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Functional Discourse Grammar

Emphasis and Emphatic Marking in Arabic:
A Functional Discourse Grammar Approach

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Abstract

In earlier work (Moutaouakil 1989), I argued that within the framework of Functional Grammar (e.g. Dik 1997) `inna-constructions in Standard Modern Arabic (hereafter SMA) be analysed as focus constructions where (Contrastive) Focus function is assigned to the predication. In Mackenzie (2009), it is argued that within the Functional Discourse Grammar framework these constructions should rather be approached in terms of Emphasis. Subscribing to Mackenzie's view, I here re-examine the interpersonal and structural properties of `inna-constructions (together with the other types of emphatic constructions in Arabic) in light of the way in which Emphasis and emphatic marking are described in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008). It is believed that the proposals made throughout this study will enrich the FDG approach in this area.

1. Introduction

In Standard Modern Arabic (hereafter SMA), the particle `inna occupies the initial position in constructions where it is used to signal that special attention is given to the transmitted content.

Within the framework of Functional Grammar (e.g. Dik 1997; henceforth FG), these constructions have been analysed as a type of focus constructions where (Contrastive) Focus is placed on the whole predication (Moutaouakil 1989). In a recent study, Mackenzie (2009) rightly points out that the properties of `inna-constructions can be more adequately accounted for if they are analysed in Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) as emphatic rather than focus constructions.

Elaborating on the characterization of Emphasis given in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), I would like to discuss this issue within a global approach to emphatic constructions in Arabic. I shall mainly be concerned with the following four aspects: (a) the extent to which it would be useful to distinguish between two kinds of emphasis: emotive emphasis (Exclamation) and what we may call 'argumentative emphasis' (Reinforcement), (b) the interpersonal status of the units that can be emphasized and the formal means by which the emphatic features can be realized, (c) the possibility for a construction to involve multiple emphatic marking and (d) the ordering of the emphatic markers as well as the principles by which it is ruled.

2. Emphasis in FDG
2.1 Definition

In Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008:64), Emphasis is defined as "the result of the Speaker's intensification of the Discourse Act", a definition which suggests that Emphasis is the opposite of Mitigation.

Hengeveld and Mackenzie put forward the idea that Emphasis applies irrespective of the illocutionary value of the Discourse Act: it can combine with Declarative, Interrogative or Imperative Illocution. Examples from SMA are the following:

(1)   a.   ʾinna   Zaydanqadima

                EMPH   Zayd-ACC   come-PAST.3MSG

                ' I state / assert that Zayd came'

        b.   hal   ʾinna   Zaydanqadima?

                INT   EMPH Zayd-ACC   come-PAST.3MSG

                ' Do you state / assert that Zayd came?'

        c.   lā   tughādiranna!

                PROHIB   leave-2MSG-EMPH

                'I strongly forbid you to leave!'

This is taken as an argument in favour of the claim that Emphasis is not an illocution. I shall return to this issue below.

2.2 Emphasis vs Focus/Contrast

Within FDG, the pragmatic functions recognized in FG have been revisited and redefined to conform to new insights. More specifically, Contrast is now conceived of not as a subtype of Focus but as an autonomous full-fledged pragmatic function, defined as signalling "the Speaker's desire to bring out the particular differences between two or more Communicated Contents or between a Communicated Content and contextually available information" (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:96).Focus function, on the other hand, "signals the Speaker's strategic selection of new information." (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:89).

More often than not, emphatic constructions are analysed as Focus constructions, particularly in Grammars where Emphasis is lacking as working concept as is the case in FG. At the root of this confusion is probably the fact that in both kinds of construction some prominence (or salience) is involved. The way in which Emphasis, Focus and Contrast are defined in FDG makes it possible to draw a clear distinction between these three notions: Emphasis differs from Focus in the sense that it applies to a unit not necessarily embodying new information; on the contrary, the emphasized unit typically conveys known information. It differs from

Contrast, as Mackenzie (2009:6) points out, in not implying any information contrasting process.

Further evidence for distinguishing Emphasis and Contrast as two quite different processes is the fact that they can apply to the same unit within the same discourse Act. In example (2b), the predicate '*fāzat*' is contrasted and emphasized at the same time:

(2) A: rasabat   Hindun
         fail-PAST.3FSG   Hind-NOM
         'Hind failed'
     B: a.   bi l'aksi,   **fāzat**   !
              with-Def-contrary-GEN   succeed- PAST.3FSG
              'On the contrary, she **succeeded**!
         b.   bi l'aksi,   qad   **fāzat**   !
              with-Def-contrary-GEN   EMPH succeed- PAST.3FSG
              'On the contrary, she DID **succeed!'**

Such a process generally also takes place, as Mackenzie (2009:7) shows, in `*inna*-constructions where the (nominal/adjectival) predicate bears the emphatic prefix *la-*. These constructions will be examined in more detail later.

In sum, Focus and Contrast relate to the communicative status of pieces of information whereas Emphasis/Mitigation relates to the (energetic/moderate) way in which a given piece of information is presented.

2.3 Emphasis vs Illocution

In FG (Dik 1997:239), Exclamation was analysed as an illocution. Within the same framework, I argued in Moutaouakil (1999, 2005) that it is not an illocution and that therefore it cannot be taken as having the same status as Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative. Rather, I argued, it is a sub-type of (emotional) modality. In FDG, Exclamation is no longer thought of as an illocution; instead, the properties of exclamatory constructions are captured by an emphatic operator. That Emphasis is not an illocution is evidenced by the fact that it can combine, as Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) point out, with any illocution. Furthermore, I shall show below that it may apply to the illocution itself. It will become clear throughout this study that in defining Emphasis in a manner that permits us to distinguish it from Illocution and Focus/Contrast, FDG renders it possible to account in a more adequate way for truly emphatic constructions.

3. Emphatic operator: Exclamation vs Reinforcement

The examples given in Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 66,83) as instantiations of Emphasis are exclamatory constructions like (3) and also non-exclamatory constructions such as (4):

(3)   She has grown!
(4)   Doe   je   werk   dan
        do   your   work   EMPH
   'Go on, do your work'

I would like to interpret this as an indication that Emphasis can be assumed to subsume different subtypes. If such an interpretation turns out to be correct, I would like to suggest distinguishing between – at least – two Emphasis sub-types: emotive Emphasis or Exclamation and 'argumentative' Emphasis or Reinforcement. Supporting such a distinction are the following facts:

(i) Both Exclamation and Reinforcement serve as intensifying devices. They differ from each other, however, in that the former is the intensification of a Discourse Act performed as an (enthusiastic) emotional reaction towards a Communicated Content or a Subact whereas the latter is the intensification of (a part of) a Discourse Act occurring as an argument or as an element of a more or less long argumentative chain.

(ii) With this characterization, exclamatory constructions and reinforcement constructions are expected to appear in two different discourse types (or genres): expressive and argumentative, respectively.

(iii) The two kinds of constructions display quite different formal properties. In SMA, Exclamation is expressed, as shown in Moutaouakil (1999,2005), by a specific predicate form (*mā 'af ala*) and a specific intonational contour, as for instance in (5):

(5)   mā ʾajmala   Najātan !
        EXCL-beautiful   Najāt-ACC
        'How beautiful is Najāt !'

As for Reinforcement, it is realized by various lexical and morpho-syntactic means depending upon the interpersonal status of the reinforced unit, as will be shown below.

        If such a proposal is tenable, we could represent the emphatic operator as follows:

                                        Excl

(6)   Emph   {
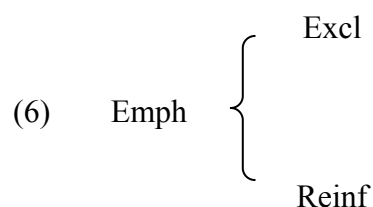
                                        Reinf

Having devoted a special study to Exclamation in Arabic (Moutaouakil 1999, 2005), I will concentrate here on Reinforcement.

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4. Emphasis placement and emphatic marking
4.1 Emphatic markers
In general, Reinforcement can apply to several units at the Interpersonal Level. It can be placed on the whole Discourse Act, on the Communicated Content or on one of the (Referential and Ascriptive) Subacts it embodies. As for its formal expression in SMA, Reinforcement is mediated through lexical or morpho-syntactic markers.

The lexical means used as Reinforcement markers are mainly modifiers such as *fi ʿlan* 'indeed', *Haqqan* 'really, truly', *qaT ʿan* 'absolutely', *dūna šakkin* 'undoubtedly', *jiddan* 'seriously'. It is noteworthy that *jiddan* and other adverbs like *biSarāHa* 'frankly' and *biSidq* 'sincerely', which are commonly taken as lexical means for restricting (specifying or modifying) the (lexical / abstract) illocutionary predicate, may also be used, in some contexts, to intensify the whole Discourse Act. In such contexts, it seems that they serve the interperson function of emphatic Discourse Act modifiers rather than mere illocutionary restrictors.

The morphological reinforcing markers are the particles *'inna* and *qad*, the prefix *la-* and the verbal suffix *–anna*. In certain cases, constituent ordering can also take part in the formal expression of Reinforcement. A very productive special construction is reserved to the expression of the reinforcement applying to the predicate. Such a construction is the result of what we could call 'Predicate-Copying Strategy' (hereafter PCS) which consists in resuming the predicate by its nominalized form within the same clause. The choice between these various emphatic markers depends up on the interpersonal status of the reinforced unit and the interpersonal (and representational) features involved in the ('pure' / 'mixed') alignment of this unit.

4.2 Emphatic Acts
4.2.1 Reinforced Acts
A whole Discourse Act can be reinforced by such lexical means as modifiers like *qaT ʿan* and *jiddan* (in its emphatic meaning). These modifiers occur in the pre-clausal position as in (7a-b)

(7) a.   qaTʿ an,   fāza   Badrun
          absolutely-ACC   succeed- PAST.3MSG   Badr-NOM
          'I categorically affirm that Badr succeeded'
     b.   jiddan,   fāza   Badrun
          seriously-ACC   succeed- PAST.3MSG   Badr-NOM'
          'I categorically affirm that Badr succeeded'

They might also appear in the post-clause position as in (8a-b):

(8) a.   fāza   Badrun   qaTʿ an
          succeed- PAST.3MSG   Badr-NOM   absolutely-ACC
     b.   fāza   Badrun   jiddan
          succeed- PAST.3MSG   Badr-NOM   seriously-ACC

It should be noticed, however, that the preferred position of this kind of modifiers is the pre-clausal position rather than the post-clausal one. Constructions (8a-b), if used at all, are less natural than constructions (7a-b). They become totally acceptable when they are uttered with an intonational pause between *fāza Badrun* and the modifier (*qaT ʿan /jiddan*), when this modifier is understood to carry out an autonomous Discourse Act, as will be shown below.

Examples (7a-b) and (8a-b) can be represented at the Interpersonal Level as follows:

(9) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL \ F_1) \ (P_1)_S \ (P_2)_A \ (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc} \ (+idR_1: Badr \ (R_1))_{Top}] \ (C_1))]$
       $(A_1: qaT\ an \ (A_1) \ (M_1))$

(10) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL \ F_1) \ (P_1)_S \ (P_2)_A \ (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc} \ (+idR_1: Badr \ (R_1))_{Top}] \ (C_1))]$
       $(A_1: jiddan \ (A_1) \ (M_1))$

The reinforcement of a Discourse Act can also be achieved by morphological means. This task is fulfilled by two markers: the clause-initial particle *ʿinna* and the verbal suffix *-anna*. Ancient Arab grammarians analyse constructions like (11) as involving a reinforcement of the Proposition. Mackenzie (2009:7) points out that, in such constructions, it is rather the whole Declarative Discourse Act that is reinforced. As for constructions such as (12), (13) and (14), they are given in Arabic Grammatical Tradition (hereafter AGT) as instances of reinforcement of other types of Discourse Acts, namely Imperative, Prohibitive and Commissive Discourse Acts, respectively:

(11)   ʿinna   Zaydanqādimun
        EMPH Zayd-ACC   coming-3MSG-NOM
        I state / assert that Zayd is coming’
(12)   iqdimanna!
        IMP-come-2MSG-EMPH
        ‘Go on, come!’
(13)   lā   tudaxxinanna!
        PROHIB   smoke-2MSG-EMPH
        ‘I strongly forbid you to smoke!’
(14)   laʿaqdimanna!
        COMM-come-FUT.1SG-EMPH
        ‘I really commit myself to coming!’

Surprisingly, no attention has been paid in AGT to the relationship between *‘inna* and *–anna*, in spite of their obvious similarities both in form and content. In this respect, I would like to suggest that the latter be taken as a mere distributional variant appearing in illocutionary contexts where the former cannot occur. If this claim is correct, we can conceive of *‘inna* and *–anna* as the morpho-syntactic realizations of the interpersonal operator combinations Reinf-DECL/INTER and Reinf-IMP/PROHIB/COMM, respectively.

Before closing this sub-section, let us recall that it is claimed in Dik (1997b: 234) that explicit performatives are 'emphatic', 'forceful' expressions of illocution. On the basis of this claim, constructions like (15b) could be analysed as reinforced counterparts of constructions such as (15a):

(15)   a.   ʕādat   Hindun
               come back- PAST.3FSG   Hind-NOM
               'Hind came back'
       b.   ʔaqūlu   ʔinna   Hindan   ʕādat
               say-PRES.1SG   that   Hind-ACC   come-back- PAST 3FSG
               'I am saying that Hind came back'

4.2.2 Reinforcing Acts
Let us now consider the following examples:

(16)   Zaydun   šāʕirun   kabīrun,   qaTʕan
       Zayd-NOM   poet-NOM   great-NOM   absolutely-ACC
       'Zayd is a great poet, absolutely!'
(17)   Zaydun   šāʕirun   kabīrun,   jiddan
       Zayd-NOM   poet-NOM   great-NOM   seriously-ACC
       'Zayd is a great poet, seriously!'

In (16) and (17), *qaTʕan* and *jiddan* occupy a clause-external position and are intonationally set off from the preceding linguistic material. Unlike in (8a-b), they are not modifiers but rather autonomous Discourse Acts which function as a reinforcement of the Discourse Act carried out by the preceding clause.

The available (and, as far as I can judge, probably the most suitable) way to account for this kind of construction within the current FDG framework is to conceive of the reinforcement that it involves as a rhetorical function and to assign it to the second Discourse Act. Accordingly, the interpersonal representation of (16) and (17) could be (18) and (19) respectively:

(18) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL\ F_1)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc}\ (+idR_1: Zayd\ (R_1))_{Top}]\ (C_1))]$
       $(A_1))_{Nucl}$
              $(A_2\ [(DECL\ F_2)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_2: [qaTʕan]\ ((C_2))]\ (A_2))_{Reinf}\ (M_1))$
(19) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL\ F_1)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc}\ (+idR_1: Zayd\ (R_1))_{Top}]\ (C_1))]$
       $(A_1))_{Nucl}\ (A_2\ [(DECL\ F_2)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_2: [jiddan]\ ((C_2))]\ (A_2))_{Reinf}\ (M_1))$

Interestingly enough, such an analysis may be proposed for other post-clausal constituents as well, particularly in the case of swearing, as illustrated in (20a-b):

(20) a. ʕāda   Zaydun,   qasaman !
        come-back-PAST.3MSG   Zayd-NOM   oath-ACC
        'Zayd came back, I swear!'
    b. qaTʕan,   ʕāda   Zaydun,
        absolutely-ACC   come-back-PAST.3MSG   Zayd-NOM
        qasaman
        oath-ACC
        'Absolutely, Zayd came back, I swear!'

If such an approach turns out to be correct, it becomes possible to suggest distinguishing between two interpersonal statuses of Reinforcement: Reinforcement as an operator or a modifier applying to (some unit of) a Discourse Act and Reinforcement as a rhetorical function assigned to a whole Discourse Act with respect to another. Notice that these two kinds of Reinforcement may take place in the same construction, as shown in (20b). As a function, Reinforcement could be added to the already recognized rhetorical functions such as Motivation, Concession, Orientation and Correction.

4.2.3 Reinforced responses

In Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 146-148), a distinction is made between 'propositional' and 'actional' *yes/no*. The two kinds of responses are exemplified in (21a-b)) and (22a-b)

(21) A: Was Peter attacked by a dog?
     B: a.   Yes
           b.   No
(22) A: Go home!
     B: a.   No!
           b.   *Yes
           c.   Okay!

Hengeveld and Mackenzie suggest that actional *yes/no* responses do not assign any truth value to the Propositional Content embodied in the Discourse Act. For example, *no* in (22a) does not assign a negative truth value to the Propositional Content contained in Speaker's order; "Rather, it functions as a rejection of the preceding order. In this use, it is not in opposition with *yes* but with *okay*." (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 148)In other words, in (22), *no* and *okay* are full Discourse Acts and not mere propositions.

In SMA, *naʕam* 'yesʕ and *lā* 'noʕ can be used as propositional answers as in (23) and also as actional responses, as shown in (24):

(23) A: hal   qadimat   Hindun ?
           INT   ome-PAST.3FSG   HIND-NOM
           'Did Hind come?'

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B: a.   naˈam
             'Yes'

        b.   lā
             'No'

(24) A: zur   Hindan !
             IMP visit-2MSG   Hind-ACC
             'Pay a visit to Hind'

        B: a.   naˈam
                     'Okay'

             b.   lā
                     'No'

The peculiarity of SMA is that actional *na 'am* and *lā* have reinforced counterparts which are *ʾajal* 'sure' and *kallā* 'certainly not', respectively, used in exchanges such as the following:

(25) A: satusāˈidunī
            help-FUT.2MSG-1SG
            'You will help me.'

        B: a.   ʾajal !
                    'Sure !'

             b.   kallā !
                    'Certainly not!'

4.3 Emphatic Communicated Content

The reinforcement of the Communicated Content takes place by lexical means, typically by modifiers like *fi ʾ lan*, *Haqqan* and *dūna šakkin*. The following examples illustrate the point:

(26) a.   fiˈlan,   fāzat   Munā
             indeed-ACC   succeed-PAST.3FSG Munā
             'Indeed, Mouna succeeded'

          b.   dūna šakkin,   sayafūzu   ˈAliyyun
             without doubt-GEN   succeed-FUT.3MSG ˈAliyy-NOM
             'Undoubtedly, Ali will succeed'

          c.   Haqqan,   Zaydun   karīmun
             really-ACC   Zayd-NOM   generous-MSG-NOM
             'Really, Zayd is generous'

These modifiers generally occur in the pre-clausal position, as in (26a-c). They also may occupy the post-clausal position, as becomes clear from (27a-c):

(27) a. fāzat   Munā fiˁlan
     succeed-PAST.3FSG   Munā indeed-ACC
     'Mouna succeeded indeed'

   b. sayafūzu   ʾAliyyun dūna   šakkin
     succeed-FUT.3MSG ʾAliyy-NOM without doubt-GEN
     'Ali will undoubtedly succeed'

   c. Zaydun   karīmun   Haqqan
     Zayd-NOM generous-MSG-NOM   really-ACC
     'Zayd is really generous'

At the Interpersonal Level (27b), can be represented as follows:

(28) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL\ F_1)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc}\ (+idR_1: \ ʾAliyy\ (R_1))_{Top}]\ (C_1:$
   $dūna\ šakk\ (C_1))]\ (A_1)\ (M_1))$

Worthy of notice is that, in order to be understood as reinforcing the Communicated Content rather than another layer, these modifiers must occur in a clause-internal (initial, middle or final) position. When they appear in a peripheral (post-clausal) position, they stand as autonomous units and the unit they reinforce is not only the Communicated Content but rather the Discourse Act in its entirety. When they occur outside the clause proper, *fi'lan*, *Haqqan* and *dūna šakkin* display the same interpersonal status as *qaT ˁan* and *jiddan* in (16) and (17), i.e. the status of full-fledged Discourse Acts bearing the Reinforcement rhetorical function.

4.4 Subacts
4.4.1 The Referential Subact
The typical means by which the reinforcement of the Referential Subact is realized in SMA is the repetition of the same referring constituent, as exemplified in (29):

(29) qadima   Zaydun Zaydun
   come-PAST.3MSG Zayd-NOM Zayd-NOM
   'Zayd, (I say Zayd!) came!'

In AGT, other markers can bu used to express reinforcement of Referential Subact, such as the reflexive pronoun in example (30):

(30) qadima   Zaydun nafsuhu
   come-PAST.3MSG Zayd-NOM self-NOM-3MSG
   'Zayd himself came'

In its reinforced reading, example (30) can be interpreted as synonymous with example (28) to the extent that the reflexive pronoun *nafsuhu* can be thought of as another way to reduplicate the NP *Zayd*.

Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008:123) point out that the reinforcement operator assigned to a Referential Subact can also be realized by constituent ordering. They analyse example (31b) as involving a constituent to which a special emphasis is given by placing it in the clause-initial position:

(31) A: Did you get a day off?
      B: a.   A day off? The boss gave me a whole week.
            b.   A day off? A whole week the boss gave me.

In the same vein, Martínez Caro (2007:125) reports that in Spanish the fronting of an Object-Given Topic (previously introduced into the discourse) lends 'emphasis' or 'prominence' to this constituent.
A similar reinforcement process can also be found in Classical Arabic and to some extent in SMA.
      Let us consider example (32b):

(32) A: hal   qābalta   Hindan ?
            INT   meet-PAST.2MSG   Hind-ACC
            'Did you meet Hind?'
      B: a.   qābaltu   Hindan
                  meet-PAST.1MSG   Hind-ACC
                  'I met Hind'
            b.   Hindan   qābaltuhā
                  Hind-ACC   meet-PAST.1MSG-3FSG
                  'Hind, I met'

In both (32a) and (32b) *Hindan* is an Object-Given Topic, with the difference, however, that it receives some degree of reinforcement in (32b), but not in (32a).
      What seems to hold specifically for Arabic is that the constituent placed in the pre-verbal position is resumed by an anaphorical pronoun in the post-verbal area. This resumption strategy makes it possible to distinguish between the constructions exemplified in (32b) and constructions like (33), where the constituent occupying the pre-verbal position bears the Contrast function:

(33) A: qābalta   Zaynaba
            meet-2MSG   Zaynab-ACC
            'You met Zaynaba'
      B: Hindan   qābaltu   (lā Zaynaba)
            Hind-ACC   meet-PAST.1MSG   not Zaynab-ACC
            'It was Hind that I met (not Zaynab)'

4.4.2 The Ascriptive Subact

Reinforcement may also be placed on the Ascriptive Subact. The means that SMA provides to fulfil this task are: (a) the particle *qad*, (b) the prefix *la-* and (c) PSG.
(i) The particle *qad* precedes a verbal predicate in Perfective Past form as in (34):

(34)   qad   qadima   Zaydun
        EMPH come-PAST.3MSG   Zayd-NOM
        'Zayd DID come!'

(ii) The use of *qad* with a non-verbal predicate results in an ungrammatical construction. Witness:

(35)   *Zaydun   qad   qādimun
          Zayd-NOM   EMPH coming-NOM

It is the prefix *la-* that combines with the non-verbal predicate in such cases. Notice that the predicate obligatorily occurs before the Subject constituent as becomes clear from the comparison between (36a) and (36b):

(36)   a.   laqādimun   Zaydun
                EMPH-coming-NOM   Zayd-NOM
                'Zayd is surely coming!'

        b.   *Zaydun   laqādimun
                 Zayd-NOM EMPH-coming-NOM

        c.   ʾinna   Zaydanlaqādimun
                EMPH   Zayd-ACC   EMPH-coming-NOM
                'I state / assert that Zayd is surely coming!'

This requirement holds in all cases except when it is overridden by one of the Function-Independent-Form rules (discussed in Moutaouakil (2004:147)) according to which the Subject-Topic NP is 'attracted' by the clause-initial particle ʾinna and placed immediately after it, as in (36c).

As regards the use of these two morphemes, we can speak of an instantiation of 'mixed' alignment in the sense that their occurrence at the morpho-syntactic level depends upon information coming from both the interpersonal and the representational levels, i.e. the emphatic operator, the TMA operator and the lexical category of the predicate.

(iii) As for PCS, it consists, as mentioned above, in resuming the predicate by its nominalized form. Example (37) illustrates the use of such a strategy:

(37) fataHa   Bakrun   l-bāba   fatHan
     open- PAST.3MSG   Bakr-NOM   DEF-Door-ACC   opening-ACC
     'Bakr DID open the door'

The constructions exemplified in (37) share features with the ones analysed in Dik (1997b:316) as Focus constructions, namely the repetition of the predicate. However, the strategy taking place in SMA is not exactly the same as the one used in some West-African languages. Compare (37), in this respect, with the following "pseudo-English" example given in Dik :

(38)   (It's) kiss (that) John kissed Mary

First, in SMA the predicate as such is not repeated :what is added is its nominalized form. Second, this nominalized form of the predicate does not undergo any fronting process; rather, it occupies a clause-internal position and behaves as a normal satellite constituent. Third, the repetition does not result in focusing of the predicate but in reinforcing it. In order to focus the predicate, SMA uses a dummy cleft construction in which the predicate takes a nominalized form while the support verb faʕal occurs within the Topic-constituent, as in (39):

(39)   mā   faʕalahu   Zaydun
        REL   do-PAST.3MSG-3MSG   Zayd- NOM
        kitābatu   risālatin
        writing-NOM letter-GEN
        'What Zayd did is writing a letter'
        'Zayd did nothing but write a letter'

5. Ambivalent markers

Some markers can be said to be 'functionally ambivalent' in the sense that they may serve to express reinforcement as well as mitigation.
As shown above, the particle *qad* is used as an emphatic marker when it combines with a verbal predicate in Perfective Past form as in (34) repeated here for convenience:

(34)   qad   sāfara   Zaydun
        EMPH travel-PAST.3MSG   Zayd-NOM
        'Zayd DID travel!'

When it combines with a verb in Non-Perfective Non-Past form as in (40), this particle behaves rather as a mitigating device:

(40)   qad   yusāfiru   Zaydun
        MITIG   come-FUT.3MSG   Zayd-NOM
        'Maybe, Zayd will travel'

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Reportative modifiers applying to the Communicated Content are commonly used to mitigate what is being stated. However, they can serve, in certain contexts, to reinforce the statement rather than to mitigate it. Consider the following example:

(41)　　Hasaba　　　　n-nuHāti　　　　　　　　t-tawlīdiyyīna
　　　　according　　　DEF-grammarians-GEN　　DEF-generativist-GEN
　　　　t-tarkību　　　　　　mustaqillun
　　　　DEF-syntax-NOM　　autonomous-NOM
　　　　'According to generativist grammarians, syntax is autonomous'

In (41), the reportative modifier *Hasaba n-nuHāti t-tawlīdiyyīna* is understood as expressing mitigation if the Speaker is any non-generativist linguist merely relaying the views of others (with whom he does not necessarily agree). The same modifier may be interpreted as an emphatic device when the Speaker is a (radical) formalist who wants to reinforce his/her commitment to the 'Autonomous Syntax' hypothesis.

6. More than one emphatic marker
In many cases, emphatic constructions can contain more than one emphatic marker. The examined data show that this is done for two main reasons: (a) to make it possible for many units to be reinforced within the same Discourse Act and (b) to express different degrees of Reinforcement.

6.1 Multiple reinforcement
By 'multiple reinforcement' I mean the process in which more than one unit is reinforced in one construction. Let us give some examples. In (42a-b), Reinforcement applies to the Discourse Act and the Ascriptive Subact; in (43), it applies to the Discourse Act, the Referential Subact as well as to the Ascriptive Subact:

(42)　a.　　ʾinna　Zaydan　　　lâ͡aʾidun
　　　　　　EMPH Zayd-ACC　　EMPH-coming back-NOM
　　　　　　'I state / assert that Zayd is surely coming back!'
　　　b.　　ʾinna　Zaydan　　　qad　　　　　　ʾāda
　　　　　　EMPH　　Zayd-ACC　　EMPH　　　　　come back-PAST.3MSG
　　　　　　'I state / assert that Zayd DID come back!'
(43)　　ʾinna　Zaydan　　　zaydan　　　lâ͡aʾidun
　　　　EMPH Zayd-ACC　　Zayd-ACC　　coming back-NOM
　　　　'I state / assert that Zayd, (I say Zayd!) is surely coming back!'

These constructions can be given the following representation at the Interpersonal Level:

(44)　　$(M_1: (Reinf\ A_1: [(DECL\ F_1)\ (P_1)_S\ (P_2)_A\ (C_1: [(Reinf\ T_1)_{Foc}\ (+idR_1: Zayd\ (R_1))_{Top}\ ]\ (C_1))]\ (A_1))\ (M_1))$

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However, placing Reinforcement on a whole layer and on one of the internal elements of this layer at the same time, yields a questionable result, as demonstrated in (45), where both the Communicated Content and the Ascriptive Subact are reinforced:

(45) ? fiˁlan   qad   qadima   Zaydun
          indeed-ACC EMPH come-PAST.3SGM   Zayd-NOM

Constructions such as (45) are acceptable only if the predicate is understood to carry double reinforcement function, mediated through the modifier (*fiˁlan*) and the particle (*qad*), as in the data examined in the next subsection.

6.2 Gradable reinforcement

Reinforcement, as all kinds of Emphasis (cf Moutaouakil 1999 and 2005) for the gradability of Exclamation and its representation in FG), is a matter of degree in the sense that the intensification of (some unit of) a Discourse Act varies depending upon the nature of the Addressee's reaction (approval, doubt, objection, rejection, etc.) at a given step of the ongoing exchange. To take an example, if we conceive of argumentative genre, following Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 51), as Moves articulated into three parts, we could say that increasing Reinforcement is expected to take place within the developing Discourse Acts chain rather than in the introductory statement or in the conclusion. We can speak of increasing reinforcement when the same unit bears more than one emphatic marker, as in the following examples:

(46) a.   qaTˁan,   ʾinna Zaydan   qādimun
              absolutely-ACC   EMPH Zayd-ACC   coming-NOM
              'Absolutely, I state / assert that Zayd will come'
       b.   qaTˁan,   laʾatazawwajanna
              absolutely-ACC   COMM-marry-FUT.1SGM-EMPH
              Hindan
              Hind-ACC
              'Absolutely, I strongly commit myself to marrying Hind'
(47) a.   qad   qadima   Zaydun   qudūman
              EMPH come-PAST.3SGM   Zayd-NOM   coming-ACC
              'Zayd really DID come'
       b.   laqādimun   Zaydun   dūman
              EMPH-coming-NOM   Zayd-NOM   coming-ACC
              'No doubt that Zayd will surely come'

The modifier *qaTˁan* combines in (46a) with the particle *ʾinna* and in (46b) with the suffix *-anna* to increase the reinforcement of the Discourse Act. In (47a-b), the particle *qad* and the prefix *la-*, described above as emphatic markers, apply to an Ascriptive Subact already reinforced through PCS. In such cases, the reinforced unit contains both a modifier and a Reinforcement operator as becomes clear from the

comparison between (9), repeated here for convenience, and (48) which is the interpersonal representation of (46a):

(9) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL F_1) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc} (+idR_1: Badr (R_1))_{Top}] (C_1))]$
$(A_1: qaT^ʕan (A_1)) (M_1))$

(48) $(M_1: (Reinf A_1: [(DECL F_1) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc} (+idR_1: Zayd (R_1))_{Top}]$
$(C_1))] (A_1: qaT^ʕan (A_1)) (M_1))$

The Reinf operator, when sent to the encoder, is realised by the particle *ʾinna* . This is what happens in example (20b), repeated here for convenience, which involves the reinforcement of the same (nucleus) Discourse Act by two different means: the Discourse Act modifier *jiddan* and the modifier *qasaman* standing as a full-fledged Discourse Act as interpersonal representation (49) shows:

(20b) qaT^ʕan,   ʕāda   Zaydun,
       seriously-ACC   come-back-PAST.3MSG   Zayd-NOM
       qasaman
       oath-ACC
        'Absolutely, Zayd came back, I swear!'

(49) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL F_1) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_1: [(T_1)_{Foc} (+idR_1: Zayd (R_1))_{Top}] (C_1))]$
$(A_1: qaT^ʕan (A_1))_{Nucl} (A_2 [(DECL F_2) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_2: [qasaman] ((C_2))]$
$(A_2))_{Reinf} (M_1))$

The question which arises now is: How can we deal with those constructions where the increasing reinforcement is handled only by morpho-syntactic means? As a provisional representational procedure, it could be suggested to conceive of Reinforcement as an operator that may apply to a unit which already has its own internal reinforcing operator. Accordingly, the interpersonal representation of the constructions involving the (compound) particle *laqad* (consisting of the prefix *la* and the particle *qad*) like (50) could be (51):

(50) laqad   qadima   Zaydun
      EMPH-EMPH come-PAST.3MSG   Zayd-NOM
      'Zayd really DID come!'

(51) $(M_1: (A_1: [(DECL F_1) (P_1)_S (P_2)_A (C_1: [(Reinf [Reinf T_1])_{Foc} (+idR_1: Zayd$
$(R_1))_{Top}] (C_1))] (A_1)) (M_1))$

7. Emphatic marker ordering
In SMA, the placement and ordering of Reinforcement markers take place according to the following general procedure:

(i) The positional template in this language is template (52) which contains a pre-clausal and a post-clausal positions and five clause-internal positions divided into three absolute positions (clause-initial positions P^1 and P^2 and clause-middle position P^M) and two relative positions (P^{2+1} and P^{M+1}):

(52) P^{pre} P^1 P^2 P^{2+1} P^M P^{M+1} P^{post}

(ii) As regards emphatic markers, Discourse Act and Communicated Content modifiers go either in P^{pre} or in P^{post} as in (7a-b), (26a-c) and (27a-c). The particle *ʾinna* and the Subject-Topic NP that it 'attracts' are hosted by P^1 and P^2 respectively. The particle *qad* occupies the position P^1 if it is available, as in (34). When P^1 and P^2 are filled by *ʾinna* and the Subject-Topic NP, this particle goes in P^{2+1}, as in (42b). When available, P^1 is the position that houses the pre-verbal Object-Given Topic. As for constructions involving a PCS process, the predicate occupies the position P^M while its resuming nominalized copy goes in $P^{M+1.}$

(iii) The order of emphatic markers at the morpho-syntactic level tends to satisfy to the transparency and interpretability requirement in the sense that it generally reflects the organization of their underlying interpersonal sources. Let us take as an example the ordering of the particles *ʾinna* and *qad* when they co-occur in the same construction. The comparison between (53a) and (53b) shows that *ʾinna* obligatorily precedes *qad*:

(53)   a.   ʾinna   Zaydanqad   kharaja
              EMPH   Zayd-ACC   EMPH go out-PAST.3MSG
              'I state /assert that Zayd DID go out'
        b. * qad   ʾinna   Zaydankharaja
              EMPH   EMPH Zayd-ACC   succeed-PAST.3MSG

The reason is that *ʾinna* is the expression of a reinforcement operator applying to a higher layer (Discourse Act). The same transparency requirement holds for the ordering of emphatic modifiers: Discourse Act modifiers must occur before Communicated Content modifiers. The reverse ordering results in ungrammatical constructions such as (54b):

(54)   a.   qaTˤ an,   fiˤlan   satazūrunā   Hindun
              absolutely-ACC indeed-ACC   visit-FUT.3FSG   Hind-NOM
               'Absolutely, Hind will indeed pay a visit to us'
        b. * fiˤlan,   qaTˤ an   satazūrunā   Hindun
              indeed-ACC   absolutely-ACC   visit-FUT.3FSG   Hind-NOM

It also can be said that, following Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 23-25) the order of emphatic markers tends to obey the 'Depth First Principle' in the sense that it can be taken as a manifestation of the "general analogy between production processes and

the sequence of steps involved in a pass through the model of FDG." In accordance with this principle, the emphatic marker of the higher layer is expected to be sent ahead to the encoder before the emphatic marker of the lower layer.

8. Summary and conclusions

As regards its typological adequacy, the FDG approach to Emphasis phenomena turns out to be applicable to a great extent to Arabic data. More importantly, in defining Emphasis as clearly distinct from the Focus and Contrast functions on the one hand and from Illocution on the other hand, this approach makes it possible to do justice to a whole category of constructions that can be properly described only as emphatic constructions. In this respect, it also enables us to distinguish between two kinds of constructions usually taken as equivalent and, conversely, to capture significant deep relationships and similarities between constructions commonly conceived of as quite different.

On the basis of the examination of Arabic data together with some relevant ideas from AGT, I have made the following suggestions which, in my view, improve the FDG analysis of Emphasis phenomena:

(i) It turns out to be possible and maybe necessary to distinguish between two kinds of Emphasis, 'emotive emphasis' and 'argumentative emphasis', involved in constructions with quite different functional, formal and occurrence properties.

(ii) Reinforcement is generally conceived of as an operator applying to (some unit of) a Discourse Act. In certain contexts, however, it would be more appropriate to capture it by means of a rhetorical function assigned to a whole Discourse Act, whose main role is to emphasize another (usually preceding) Discourse Act.

(iii) In order to account for constructions containing many emphatic markers, the underlying interpersonal representation should take into account that Reinforcement can apply to more than one unit within the same Discourse Act and that it is (like other kinds of Emphasis) a gradual notion. A provisional representational procedure has been proposed here to deal with this gradability.

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