The Presentative Use of Demonstratives in Pre-Classical Arabic

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Abstract

This article aims to establish that the demonstratives *hāðā*, *ðālika*, and their variants were used in pre-Classical Arabic as presentatives in addition to their well-known use as pronouns. The presentative use of these demonstratives will be established by quotes from early Arabic linguists and through numerous pre-Classical Arabic texts in which a pronominal reading of these demonstratives is impossible or unlikely. Furthermore, this article seeks to outline the syntactic rules and idiomatic patterns that can be used to distinguish between the presentative and the pronominal use of these demonstratives in pre-Classical Arabic. This article is supplemented by an appendix demonstrating that this dual pronoun/presentative use, despite being marginalized in the linguistic tradition, has been retained in contemporary spoken Arabic.

Keywords: pre-Classical Arabic, Old Arabic, demonstratives, presentatives, grammaticalization, Najdī Arabic, Egyptian Arabic

1. Introduction

Arabic contains two series of non-adverbial demonstratives: proximal (*hāðā* and its variants) and distal (*ðālika* and its variants). They are marked for number and gender, with only the dual form marked for case. For the sake of brevity, I use *hāðā* as shorthand for all these forms. However, unless otherwise specified, my discussion includes all these demonstratives, proximal and distal, in all their forms and inflections. The present article will only analyze demonstratives that occur in a specific construction—the **demonstrative clause**.[1] By demonstrative clause, I mean a nonverbal clause with an independent demonstrative in the initial position, followed by a noun or noun phrase (NP) as in examples 1(a)-(d).

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[1] The term is adapted from Ryding (2005:318-9).

(1)

a. هذا زَيْدٌ   b. تِلْكَ هِنْدٌ   c. هذانِ رَجُلانِ   d. أُولئك قومُك

Such constructions are almost universally analyzed—both in the later Arabic tradition and by Western researchers[2]—as equational sentences with pronouns as subjects. Thus 1(a) is rendered "This is Zayd"; 1(b): "That is Hind"; 1(c): "These are two men"; and 1(d): "Those are your people."

This article shows that relying on the above as the only analysis is inaccurate. I demonstrate that in pre-Classical Arabic (PCA), demonstrative clauses such as these are frequently presentative constructions, in which *hāðā* is not a pronoun, but a presentative comparable to the English *here's* or the French *voilà*. In other words, 1(a) might also mean "Here's Zayd!" and 1(b) might mean "Look—Hind!" This article shows that in PCA there are two *hāðās*: a "this" *hāðā*, which will be labeled here *hāðā*-pronoun; and a "here's" *hāðā*, which will be labeled here *hāðā*-presentative. In assigning these demonstratives dual roles, PCA treats *hāðā* and *ðālika* similar to how English treats the demonstratives *here* and *there*. Just as PCA has a *hāðā*-pronoun, English has a *here*-adverb, as in "I live here"; and just as PCA has a *hāðā*-presentative, English has a *here*-presentative, as in, "Here's your hat."

1.1 Scope and corpus

As indicated above, this article focuses on a specific developmental stage of Arabic—the "pre-Classical" stage. By pre-Classical Arabic, I include all attested vernacular Arabic that preceded the formal, literary Classical Arabic (CA), as it was later codified in the Arabic linguistic tradition. [3] In chronological terms, the core examples cited in this article range from the sixth to the ninth century, with the earliest being the poetry attributed to Imruʾ Al-Qays (d. *circa* 544), and the latest being the attestations of Sībawayh (d. 177/798) and Al-

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[2] Exceptions are Fischer (2002:147) and Khan (2008). Both, however, incorrectly limit the presentative use to the proximal demonstratives. In fact, the distal form is extensively used as a presentative as well, as the examples in this article will show. Holes (2004:188) incorrectly ascribes the presentative function to the *hā*-element of *hāðā*. To the contrary, the examples in this article will show that the presentative function is performed by the demonstrative itself. The *hā*- element provides deictic contrast.

[3] The linguistic history of the Arabic language is a topic fraught with controversy, and it is not this writer's intent to take a stance on those issues. I only use the pre-Classical/Classical division to provide a framework for analyzing this *hāðā*-presentative phenomenon, as there is a noticeable difference in its occurrence between these two periods.

Farrāʾ (d. 207/822).[4] By limiting the scope of my inquiry to pre-classical Arabic, I do not contend that the *hāðā*-presentative use itself is limited to that period. In fact, the phrasing used by Sībawayh and Al-Farrāʾ in their attestations indicates that *hāðā*-presentative was commonplace in the everyday language of their time, and one would assume it continued to be in use afterward. To illustrate that *hāðā*-presentative persisted through the Classical period, at least to some extent, I have intentionally included one example from the early Classical period (17), and occasional references to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

1.2 Background and significance

Hāðā-presentative may very well be less frequent in CA than in PCA, and it may be limited in CA to certain forms or contexts. An analysis of the extent to which *hāðā*-presentative occurs in CA compared to PCA is a topic worthy of future research. However, a more compelling question is not how frequently *hāðā*-presentative is used in Classical Arabic, but how infrequently *hāðā*-presentative is recognized in the Classical Arabic linguistic tradition.

To my knowledge, there has never been any dispute between Arabic linguists over the existence of *hāðā*-presentative *per se*. As will be shown, the dual pronoun/presentative use of *hāðā* was treated by the founding scholars of the linguistic tradition, such as Sībawayh, Al-Farrāʾ, and Thaʿlab. Despite their theoretical disagreements, they all describe *hāðā* as having two distinct meanings. They detail the difference between the two meanings—with the Kūfans going so far as to develop dedicated terminology for the presentative—and they describe syntactic rules that apply to *hāðā*-presentative, but not to *hāðā*-pronoun. However, in the generations that followed, acknowledgement of *hāðā*'s dual use seems to have inexplicably vanished. While some of the syntactic rules associated with *hāðā*-presentative may be treated, the underlying fact that *hāðā* has two different uses, and that these rules apply to one use, but not the other, is rarely mentioned even in the most detailed works.

The lack of recognition that *hāðā* has two distinct uses becomes apparent when scholars from the Classical period or later analyze pre-Classical texts, such as exegesis of the Qurʾān. With limited exceptions, Classical and post-Classical scholars tend to read *hāðā* in these texts as a pronoun, even when both context and syntax dictate a presentative reading. The marginalization of *hāðā*-presentative in the Arabic linguistic tradition is baffling. It is uncharacteristic of the tradition, which is rich with an appreciation of nuances much more

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[4] Where some citations (such as Al-Jāḥiz) reference an author from the Classical period, the language is attributed by that author to a pre-Classical speaker. This is noted when necessary. All citations of Al-Ḍabbī (d. circa 171/788) and Al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831) are from their respective anthologies of pre-Classical Arabic poetry.

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subtle than the distinction between *hāðā*-pronoun and *hāðā*-presentative. For example, the inflectional differences between *min qabl-u*, *min qabl-i*, and *qabl-an,* phrases which all carry the same meaning. Such subtleties are treated by Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359) in *Šarḥ Qaṭr an-Nadā*, which he describes as an introductory text (Al-Ansari 2020:40-44). In contrast, the difference between *hāðā*-pronoun and *hāðā*-presentative—which is not always subtle—is not directly treated even in his advanced works such as his commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyyah* or his *Mughni L-Labīb*, in which he listed fifteen different senses of the particle "*min*."[5]

So, while the existence of *hāðā*-presentative is not disputed, *hāðā*-presentative is so rarely treated that, as a result, many are simply unaware of its existence. Furthermore, because *hāðā*-presentative is so rarely treated, the select few who know it may dismiss it as an obscure use and would not consider it when analyzing a PCA text. With this in mind, the present article aims to show that not only does *hāðā*-presentative exist, but that *hāðā*-presentative was as fundamental to PCA as *here*-presentative is to English. To this end, as many examples as possible are given. The basic semantic difference between *hāðā*-pronoun and *hāðā*-presentative will be clarified in Section 2. In Section 3.1, this semantic difference will be illustrated with examples in context. It will be shown that PCA developed syntactic rules by which *hāðā*-presentative is distinguished from *hāðā*-pronoun. These rules, which show how well-established *hāðā*-presentative was in PCA, are outlined in Section 3.2. In addition, it will be shown that the presentative "here's" use of *hāðā* was well-established enough in PCA to be extended into many different idiomatic uses, all of which can be traced back to the basic presentative sense. These idiomatic uses are surveyed in Section 4. The article is supplemented by an appendix showing that in contemporary spoken Arabic, the *hāðā*-pronoun/*hāðā*-presentative distinction that existed in PCA has not only survived, but has been advanced, despite its lack of treatment by linguists.

1.3 A note on translations

All translations in this article are mine. This includes, first and foremost, translations of Qurʾānic passages; no translations in this article were taken from any published English translation of the Qurʾān. Many of the Qurʾānic passages cited in this article are passages in which *hāðā* is commonly translated as a pronoun, and these passages were included precisely

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[5] It is clear that Ibn Hishām intuitively understood *hāðā*-presentative. In discussing an unrelated topic, he states: "…as you would say, *hāðā kitābuka fa-xuð-hu* "here's your book, take it" (Al-Anṣāri 2015:2/346). The only reason for adding "take it" would be to indicate the "offering" sense of the presentative (see Section 4.2), thereby distinguishing it from the pronoun. The mystery is why he did not subject *hāðā* to the same brilliant analysis with which he treated other linguistic items.

because this author questions the prevailing translations. This article translates *hāðā* in these Qurʾānic passages as a presentative, and the reader is invited to compare the results.

2. *Hāðā*-pronoun vs. *hāðā*-presentative

Demonstrative pronouns are pro-nominals; they are used in lieu of a noun (phrase) (Diessel 1999:57). As such Sībawayh characterized *hāðā*-pronoun thus:

وقد يكون هذا وصواحبه بمنزلة هو، يعرَّف به، تقول: هذا عبد الله فاعرفْه

Hāðā, etc. can also be equivalent to [the pronoun] *huwa* in that it can be used to identify, as when you say *hāðā ʿAbdullāhi fa-ʿrif-hu* "This is ʿAbdullah, so recognize him." (Sībawayh 2/80)

Presentatives, on the other hand, are described by Anderson and Keenan (1985) as demonstratives

> "which are used to indicate an item's location or to signal its appearance in (or relative to) the observational field of the Sp[eaker]. Examples of such items are French *voici/voilà* 'here is…'/ 'there are…' Latin *ecce* 'behold'…, etc." (Anderson and Keenan 1985:279)

Anderson and Keenan's definition matches Sībawayh's description of *hāðā*-presentative in the clause "*hāðā ʿAbdullah*":

المعنى أنك تريد أن تنبهه له…لا تريد أن تعرفه عبد الله؛ لأنك ظننت أنه يجهله، فكأنك قلت: انظر إليه…

> "…It means that you want to point out [ʿAbdullāh]… to the [hearer]; not that you want to identify ʿAbdullāh to [the hearer] because you think he does not know him. So it is as if you said, 'Look at him…!'"(Sībawayh 2/78)

3. Criteria for evaluating *hāðā* in PCA texts

How can we tell whether *hāðā* in a given context is a pronoun or a presentative? There are several criteria that we can apply; some are semantic, and some are syntactic.

3.1 Semantic substitution test: Can a noun replace *hāðā*?

A basic semantic test for *hāðā* can be inferred from contrasting the descriptions of pronouns and presentatives in in Section 2 above: *hāðā*-pronoun is paraphrasable; *hāðā*-presentative is not. In other words, if "*hāðā*" in "*hāðā Zayd-un*" can be replaced with a personal pronoun

(*huwa Zayd-un*) or expanded with a noun, as in *hāðā* <u>r-rajulu</u> *Zayd-un* without changing the basic meaning of the sentence, then *hāðā* is a pronoun. If not, it is a presentative.

Applying this substitution test in examples (2)-(4) of demonstrative clauses in PCA texts will show that *hāðā* in example (2) is a pronoun "this"; but in (3)-(4), a presentative "here's".

(2) (Abī Rabīʿah 124)

<div dir="rtl">

دونَ قَيْدِ الميلِ يَعْدو بِى الأَغَرْ   بَيْنَما يَذْكُرْنَنِى أَبْصَرْنَنِى

قالتِ الوسطى : نعمْ **هذا عمر!**   قالت الكبرى : أتعرفن الفتى؟

قد عرفناهُ وهل يُخفى القمر   قالت الصغرى وقد تيمتها

</div>

While discussing me, they spotted me	Not a mile away, carried by my steed
Said the eldest: "Do you recognize the man?"	Her junior replied: "Yes, <u>**this is ʿUmar**</u>!"
Said the youngest, whom I had smitten:	"Of course we know him! Can the moon be disguised?"

Demonstrative Clause:	
hāðā	*ʿumar(-u)*
DEM.PROX.ms	ʿUmar.NOM

In example (2), the substitution test works: *hāðā* in the clause هذا عمر can be replaced easily by a personal pronoun: هو عمر "<u>He</u> is ʿUmar." "He" would have a linguistically expressed antecedent: *al-fatā* "the young man." *Hāðā* could also be expanded with a noun: هذا <u>الفتى</u> عمر "This <u>young man</u> is ʿUmar." These substitutions retain the grammaticality and semantic function of the original. Hence, *hāðā* here is undoubtedly a pronoun.

(3) (Al-Aṣmaʿī 97)

<div dir="rtl">

وحدثتِماني أنِما الموت فى القرى   فكيفَ <u>وَهاتا هَضْبَةٌ وَقليبُ</u>

</div>

(Context: The speaker laments his brother's death) "You claimed it was city life that was deadly. Really? Because [all that's] here is a hill and a water hole!"

Demonstrative Clause:	
hātā[6]	*haḍbat-un*
DEM.PROX.fs	hill.NOM

The substitutions that worked perfectly in (2) do not work in (3). If *hātā* were replaced by a personal pronoun, as in هِيَ هَضْبَةٌ "It is a hill," the passage would no longer make sense. The personal pronoun would have no antecedent: "How did my brother die, when **it** is a hill?"— When *what* is a hill? And unlike (2), there is no noun we can use to expand *hāðā*: "How did my brother die, when **this protuberance** is a hill?" for example, is nonsensical. Hence, we conclude that this speaker uses *hāðā* not as a pronoun, but as a presentative. He uses it in perfect accordance with the definition of a presentative given above: to indicate the location of certain items (a hill and a water hole) relative to his observational field. The nearness of a hill and a water hole are evidence he is far from a city; if he is not in a city, and if it is city life that is so dangerous, how then, he asks, did his brother end up dead?

(4) (Imruʾ Al-Qays 172)

كِذِئْبِ الغَضَا يمشي الضَّراءَ وَيتَّقِى	بَعَثْنَا رَبِيئاً قَبَلَ ذَلكَ مُخْمِلاً
وَسَائِرُهُ مِثلُ التُّرَابِ المُدَقِّ	فَظَلَّ كمِثلِ الخِشْفِ يَرْفَعُ رَأَسَهُ
تَرَى التُّرْبَ منهُ لاصِقاً كلَّ مَلصَقِ	وَجَاءَ خَفِيّاً يَسْفِنُ الأرْضَ بطنُه
وَخَيطُ نَعَامٍ يَرْتَعِى مُتَفَرِّقِ	فَقَالَ: ألَا هَذَا صُوَارٌ وَعَانَة

(Context: A hunting party sends a scout to look for game. The scout comes crawling back covered in dust and says:) "…Here's a herd (of oryx), a band (of asses), and a flock of ostrich…!"

Demonstrative Clause:	
hāðā	*ṣuwār-un*
DEM.PROX.ms	herd-NOM

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[6] هاتا is a variant form of هذه (See Sībawayh 3/487).

Here as well, the substitution tests do not work. *Hāðā* in the clause هذا صِوارٌ cannot be replaced by a pronoun, because the pronoun in هو صوار "It is a herd" would also have no antecedent—*what* is a herd? If there were animals within sight that the scout could refer to, the party would not have had to send him out in the first place, and the scout would not have had to go to such great lengths to conceal himself. And again, there is no NP that could expand *hāðā* and make sense: "This ____?____ is a herd." This scout also uses *hāðā* in accordance with the definition of a presentative: to indicate the location of certain items (here, game animals) and to signal their appearance relative to his observational field. A scout's job is to locate game, and this scout uses *hāðā* to announce that that is what he has done.

3.2 Syntactic clues

Admittedly, not all demonstrative clauses are as clear-cut as these, and applying the above tests can be subjective. Fortunately, there are also syntactic clues that accompany *hāðā*-presentative, reducing the ambiguity or removing it outright.

3.2.1 The presentative template

Chief among the syntactic clues is the presentative template. Although this discussion is limited to *hāðā* appearing in a clause-initial position, *hāðā*-pronoun can appear in any syntactical position where an NP can appear. *Hāðā*-presentative, in contrast, only appears as part of a specific, ordered construction. This construction is a three-slot template that closely mimics the "*kāna wa 'axawātuhā*" pattern. In this article, I refer to the three elements of this template as follows:

$$[Presentative + Topic\ NP + (Optional\ Comment)]$$

When *hāðā* is used according to this pattern, it is a good (and sometimes definitive) indication that *hāðā* is presentative, not pronominal. The following subsections discuss characteristics of this pattern.

3.2.1.1 Constituents in a presentative clause must be ordered

The demonstrative clauses discussed thus far, whether equational or presentative, have had the same two constituents, in the same order: [demonstrative + nominative NP]. However, in

an equational clause, it is common for a constituent order to be reversed, as when forming a question.[7] To illustrate, example (2), which is [subject + predicate] could become [interrogative + predicate + subject] thus: أهذا عمر؟ "Is this ʿUmar?" *Hāðā*-presentative, on the other hand, must appear in the first slot of the presentative pattern. [8] (This is an aspect where *hāðā*-presentative differs from *kāna*; unlike a presentative clause, the constituent order in a *kāna* clause is not rigid.)

3.2.1.2 *Hāðā*-presentative may take two arguments

As noted above, the demonstrative clauses discussed thus far have had only two constituents. However, consider the following example:

(5) [Qurʾān 11:72]

﴿قَالَتْ يَاوَيْلَتَىٰ أَأَلِدُ وَأَنَا عَجُوزٌ وَهَٰذَا بَعْلِى شَيْخًا إِنَّ هَٰذَا لَشَىْءٌ عَجِيبٌ﴾

"… She said, 'Alas for me! How am I to bear a child when I am an old woman, **and look what an old man my husband is!**'"

Demonstrative Clause:		
hāðā	*baʿl-ī*	*šayx-an*
DEM.PROX.ms	husband-my	old.man-ACC

As in (4) and (5), context rules out that this *hāðā* clause is equational—the speaker is not identifying a nearby man as her husband ("How am I to bear a child when… this is my husband?"). But she is not pointing out her husband's presence ("How am I to bear a child when… here's my husband?") as in (4) and (5) either. Rather, she is pointing out that *her husband is an old man*. While *hāðā* in the earlier examples point to the presence of its topic NP, *hāðā* in (5) points to a comment being predicated of its topic NP. *Hāðā* in (5) has thus taken two arguments, just as *kānā* would: a nominative **topic:** "*baʿl-ī*" and an accusative

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[7] See Al-Anṣāri (2019: 1/186-96).

[8] An exception is when *hāðā*-presentative forms a special construction with a personal pronoun. This is covered in section 3.2.3.

comment: "*šayx-an.*" Together the topic and comment form a small clause that could stand independently as an equational sentence: بعلي شيخٌ "My husband is an old man." The presence of a comment that is overtly marked for the accusative (*šayx-an*)[9] eliminates any syntactic ambiguity in this example—*hāðā* here *must* be presentative. The results of the substitution test would not only be illogical as in (3) and (4), but the results would also be <u>ungrammatical</u> as illustrated in 6(a)-(b).

(6)

    a.   هو بعلي شيخاً*

        * *huwa*   *baʿl-ī*   *šayx-an*
         he   husband-my   old.man-ACC
        *"He is my husband as an old man."

    b.   هذا الرجلُ بعلى شيخاً*

        * *hāðar-rajulu*   *baʿl-ī*   *šayx-an*
         this-man   husband-my   old.man-ACC
        *"This man is my husband as an old man."

Sentences 6(a)-(b) are ungrammatical, because the accusative case can only be assigned by a verb. Hence, in verbless equational clauses like (6), it would be impossible for an accusative element such as "*šayx-an*" to appear.[10] The fact that such an element does appear in *hāðā baʿlī šayx-an* means that it is not a verbless equational clause. It is not verbless because *hāðā* (even though it is still a noun morphologically) is semantically a verb. In other words, *hāðā* here no longer means "this"; it means "look!"

      It is important to note, though, that the case marking on the comment after *hāðā* is not always overt. That is because the comment slot is often filled by a constituent that cannot accept overt case markings, as the following section will illustrate. In these instances, a non-presentative reading of *hāðā* is theoretically possible, although I would argue that such a reading is rarely accurate.

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[9] This accusative "comment" is usually analyzed as a *ḥāl*. This article does not challenge that analysis. For the Baṣran-Kufan debate on the subject, see Al-Buʿaymi (1997).

[10] An accusative element may appear in a verbless clauses only when the accusative element emphasizes the truth of the clause itself, as in:

أَنا ابْنُ دارَةَ مَعْروفًا بِها نَسَبِي

"I am the son of Dārah, where my lineage is well-known." (Sībawayh 2/78-79)

In examples such as these, the accusative case is assigned by the implied verb in the speech-act of asserting (see Al-Anṣārī 2019:2/301-302).

3.2.1.3 The comment of *hāðā*-presentative

After the noun-substitution test, the comment element may be the most useful clue to recognizing *hāðā*-presentative in PCA texts. When the comment is a simple nominal marked for the accusative such as *šayx-an*, the matter is unambiguous. However, the comment is not always a simple nominal. The comment of *hāðā*-presentative, like the comment of *kāna*, can be any constituent that could occur as the predicate of a nominal sentence.[11] This section provides examples for each of these constituent types, following both the proximal and distal forms of *hāðā*. In each example, the presentative clause is set in bold, and the comment element underlined.

- **A simple nominal[12]**

    Example (7) below is the textbook example that the early grammarians give for *hāðā*-presentative:

    (7)   هذا زيدٌ مُنْطَلِقًا

    "There goes Zayd." (Sībawayh 2/79; Thaʿlab, 42-3)

    (8)   هذا ابنُ عمي فى دمشق خليفةً … لو شئت ساقكم إلىَّ قطينا

    "There's my cousin ruling in Damascus…" (Jarīr b. ʿAṭiyyah 1/388)

    (9)   ﴿فَتِلْكَ بُيُوتُهُمْ خَاوِيَةً بِمَا ظَلَمُوا﴾

    "…so there lie their homes in ruins…" [Qurʾān 27:52]

- **An embedded clause (*jumlah*) containing a resumptive pronoun[13]**

    This clause can be:

    o   A verbless clause

    (10)   ﴿مَا أَنْتَ إِلَّا بَشَرٌ مِثْلُنَا فَأْتِ بِآيَةٍ إِنْ كُنْتَ مِنَ الصَّادِقِينَ قَالَ هَذِهِ نَاقَةٌ لَهَا شِرْبٌ وَلَكُمْ شِرْبُ يَوْمٍ مَعْلُومٍ﴾

    "…You are just a mortal like we are—show us a sign, if you can." He said, 'Here's a she-camel who will alternate watering days with you…'" [Qurʾān 26:154-5]

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[11] For these constituent types, see Al-Anṣārī (2019:1/176-84).

[12] See further examples in ʿUḍayma (1972:10/108-9, 17-18).

[13] See further examples in ʿUḍayma (1972:10/109-11).

(11)   ﴿ذَٰلِكَ ٱلْكِتَابُ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ هُدًى لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾

"Behold the law unfaltering, redemption for the godly…" [Qurʾān 2:2]

    o <u>A clause headed by a present tense verb</u>

(12)   ﴿وَتِلْكَ ٱلْأَمْثَالُ نَضْرِبُهَا لِلنَّاسِ وَمَا يَعْقِلُهَا إِلَّا ٱلْعَالِمُونَ﴾

"…And behold the parables We present to the people…" [Qurʾān 29:43]

(13)   ﴿هَٰذَا كِتَابُنَا يَنطِقُ عَلَيْكُم بِٱلْحَقِّ إِنَّا كُنَّا نَسْتَنسِخُ مَا كُنتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ﴾

"Here is Our record pronouncing due judgement against you…" [Qurʾān 45:29]

    o <u>A clause headed by a past tense verb</u>

(14)   ﴿وَتِلْكَ ٱلْقُرَىٰ أَهْلَكْنَاهُمْ لَمَّا ظَلَمُوا وَجَعَلْنَا لِمَهْلِكِهِم مَّوْعِدًا﴾

"And there lie the cities We destroyed for their wrongdoing…" [Qurʾān 18:59]

(15)   ﴿هَذَانِ خَصْمَانِ اخْتَصَمُوا فِي رَبِّهِمْ﴾

"Behold—two adversaries quarreled over their Lord…" [Qurʾān 22:19]

- **A prepositional or adverbial phrase (*šibh jumlah*)**

(16)   ﴿فَذَانِكَ بُرْهَانَانِ مِن رَّبِّكَ إِلَىٰ فِرْعَوْنَ وَمَلَإِيْهِ إِنَّهُمْ كَانُوا قَوْمًا فَاسِقِينَ﴾

"…there you have two proofs from your Lord for Pharoah and his council…"
[Qurʾān 28:32]

(17)   هِذِهِ مُهْجَتِى لَدَيكِ لِحِينِى   فَانْقُصِى مِنْ عَذَابِها أَو فَزِيدِى

"Here—my heart is yours until my demise, torture it as little or as much as you
please." (Al-Mutanabbī 42)[14]

3.2.2 *Hāðā*-presentative cannot be followed by a copular pronoun

The predicate of *hāðā*-pronoun is often preceded by a "copular pronoun" *ḍamīr faṣl*,
especially when said predicate begins with the definite article *ʾal,* as in وأولئك هم المفلحون.
However, because presentative clauses are not copular, *hāðā*-presentative is never followed
by a copular pronoun (Thaʿlab, 359-60).

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[14] Note that Al-Mutanabbī (d. 965) came well after the "pre-Classical Arabic" period, which indicates that
hāðā-presentative never went out of circulation.

(18)   ﴿وَنُودُوا أَن تِلْكُمُ ٱلْجَنَّةُ أُورِثْتُمُوهَا بِمَا كُنتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ ﴾

"…And they will be hailed, "There is your Garden, bequeathed to you on account of your works." [Qurʾān 7:43]

3.2.3 *Hāðā*-presentative merges with personal pronoun topic

When the predicate of *hāðā*-pronoun is a personal pronoun, that pronoun appears in its independent nominative form after *hāðā*:

(19)

A: Which one of them is zayd?   أ: أيهم زيد؟

B: This is he.   ب: هذا هو.

Subject	Predicate
hāðā	*huwa*
DEM.PROX.ms(this)	he

However, when the topic of *hāðā*-presentative is a personal pronoun, the pronoun forms a special construction with *hāðā*. Instead of following *hāðā* as in (19), the pronoun appears after the clitic *hā-*, followed by the rest of the corresponding demonstrative. Thus, *hāðā huwa* "here he is" becomes *hā-huwa-ðā*, *hāðihi hiya* "here she is" becomes *hā-hiya-ðī*, and so on, as in (20).

(20)   *Hāðā*-presentative with personal pronouns [15]

a)   هذا أنا = ها أنا ذا

   "Here I am."

b)   هؤلاء نحن = ها نحن أولاء

   "Here we are."

c)   هذا أنتَ = ها أنتَ ذا

   "Here you (sing.masc.) are."

d)   هذه أنتِ = ها أنتِ ذه

   "Here you (sing.fem.) are."

e)   هؤلاء أنتم = ها أنتم أولاء

   "Here you (pl.masc.) are."

f)   هؤلاء هم = ها هم أولاء

   "Here they (pl.masc.) are."

---

[15] This special construction is well-documented with proximal demonstratives. For examples with distal forms, see Ibn Manẓūr (15/8); example (22) could also be read as distal.

This is the most common use in PCA (see Qurʾān 3:119) and continues to be used in MSA today. Variant uses recorded in PCA include:

- **Repetition of *hā-* after the personal pronoun**

(21)   ﴿هَـٰٓأَنتُمْ هَـٰٓؤُلَآءِ جَادَلْتُمْ عَنْهُمْ فِى ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا فَمَن يُجَـٰدِلُ ٱللَّهَ عَنْهُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَامَةِ أَم مَّن يَكُونُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَكِيلًا﴾

"**You may have argued their case** in this life, but who will argue their case before God on the Day of Resurrection…" [Qurʾān 4:109]
(This use also occurs in Qurʾān 3:66 and 47:38)

- **Dropping *hā-* entirely and replacing it with the personal pronoun**

(22)   ﴿وَمَآ أَعْجَلَكَ عَن قَوْمِكَ يَـٰمُوسَىٰ قَالَ هُمْ أُولَآءِ عَلَىٰٓ أَثَرِى وَعَجِلْتُ إِلَيْكَ رَبِّ لِتَرْضَىٰ﴾

"'Moses, what has made you come ahead of your people in such haste?' He said: '**There they are**[16], right behind me…'" [Qurʾān 20:83-84]

- **Placing the personal pronoun before an intact *hāðā***

(23)   ﴿ثُمَّ أَنتُمْ هَـٰٓؤُلَآءِ تَقْتُلُونَ أَنفُسَكُمْ وَتُخْرِجُونَ فَرِيقًا مِّنكُم مِّن دِيَارِهِمْ تَظَـٰهَرُونَ عَلَيْهِم بِٱلْإِثْمِ وَٱلْعُدْوَانِ﴾

"…yet **here you are**[17], killing one another..." [Qurʾān 2:85]

Despite their simplicity, the preceding examples are often mangled badly in translation. The translators' confusion, which stems from being unaware that *hāðā* has a presentative use in the first place, seems to be compounded by the shift in word order in these constructions.

Both Sībawayh and al-Farrāʾ note that while this special presentative-pronoun construction is the most common use, it is not obligatory (Sībawayh 2/355; Al-Farrāʾ 1/232). Sībawayh (2/355) attests to:

(24)   **هذا أنت تقول** كذا وكذا

"Now you're claiming such-and-such!"

---

[16] Not "They are those..."

[17] Not, "Then you are these, killing one another..."

Sībawayh notes that the special construction ها أنا ذا was not used here even though context dictates that *hāðā* must be presentative. However, while this special construction is not always formed with *hāðā*-presentative, it is never formed with *hāðā*-pronoun, as shown in (25).

(25)

Hāðā-pronoun:	*Hāðā*-presentative:
أيهم زيد؟	أين زيد؟
—هذا هو	—هاهوذا
*——هاهوذا	—هذا هو
The second form is never used.	Both are used; the first is more common.

In other words, while the *hā-huwa-ðā* construction is a definitive sign *hāðā* is presentative, the *hāðā huwa* pattern is not a definitive sign that *hāðā* is a pronoun. Why does this merger only occur with *hāðā*-presentative and not with *hāðā*-pronoun? One explanation is that since *hāðā*-presentative behaves like a verb, the Arabic speaker intuitively wants to merge the personal pronoun with it as in كنتُ and كانوا, etc. However, since *hāðā* is morphologically a noun, this is not possible in the same way. The *hā-huwa-ðā* merger is meant to reconcile this conflict, but when *hāðā* just means "this" and does not imply a verb, there is no conflict. In fact, a subject noun should be distinct from a predicate noun. Hence, there would be no need to form any special construction with *hāðā*-pronoun.

3.2.4 *Hāðā*-presentative can stand alone as a sentence

Fillmore labels *voilà*-like presentatives "sentential demonstratives," giving the following description:

> A Sentential Demonstrative … is a demonstrative that can stand alone as a sentence, having what can be called a Presentative function. These are sentences whose meanings are something like 'Behold!' or maybe 'Look at this!' Latin *ecce*, French *voilà*, Serbo-Croatian *evo*, are examples of Sentential Demonstratives. Often a noun or pronoun indicating the object being presented occurs in construction with a Sentential Demonstrative, as in French *Le voila*, Serbo-Croatian *Evo ga*, both meaning 'Here he is.'

This description fits *hāðā*-presentative perfectly: The previous section documented that pronouns occur in a special construction with *hāðā*-presentative. And here we note that *hāðā*-

presentative also routinely stands alone as a sentence. Examples are Qurʾān 8:14,18; 22:30,33,60; 38:53; and 47:3.

As a stand-alone sentence, *hāðā* usually occurs and the end of a topic or point. In addition to the meanings mentioned by Fillmore above, it often conveys totality, finality, or change of subject, and can also be rendered: "There!" "There you go," "Meanwhile," or "What's more…"

3.3 Case marking of presentative clauses

As noted earlier, an accusative comment, such as in *hāðā zayd-un muntaliq-an,* is a definitive sign that *hāðā* is presentative. It seems the need to explain this accusative comment is what first sparked discussion of *hāðā*-presentative among early Arabic linguists. However, in the later Arabic tradition, the fact that there is a *hāðā*-presentative is rarely hinted at, unless it is to explain texts with this accusative comment. Even recent research dedicated to *hāðā*-presentative, such as Al-Buʿaymī (1997) has focused solely on analyzing the accusative element. All this might give readers the impression that *hāðā* is only presentative when it is followed by an accusative comment, but this is by no means true.

To discern the semantic role of *hāðā*, what matters more than case markings is the ordered thematic pattern [presentative + topic NP + (optional comment)]: if *hāðā* does not follow this pattern, it is not presentative. Within this pattern, however, case markings may vary. The comment slot may be empty as in (3) and (4) above, and as shown in Section 3.2.1 above, the comment may not accept overt case-marking. Furthermore, even when the comment is overtly marked, it is not always accusative, as the following examples show:

(26)
>   a.   ﴿ وَهَٰذَا صِرَاطُ رَبِّكَ مُسْتَقِيمًا﴾

"And here's your Lord's road, leading straight." [Qurʾān 6:126]

>   b.   ﴿قَالَ هَٰذَا صِرَاطٌ عَلَيَّ مُسْتَقِيمٌ﴾

"Here's a road leading straight to Me." [Qurʾān 15:41]

The same comment, "*mustaqīm,*' is marked accusative in 26(a), but marked nominative in 26(b). Since *hāðā* in 26(a) is unambiguously presentative, it is reasonable to conclude that *hāðā* in 26(b) is also presentative, since the context is essentially the same. The difference

between the two is that the topic NP "صِرَاطُ رَبِّكَ" in 26(a) is definite, while the topic NP "صِرَاطٌ" in 26(b) is indefinite. From this we conclude that when the topic NP after *hāðā*-presentative is indefinite, its comment is marked nominative.[18] But this does not make *hāðā* any less of a presentative.

To underscore that a nominative comment does not automatically mean that *hāðā* is a pronoun, I list below examples Sībawayh gives of indefinite topics with nominative comments. Sībawayh (2/97) contrasts examples 27(a)-(b) with the textbook هذا زيدٌ منطلقًا, and additionally, provides 28(a)-(c). The comment element is underlined here in each example. His examples appear to be purposefully worded to show that even though the comment is nominative, the meaning is obviously presentative.

(27)

    a. هذا رجلٌ <u>منطلقٌ</u>

       "There goes a man."

    b. هذا زيدٌ آخرُ <u>منطلقٌ</u>

       "There goes another 'Zaid.'"

(28)

    a. هذا أوَّلُ فارسٍ <u>مقبلٌ</u>

       "Here comes the first cavalier."

    b. هذا كلُ متاعٍ عندك <u>موضوعٌ</u>

       "Here are all the goods laid out before you."

    c. هذا خيرٌ منك <u>مقبلٌ</u>

       "Here comes someone better than you."[19]

---

[18] This is yet another aspect in which *hāðā* patterns with *kāna*. Similarly, the accusative element in كان زيدٌ راكباً "Zayd was riding" becomes nominative in كان رجلٌ راكبٌ "There was a man riding."

[19] It could be argued that the nominative "comment" in the examples above is technically part of the topic NP and does not deserve its own slot. After all, *ṣirāṭ-un* and *mustaqīm-un* both grammatically belong to the same NP constituent and are both governed by the same operator. Plus, *mustaqīm-un* is attributive, not predicative, so it is not a "comment" in the standard sense of the term. Even so, I only propose the three-slot pattern as a semantic tool for identifying when *hāðā* means "here's." There are enough instances of presentative constructions where an element like *mustaqīm-un* in 25(b) so neatly corresponds with an element like *mustaqīm-an* in 25(a) for us to say they follow the same pattern. Therefore, for the purpose of identifying said pattern, both should be in the same "comment" slot.

4. Idiomatic uses of *hāðā*-presentative in PCA

This section surveys the idiomatic uses of *hāðā*-presentative in PCA. It looks at some of the secondary senses *hāðā*-presentative carries in PCA, all of which are derived from the basic presentative "here's" sense. It also samples the contexts in which *hāðā*-presentative idiomatically occurs. In doing so, broad similarities will be shown between the idiom of *hāðā*-presentative in PCA and the idiom of presentatives in other languages, in particular English and French. For secondary idiomatic uses to develop, a basic use must be well-established first. The fact that *hāðā*-presentative in PCA developed the idiomatic extensions described below indicates that its basic presentative use must have been well-established and pervasive.

4.1 Basic locative sense

In its "default setting," *hāðā*-presentative signals that its topic NP is in the same place as the speaker, as in example (4) above, *hāðā ṣuwār-un* "Here's a herd." Like the *here*/*there*-presentatives in English, the proximal and distal forms of *hāðā* are contrastive: *hāðā* indicates that its topic is near to the speaker, while *ðālika* indicates that its topic is further away (though still within sight). This basic locative sense tends to occur in predictable contexts.

4.1.1 Discovery

When we signal that an element is in the same place we are, we often do so because the element has recently arrived in our field of vision, perhaps because it was not present there a moment ago (Bergen and Plauche 2005). This context is apparent in example (4) above, as well as examples (29)-(30).

(29) ﴿وَجَاءَتْ سَيَّارَةٌ فَأَرْسَلُوا وَارِدَهُمْ فَأَدْلَىٰ دَلْوَهُ قَالَ يَا بُشْرَىٰ هَٰذَا **غُلَامٌ**﴾

"And there passed by a caravan, who sent out someone to draw water. He let down his bucket and cried, 'Good news! **Here's** a young man!'" [Qurʾān 12:19]

(30) ﴿ وَلَمَّا فَتَحُوا مَتَاعَهُمْ وَجَدُوا بِضَاعَتَهُمْ رُدَّتْ إِلَيْهِمْ قَالُوا يَاأَبَانَا مَا نَبْغِي هَٰذِهِ بِضَاعَتُنَا **رُدَّتْ إِلَيْنَا**﴾

"Upon opening their bags, they discovered their money had been returned to them. They said, 'Father, what more could we ask for? **Look**—our money has been returned to us!'" [Qurʾān 12:65]

4.1.2 Alarm

This is like the previous context, but the presented element here is undesired as in (31).

(31)   إنى لأَخشى أَن تقول خليلتي   هذَا غُبارٌ ساطِعٌ فتَلَبَّبِ

"I worry about hearing my wife say, "Look a dust cloud is rising! [20] Put on your armor!" (Al-Jāhiẓ, 317; this line of poetry is attributed to Khuraz b. Lawðān, an early pre-Islamic poet.)

4.2 Offering

In addition to announcing the location of an item, presentatives are used idiomatically to indicate a transfer of ownership from the speaker to the hearer. For example, the English expression "*here's* a dollar,"—especially when accompanied by an outstretched hand—does not just indicate that a dollar is within reach of the hearer; it also indicates that the hearer can take that dollar. This sense of "offering" is an idiomatic function of *here*-presentative; a substitute such as "*in my hand* is a dollar" would not convey that same sense of permission, even if accompanied by a gesture. Similarly, in PCA, *hāðā*-constructions regularly appear in this "offering" context as in (32). Example (33) may carry both the "discovery" and "offering" connotations.

(32)   فَقلْتُ له أَهلا وسهلا ومَرحباً   فهذا صَبُوحٌ راهِنٌ وصَديقٌ

"I said to him, "Welcome. Here's some fresh milk and a friend."" (Al-Ḍabbī, 126)

(33)   ﴿ارْكُضْ بِرِجْلِكَ هَذَا مُغْتَسَلٌ بَارِدٌ وَشَرَابٌ﴾

"Stomp your foot—here's a cool bath and a drink." [Qurʾān 38:42]

   In (34), *hāðā* is rendered as a pronoun ("this" or "these") in every English translation I have encountered (Kavalec 2022). However, a presentative reading of *hāðā* makes more sense, because it is clearly in an "offering" context: the audience of the Prophet demanded that he produce a miracle; he was instructed to reply that he could not *offer* what they demanded, but he could *offer* something else.

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[20] A "dust cloud" signals the approach of a raiding party.

(34)   ﴾وَإِذَا لَمْ تَأْتِهِم بِآيَةٍ قَالُوا لَوْلَا ٱجْتَبَيْتَهَا قُلْ إِنَّمَا أَتَّبِعُ مَا يُوحَىٰ إِلَيَّ مِن رَّبِّى هَٰذَا بَصَائِرُ مِن رَّبِّكُمْ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةٌ لِّقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴿

"When you fail to bring them a sign, they ask, 'Why can't you fetch one?' Say, 'I merely follow the instructions I receive from my Lord.' [But] **here's a track to your Lord,** redemption, and a mercy for a people who have faith." [Qurʾān 7:203]

When *hāðā* is translated as "this," the coherence of the passage in (34) is less apparent. The sentence beginning with *hāðā* seems to be an abrupt change of topic, and it is not clear how it would serve as the reply to a demand for a miracle. In the examples (16), (17), and (18) given earlier, *hāðā* also carries the "offering" connotation.

4.3 From presenting objects to presenting propositions

In discussing the "comment" element of *hāðā*-presentative constructions in in Section 3.2.1 above, we have already hinted at one of the most important extensions of its basic meaning. By adding the "comment" element, *hāðā*-presentative goes from pointing out a simple object (*hāðā Zayd-un* "here's Zayd") to pointing out a proposition (*hāðā Zayd-un munṭaliq-an* "here's Zayd going about."). In English, *here/there*-presentative is extended in a similar fashion as in the following examples (Cf. Bergen and Plauche 2005:12):

> There's John. (object)
> There's John leaving. (proposition)

And similar to how *hāðā*-presentative patterns with *kāna* and its sisters, *here/there*-presentative patterns with the English verbs of perception, as illustrated in the following examples (Cf. Bergen and Plauche 2005:28).

> There's John leaving.
> Jane sees John leaving.
> *Jane stops John leaving

Like *hāðā*-presentative, the "comment" of *there*-presentative can be verbal ("There's John leaving") or prepositional ("There's John in his office.") This makes translating *hāðā*-constructions with verbal comments into English relatively simple, such as (13) above, "Here is Our record pronouncing due judgment…" However, unlike *hāðā*-presentative, the "comment" of *there*-presentative cannot be adjectival (*"There's John happy") (Cf. Bergen and Plauche 2005:30). Because of this, translating *hāðā*-constructions with adjectival

comments, such as *hāðā baʿl-ī šayx-an*, requires more finesse: "look—my husband's an old man!" or "my husband here is an old man," for example.

4.4 Presenting discourse elements

Presentatives can range from indicating that a physical object is in the same place as the speaker to indicating that a *topic* is in the same *discourse* in which the speaker is engaged (Porhiel 2012).

4.4.1 Introducing

In English, *here*-presentative is used as an introduction, pointing to a discourse that will occur soon, as in: "Here's what happened…" or "Here's the thing…[explanation follows]." In PCA, the proximal *hāðā*-presentative is used in a similar fashion. One needs look no further than Sībawayh's *Kitāb* for examples. Sībawayh begins every chapter *hāðā bāb-u*… "Here's the chapter about…" This use of *hāðā*-presentative is preserved in MSA and is commonly used in news broadcasts to introduce segments.

4.4.2 Concluding

In English, *there*-presentative is used as a conclusion, pointing to a discourse that was produced in the recent past, as in "You asked me to give you two examples. There they are. [Examples follow.]" (Bergen and Plauche 2005:28). In PCA, the distal *ðālika*-presentative is used in a similar fashion. The passage in the Qurʾān in (35), for example, comes after a detailing of inheritance laws.

(35)   ﴿تِلْكَ حُدُودُ اللّٰهِ وَمَنْ يُطِعِ اللّٰهَ وَرَسُولَهُ يُدْخِلْهُ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِى مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا...﴾

"There you have God's rules…" [Qurʾān 4:13]

As noted in Section 3.2.4 above, when *hāðā*-presentative is used as a stand-alone sentence (usually in its distal form), it is often used to conclude, conveying a sense of finality as in, "there's nothing more to be said." In English, *there*-presentative is used in a comparable way, as in: "There—I'm finished."

4.5 "Now"—presenting time

Presentatives can range from indicating that an element is present in the same place as the speaker to indicating that an element is present at the same *time* as the *speech*. The topic NP thus presented is often a unit of time. Bergen and Plauche (2005:15) provide examples (36)-(37) in French and English.

(36)   *Voilà l'instant que nous attendions tous.*
(37)   "Here's the moment we've all been waiting for."

Likewise, the topic NP introduced by *hāðā* will often be a unit of time, as in (38).

(38)   ﴿قَالَ ٱللَّهُ هُٰذَا يَوْمُ يَنفَعُ ٱلصَّادِقِينَ صِدْقُهُمْ﴾

"God will say, The day has come when the true will benefit from their trueness.'"
[Qurʾān 5:119]

Example (39) is another example in which *hāðā*-presentative is used, not to indicate that an object is within sight, but that an event is presently underway.

(39)   ﴿قَالَ هَذَا فِرَاقُ بَيْنِى وَبَيْنِكَ﴾

"Now you and I will part ways." [Qurʾān 18:78]

4.5.1 *Hāðā* as an aspectual marker

Further extending the "time" use, *hāðā*-presentative in PCA may serve as a grammatical aspect marker in some contexts. *Hāðā*-presentative appears to indicate the progressive aspect when its comment is headed by a verb in the present tense such as in example (40).

(40)   إلى عِرْقِ الثَّرى وَشَجَتْ عُروقِى   **وهذا المَوْتُ يَسْلُبُنِى** شبابِـى

ونفسِى سَوفَ يَسْلُبُها وجِرْمِى   فَيُلْحِقُنِى وَشيكاً بالتُّرابِ

"My lineage is all underground, and <u>now death is coming to take my youth</u>…
and soon to add me to the dirt." (Imruʾ Al-Qays 98)

In (40), *hāðā* accompanies a switch in the time reference: the sentence preceding *hāðā* describes the past; *hāðā* indicates that the following sentence was not happening then but is happening now. Compare to what the sentence would be without *hāðā* in (41).

(41)   إلى عِرْقِ الثَّرى وَشَجَتْ عُروقِى والمَوْتُ يَسْلُبُنِى شبابِـى

"My lineage is all underground, and death takes my youth."

Without *hāðā* in (41), the simple present verb in "death takes my youth" would give a habitual meaning. The speaker obviously did not intend this, because death is not a habitually reoccurring event. By using *hāðā* in (40), the speaker switched the verb to the progressive aspect, indicating that this one-time event (death) is currently underway. Example (42) is similar.

(42) أَوْدَى الشَّبَابُ حَمِيداً ذُو التَّعاجِيبِ   أَوْدَى وذلكَ شَأْوٌ غَيْرُ مَطْلُوبِ

وَلَّى حَثِيثاً وهذا الشَّيْبُ يَطْلُبُهُ   لو كان يُدْرِكُهُ رَكْضُ اليَعَاقِيبِ

أَوْدَى الشَّبَابُ الَّذِى مَجْدٌ عَوَاقِبُهُ   فيهِ نَلَذُّ ولا لَذَّاتِ لِلشِّيبِ

"…(Youth) took to flight, and now here comes grayness to finish it off…" (Al-Ḍabbī 119)

In (42), as in (40), *hāðā* indicates that what follows it is not a circumstantial adjunct (*ḥāl*) to the previous clause. Without *hāðā*, we would get وَلَّى حَثِيثاً والشَّيْبُ يَطْلُبُهُ which could be read "(Youth) took to flight *while* grayness was pursuing it…" *Hāðā* eliminates this syntactic ambiguity.

Hāðā performs this "now" function when the comment is a simple nominal as well, as in sentence (43).

(43) كَيف أخاف البرد وهذه الشمس طالعةً

"Why should I worry about being cold? Here—the sun's out!" (Al-Sarrāj 1/152)

Deleting *hādihi* would give us sentence (44).

(44) كَيف أخاف البرد والشمس طالعةٌ

"Why should I worry about being cold when the sun's out?'

Without *hāðihi*, the sentence would be ambiguous. It could be hypothetical ("The sun's not out now, but when it is out, I don't worry about getting cold") or actual ("The sun is out, so I'm not worried about getting cold"). *Hāðihi* removes this ambiguity; it tells us that the sun is out *right now*.

When the comment is headed by a past tense verb, *hāðā* may indicate the perfect aspect such as example (45).

(45)   ﴿ هَؤُلَاءِ قَوْمُنَا اتَّخَذُوا مِنْ دُونِهِ آلِهَةً ﴾

"Our people here have adopted other gods beside Him…" [Qurʾān 18:15]

Without *hāʾulāʾi*, the sentence, قَوْمُنَا اتَّخَذُوا مِنْ دُونِهِ آلِهَةً "Our people adopted other gods beside Him" would be ambiguous as to the current situation—is this something that happened once a long time ago, or is it still going on?

In another time-related function, *hāðā* can also give the meaning of "yet" or "still" as in (46). The sole function of the demonstrative in (46) is time-related, as the speaker—ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd—made this statement in the mosque of Kūfa years after the death of the Prophet. Whatever remained of the Prophet's belongings and garments would have been hundreds of miles away in Medina and difficult to access—hence, the speaker could not be using "*hāðihi θiyābuhu…*" to signal their appearance in his physical observational field. He was signaling their presence, not in the same place, but in the same time, implying, "it's too soon for you to be doing such a thing, when such a state currently holds."

(46)   هَؤُلَاءِ صَحَابَةُ نَبِيِّكُمْ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُتَوَافِرُونَ، وَهَذِهِ ثِيَابُهُ لَمْ تَبْلَ، وَآنِيَتُهُ لَمْ تُكْسَرْ

"The companions of your prophet—God bless him and rest him—are **still** all around;[21] his garments are **still** unfaded, and his belongings are **still** intact." (Al-Dārimī 287)

4.6 "We all know"—*hāðā*-presentative as a rhetorical device

We have mentioned that presentatives can range from indicating that an object is within sight (*hāðā Zayd-un* "here's Zayd") to indicating that a proposition about that object is within sight (*hāðā Zayd-un munṭaliq-an* "here's Zayd going about"). *Hāðā*-presentative can further range from indicating that a proposition is within sight to indicating that a proposition is *apparent*; i.e., it is so well-known, it might as well be visible.

4.6.1 *Hāðā* asserts an agreement

Al-Farrāʿ offers sentence (47) where *hāðā* does not locate in space; there is no lion, one assumes, within sight of the speaker. Nor does *hāðā* locate in time: lions have always been feared throughout all times in history. In fact, Al-Farrāʿ states that if *hāðā* were deleted entirely, as in (48), nothing would change.

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[21] The nominative comment *mutawāfir-ūn* is a variant use (see Sībawayh 2/83).

(47) ما كان من السباع غير مخوف فهذا الأَسَدُ مَــخُوفاً

"Some beasts of prey may not be feared, but <u>everybody fears the lion</u>." (Al-Farrāʾ 1/12)

(48) ما كان من السباع غير مخوف فالأسدُ مَــخوفٌ

"Some beasts of prey may not be feared, but <u>the lion is feared</u>."

However, as my translation indicates, I argue that *hāðā* does convey something important; it presupposes an agreement on what follows it. *Hāðā* presents the proposition "the lion is scary," as something so obvious that it might as well be a physical entity in plain sight of both the speaker and the hearer. The sense of "we all know" is also apparent in example (49).

(49) ﴿ فَتِلْكَ بُيُوتُهُمْ <u>خَاوِيَةً</u> بِمَا ظَلَمُوا ﴾

"So there lie their homes in ruins." [Qurʾān 27:52]

If *tilka* were deleted, the sentence would remain grammatically sound, with its core meaning intact: فبيوتهم خاوية "So their homes lie in ruins." What *tilka* does here is remind the hearer: "Those homes lie in ruins, *and you all know that well*."

In interpreting the Qurʾānic passage in (50), English translations uniformly treat *hāðihi* as adnominal, rendering *hāðihi l-ʾanhār-u* as "these rivers." This is also the prevalent reading in the Arabic *tafsīr* tradition. [22] However, I submit that a presentative "we all know" reading is more in keeping with the context, which is one of argumentation. The speaker does not want to limit the number of rivers under his control, so as to say, "*these* rivers are mine, but not *those*." But the context is exactly when you would expect to hear, "and *we all know* that rivers run at my feet." This is emphasized by the question that follows: "Can't you all see?"

(50) ﴿ وَنَادَىٰ فِرْعَوْنُ فِى قَوْمِهِ قَالَ يَٰقَوْمِ أَلَيْسَ لِى مُلْكُ مِصْرَ وَهَٰذِهِ <u>ٱلْأَنْهَارُ تَجْرِى</u> مِن تَحْتِى أَفَلَا تُبْصِرُونَ ﴾

"And Pharoah proclaimed before his people, saying, 'My people! Aren't I the king of all Egypt? <u>Behold the rivers running at my feet</u>—can't you all see?'"
[Qurʾān 43:51]

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[22] A presentative reading of *hādihi* in this passage is not without precedent. Al-Naḥḥās (75) hints at such a reading.

4.6.1.1 Presenting a consequence

The "we all know" sense of presentatives is often invoked when the consequences of an action become apparent. French *voilà*, for example, is stereotypically used by parents when talking to their children as a kind of "I told you so" (Bradpiece 2022). *Hāðā*-presentative appears in these contexts in PCA, often introducing the word *jazāʾ* "reward" as in (51).

(51)   ﴿وَذَٰلِكَ جَزَاءُ ٱلْمُحْسِنِينَ﴾

        "And there's the reward of those who do good." [Qurʾān 5:85]

The Egyptian Arabic presentative *ʾādi* (which I contend is a reflex of *hāðā*-presentative) continues to be used idiomatically in the same expression, *ʾādi gazāt* "there's the reward of."

       In PCA, the topic NP presented by *hāðā* can also be the action that led to the now-apparent consequences, as in (52). This idiom is also continued in the Egyptian Arabic use of *ʾādi*, as in: *ādi šurtak ʾil-muhabbiba* "so much for your lousy advice!" [lit: "there's your lousy advice"]) (Hinds and Badawi 1986:2).

(52)   ﴿وَذَٰلِكَ إِفْكُهُمْ وَمَا كَانُوا يَفْتَرُونَ ﴾

        "And there's [the result of] their falsehoods." [Qurʾān 46:28]

4.6.1.2 Presenting a challenge

The "we all know" sense of *hāðā*-presentative is often used to build up to a challenge, as in examples (53)-(54).

(53)   ﴿هَٰذَا خَلْقُ ٱللَّهَّ فَأَرُونِى مَاذَا خَلَقَ ٱلَّذِينَ مِن دُونِهِ﴾
       "Here's God's creation—now show me what those beneath Him created."
       [Qurʾān 31:11]

(54)   أُولئك آبائِى فَجِئْنِى بِمِثْلِهِم   إذا جَمَعْتَنا يا جَرِيرُ المَجَامِعُ
       "…There's my lineage—now you bring me something that compares." (Abu
       ʿUbaydah 3/824, quoting Al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728))

4.6.2 *Hāðā* concedes an agreement

Extending the "we all know" use even further, *hāðā*-presentative can range from asserting that the *hearer* agrees with what follows to admitting that the *speaker* agrees, similar to

"granted," "admittedly," or "even if."[23]   When used in this manner, the *hāðā*-clause is followed immediately by a question as in (55)-(57).

(55)   عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ عَنْ رَسُولِ الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "لَا يَزَالُونَ يَقُولُونَ: مَا كَذَا؟ مَا كَذَا؟

حَتَّى يَقُولُوا: هَذَا اللهُ <u>خَلَقَ الْخُلْقَ</u> فَمَنْ خَلَقَ الله"

"People won't stop asking 'What about this? What about that?' until they say, '**Okay,** God created everything, but who created God?'" (Al-Qušayrī 70, Hadith #352)

(56)   ﴿هَٰأَنتُمْ هَٰؤُلَاءِ <u>جَادَلْتُمْ عَنْهُمْ</u> فِى ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا فَمَن يُجَادِلُ ٱللَّهَ عَنْهُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلْقِيَامَةِ أَم مَّن يَكُونُ

عَلَيْهِمْ وَكِيلًا﴾

"You **may have** argued their case in this life, but who will argue their case before God on the Day of Resurrection?" [Qurʾān 4:109]

(57)   عن جُبَيْرِ بْنِ مُطْعِمٍ قَالَ: لَمَّا قَسَمَ رَسُولُ اللَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَهْمَ ذِي الْقُرْبَى بَيْنَ بَنِى هَاشِم

وَبَنِى الْمُطَّلِبِ، أَتَيْتُهُ أَنَا وَعُثْمَانُ بْنُ عَفَّانَ، فَقُلْنَا: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، هَؤُلَاءِ إِخْوَانُنَا مِنْ بَنِى هَاشِمٍ <u>لَا يُنْكَرُ

فَضْلُهُمْ</u> لِمَكَانِكَ الَّذِى وَضَعَكَ اللهُّ بِهِ مِنْهُمْ، أَرَأَيْتَ إِخْوَانَنَا مِنْ بَنِى الْمُطَّلِبِ أَعْطَيْتَهُمْ وَتَرَكْتَنَا، أَوْ

مَنَعْتَنَا، وَإِنَّمَا قَرَابَتُنَا وَقَرَابَتُهُمْ وَاحِدَةٌ، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «إِنَّمَا بَنُو هَاشِمٍ وَبَنُو

الْمُطَّلِبِ شَىْءٌ وَاحِدٌ هَكَذَا» وَشَبَّكَ بَيْنَ أَصَابِعِهِ.

"…**We know** our brethren from Banū Hāshim have an undeniably favored position, since God has made you one of their own members. But what about our brethren from Banū Al-Muṭṭalib? Why have you given to them and not us, when we are just as closely related to you as they are?..." (Al-Bayhaqi 9/266)

5. Conclusion

There appears to be no dispute among the early Arabic linguists that the demonstratives *hāðā*, *ðālika*, and their variants have two distinct uses:

- As pronouns akin to "this" and "that"

- As presentatives akin to the English "here's" and "there's" and the French "*voici*" and "*voilà*."

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[23] This may be particular to PCA.

While the presentative use of *hāðā* has never been disputed, the topic came to be oddly marginalized in the Arabic linguistic tradition. This marginalization of *hāðā*-presentative has resulted in poor interpretations of PCA texts in which *hāðā*-presentative appears. The examples provided in the present article illustrate that the presentative use of *hāðā* is common in pre-Classical Arabic texts and that it occurs with both proximal and distal demonstratives.

The present article has also attempted to outline the rules PCA uses to distinguish *hāðā*-presentative from *hāðā*-pronoun. These rules can be summarized as follows:

- When *hāðā* is used in PCA as a presentative, it must either be used as a stand-alone sentence, or be followed directly by a separate topic NP. This topic NP can be definite هذا زيدٌ or indefinite هذا رجلٌ

- The topic NP is often followed by a comment element that could serve as a definite topic's predicate:

    ⟹ هذا زيدٌ منطلقاً = زيدٌ منطلقٌ

    ⟹ هذا زيدٌ ينطلقُ = زيدٌ ينطلقُ

    ⟹ هذا زيدٌ أمامَك = زيدٌ أمامَك

- When the topic NP is a personal pronoun such as *'ana* or *huwa*, it forms a special construction with *hāðā*

- In the following situations, *hāðā* is unambiguously presentative:
    ⟹ When *hāðā* is used as a stand-alone sentence
    ⟹ When *hāðā* forms a special construction with a personal pronoun
    ⟹ When the NP after *hāðā* is followed by an accusative-marked comment

- Whenever the NP after *hāðā* is followed by *any* comment element, *hāðā* is almost always presentative as well, even if the comment is not marked for the accusative

- When *hāðā* is followed by an NP without a comment, as in هذا زيدٌ *hāðā* can be either a pronoun or a presentative; hence, context must determine whether this clause means "This is Zayd" or "Here's Zayd."

Not only do these rules serve as tools to allow the reader to distinguish between *hāðā*-presentative and *hāðā*-pronoun in PCA texts, but the mere existence of such rules also indicates that *hāðā*-presentative was well-established in the language. As further evidence of how well-established *hāðā*-presentative was in PCA, this article sampled some of the secondary senses and idiomatic uses of *hāðā*-presentative in PCA, all of which are built upon its basic "here's" meaning.

Appendix: Evidence from modern Arabic dialects

This supplement aims to show that not only was *hāðā*-presentative a frequent use in PCA, but that it never disappeared from the spoken language. In fact, far from disappearing, the *hāðā*-pronoun/*hāðā*-presentative distinction appears to have advanced in spoken Arabic. The fact that *hāðā*-presentative has always been an everyday feature of spoken Arabic, in addition to its being documented by the early linguists, makes its near-disappearance from the linguistic tradition even more puzzling.

Here I will briefly sample two modern dialects that have both not only maintained but advanced the PCA *hāðā*-pronoun/*hāðā*-presentative distinction: one conservative dialect (Najdī), which has advanced the distinction only slightly, and one progressive dialect (Egyptian) in which *hāðā*-pronoun and *hāðā*-presentative have developed into two separate lexical items. My aim is only to show that reflexes of the basic PCA *hāðā*-pronoun/*hāðā*-presentative distinction are preserved in these dialects. I do not intend to provide a thorough analysis of presentatives in these dialects and how their use may differ from PCA. Nor do I imply that these two dialects are the only ones that have retained *hāðā*-presentative. To the contrary, most, if not all modern dialects have retained *hāðā*-presentative in one form or another. The two treated here are provided as a representative sample.

Najdī

Najdī Arabic (NA) retains the demonstratives in forms similar or identical to PCA.[24] The Najdī dialect also retains the two distinct uses of these words, and in general retains the three-slot *kāna*-like pattern for the presentative (although, as we will see, it has become an *ʾinna*-like pattern).

Hāðā is usually marked for gender and number in agreement with its topic NP as in (58) (with the loss of case markings, neither the topic NP nor the comment is marked for case). [25]

(58)   ***hāði ghawat-i ẓāhbah***
       "Here, my coffee's ready to drink!" ("offering" sense)

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[24] See detailed discussion in Ingham (55-6)

[25] Apart from (58), the examples in this section were taken from *ʿAwaḍ Abban ʿAn Jadd*, a Saudi TV show aired in 2018.

Now, compare example (59) below with (47) above, which Al-Farrāʾ recorded over a thousand years earlier ("Some beasts of prey may not be feared, but everybody fears the lion"). The similarity is stunning.

> (59)   *Ğāyr-in minn-ak ʿašān-i grūn al-ğazāl ʾilli maʿak?* **Hāða θ-θōr <u>ma-kbar mn-i grūnah</u>** *ma nfaʿt-hu b-šayy*
>
> "[You think] I'm jealous of you because of those gazelle antlers you've got? **<u>Well, the ox has the biggest horns of all,</u>**[26] but that doesn't make it special!" ("We all know" sense)

As in PCA, *hāðā*-presentative forms a special construction with personal pronoun topics in NA. However, instead of the PCA *hāðā huwa → hā-huwa-ðā* pattern described in 3.2.3, the pronoun in NA is simply tacked on to *hāðā* in the affixed direct object form, as if *hāðā* were a verb. Thus, *hāðā huwa* becomes *hāðā-hu*;[27] *hāðā ʾana* becomes *hāðā-nī; hāðā ʾanta* becomes *hāðā-k*, etc., as in (60). So instead of *kāna* and her sisters, *hāðā* in NA patterns with *ʾinna* and her sisters.

> (60)   *ʿazzizī-lah yaḷḷa,* **hāðā-hu <u>fis-sijn</u>***, yaḷḷa rūḥī ʿazzizī-lah*
>
> (Context: A woman whose husband has been jailed tells the police chief that she has come to back up her husband; this is the police chief's response): "Go ahead and back him up! **There he is in jail**, go ahead, you go (there) and back him up!"

Most notably, in these presentative-personal pronoun constructions, *hāðā* may lose its ability to inflect, becoming invariably *hāðā* regardless of the gender or number of its topic NP. Accordingly, in (61), a female speaker uses *hāðā* instead of *hāðī*.

> (61)   **hāðā-nī <u>ʿallamtik</u>***, huh!*
>
> (Context: The same woman warns the police chief that her husband will incite the other prisoners and says the following before stomping off): "There—**now I've warned you**!" ("now" sense)

Similarly, in (62), a speaker using the first-person plural use *hāðā* instead of *hāðōl*.

> (62)   **w-hāðā-na <u>mgaddm-īn-in</u>**
>
> "and now we're applying"[28] ("now" sense)

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[26] By *hāða θ-θōr*, the speaker clearly did not mean "this ox" as an actual ox never appeared in the show. "Ox" in Najdī is used as an epithet for a dim-witted person.

[27] With the second syllable stressed: *hā-ðā-hu*.

[28] Corrected from (Ingham (1994). Surprisingly, the presentative use of *hāðā* in Najdī eluded Ingham, leading him to incorrectly transcribe and gloss this example as follows:

>   *w-hāð*   **ʾan-na**   *mgaddm-īn-in*

Compared with PCA, this loss of inflection is a step forward in formalizing the distinction between *hāðā*-presentative and *hāðā*-pronoun, which always inflects. Egyptian has advanced this distinction even further.

Egyptian

In Egyptian Arabic (EA), *hāðā*-pronoun has become *da* which is marked for gender and number. Like the PCA *hāðā*-pronoun, the EA *da* and its inflections occur independently and adnominally in any position that could be occupied by a noun (Hinds and Badawi 1986:273). However, the EA *da* is not used as a presentative. Thus, *da l-mudīr wi di mrātu* in EA can only mean "That is the director and that is his wife" (Hinds and Badawi 1986:273)[29] but never "Here's the director and here's his wife."

Hāðā-presentative, on the other hand, has developed into a distinct lexical item: the EA presentative *'ādi* which, in turn, is never used as a pronoun. [30] In comparison with Najdī, *'ādi* has progressed further and has lost its ability to inflect entirely, whether its topic is a personal pronoun as in (63) or a noun as in (64).

(63)   ***'ādī-ni geet***
        "Here I am! / I'm here now!"

(64)   ***w-'ādi 'axrit-ha***
        "And now look how it's turned out!" (Hinds and Badawi 1986:1)

In addition, *'ādi* strictly adheres to the three-slot presentative template [presentative + topic NP + (optional comment)] and, as in Najdī, personal pronoun topics follow the *'inna* pattern, becoming affixed direct object pronouns as in (65).

(65)   ***'ādī-na b-nitsāmir** nitḥaddit šiwayya w-niḍḥak šiwayya*
        "Here we are, passing the night with a few stories and a few laughs." (Hinds and Badawi 1986:429)

---

                                    and-this   **that-we**   submitted-PL-IND
It is almost certainly هذانا; not أنّ هذا.

[29] There is another *da* in EA that Hinds and Al-Badawy (1986) call an "exclamatory particle," as in *da-ḥna ğalāba*! (273). This *da* is usually invariable and follows the three-slot *kāna* (not *'inna*) template. Its historical relationship with the PCA *hāðā*-presentative is worthy of analysis but is beyond the scope of this article.

[30] Given the obvious phonological and semantic correspondence between *'ādi* and *hāðā* (or *hāðī*), the notion that *'ādi* is a Coptic loanword (Corriente 2008:61) seems far-fetched, to say the least.

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