

Collins (1994) mentions ‘weight’ as a possible communicative factor influencing extraposition. He refers to Quirk et al.’s definition of this term: ‘weight’ or ‘end-weight’ refers to a principle of organisation in language which reflects the tendency for ‘heavy’ elements to appear at the end of the clause or sentence. Usually ‘end-weight’ is associated with ‘end-focus’—namely, new information representing the focus of the message appears at the end (Collins 1994: 14–15; Quirk et al. 1985: 1361–1362; Wasow 1997: 81; Francis 2010: 35–36). Longer, more complex constituents tend to occur later in the sentence, because placing heavy constituents later facilitates production, planning and comprehension of utterances through the speaker’s having more time to formulate heavier constituents (Francis 2010: 39). Additionally, as previously mentioned, Hawkins proposed that heavy constituents at the end let listeners and readers process sentences more efficiently by allowing faster recognition of their major constituents.

Returning to Q 2:3–5: establishing the relation between subject and predicate is crucial for sentence processing and comprehension. Usually subject and predicate are close together, although in some cases they might be separated by intervening

⁷ Nouns with suffixed particle and suffixed prepositions were counted as one word.

material which can affect the information process (Kaan 2002: 165–166). Such is the case of Q 2:3–5, where the subject consists of two relative sentences, each containing several clauses:

First relative sentence: [c1*allaḍīna yu`minūna bi-l-ğaybi*] [c2*wa-yuqīmūna ṣ-ṣalāta*] [c3*wa-mimmā razaqnā-hum yunfiqūna*]

Second relative sentence: [c1*wa-llaḍīna yu`minūna*] [c2*bi-mā`unzila`ilay-ka*] [c3*wa-mā`unzila min qabli-ka*] [c4*wa-bi-l-`āḥirati hum yūqinūna*]

The complexity of the subject challenges the general assumption that a heavy syntactic element or new information comes late in the utterance because, as evident in Q 2:3–5, the heavy/long structure comes at the beginning.⁸ Various theories are to be found concerning the weight effect on the sentence, as, for example, Gibson's (1998) theory called 'the syntactic prediction locality theory' (SPLT). This established two principles: the longer a predicate category must be kept in memory before the predicate is satisfied, the greater the cost for maintaining that prediction; the farther the distance between an incoming word and the nearest head or dependent to which it is attached, the greater the integration cost. Thus the prediction is that heavy constituents are easier to understand when placed later (Gibson 1998: 9; Francis 2010: 41).

I agree that in the left-dislocation structures discussed here, lengthening the linear distance between the subject and the predicate through the insertion of various syntactic constituents into the subject affects one's ability to tackle the complete structure. Or, as Gibson (1998: 52) explains, if the heavier item is located first, a relatively large memory cost is required to produce the construction, because the second head has to be kept in mind all through the production of the intervening long phrase. Additionally, true, in Q 2:3–5, 20 words must be scanned in order to recognise the predicate. However, to maximise the information process and to make it more efficient, the demonstrative particle 'ulā'ika is used to signal the end of the heavy constituent (i.e., the subject) and the move to the predicate. Furthermore, an efficient information process also involves correct parsing. And because the listener may tend to interpret one of the phrases or clauses as a part of the predicate, 'ulā'ika can help in establishing the boundaries between the essential syntactic constituents. Incorrect parsing, which might affect the interpretation, is exhibited in the translation of Q 11:19–20. I tend to translate these verses as follows:

- (3) *allaḍīna yaṣuddūna`an sabīli llāhi wa-yabğūna-hā`iwağan wa-hum bi-l-`āḥirati hum kāfirūna`ulā`ika lam yakūnū mu`ğizīna fī l-`arḍi* (Q 11:19–20)

'Those who bar (people) from the path of Allah and wish to make it crooked, and they are themselves unbelievers as to the hereafter—**those** will in no wise frustrate (His design) on the earth.'

⁸ Holes (1995: 211) has observed that 'heavy' subject, whether definite or not, may in modern Arabic precede the verb.

However, Fakhry (1998: 134) translates it as follows: ‘Those who bar people from the path of Allah, and wish it to be crooked; they truly disbelieve in the Hereafter. Those will not escape on earth.’ I parsed Q 11:19–20 as follows: the subject consists of three clauses: [c1*allađīna yaşuddūna ‘an sabīli llāhi*] [c2*wa-yabgūna-hā ‘iwağān*] [c3*wa-hum bi-l-‘āhirati hum kāfirūna*],⁹ while the demonstrative pronoun *‘ulā’ika* marks where the clausal predicate begins. This analysis is based on the assumption that the underlying structure of Q 11:19–20 should be **lam yakūn llađīna yaşuddūna ‘an sabīli llāhi wa-yabgūna-hā ‘iwağān wa-hum bi-l-‘āhirati hum kāfirūna mu ‘ğizīna fī l-‘arđi* [lit.] ‘Will not be those who hinder (people) from the path of Allah and seek to make it crooked, and they are themselves unbelievers as to the Hereafter, frustrate (His design) on earth.’

The question arising when the underlying structure is examined is why the demonstrative pronoun is required when a structure without it can equally express the same proposition: **allađīna yaşuddūna ‘an sabīli llāhi wa-yabgūna-hā ‘iwağān wa-hum bi-l-‘āhirati hum kāfirūna lam yakūnū mu ‘ğizīna fī l-‘arđi*.

As I mentioned previously, there are two possible answers: *‘ulā’ika* is used for rhetorical reasons, namely to express specification; or it functions as a resumptive pronoun that refers to the dislocated subject. While acknowledging these explanations, we cannot ignore the fact that locating the subject at the beginning violates the principle of ‘heaviness/end-weight’, because now the long or the complex structure that the listener cannot recognise quickly occurs at the beginning and not near the end. Therefore, I suggest a third explanation: *‘ulā’ika* marks where the predicate starts.¹⁰

- (4) *allađīna yūfūna bi-‘ahdi llāhi wa-lā yanquđūna l-mītāqa wa-llađīna yaşilūna mā ‘amara llāhu bi-hi ‘an yūşala wa-yahşawna rabba-hum wa-yahāfūna sū‘a l-ħisābi wa-llađīna şabarū btiğā‘a wağhi rabbi-him wa-‘aqāmū ş-şalāta wa-‘anfaqū mimmā razaqnā-hum sirran wa-‘alāniyatan wa-yadra‘ūna bi-l-ħasanati s-sayyi‘ata **‘ulā’ika** la-hum ‘uqbā d-dāri* (Q 13:20–22)¹¹

‘Those who fulfill their pledge to Allah and do not violate the covenant, and those who join together what Allah has commanded to be joined and they fear their Lord and dread the terrible reckoning, and those who forbear, seeking the countenance of their Lord, and perform the prayer, and spend freely of what We have provided them with, secretly and in public, and counter evil with good—**those**, to them belongs the blissful end of the Hereafter.’

⁹ According to Fakhry's translation, this clause (i.e. the third one) functions as the predicate.

¹⁰ One of the anonym reviewers has kindly noted that there are additional markers in Arabic which function as segmentors helping in identifying the boundaries between words or syntactic units such as subject and predicate. For example, the particle *fa* which stands at the beginning of the *apodosis* in conditional sentences. See Larcher 2008: 34, 37.

¹¹ More examples are Q 13:18; 13:25; 31:5; 34:5; 34:38; 70:35.

To understand the structure of Example 4, the following case should be discussed, in which the prepositional phrase functions as predicate followed by the subject occurring at the beginning of the utterance:

(5) *li-llaḍīna staḡābū li-rabbi-himu l-ḥusnā* (Q 13:18)

‘For those (people) who accepted their Lord, it is the best (reward).

According to as-Samīn al-Ḥalabī (*ad-Durr al-maṣūn*: Vol. 4, 236), there are two ways to analyse this verse:

- (a) The prepositional phrase is attached to the previous clause mentioned in verse 17, and thus the complete structure should be read: **ka-ḍālika yaḍribu llāhu l-ḥaqqā wa-l-bāṭila li-llaḍīna staḡābū li-rabbi-himu l-ḥusnā*. In this case *al-ḥusnā* functions as an adjective of a deleted verbal noun, that is, the underlying structure should be **ka-ḍālika yaḍribu llāhu l-ḥaqqā wa-l-bāṭila li-llaḍīna staḡābū li-rabbi-himu l-stiḡābata l-ḥusnā* ‘So Allah illustrates the Truth and falsehood for those who accepted their Lord in the best way.’
- (b) The more acceptable analysis is that the prepositional phrase *li-llaḍīna* is a preposed predicate (*ḥabar muqaddam*) and *al-ḥusnā* is a postposed subject (*mubtada' mu'ahḥar*).

Thus, if the prepositional predicate can be preposed, why is it not implemented in Q 13:20–22? A possible explanation is that the length of the predicate makes it difficult to track the subject: *[predicate *li-llaḍīna yūfūna bi- 'ahdi llāhi wa-lā yanquḍūna l-mūṭāqa wa-li-llaḍīna yaṣilūna mā 'amara llāhu bi-hi 'an yūṣala wa-yahṣawna rabba-hum wa-yahḡfūna sū'a l-ḥisābi wa-li-llaḍīna ṣabarū btiḡā'a waḡhi rabbi-him wa-'aqāmū ṣ-ṣalāta wa-'anfaḡū mim mā razaqnā-hum sirran wa-'alāniyatan wa-yadra'ūna bi-l-ḥasanati s-sayyi'ata*] [subject *'uqbā d-dāri*].

Yet this does not explain the introduction of the demonstrative particle *'ulā'ika* into the structure, especially when we consider the following example:

(6) *wa-llaḍīna yamkurūna s-sayyi'āti la-hum 'aḍābun ṣadīdun* (Q 35:10)

‘Those who devise evil deeds, for them there is a terrible chastisement.’

No demonstrative particle occurs in Q 35:10, which might lead to the assumption that the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun in such structures is not obligatory. Yet Q 13:20–22 and Q 35:10 differ in one prominent way—namely, in the length of the logical subject. In Q 13:20–22 the words' ratio is 35:4, while in Q 35:10 the ratio is 3:3, which allows quicker recognition of the syntactic units and eases the processing of the information in Q 35:10. Q 13:20–22, however, has much more information to process. Moreover, I argue that the complexity of the subject in Q 13:20–22 might cause incorrect parsing, whereas the listener might think that the prepositional phrase *la-hu* is part of the last clause constituting the subject; hence s/he will interpret it **wa-yadra'ūna bi-l-ḥasanati s-sayyi'ata la-hum* ‘and they avert evil with [what is] good for them’. Introducing the demonstrative pronoun *'ulā'ika*, however, determines clearly the boundaries of each syntactic unit.

The lengthy sentential subject delays access to the predicate in the following structures also, where the subject is left dislocated through the introduction of the emphatic particle *'inna* 'indeed', 'verily'. The underlying structure of the following examples exhibits the preferable structure, which provides earlier and more rapid access to the predicate. However, the rearrangement causes the heavier constituent to come first, which impedes recognition of the predicate:

- (7) *'inna llaḏīna yaktumūna mā 'anzalnā mina l-bayyināti wa-l-hudā min ba 'di mā bayyannā-hu li-n-nāsi fī l-kitābi 'ulā'ika yal'anu-humu llāhu wa-yal'anu-humu l-lā'inūna* (Q 2:159)¹²

'Verily, those who conceal the clear proofs and guidance We sent down, after making them clear to mankind in the Book—**those**, Allah will curse them and (also) the curser will curse them.'

Q 2:159 could have been constructed as **yal'anu llāhu wa-l-lā'inūna llaḏīna yaktumūna mā 'anzalnā mina l-bayyināti wa-l-hudā min ba 'di mā bayyannā-hu li-n-nāsi fī l-kitābi* 'Allah and the curser will curse those who conceal what We have revealed of the clear evidence and the guidance, after We made it clear for mankind in the Book.' In this structure the constituents' order is easily recognised:

[predicate *yal'anu*] [subject *llāhu wa-l-lā'inūna*] [object *llaḏīna yaktumūna mā 'anzalnā mina l-bayyināti wa-l-hudā min ba 'di mā bayyannāhu li-n-nāsi fī l-kitābi*]

This structure seems to be less complex in terms of identifying its main constituents. Yet, though this explanation may be convincing, in the present context we should look at the following examples:

- (8) *'inna llaḏīna kafarū wa-mātū wa-hum kuffārūn 'ulā'ika 'alay-him la'natu llāhi wa-l-malā'ikati wa-n-nāsi 'ağma'ina* (Q 2:161)¹³

'Verily those who disbelieved, and die while they are infidels—**those**, upon them shall be the curse of Allah, the angels, and mankind all together.'

Q 2:161 displays length symmetry between the subject and the predicate, where the ratio of the constituents is 5:7. Furthermore, in contrast to the previous examples where the clauses constituting the subject are also long, in Q 2:161 the subject consists of three short clauses: [c1*llaḏīna kafarū* c2[*wa-mātū* c3[*wa-hum kuffārūn*]]. Still, three co-ordinated clauses may also be considered heavy constituents, distancing the subject from the incoming predicate. Therefore, *'ulā'ika* was introduced to ease the constituent's recognition; but the next example apparently refutes this explanation:

- (9) *'inna llaḏīna 'āmanū wa-'amilū ṣ-ṣāliḥāti wa-'aqāmū ṣ-ṣalāta wa-'ātawu z-zakāta la-hum 'ağruhum 'inda rabbi-him* (Q 2:277)

¹² More examples are Q 2:174; 8:72.

¹³ An additional example is Q 3:77.

‘Verily, those who believed, and did righteous works, and performed the prayer, and gave the alms-tax, for them reward is with their Lord.’

In Q 2:277 the subject is heavier than in Q 2:161, while the ratio of the subject and the predicate stands at 8:4. The question then is why was the demonstrative particle *'ulā'īka* not inserted in this case. There are two possible explanations:

- (1) The rhetorical factor: in Q 2:161 the focus is emphasised through the demonstrative particle, while in Q 2:277 no emphasis is registered.
- (2) Correct parsing: without the demonstrative pronoun, in Q 2:161 the PP can be parsed as part of the subject, hence the verse can be interpreted thus: *'inna llaḍīna kafarū wa-mātū wa-hum kuffārūn 'alay-him la 'natu llāhi* ‘Verily those who disbelieved, and die while they are infidels, [and] upon them shall be the curse of Allah are...’

In Q 2:277 incorrect parsing is semantically impossible, because parsing the PP as part of the subject produces an incomprehensible sentence **'inna llaḍīna 'āmanū wa-'amilū ṣ-ṣāliḥāti wa-'aqāmū ṣ-ṣalāta wa-'ātawu z-zakāta la-hum...* ‘Verily, those who have faith, and do righteous works, and establish prayer, and pay the poor-rates for themselves...’. It would be wrong to interpret this sentence as if the believers gave themselves a donation.

The following examples strengthen the latter explanation, namely *'ulā'īka* is inserted to avoid misinterpretation by incorrect parsing:

- (10) *'inna llaḍīna 'āmanū wa-llaḍīna hāḡarū wa-ḡāhadū fī sabīli llāhi*
'ulā'īka *yarḡūna raḡmata llāhi wa-llāhu ḡaḡūrun raḡīmun* (Q 2:218)

‘Those who believed and those who emigrated and strove for the cause of Allah—**these** will hope for Allah's Mercy; and Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.’

Without *'ulā'īka*, the verbal predicate *yarḡūna* might be interpreted as a circumstantial clause attached to the subject, and the sentence would be interpreted as **'inna llaḍīna 'āmanū wa-llaḍīna hāḡarū wa-ḡāhadū fī sabīli llāhi yarḡūna raḡmata llāhi...* ‘Those who believed and those who immigrated and strove in the way of Allah hoping for Allah's Mercy are...’

3. *'ulā'īka* Functioning as a Segmentation Device in Simple Sentences

A frequent structure, which usually occurs at the end of the Qur'ānic verse, is exhibited in the following example:

- (11) *wa-'ulā'īka humu l-muflīḡūna* (Q 2:5)

‘These are the prosperous.’

The demonstrative particle *'ulā'ika* functions as the subject, while *al-muflīhūna* functions as its predicate. As for the personal pronoun *hum*, this functions as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*. According to Kasher (2012: 157–158), the term *faṣl* has two meanings: 'separation' and 'disambiguation', 'differentiation'. For example, regarding the sentence *kāna 'abdullāhi huwa ḡ-zarīfa* 'Abdullāh was the elegant one', Sībawayhi states that the pronoun *qad faṣala l-isma* 'has put the noun [immediately following the verb] apart'; in other words, the pronoun has separated the subject from the rest of the sentence (Kasher 2012: 161). 'Anbārī, on the other hand, refers to *ḍamīr al-faṣl* as a pronoun which resolves disambiguity. For example, when he mentions the sentence *zaydun huwa l-'aqīlu* 'Zayd is the intelligent one' he explains that the pronoun *yafṣilu bayna n-na'ti wa-l-ḡabari* 'differentiates the adjective and the predicate, where the predicate might be misinterpreted as an adjective (Kasher 2012: 162; Peled 2009: 127–128).'¹⁴

Regarding Q 2:5, ar-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-ḡayb*: Vol. 1, 32) seems not to refer to the physical position of the *ḍamīr al-faṣl* (i.e. positioned between the subject and the predicate). According to him, it prevents ambiguity: (*hum*) *faṣlun wa-lahu fā'idatāni: 'iḡdā-humā, dalālatun 'alā 'anna l-wārīda ba'da-hu ḡabarun wa-lā ṣifatun*. '(hum) [functions as] *ḍamīr al-faṣl* and it has two communicative values: first it indicates that the [syntactic component] which follows it is the predicate and not an adjective.'

The second communicative value mentioned by ar-Rāzī is *ḡaṣr l-ḡabar fī l-mubtadā'* 'to restrict the predicate to the subject'. For example, *al-'insānu dāḡḡikun* 'the man is laughing' does not necessarily mean that only a human being can laugh. However, saying *al-'insānu huwa d-dāḡḡiku* 'the man, it is he who laughs' indicates that only a human being can be modified by this action.

How is Q 2:5 related to our discussion in this section? The grammatical treatises show that only a personal pronoun can function as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, because, as Ibn Ya'īs (*Šarḡ al-Mufaṣṣal*, Vol. 3, 110) explains (see also Peled 2009: 127), *ištaraṡa 'an yakūna mina ḡamā'iri l-munfaṣilati l-marfū'ati l-mawḡi'i* 'The condition required that [the *ḍamīr al-faṣl*] [be] a separated pronoun, having the function of a nominative [component].'

Other grammarians say that *ḡamīru al-faṣli yakūnu bi-ṣiḡati l-marfū'i* '*ḡamīr al-faṣl* has the form of a pronoun in nominative case'. They do not state *ḡamīr al-faṣl huwa ḡamīr marfū'*: '*ḡamīr al-faṣl* is a pronoun in nominative case', because the grammarians disagree as to whether or not *ḡamīr al-faṣl* is indeed a pronoun. A solution offered was to consider it a component that has the form of a pronoun in the nominative case.¹⁵

I argue that the demonstrative pronoun has in the following cases the same function as the pronoun of separation. Here, too, *'ulā'ika* functions as a strong

¹⁴ Khan (2005: 157) mentions that in Biblical Hebrew the insertion of a pronoun helps identify the subject and predicate, particularly in verbless clauses; this act is crucial for the correct interpretation of the clause.

¹⁵ Also see, for example, Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī al-labīb*: Vol. 2, 173; al-'Astarābādī, *Šarḡ kāfiyat Ibn al-Ḥāḡib*: Vol. 3, 61.

segmentation to permit the correct parsing of a subject-thema and a comment in the framework of simple sentences.

It is noteworthy that the demonstrative-copula exists in both Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew, for example, אַתָּה עִשָּׂו בְנִי אִם אֵין (Gen. 27:21) ha'attāh zeh bənî 'êšāw 'im lō. 'Are you my son Esau or not?' (Holmstedt and Jones 2014: 75; Diessel 1999: 143–144; Greenberg 2008: 162).

Modern scholars usually use the term *copula* when referring to *ḍamīr al-faṣl* in Arabic. However, Carter (1997: 38–40) rejected equating *ḍamīr al-faṣl* with the copula for two main reasons. First, *ḍamīr al-faṣl* conveys separation, while the copula conveys linking the subject with the predicate. Second, the Indo-European copula is a semantically depleted verb. *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, on the other hand, is a pronoun (see Peled 2009: 131–132, 196).

Assuming that 'ulā'ika similarly to *ḍamīr al-faṣl* separates in the discussed verses between a definite subject and a definite predicate, why was the third person *hum* not used instead of 'ulā'ika? There are two optional answers: first, since the third person pronoun is already taken, and it occurs in the last clause of the verse, 'ulā'ika was used instead, as in the following example:

- (12) *wa-llaḍīna kaḍḍabū bi-'āyāti-nā wa-stakbarū 'an-hā 'ulā'ika 'aṣḥābu n-nāri hum fī-hā ḥālidūna* (Q 7:36)¹⁶

'And those who believe Our Signs and turn away from them with arrogance, **those** are the inhabitants of the Fire, wherein they shall abide forever.'

Q 7:36 could equally have been constructed as **wa-llaḍīna kaḍḍabū bi-'āyāti-nā wa-stakbarū 'an-hā hum 'aṣḥābu n-nāri hum fī-hā ḥālidūna* 'And those who oppose Our Signs and turn away from them with arrogance are the inhabitants of the Fire, wherein they shall abide forever'. To prevent the repetition of the same pronoun, the first was replaced by 'ulā'ika. However, note that in one verse (Q 5:10) the final clause (*hum fī-hā ḥālidūna*) is missing, yet 'ulā'ika is still used, probably in keeping with the structure presented in Example 12.

- (13) *wa-llaḍīna kafarū wa-kaḍḍabū bi-'āyāti-nā 'ulā'ika 'aṣḥābu l-ḡaḥīmi* (Q 5:10)

'And (as for) those who disbelieve and deny Our Signs (revelations), **those** are the companions of Hell.'

The second optional explanation for using 'ulā'ika instead of *hum* lies in the syntactic complexity of the sentences. The pronoun *hum* serves as *ḍamīr al-faṣl*, where the clauses can be identified as *tripartite verbless clauses*, i.e., they consist of three components, where one of these is the third person pronoun and it is necessary for identifying the subject and the predicate. However, it is not the case in Q 5:10, where the subject and the predicate are easily identified, particularly because the predicate

¹⁶ More examples are Q 2:39; 2:82; 5:86; 11:23; 21:101; 22:51; 64:10.

consists of annexation and it is not a definite adjective, as it is the case in *ḍamīr al-faṣl*.

In addition to this, we cannot ignore in our discussion Examples 14–15, where the initial clause is more complex and the predicate is indefinite (Example 15) or, like the subject, is also constructed as a relative clause (Example 14):

- (14) *allaḍīna ḍalla sa 'yu-hum fī l-ḥayāti d-dunyā wa-hum yaḥsabūna 'anna-hum yuḥsinūna ṣun 'an 'ulā'ika llaḍīna kaḥarū bi-'āyāti rabbi-him wa-liqā 'i-hi fa-ḥabītat 'a mālu-hum* (Q 18:104–105)¹⁷

‘Those whose endeavour in the present life have gone astray, and they still believe that they are doing well are **those** who disbelieved in the signs of their Lord and meeting Him, so their deeds became null.’

- (15) *allaḍīna yuḥṣarūna 'alā wuḡūhi-him 'ilā ḡahannama 'ulā'ika ṣarrun makānan wa-'aḍallu sabīlan* (Q 25:34)

‘Those who shall be mustered upon their faces unto Hell those worse as regards their position and are more wayward.’

If we read Example 14 deleting *'ulā'ika*, the clause seems ungrammatical:

**allaḍīna ḍalla sa 'yuhum fī l-ḥayāti d-dunyā wa-hum yaḥsabūna 'anna-hum yuḥsinūna ṣun 'an Ø llaḍīna kaḥarū ...* (Q 18:104–105), without *'ulā'ika* it is difficult to understand whether the second relative clause is intended to be an adjective or a predicate.

**allaḍīna yuḥṣarūna 'alā wuḡūhi-him 'ilā ḡahannama Ø ṣarrun makānan* (Q 25:34), syntactically the predicate can be identified because of the nominative case in *ṣarrun*.

It seems that in these sentences the pronominal copula *hum* could have been similarly used. However, it is reasonable to assume that *hum* is used in short sentences, where both the subject and the predicate are definite. *'ulā'ika*, however, is limited to three structures: (a) a ‘heavy’ subject is followed by a definite predicate; (b) both the subject and the predicate are relative clauses; (c) a ‘heavy’ subject is followed by an indefinite predicate.

More complicated cases are the following examples, where *'ulā'ika* and *hum* occur side by side:

- (16) *allaḍīna yanquḍūna 'ahda llāhi min ba'di mīṭāqi-hi wa-yaqṭa 'ūna mā 'amara llāhu bi-hi 'an yūṣala wa-yuḥsidūna fī l-'arḍi 'ulā'ika humu l-ḥāsirūna* (Q 2:27)¹⁸

‘Those who break the covenant of Allah after its confirmation and cut asunder what Allah has commanded be joined, and they make corruption on the Earth—**those** are the losers.’

¹⁷ More examples are Q 24:62; 39:18; 49:3.

¹⁸ More examples are Q 60:9; 98:6–7.

- (17) *wa-llaḏīna 'āmanū bi-llāhi wa-rusulihī 'ulā'īka humu ṣ-ṣiddīqūna wa-ṣ-ṣuhadā'u 'inda rabbi-him* (Q 57:19)

‘And those who believe in Allah and His Messengers—**those** are the sincere believers and the witnesses with their Lord.’

The underlying structure in Examples 16 and 17 can be exemplified by the following clause, in which the particle *hum* maintains the function of *ḏamīr al-faṣl*:

- (18) *wa-llaḏīna kaḑarū bi-'āyāti-nā hum 'aṣḥābu l-maš'amati* (Q 90:19)

‘And those who disbelieve in Our signs **are** the people of the Left Hand.’

I argue that in Examples 16 and 17 the syntactic subject (*llaḏīna...*) has been dislocated. The canonical position of the dislocated constituent is filled by the pronominal element 'ulā'īka, which is constructed as coreferential with the dislocated phrase or clause. Thus, had Q 90:19 been constructed as a left dislocation structure, it would have illustrated the same structure as Examples 16–17: **wa-llaḏīna kaḑarū bi-'āyāti-nā 'ulā'īka hum 'aṣḥābu l-maš'amati* ‘And those who disbelieve in Our signs, those are the people of the Left Hand.’ In light of this explanation, I suggest the following schema for the grammatisation of both pronouns in Examples 16 and 17.

Underlying structure

Subject	<i>ḏamīr al-faṣl</i>	Predicate
Relative clause	3rd person pronoun	NP+NP
<i>llaḏīna 'āmanū bi-llāhi wa-rusuli-hi</i>	<i>hum</i>	<i>ṣ-ṣiddīqūna wa-ṣ-ṣuhadā'u 'inda rabbi-him</i>

Surface structure

Left dislocated constituent	Resumptive pronoun	Subject	Predicate
Relative clause	Demonstrative pronoun	3rd person pronoun	NP+NP
<i>llaḏīna 'āmanū bi-llāhi wa-rusuli-hi</i>	<i>'ulā'īka</i>	<i>hum</i>	<i>ṣ-ṣiddīqūna wa-ṣ-ṣuhadā'u 'inda rabbi-him</i>

According to this path of grammatisation, the pronoun *hum* ceases to have any anaphoric/separation function and it is reanalysed as a subject. However, it is the demonstrative particle 'ulā'īka which marks the beginning of a new clause in which *hum* functions as the subject and not as a separation pronoun.

4. *'ulā'ika* Functioning as Agreement Cue

In this category I classify conditional clauses headed by the conditional particle *man*:

- (19) *wa-man ya'mal mina ṣ-ṣāliḥāti min ḍakarīn 'aw 'untā wa-huwa mu'minun fa-'ulā'ika yadhūlūna l-ḡannata wa-lā yuḏlamūna naqīran* (Q 4:124)¹⁹

‘And whoever does some good deeds, whether male or female, and is a believer—**those** shall be admitted into Paradise and shall not be wronged a whit.’

These clauses demonstrate the asymmetric agreement type, namely the *protasis* (i.e. the clause expressing the condition) is in masculine singular, while the *apodosis* (i.e. the main consequent clause) is in masculine plural. It might be well argued that the introduction of *'ulā'ika* due to dislocation has caused the attraction, which means all syntactic components in the apodosis agree with the pronoun in masculine plural. However, the question is why a pronoun in masculine plural is used rather than a pronoun in masculine singular, as in, for example, **wa-man ya'mal mina ṣ-ṣāliḥāti min ḍakarīn 'aw 'untā wa-huwa mu'minun fa-huwa yadhūlu l-ḡannata* ‘And whoever does deeds of righteousness, whether male or female, and is a believer, then he/she shall enter Heaven.’

As I shall explain, the conditional particle *man* has a generic indication, that is, it refers to singular or plural feminine or masculine nouns (Ibn Ya'īṣ, *Šarḥ al-mufaṣṣal*: Vol. VI, 411), and thus we witness a mismatch between the two parts of the conditional clause. However, since coherence in language relies partly on basic devices like number agreement (Bock, Nicol and Cutting 1999: 330), I argue that the demonstrative pronoun *'ulā'ika* helps comprehension of structures carrying a conflict between notional and morphological number.

The conditional particle *man* is no different from a collective noun, because *man*, like the collective noun, permits two readings, one in singular in accordance to the morphological form of the *agreement controller*,²⁰ the other in plural, where this reading reflects the collective's consisting of individuals.²¹ The first type might be called *morphological agreement*, the second *notional agreement* (Bock, Nicol and Cutting 1999: 330). The particle *man* is morphologically singular, but can be notionally plural, a condition that may explain the existence of agreement inconsistency in the examined structures. Thus in Q 4:124 (Example 19) the verbs *ya'mal*, the pronoun *huwa* and the noun *mu'min* are all in masculine singular, because they agree with the grammatical number of *man*, while the pronoun *'ulā'ika* and the verbs *yadhūlūna* and *(lā) yuḏlamūna* are in masculine plural, reflecting the notional number of *man*.

¹⁹ A similar example is Q 40:40.

²⁰ See, for example, Q 2:112; 2:184; 4:14; 5:94.

²¹ See, for example, Q 30:53.

But what factors influence this mixed agreement? How can we explain the transformation from linguistic number into notional number? A plausible interpretation can be found in the Qur'ānic exegesis. Consider this example:

- (20) *man yahdī llāhu fa-huwa l-muhtadī wa-man yuḍlil fa-'ulā'īka humu l-hāsirūna* (Q 7:178)²²

'Whomever Allah guides, he is rightly guided, and whomever He leads astray—**those** are the losers.'

al-Bayḍāwī ('*Anwār at-tanzīl*, Vol. 3, 43) explains it as follows:

(...) *wa-l-'ifrādu fī l-'awwali wa-l-ḡam'u fī t-tānī bi-i'tibāri l-lafzi wa-l-ma'nā tanbīhan 'alā 'anna l-muhtadīna ka-wāḥidin li-ttiḥādi tariqi-him bi-hilāfi ḍ-ḍāllīna*

'The singular [forms] in the first [part, i.e. the *protasis*] and the plural [forms] in the second [part, i.e. the *apodosis*] are in accordance with the [words'] formulation and the meaning and in order to indicate that those who are guided are regarded as one unit/group because of their unifying path [of believing] [and that stands] in contrast to those who go astray.'

This explanation implies that the agreement is influenced by rhetorical/pragmatic factors. However, the ambiguity between plural and singular might cause some difficulties in processing and comprehending these structures. Hence, I suggest that the demonstrative particle 'ulā'īka functions as an 'agreement cue' (in addition to the rhetoric/pragmatic explanation) signalling to the listeners the transformation from grammatical number agreement into notional agreement.

However, a few more structures do not exhibit left-dislocation. The transformation from grammatical agreement into notional agreement in those cases is made directly without any 'agreement cue':

- (21) *fa-man 'āmana wa-'aṣlaḥa fa-lā ḥawfun 'alay-him wa-lā hum yaḥzanūna* (Q 6:48)

'Those who believe and mend their ways have nothing to fear and have no cause to grieve.'

- (22) *ittabi'ū man lā yas'alu-kum 'aḡran wa-hum muhtadūna* (Q 36:21)

'Follow those who do not ask you for a wage, while they are rightly guided.'

Like examples 19–20 in Q 6:48, the verbs ('āmana and 'aṣlaḥa) in the *protasis* are in masculine singular, while the pronouns (*him* and *hum*) and the verb (*yaḥzanūna*) in the *apodosis* are in masculine plural. In Q 36:21 the verb (*yas'alu-kum*) is in masculine singular, while the circumstantial clause is in masculine plural.

²² More examples are Q 2:81; 2:114; 3:82; 3:94; 7:9; 7:37; 11:17; 11:18; 17:19; 75:20; 23:7; 23:103; 24:52; 39:33; 70:31; 72:14.

Conclusions

The demonstrative particle *'ulā'ika* stands in the Qur'ān at the beginning of the sentence, functioning as a subject, or in the middle of the sentence, functioning as (1) a resumptive pronoun of left-dislocation construction; (2) similar to *damīr al-faṣl* which function as 'separation pronouns', *'ulā'ika* 'separates' definite subject from definite predicate—where in some cases both are constructed as a relative clause; and a 'heavy' subject from an indefinite predicate; (3) as a number marker.

The function of the demonstrative particle *'ulā'ika* is largely determined by the syntactic context in which this pronoun occurs. I observed that it occurs in left-dislocation constructions, while *'ulā'ika* is analysed as a resumptive particle and not as a subject taking the canonical position of the left-dislocated subject. In these structures *'ulā'ika* turns into a syntactic device conveying the relation between the subject and the predicate, and hence the sentence can be correctly interpreted. Furthermore, in left-dislocation constructions it marks the boundary of a 'heavy' subject indicating where the predicate, which consists of a short clause, starts. In simple sentences, however, where the predicate usually consists of a noun phrase, *'ulā'ika*, also used as a segmentation, means marking the boundaries between the subject and the predicate. Therefore, these sentences are not regarded left-dislocated structures in which *'ulā'ika* serves first as a resumptive pronoun and as a predicate marker.

Finally, *'ulā'ika* functions as a number marker where the conditional particle *man* is involved, and two kinds of number agreement are at work: singular and plural. The insertion of *'ulā'ika* due to left-dislocation also reflects the transition from the grammatical-number feature associated with *man* to the notional number of *man*.

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