

CASE IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
OF
RHODES UNIVERSITY

By:

Hamzah Saleh Theyab Ghammaz

Thesis Supervisor:

Professor Mark de Vos

December 2023

Makhanda

CASE IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC**ABSTRACT**

This thesis provides a novel account of case checking in Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA). It argues against the concept that nominative case in topic and comment structures is *default*. Default or inherent case is not related to case filter, nor is it assigned by any syntactic method. Some linguists claim that the default case in Arabic language is employed only when no case assigner is available.

I argue, in light of the minimalist program (henceforth MP), that default (inherent) case is always a problem for syntactic theory and that the nominative case which the topic and comment sentences bear is valued by a functional head. The topic and comment constructions contain a predicational head (Pred)- a functional head, that is equivalent to vP which occurs in verbal constructions. The head of PredP is accountable for nominative case value on the topic and comment structures.

This thesis also provides a novel paradigm regarding the clitics that appear at the end of verbs in MSA. This paradigm proves that these clitics are not agreement, tense, nor mood markers but rather Verbal Case markers and it provides a minimalist program account to explain case checking on verbs in MSA.

Regarding sentence initial DP, and contra to the proposal that in SVO sentence initial DP is a subject, I have scrutinised the nature of this DP and provided enough evidence that it is a topic. Additionally, I have investigated the relationship between agreement asymmetry and the position of the subject in MSA from the minimalist feature inheritance account viewpoint. Mainly, I reviewed null pro hypothesis which proved to be redundant to account for the derivation of VSO or SVO word orders. I have also proved what were considered agreement markers are not agreement markers but resumptive pronouns.

Finally, I proved that there is not agreement asymmetry in MSA. Agreement pattern in MSA results from the agree operation and it is achieved under Probe-Goal alignment; regardless of whether the Goal is raised up to Spec-TP or remains in situ (Spec-VP), the agreement is not supposed to change. This conclusion is in harmony with the principles of MP Agree Theory.

Keywords: Syntax, Case, Verbal Case, Minimalist Programme, Predicational Phrase, Tritransitive, Topic, Comment, Subject, Quasi Verbs, Clitics

DECLARATION

I the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not, in its entirety or part, been submitted at any university for a degree.

SIGNED:

DATE:

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the first place, I would like to express my greatest pleasure and my deepest gratitude, appreciation and indebtedness to my Supervisor Prof. Mark De Vos for his stimulating suggestions and insightful comments. Prof. Mark provided insightful guidance and support based on his exceptional academic intelligence, expertise, and experience. I also thank him for the patience on my progress, for his suggestions on shaping not only this thesis but also my linguistics knowledge, and for his countless hours that he spent on our bi-weekly meetings and on reading and editing my thesis. There were many times when things got entangled and where I had arrived at the ‘crossroads’ and each time Prof. Mark was there to lead me towards the right path. His office door was always open to me, and he was always there willing to sit with me without hesitation to listen to my troubles and always made me feel as if my work mattered. Without his endless support, guidance, instructions and constant help, this thesis would not have been as it is now. Obviously, I am the one responsible for all mistakes and inaccuracies.

I also record my sincere gratitude to Prof. Ron Simango, for his suggestions in directing my research work at its early stages.

I would not have been enrolled at Rhodes University without the support of Prof. Sally Hunt who attended to every single question I asked on the department’s Facebook page and made my transition to South Africa a smooth one. I will not forget to thank Dr. Iyad Issa, my colleague who also advised on some issues before moving to Grahamstown and who is a true friend forever.

I am also indebted to Tracy Bowles who was the postgraduates coordinator for the wonderful coordination, organizing the annual postgraduates conference, and for her frequent emails checking on the progress of my study.

It does not go without thanking prof. Ralph Adendorff for the wonderful courses on ethnography and appraisal, the wonderful teaching style and the weekly assignments and discussions. Thanks are also due to Ian Siebörger for his wonderful personality and the bits of chat that we had when I was staying in Grahamstown.

I would like to extend my sense of appreciation to Prof. Jihad Hamdan, the President of Zarqa University and my source of inspiration since the days of my master in the University of Jordan, Prof. Mohammad Al-Khawaldeh, for the wonderful courses in syntax at Mutah University, Prof. Zahra Awad, Prof. Asma' Moubaidin, Prof. Marwan Jarrah, from the University of Jordan, Prof. Ghaleb Rabab'ah, the head of the Department of English language at the University of Sharjah and Prof. Rashid Al-Balushi from Sultan Qaboos University

I also feel obliged to thank the kind and dedicated staff of Khorfakkan Public Library who allocated me a table and a car park and provided internet connection and even refreshments as I used to spend years working in the library.

My special thanks go to my mother for her sincere prayers that remain the main way out of many moments of frustration. My brothers, sisters, and their families, words cannot thank you enough for being the support I lean on all my life; you have always been there whenever I needed anything.

Finally, yet importantly, I am very grateful to my wife and my three children: Saleh, Yousuf and the little Amir for their love, prayers and constant emotional support that have been with me in every single moment of my Ph.D. tenure. My little family have endured loads of deprivation during the years of my study in which my wife carried the main responsibilities of bringing up the children facing all difficulties alone in the hope that I finish my study smoothly and the family gets reunion again. Honestly speaking, they suffered as nearly all my days during the past five years were dedicated entirely to my study. You all have been and will always remain the trigger for every step toward more advancement and I promise that the future is brighter.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work:

In loving memory of my late father and to the soul of my mother who passed away a week before submitting this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations and Symbols Used in Glosses

*	ungrammatical structure
1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
A movement	argument movement
ACC	accusative
AgrOP	object agreement phrase
ASP	aspect
COMP	complementizer
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
INDF	indefinite
INTR	intransitive
JUS	jussive
M	masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
DP	noun phrase
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PST	past
S	singular
θ role	theta role
VP	verb phrase

TRANSLITERATION SCHEME

• Consonants

ʔ	glottal stop
ʕ	pharyngeal fricative
b	voiced bilabial stop
t	voiced alveolar fricative
θ	voiceless dental fricative
j	voiced palatal affricate
h	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
kh	voiceless uvular fricative
d	voiced alveolar stop
ð	voiced dental fricative
r	voiced alveolar flap
z	voiced alveolar fricative
s	voiceless alveolar fricative
sh	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
S	emphatic s
ḍ	voiced velarized alveolar stop
t̤	emphatic t
ḍ	voiced velarized dental fricative
g	voiced uvular fricative
f	voiceless labiodental fricative
q	velar glottalized plosive
k	voiceless velar stop
l	voiced alveolar lateral
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced alveolar nasal
h	voiceless glottal fricative
w	voiced bilabial semi vowel
y	voiced palatal semi vowel

• Vowels

	short	long
Central Open	a	a:
Front Closed	ɪ	ɪ:
Back Closed Round	u	u:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT..... i

DECLARATION..... iii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTSiv

DEDICATION.....vi

ABBREVIATIONSvii

TRANSLITERATION SCHEME viii

TABLE OF CONTENTS 1

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 6

1.0 Introduction..... 6

1.1 Research Questions 7

1.2 Theoretical Framework 14

1.3 Outline of the Study 17

1.4 Significance and Contributions of the Study.....20

1.5 Variety of Arabic.....20

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE22

2.0 General Contrastive Studies 22

2.1 An Overview on Major Aspects of MSA Syntax.....22

2.2 Agreement in MSA31

2.2.1 Gender Agreement 31

2.2.2 Number Agreement 33

2.2.3 Person Agreement 34

2.3 Case in Arabic Syntax 35

2.4 DP CASE MARKERS IN MSA..... 41

2.4.1 Nominative Case 42

2.4.2 Accusative Case 44

2.4.3	Genitive Case	45
2.4.4	Special Category (The Five Nouns)	46
2.4.5	Overt or Covert Case	47
2.5	Previous Accounts of Case in MSA	48
2.5.1	Fassi Fehri (1993).....	48
2.5.2	Raḥḥali (2003).....	50
2.5.3	Ouhalla (2005).....	54
2.5.4	Soltan (2007).....	58
2.5.5	Al-Balushi (2011; 2012).....	61
2.5.6	Choueiri (2016)	62
2.6	Summary	65
CHAPTER THREE: TOPIC & COMMENT CONSTRUCTIONS		67
3.0	Introduction	67
3.1	Case in Topic & Comment Structures	67
3.1.1	Schemata of Small Clauses	67
3.1.2	Definiteness	75
3.1.3	Passivization.....	77
3.1.4	Morphological Realization	83
3.2	Syntactic Island Effects	83
3.3	Topic Phrase or Object Focus Phrase	85
3.4	Conclusions	88
CHAPTER FOUR: PREVERBAL DP (CASE & AGREEMENT)		91
4.0	Introduction	91
4.1	Agreement in SVO	94
4.2	The Preverbal DP	95
4.2.1	Subject Perspective	96
4.2.2	Topic Perspective	97

4.3	Resumptive Pronouns	98
4.4	Syntactic Tests	100
4.4.1	Passivization Test.....	100
4.4.2	Coordination Test.....	102
4.4.3	Relativization Test.....	102
4.4.4	Omission Test.....	103
4.4.5	Reflexivization Test	104
4.5	Short Account of Agreement Hypotheses	106
4.6	A Minimalist Account	112
4.7	CP and Movement	113
4.8	Derivations in MSA	117
4.8.1	VSO Word Order	118
4.8.2	SVO Word Order	118
4.9	Conclusion.	120
4.10	Summary	121
CHAPTER FIVE: CASE IN DI & TRITRANSITIVE VERBS		122
5.0	Introduction	122
5.1	Arguments of Verb	122
5.2	Derivation of Case in MSA	124
5.3	Case-assignment in MSA	125
5.4	Tritransitive Verbs	128
5.4.1	On the Nature of Tritransitive Verbs.....	128
5.4.2	Case Assignment in Tritransitive Verbs.....	131
5.5	Conclusion	137
CHAPTER SIX: THE VERBAL CASE		138
6.1	Verbal Markers	138
6.2	CASE ON VERBS	140

6.2.1	Verbal Case in MSA	141
6.2.2	Tense Markers	143
6.2.3	Agreement Markers.....	146
6.2.4	Mood Marking.....	147
6.2.4.1	Traditional View.....	148
6.2.4.2	Indicative Mood.....	149
6.2.4.3	Subjunctive Mood.....	149
6.2.4.4	Jussive Mood	150
6.2.4.5	Imperative Mood	151
6.2.5	A Special Category (The Five Verbs).....	151
6.2.6	Verbal Case Markers	152
6.2.6.1	Nominative Case.....	153
6.2.6.2	Accusative Case.....	154
6.2.6.3	Jussive Case.....	155
6.3	VERBAL CASE ASSIGNING PARTICLES	156
6.3.1	Particles Assigning Accusative Verbal Case	156
6.3.2	Particles Assigning Jussive Verbal Case.....	158
6.4	THE NEW PARADIGM	162
6.5	THE LICENSING OF VERBAL CASE	168
6.5.1	The Concept of Finiteness.....	169
6.5.2	Evidence for VC.....	170
6.5.3	Verbal Case Cross Linguistically	175
6.5.4	On Interpretability and Value.....	177
6.5.5	Feature Valuation Process.....	181
6.6	Case in Quasi Verbal Clauses	185
6.6.1	Why Quasi Verbs do not License NOM Case.....	186
6.6.2	Why Quasi Verbs License ACC Case.....	189

6.7 Conclusions..... 191

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS..... 194

7.0 Introduction..... 194

7.1 Conclusions..... 195

Bibliography 199

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates case in syntactic structures in Modern Standard Arabic which is the official formal language spoken in the Arab World. The analysis is done in light of Minimalist Programme perspective (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent work).

MSA is a nominative-accusative language which marks the direct object of transitive verbs with an accusative case distinguishing them from the subject of both transitive and intransitive verbs which bear nominative case. This alignment contrasts, with other languages, ergative-absolutive languages, which mark the subject of transitive verbs distinctly from the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs.

I would like to note here that throughout the thesis, I use the term case to refer to case assigned on DPs and when I refer to case on verbs, I use the term verbal case. I also use the terms NP and DP interchangeably to refer to the noun phrase, depending on the context.

Chomsky's work proposes that Case, which is a universal syntactic feature, presupposes morphological case. Chomsky (2000; 2004) claims that the valuation of the uninterpretable Case feature on the Goal DP via Agree relation with the Probe (*i.e.*, the functional head) leads to the specification of the morphological case. Depending on Chomsky's assumption, we can see strong matching between abstract Case and the morphological case in MSA what makes it very tempting to scrutinize how and where case is valued.

MSA manifests some instances where case on a given DP does not seem to result from Agree relation with a case assigner. One of these instances is related to the preverbal DP in SVO structures (topic) which bears nominative only when it is not preceded by any overt Case assigner. Also, the topic in such structures bears nominative case only when the copula is null. (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980; Fassi Fehri, 1993; Al-Mubarrad, 1994; Ouhalla, 1994; Al-Istirabadhi, 1996; Abu Hayyan, 1998; Mohammad, 2000; Schütze, 2001). Fassi Fehri (1993) and

Mohammad (2000) claim that these instances of nominative case are '*default*' or inherent cases. Building on Chomsky (2005) and Fassi Fehri (2005), I will argue that Case on the preverbal DP is valued and checked under Agree relationship with C.

1.1 Research Questions

Although the literature available on Case theory in both English and MSA accounted for a lot of data crosslinguistically, how case is assigned in topic and comment structures is yet underresearched. In a verbal sentence, which contain a vP head, it is reasonable to place the subject at Spec-VP where it will later be raised to Spec-T position to satisfy [EPP] feature on T and where it gets its nominative case and the complement to receive an accusative case which is assigned to it by the little v. However, the structure of topic-comment sentences in MSA is more complicated. In fact, scrutinizing topic & comment sentences as (1) below raises many questions regarding the nominative case mark of the topic (*al-bint-u*) & comment (*thakia-t-un*).

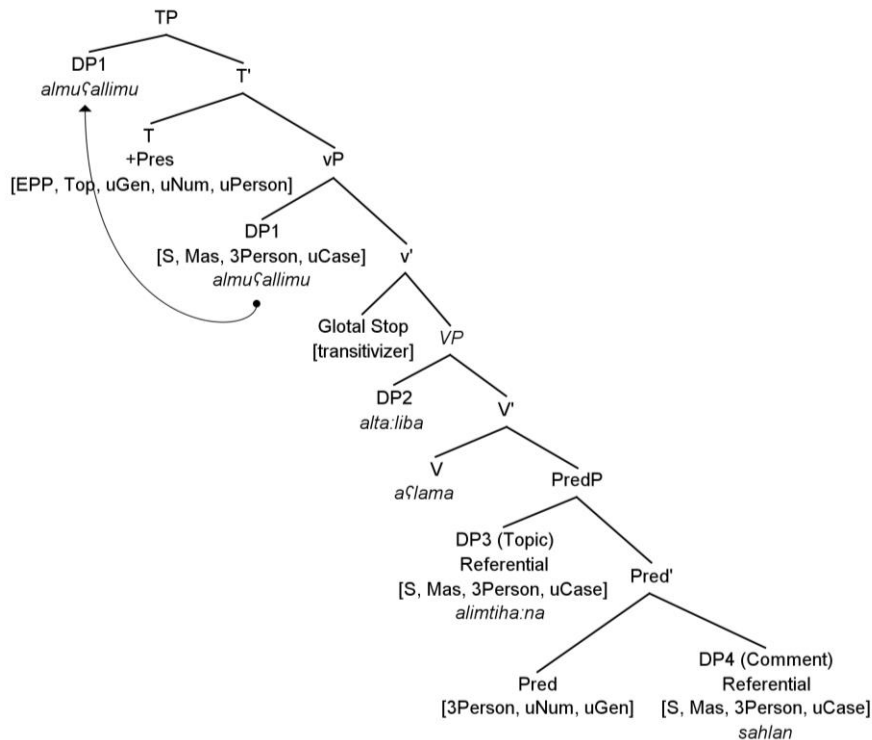
1. *al-bint-u* *thakia-t-un*
 the-girl-NOM smart-F-NOM
 '*The girl is smart.*'

In such structures, both constituents are DPs that lack a vP projection but have a referential relationship. This is to say that the topic '*albintu*' is the same entity that is the comment '*thakiatun*' and '*thakiatun*' refers back to '*albintu*'.

Another unattended area in case studies in English and MSA is related to tritransitive verbs, which, as indicated by the name, have three objects as manifested in example (2) below:

2. *aʕlam-a* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *al-imiha:n-a*
 informed-ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC the-exam-ACC
 sahl-an
 easy-ACC
 '*The teacher informed the student that the exam was easy.*'

In example (2) above, the three object DPs are ‘*alta:liba* / the student, *alimtiha:na* / the exam, and *sahlan* / easy’ respectively. Now, let us initially base our discussion of case on tritransitive verbs on tree diagram (3) as manifested below:



*Tree Diagram (3). Representation of Titransitive Verbs ‘aʕlama almuʕallimu
alta:liba alimtiha:na sahlana.’*

In MP, the two potential case assigners are the lexical verb and the little v. In tree diagram (3), the verb ‘*aʕlama*’ exists in the head position of the VP, whereas DP2 ‘*alta:liba*’ which is the first object acts as Spec-VP and the phrase, which comprises the second and third objects, ‘DP3 and DP4 respectively ‘*alimtiha:na sahlana*’, functions as the complement of the V. This VP is then merged as a complement with the abstract causative little verb (v) to form the v-bar. The resulting v-bar is then merged with the subject DP1 ‘*al-muʕallim-u*’ to form vP. The lexical tritransitive verb ‘*aʕlama*’ c-commands DP3 ‘*alimtiha:na*’, so, its accusative case feature is checked against that of the verb.

As for DP2 ‘*alta:liba*’, the lexical ditransitive verb ‘*aʕlama*’ is not in a position to be the Probe of it, then DP2 ‘*alta:liba*’ should search for a c-commanding Probe to value its accusative case that it carries. The only possible constituent that can Probe the Goal DP2 is the accusative little verb which is the head of the

v-bar. The accusative light verb can function as the Probe for the Goal because of two reasons: First, it c-commands DP2 which is in Spec-VP position and the ditransitive little verb, which is the head of v, is in a higher position as can be seen in tree diagram (3) above. The second justification is that the little verb, which is a Probe, carries the feature of ‘accusative’ which should be valued and checked against the c-commanded DP. Additionally, both the Probe and the Goal are active as they have unvalued features that should be valued and then deleted. As a result, the accusative little verb values the unvalued feature of case on the Goal as accusative.

As the lexical tritransitive verb ‘*aʕlama*’ assigns DP3 ‘*alimtiha:na*’ an accusative case mark and the little verb has one accusative case which it can value against the unvalued accusative case of its Goal DP2 ‘*alta:liba*’, accordingly, the lexical verb and the little v have no other accusative case feature to be checked against any other Goal found in the same construction due to "The Defective Intervention Constraint" proposed by Chomsky (2000, p. 123). This leaves the question of how DP4 ‘*sahlan*’ gets its feature of accusative case valued.

The third issue that I aim at investigating is the markers that appear at the end of verbs as manifested in examples (4) below:

4. a. *yarkud-u* *al-walad-u*
 run-?.3M the-boy-NOM
 ‘*The boy is running.*’
- b. *yarkud-u* *al-walad-a:n*
 run-?.3M the-two boys-NOM
 ‘*The two boys are running.*’
- c. *yarkud-u* *al-muʕallim-u:n*
 run-?.3M the-male teachers-NOM
 ‘*The male teachers are running.*’
- d. *yarkud-u* *ʔakhu:* *al-walad-i*
 run-?.3M brother-NOM the boy-GEN
 ‘*The brother of the boy is running.*’

Now, if we scrutinize the previous example (4.a), we will realize that the markers that the verb ‘*yarkud-u* / run’ bears seem similar to the nominative case marker ‘-*u*’ borne by the subject ‘*al-walad-u*’. In (4.b), the verb bears (-*u*) which resembles the nominative case marker, and its subject bears the nominative case marker for the dual (-*a:n*). (-*u:n*) is the nominative case marker of the masculine plural subject in example (4.c) and in (4.d) it is (*?akhu:*) as the subject is one of the five nouns.

As for the accusative case, let us examine its markers on DPs and verbs through the following examples (5.a-e):

5. a. *?akal-a* *al-walad-u* *al-tuffa:hat-a*
 ate-?.3MS the-boy-NOM the-apple-ACC
 ‘*The boy ate the apple.*’
- b. *?akal-a* *al-walad-u* *tuffa:hat-a:n*
 ate-?.3MS the-boy-NOM an apple-ACC.Indef
 ‘*The boy ate an apple.*’
- c. *?akal-a* *al-walad-u* *tuffa:hat-ain*
 ate-?.3MS the-boy-NOM two apples-ACC
 ‘*The boy ate two apples.*’
- d. *qa:bal-a* *al-walad-u* *al-muṣallimi:n*
 met-?.3MS the-boy-NOM the teachers-ACC
 ‘*The boy met the teachers.*’
- e. *qa:bal-a* *al-walad-u* ***?akha:*** *al-muṣallim-i*
 met-?.3MS the-boy-NOM brother. ACC the-teacher-GEN
 ‘*The boy met the brother of the teacher.*’

The same thing is noticed with the marker ‘-*a*’ that appears on the verb ‘*?akal-a* / ate’ in example (5.a) and its object ‘*al-tuffa:hat-a*’. In (5.b), the object carries the accusative case marker (-*a:n*) as the noun is indefinite and (-*ain*) in (5.c) as the object is dual. (-*e:n*) is the accusative case marker the masculine plural subject carries in (5.d) and since the object in (4.e) belongs to a specific set of nouns called the five nouns, its accusative case is (*?akha:*).

If we think of ‘-u’ as a present tense marker and ‘-a’ as past tense markers, examples (6-7) pose a challenge.

6. *lan yarkud-a al-walad-u*
 not run-?.3MS the-boy-NOM
 ‘The boy is not running.’

7. *lam yarkud-∅ al-walad-u*
 not run-?.3MS the-boy-NOM
 ‘The boy has not run.’

If we claim that ‘-u’ is a present tense marker and ‘-a’ is past tense marker, the present tense bears different case markers in these examples. In (6), it appeared with a marker similar to the accusative case marker on objects and in (7), its case marker is the deletion of vowel sound from its end.

This raises questions about the nature of the markers that appear on verbs whether they are the same markers that appear on nouns, are they agreement, tense, mood or even case markers?

I am also intended to investigate sentence initial DP, its case, movement and subject-verb agreement. We will scrutinize the SVO word order to unveil the nature of the preverbal DP whether a topic or a subject.

In fact, syntactic agreement between the subject and the verb is crucially linked to the issue of word order. Verbs in MSA show full agreement with the preverbal DP and partial agreement with this DP if it comes after the verb (Fassi Fehri, 1993; 2005; Soltan, 2006). We will mainly concentrate on the nature of the DP that precedes the verb, is it really a subject or a topic? We will also provide a minimalist account of its position, case assignment and subject verb agreement.

To explain the issue under investigation, let us consider the following examples:

8. **SVO**
- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>al-awla:d-u</i> | <i>qara?-u:</i> | <i>al-qissat-a</i> |
| the-boys-NOM | read.ACC.3MP-they.NOM | the-story-ACC |

'The boys read the story.'

9. **VSO**

a. <i>qaraʔ-a</i>	<i>al-awla:d-u</i>	<i>al-qissat-a</i>
read-ACC	the-boys-NOM	the-story-ACC

'The boys read the story.'

b. <i>qaraʔ-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>al-qissat-a</i>
read-ACC	the-boy-NOM	the-story-ACC

'The boy read the story.'

Having a look at these examples reveals some questions regarding the nature of sentence initial DP *'al-awla:d-u / the boys'* in example (8), whether it is a topic or a subject. A second issue that needs investigation is the extension *'-u.'* which appears at the end of the verb *'qaraʔ-u.'* in example (8), I will check whether it is a number, agreement marker or a pronominal subject of the verb *'qaraʔ'*. The last point is to determine if there is agreement asymmetry in MSA, especially if we look at example (9.a) which represents the typical VSO counterpart of example (8) above which manifests SVO, and we can see that it has no clitics in the end of the verb (the *'-u.'* disappeared).

I will also investigate a different type of sentences in MSA, so-called quasi verbal clauses, where the main verbal element is a quasi-verbal / quasi-nominal element that licenses Accusative Case but not Nominative Case. I will first discuss the question of why quasi verbs do not license Nominative Case, and then move to the question of why they license Accusative Case. Initially, quasi verbal sentences do not license NOM Case because they are ungrammatical in the VSO order, as (10) shows, where *'al-ta:lib-u'* (post-verbal DP) is a subject that requires Nominative Case. They are grammatical in the SVO order, as (11) shows, where *'al-ta:lib-u'* (preverbal DP) is a Topic that receives NOM case as a specifier of the PredP.

10. <i>*ka:tib-un</i>	<i>al-ta:lib-u</i>	<i>qissat-an</i>
writing-NOM	the-student-NOM	a story-ACC

11. <i>al-ta:lib-u</i>	<i>katib-un</i>	<i>qissat-an</i>
the-student-NOM	writing-NOM	a story-ACC

‘The student writes (is writing) a story.’

Finally, I will discuss the process of case checking in these clauses. In particular, I will show that ACC Case is assumed to be licensed to the object as a result of V^0 inheriting agreement and Case features from the lower phase head, v^{*0} , (Chomsky, 2001; 2005; 2006).

In particular, this study is sought out to investigate and find answers to the following research questions:

1. Where do the topic & comment (verbless constructions) receive their case mark and what accounts for their case mark which happens to be nominative bearing in mind that they lack a vP projection?
2. How is Case assigned and checked in MSA transitive, ditransitive and tritransitive verbs?
3. Are the markers that appear at the end of verbs in MSA agreement, tense, mood or case markers and how can we provide a minimalist program account to explain case checking on verbs in MSA? I aim also at investigating the validity of the claim that such markers are perfective, imperfective and jussive mood markers.
4. Why quasi verbs fail to assign NOM case on their external argument, yet they are able to assign ACC case on their complement?
5. What is the nature of sentence initial DP? Is it a topic or a subject? And what about the clitics that appear at the end of the verb in SVO word order? Are these extensions number agreement markers or a pronominal subject of the verb?
6. How can the MP provide an account for derivation of VSO and SVO in MSA?
7. Is there agreement asymmetry in MSA? Especially, if we look at examples from the typical SVO word order and their VSO counterparts from which the clitics disappeared.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In seeking answers to the above-mentioned questions, this thesis assumes the Minimalist Program as laid out by Chomsky in (2001). With respect to Case assignment/checking, ‘Agree’ relation was proposed as a means for licensing uninterpretable features such as agreement and Case features in what is known as Probe-Goal configuration. This is because (unlike interpretable features) such features attain their values in the derivation. Therefore, the incentive for Agree as a feature checking operation is to license and delete such features in the narrow syntax to abide by the principle of Full Interpretation as proposed by Chomsky (2004). Agree results in valuing the uninterpretable features for PF reasons, and at the same time deleting these uninterpretable features for LF purposes; thus, Agree is necessary for legibility at LF as well as PF.

The operation Agree creates a relation between an uninterpretable feature on some constituent and the matching interpretable feature on another one. This relation results in matching the two features and valuing the uninterpretable one. The element that has the uninterpretable feature is called ‘Probe’; the one with the interpretable variant is called ‘Goal’. This operation can either be a head-head relation or a head-DP relation (Chomsky, 2001). According to Chomsky’s conception of Agree, the Probe must c-command the Goal; that is, the Probe searches in its c-command domain for a possible Goal. One main reason for this conception of how the Probe and the Goal must be situated in relation to one another is Chomsky’s proposal that Case is checked on the DP (subject in Spec, vP, and object in complement to V’ position) as a reflex of valuing the f-features on the Case checking head, I’ and v’, respectively. This state of affairs naturally results in I’ and v’ always probing downward (in their c-command domain), looking for a Goal to value their f- features, with Case checking obtaining as a by-product.

I counted on the relation of Agree to explain how topic and comment structures receive nominative case marks where the topic and comment constitute a Predicational Phrase, and due to agreement in person, number and gender with the topic DP that occurs on its Spec position, the head of this PredP assigns the same case to its complement which is the comment DP. As a by-product of

Agree relations with T and Pred, the topic and comment DPs get their case features valued as nominative since they are equidistant from the head of the PredP.

Crucial to Agree, both the Probe and the Goal must be ‘active’ in the sense that the relevant feature on both of them is not licensed. Therefore, if the f-features on I’ are valued (as a result of an agree relation with some DP), then I’ will be ‘inactive’ for Agree; that is, it will not probe to get its f-features (re)valued. In other words, for a Probe to enter an Agree relation with a certain Goal, no other potential Goal might intervene. This concept becomes handy when I discuss case checking in double-object constructions where the main lexical ditransitive verb becomes ‘inactive’ to assign acquisitive case mark to the second object which gets its case from the little v.

One virtue of the Agree relation is that it accounts for formal feature checking in VSO as well as SVO languages (without having to bring notions like government and m-command) since it allows I’ to enter an Agree relation with the subject while it is in Spec, vP. Another virtue is that now feature checking might take place without movement, which accounts for feature checking in a language like MSA which does not make use of A-movement.

With regard to feature interpretability and valuation, I follow Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) in assuming that interpretability and valuation are two different processes. The inflectional functional head Infl that heads the IP has an interpretable feature [VC] that is, via Agree, values its unvalued [VC] feature on the verb. Upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters an Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned e.g., ‘*lan*’ is an accusative case assigning particle which has the feature ‘lan ACC.

I would like to highlight that Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2007) analysis gives both the Probe and the Goal a chance to get interpreted at the interface which Chomsky’s system allows only the Goal to get interpreted. I will rely on Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2007) in my analysis of the markers that appear at the

end of verbs to prove that these markers are a form of case which I call verbal case that is licensed on the verb though the finiteness feature on Inf.

I would like to conclude this section by talking about the most recent update to the MP is the Phase Theory which was introduced in Chomsky (2000) and subsequent work. Phase Theory is considered to be the main development in the recent MP (Chomsky, 2000; 2001; 2004; 2005) from the earliest form of the MP (Chomsky, 1993; 1995). The phase is a unit of syntactic computation, and the head of the phase is responsible for triggering syntactic operations (Chomsky, 2005).

Chomsky argues that the process of derivation progresses phase by phase and spell out applies cyclically. This means that uninterpretable features are valued and deleted within the phase level. When the derivation of the phase is completed, the phase is transmitted to the LF and PF interface levels. Once this is complete, the phase becomes shielded what means that this phase becomes inaccessible to the higher Probes for further operations. However, this does not apply to the head of the phrase or and its left specifier which remain active for other operations outside the phrase borders. However, the derived phases have to abide the cyclicity condition, which is known as the phase impenetrability condition, which is stated below.

'In Phase a with head H , the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside a , only H and its edge are accessible to such operations'.

(Chomsky, 2000, p. 108)

Chomsky illustrated this cyclicity condition by explaining that the "*cycle is so strict that operations cannot "look into" a phase a below its head H . H itself must be visible for selection and head-movement, hence its SPECs as well*" (Chomsky, 2000, p. 108)

Chomsky (2000; 2001) stated that the CP and vP are the only phases in a sentence, this means that the TP is not considered a phase. However, in Chomsky's most recent work, the vP phase is modified to v*P phase, where "v* is a functional head that has full argument structure, transitive and experiencer constructions" (Chomsky, 2005, p. 10). The main function of phases is that their

heads contain φ features, therefore, TP is not considered to be a phase because its head does not contain tense φ features (Chomsky, 2005). However, more recent update allowed the head T to inherit some of the features of the head C.

Regarding feature inheritance, Chomsky (1995; 2000; 2001) claimed that head T cannot be considered a phase due to the fact that it lacks φ and tense features. However, in Chomsky (2005), TP is viewed as a derivative phase that is capable of inheriting features from C. This means that the T can value the features of C when it probes down for a matching Goal. To state it differently, the head C and T form a complex Probe that agrees with the matching Goal. The matching Goal can stay in its base position with its uninterpretable features deleted via Agree, or it can raise to the spec-T position, where it is inactivated, with all the features valued, and cannot raise further to spec-C position.

The relationship between v^* , which is the head of the phase v^*P , and V, which is the head of its complement is parallel to the relation between heads C and T. The head of v^*P transfers its features to V. Chomsky (2005) argues that the heads C and v^* contain two types of features: Agree features (φ features). and the Edge feature, in addition to a tense feature on C. T and V, the heads of complements, inherit the Agree features from C and v^* . The Edge feature triggers movements to the specifier position of the phase head. Consequently, the distinction between A-movement and A'-movement arises. Chomsky argues that only the specifier of CP and the extra specifier of v^*P are A' -positions.

In fact, Chomsky's proposal that the DP Goal in the Spec-VP can be 'inactivated' in the Spec-TP might be thought of as a drawback to checking theory. It is not clear under the feature-inheritance approach, why the subject moves optionally from the Spec-VP to the Spec-TP.

The MP is relevant to every aspect of this thesis, especially its feature licensing operation, Agree, which I propose can even replace the recent notion of 'feature inheritance'.

1.3 Outline of the Study

The thesis consists of seven chapters:

Chapter One is an introduction to this thesis which includes the main research questions, the theoretical framework, and the significance and contributions of the study. It also sheds light on the variety of Arabic language used. In the introduction, I have provided a brief outline of the next chapters.

Chapter Two provides an overview on major aspects of MSA syntax in addition to examining the present literature on case assignment in MSA in an attempt to remedy the deficiency and fill the research gap in literature which handled case in MSA. Those studies did not deal with the derivation of Case of ditransitive and tritransitive verbs and how Case is checked, mainly in such structures. It also investigates verbal case, case on quasi verbs, and topic and comment constructions or what is known as verbless structures. The study also investigates case assignment on sentence initial DPs and discusses whether this DP is a topic or a focused subject. In MSA, syntacticians did not provide convincing explanation of how the verb assigns Case to its arguments or at least provide explanation for the order of these arguments (Hassan, 1980).

Chapter Three discusses case in topic and comment constructions in an attempt to answer the question which revolves around where such constructions receive case marks bearing in mind that such structures lack a vP projection.

I suggest that the PredP head, which has the features [uGen, uNum, uGen], in the topic and comment structure in MSA, can probe downward for a DP to agree with on the condition that Pred c-commands DP. The closest c-commanding DP for it is the comment, which has the features [S, F, 3Person, and uCase]. I also assume that the PredP head here enters Agree with the topic DP in its specifier position. This agreement results in the valuation of gender and number features of the PredP head. Note that the PredP head here is specified for the third-person feature.

Chapter Four discusses a concept related to word order in MSA with focus on the issue of sentence initial DP, its case, movement and subject-verb agreement. We will scrutinize the SVO word order to unveil the nature of the preverbal DP whether a topic or a subject.

In fact, syntactic agreement between the subject and the verb is crucially linked to the issue of word order. Verbs in MSA show full agreement with the preverbal DP and partial agreement with this DP if it comes after the verb (Fassi Fehri, 1993; 2005; Soltan, 2006). We will mainly concentrate on the nature of the DP that precedes the verb, is it really a subject or a topic? We will also provide a minimalist account of its position, case assignment and subject verb agreement.

Chapter Five investigates how verbs assign case in MSA. We will limit the scope of discussion to provide explanation of the nominative Case mark that is assigned to the subject and the accusative case mark that is assigned to both, the direct and indirect objects. This account will be extended to explain case assignment on tritransitive verbs making use of our account of how case is assigned on topic and comment structures. We will also provide an account for the derivation of case assigned to these objects and their underlying structure.

Chapter Six provides a novel idea regarding the clitics that appear at the end of verbs in MSA questioning the nature of these clitics whether they are agreement, tense, mood or case markers. I will also provide a minimalist program account to explain case checking on verbs in MSA.

This chapter suggests that the finiteness feature on Inf is the source that licenses the verbal structural Case feature on verbs in MSA because this inflectional head has an interpretable feature [VC] that is, via Agree, values its unvalued [VC] feature on the verb. Upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned e.g., '*lan*' is an accusative case assigning particle which has the feature '*lan* ACC'.

The chapter has also investigated case on quasi verbs trying to explain why such verbs do not license Nom case but still can license ACC case.

Chapter Seven restates the conclusions and findings from the previous chapters.

1.4 Significance and Contributions of the Study

In fact, this study came to fill the research gap as most available accounts of case in MSA are problematic either theoretically or empirically. None of the previous studies mentioned in this thesis discusses case on tritransitive verbs or that verbs in MSA bear a form of verbal case.

This study is meant to contribute to the descriptive theoretical field of contrastive linguistics of English and MSA by providing a minimalist account for case checking on verbs and their arguments. Specifically, this study provides a novel minimalist analysis of case on tritransitive verbs, the predicational phrase (topic and comment structures), sentence initial DP and whether we consider it a topic or a subject. Additionally, it presents a new paradigm that proves the existence of case markers on verbs. Finally, it investigated case mark on quasi verbs and explained why they fail to assign nominative case to the subject but they assign accusative case to their complement. This adds another string to the minimalist program bow that expanded its validity to account for case system in MSA and that case is assigned to verbs, predicational phrases, and third objects in a unified manner.

This study will provide answers to the research questions that are considered vital in studying case assignment in English and MSA. It could also serve as a guide to both Arab and English learners of these topics to solve the weaknesses in current theories and show how the two languages are similar or different what enhances their understanding of case assignment system.

The findings of this study will have a pedagogic significance e.g., for those involved in teaching English for native speakers of MSA language and for those involved in teaching Arabic syntax to native speakers of English language.

1.5 Variety of Arabic

Arabic is the language which is spoken in the Arab world in countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Arabic language is also an umbrella term that covers both Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic that is spoken throughout the entire Arab countries but not the Colloquial Arabic which is a

country-specific variety of Arabic too. Classical Arabic is the language of the pre-Islamic era, and it is the language of the Holy Qur'an.

The second level of Arabic language which is adopted in this thesis is Modern Standard Arabic which is essentially the official formal language which is considered a simplified version of Classical Arabic and its direct descendant. MSA is the level of Arabic that is taught at most colleges and universities. It is also the language used in media, academia, politics, instructions in education, religious sermons, books, and in formal meetings..., etc. It is not a conversational language; it is seen as pretentious if used in casual environments. MSA is only used in everyday communication if the speakers cannot comprehend the other speaker's colloquial dialects.¹

Finally, Colloquial Arabic is the variety of Arabis that is used in informal settings, and it varies massively across Arab countries. Usually, it is the unwritten variety of the language.

Regarding the syntax of Classical Arabic and MSA, Haeri (2002) claims that CA and MSA are identical in their syntax; therefore, Haeri (2002) tends to use the term *Classical Arabic* to cover both CA as well as MSA; she rejects the commonly used term *Modern Standard Arabic* which is, as she claims, a Western invention. However, Haeri (2002) distinguishes the differences between traditional CA which is the language of religion and contemporary CA which is the language of everything aside from religion (Haeri, 2002, p. 43). Other linguists as Stetkevych (2006) among many others, suggest that CA and MSA are distinct varieties of Arabic that show some variation in morphological, lexical as well as *syntactic* differences.

¹ Except where otherwise stated, the examples of the data are my own examples relying on my intuition being a native speaker of the language.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 General Contrastive Studies

This Chapter examines the present literature on case assignment in MSA. By doing so, I aim at providing the background information required in my subsequent work to situate it within the field of Linguistics in general and, primarily, syntax. I also aim at using this literature review to frame specific designs and directions in my thesis, as well as justifying the need and relevance of this work.

This study is an attempt to remedy the deficiency and fill the research gap in literature which handled case in MSA. Those studies did not deal with the derivation of Case of ditransitive and tritransitive verbs and how Case is checked, mainly in such structures. It also provides a novel analysis regarding verbal case, case on quasi verbs, and topic and comment constructions or what is known as verbless structures. The study also investigates case assignment on sentence initial DPs and discusses whether this DP is a topic or a focused subject. This domain is totally a novel concept in MSA as Arabic syntacticians did not provide convincing explanation of how the verb assigns Case to its arguments or at least provide explanation for the order of these arguments (Hassan, 1980).

2.1 An Overview on Major Aspects of MSA Syntax

This section presents some aspects of MSA that are required for this thesis and gives a brief overview of how traditional Arab syntacticians accounted for the case alternations on DPs.

Below, I present some of the relevant structures of MSA. These syntactic structures are necessary and useful when I discuss case assignment facts of MSA that are addressed in next chapters. Introducing these structures will thus pave the ground for the analysis of case assignment to be developed in next chapters.

(a) There are two major word orders in MSA, viz. VSO and SVO. All other possible word orders are also instantiated in the language with various pragmatic effects (*e.g.*, Topic and Focus). Example (1) and (2) presents the VSO and SVO orders. The example in (3) manifests the order when the object is focused, and the example in (4) shows that the preverbal DP is topicalized. The example in (5) demonstrates when the object is shifted to a position preceding the postverbal subject for reasons of focalization. The example in (6) shows that the object '*kita:b-an*' is focalized.

1. VSO

<i>darab-a</i>	<i>Ali-un</i>	<i>al-walad-a</i>
hit-ACC.3MS	Ali-NOM	the-boy-ACC
<i>'Ali hit the boy.'</i>		

2. SVO

<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>katab-a</i>	<i>al-dars-a</i>
the-boy-NOM	wrote-ACC.3MS	the-lesson-ACC
<i>'The boy wrote the lesson.'</i>		

3. OVS

<i>al-kita:b-a</i>	<i>qara?-a-t</i>	<i>al-bint-u</i>
the-book-ACC	read\past-ACC-3FS	the-girl-NOM
<i>'The girl read the book.'</i>		

4. SOV

<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>qissat-an</i>	<i>qara?-a</i>
the-boy-NOM	story-ACC	read-ACC.3MS
<i>'The boy read a story.'</i>		

5. VOS

<i>darab-a</i>	<i>al-bint-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>
hit-ACC.3MS	the-girl-ACC	the-boy-NOM
<i>'The boy hit the girl.'</i>		

6. OSV

<i>kita:b-an</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>qara?-a</i>
------------------	-------------------	----------------

a book-ACC *the-boy-NOM* *read-ACC.3MS*
 ‘The boy read a book.’

(b) When the verb precedes the subject, it agrees with its subject in terms of person and gender; the verb takes a third person singular, either masculine or feminine, with an explicit noun and pronouns, as in sentence (7.a) and (7.b) below; while the verb takes a first and second person with a pronoun, as illustrated in examples (7.c) c and (7.d):

7. a. *ʔakal-a* *al-walad-u* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 ate-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC
 ‘The boy ate the food.’

b. *ʔakal-a-t* *hiya* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 ate-ACC-3FS pro/she the-food-ACC
 ‘She ate the food.’

c. *ʕakal-tu* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 ate.ACC-IMS the-food-ACC
 ‘I ate the food.’

d. *ʕakal-t-a* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 ate-2MS-ACC the-food-ACC
 ‘You ate the food.’

Sentences (8.a) and (8.b) bellow exemplify that verb will be masculine with masculine agents, and feminine with a feminine agent, as illustrated by the following two examples:

8. a. *thahab-a* *Ali-un* *ʔila* *al-souq-i*
 went-ACC.3MS Ali-NOM to the-market-GEN
 ‘Ali went to the market.’

b. *thahab-a-t* *al-bint-u* *ʔila* *al-souq-i*
 went-ACC-3FS the-girl-NOM to the-market-GEN
 ‘The girl went to the market.’

(c) MSA has two main types of sentences. The first type is the verbal sentence (9a), and the second is the topic and comment sentence which lacks any verbal predicates as manifested in (9.b)

9. a) *katab-a* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy wrote the lesson.*’

b) *al-bint-u* *thakia-t-un*
 the-girl-NOM smart-F-NOM
 ‘*The girl is smart.*’

(d) In addition to both verbal and verbless sentences, MSA has complex tense constructions (*i.e.*, structures with auxiliary verbs as well as lexical verbs), as in (10).

10. *ka:na* *al-walad-u* *yalʕab-u* *al-kurat-a*
 was.3MS the-boy-NOM playing-NOM.3MP the-ball-ACC
 “*The boy was playing football.*”

(e) MSA has structures with encliticized backgrounding topics. This is presented in (11) below, where the encliticized backgrounding topic ‘*-hu* / it’ is used. This particular structure is interesting because Arab syntacticians do not agree upon the nature of the clitic ‘*-hu*’. It is a backgrounding topic for Fassi Fehri (2012), but a preverbal expletive clitic for Mohammad (2000, p. 108) and Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueiri, (2010, p. 17). This makes such constructions interesting from a case-theoretic perspective. Mohammad (2000) and Aoun *et.al.* (2010) argue that that there are two structural cases here, the accusative case which is assigned to the preverbal expletive clitic ‘*-hu*’ by the complementizer and the nominative case is assigned to the postverbal subject ‘*al-tulla:b-u*’ by T.

11. *danan-t-u* *ʔanna(hu)* *kharja-a* *al-tulla:b-u*
 thought-I-NOM that.ACC-it went out-ACC.3MP the-students-NOM
 ‘*I thought that indeed the students went out.*’

(f) MSA has structures with expletive DP in Spec-TP especially if the comment is a prepositional phrase as in (12) and (13) below. The important question that these structures raise is the following: What is the status of ‘*huna:ka* / there’ and ‘*thamata* / there’, and do they receive case?

12. *huna:ka* *taṣa:m-un* *fi* *al-thalla:jat-i*
 there food-NOM in the-fridge-GEN
 ‘*There is food in the fridge.*’

13. *thamata* *taṣa:m-un* *fi* *al-thalla:jat-i*
 there food-NOM in the-fridge-GEN
 ‘*There is food in the fridge.*’

(g) MSA has exceptional case marking (ECM) structures. In (14), the embedded DP subject, ‘*al-muṣallimi:n* / teachers’ does not get the nominative case; rather, it is marked for morphological accusative case. The MSA embedded clause of ECM constructions is finite both morphologically (having ϕ -features) and semantically (having a distinct tense specification from that of the matrix clause). The question here is what sort of case the subject of the embedded clause receives, and where it receives this case from.

14. *danan-t-u* *al-muṣallimi:n* *thahab-u*
 thought-I-NOM the-teachers.ACC went out-ACC.3MP
 ‘*I thought that the teachers went out.*’

(h) MSA manifests instances of double-object constructions. The DPs ‘*al-ta:lib-a* / student’ and ‘*imtiha:n-an* / exam’ are both objects of the complex verb ‘*ṣaṭa:* / gave’ in (15), and both objects receive the accusative case. The question is why both objects receive the accusative case and what happens in the context of passive sentences.

15. *ṣaṭa:* *al-muṣallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *imtiha:n-an*
 gave.ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC exam-ACC
 ‘*The teacher gave the student an exam.*’

In example (15) above, the verb ‘*ʔaʕta:*’ selects one external subject argument and two internal arguments: ‘*almuʕallimu*’ is the subject DP carrying the nominative Case mark realised overtly in the short vowel symbol at its end /u/, ‘*alta:liba*’ is the first object and the final DP ‘*imtiha:nan*’ is the second object. The two internal arguments have accusative case marks, which are realised overtly in the objective morphological marker, /a/ for the first object and /an/, for the second object. The canonical order of the verb’s argument structures is that subject DP preceded the verb while the first object DP must precede the second internal argument and they both come after the verb. Arab syntacticians explained the order of these DPs on the base of semantic justification. In example (15), ‘*alta:liba*’ is the recipient of the action introduced by the verb ‘*ʔaʕta:*’, accordingly, it is considered as (the semantic subject). The second internal DP is known as (the semantic object) as it is affected by the action of the semantic subject (Hassan, 1980).

(i) Tense & Aspect

MSA has two forms of the verb: the past and the present. Most linguists and syntacticians such as (Beeston, 1968, p. 48) and (Wright, 1981, pp. 1-24), described these two forms as the Perfect and Imperfect. The first form refers to an action which at the time indicated was complete and finished; while the last form refers to an action, which is or was incomplete at a specific or implied time.

There is a controversy about whether the classification of the verb form in Arabic is based on Tense; the verb form refers to the time in which the event or action takes place as past or present, or an Aspect; the verb form refers to the completion or incompleteness of the event or action.

Comrie (1976, pp. 78-82) argued that the verb forms in Arabic language refer to both Tense and Aspect and that these two Aspects go side by side. He says that the verb forms refer to past tense if they refer to a completed action as manifested in (16):

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 16. <i>ʔakal-a</i> | <i>al-walad-u</i> |
| ate-ACC.3MS | the-boy-NOM |

'The boy ate.'

and the verb form refer to present time if it signifies an incomplete action; as in (17):

17. *yaʔkul-u* *al-walad-u*
 eat-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM
'The boy eats.' or *'The boy is eating.'*

We will deal with the Arabic verb-tense within a framework of aspect plus time. Thus, when we talk about verb forms in Arabic, we refer to the combination of Aspect and time. And as Comrie (1976, p. 80) puts it:

"Perfective indicates both Perfective meaning and relative past time reference, while the Imperfective indicates everything else (i.e., either Imperfective meaning or relative non-past Tense). The Arabic opposition Imperfective/Perfective incorporates both Aspect and (relative) Tense."

In a nutshell, the verb in MSA is as (Carroll & Bulos, 1965, p. 35) puts it:

"Expresses the degree of realization of a process and the realization of an event. It is concerned with the completion or incompleteness of an action, and this gives us the Perfect/Imperfect opposition."

Therefore, we can say that:

- a) Number is morphologically inflected in the verb by adding a suffix to the derived form. For example, the morpheme /a/ denotes duality, the morpheme /-u/ denotes plurality and the morpheme /-i/ denotes a singular number.
- b) Aspect can be morphologically inflected if the verb is preceded by certain prefixes. For example, the prefix /y-/ as in *'yaktubu'* which means *'he writes'* denotes imperfect aspect, while if there is no prefix added to the verb, this implies that the verb is in the perfect Aspect; as in *'kataba'* which means *'he wrote'*.

c) Gender is represented in the verb by the presence of a suffix in the feminine form which is represented by *-t/*. This can be seen in the following example:

18. a. <i>ʔakal-a-t</i>	b. <i>ʔakal-a</i>
ate/past-ACC-3FS	ate/past-ACC.2MS
‘ <i>She ate.</i> ’	‘ <i>He ate.</i> ’

d) Mood is manifested by the presence or absence of suffixes. The presence of a suffix usually denotes that the verb is Imperfect Indicative; as in: ‘*yalʔab-u* / he plays’, while the absence of the suffix implies that the verb is either in the Jussive mood; as: ‘*talʔab* / you play’ or is in the Subjunctive mood. Moods can also be indicated by the particles that precede the verb.

(j) MSA manifest cases of pronominal copulas. These are pronouns that can be used as pronominal linking verbs by linking the subject and the predicate in a clause. Their use in these structures is one of disambiguation, as it is through them that clauses are distinguished from noun phrases.

In the examples in (19 a-e), the third person pronoun is used as a linking verb, and it always agrees with the preverbal subject in number and gender, but not person.

19. a. <i>huwa huwa</i>	<i>al-walad-u.</i>
he be.3MS	the-boy-NOM
‘ <i>He is the boy.</i> ’	

b. <i>ʔana: huwa</i>	<i>al-walad-u.</i>
I be.3MS	the-boy-NOM
‘ <i>I am the boy.</i> ’	

c. <i>ʔanta huwa</i>	<i>al-walad-u.</i>
you be.3MS	the-boy-NOM
‘ <i>You are the boy.</i> ’	

d. <i>ʔanti hiya/*huwa</i>	<i>ʔana:</i>
----------------------------	--------------

you.F be. FS3/*be.MSG I.NOM

'You are me.' (i.e., playing me in a play)

e. *ʔanta huwa/*hiya* *hiya.*

you.MSG be. MS3/*be.FS3 she.F.NOM

'You are her.' (i.e., playing her in a play)

(j) MSA has a set of particles, some of these particles are associated with nouns while others are associated with verbs, and some are even associated with both. Here, we will present some particles that assign different case marks to verbs. Just as the cooccurrence of a preposition with a certain noun assigns it a genitive case mark, the occurrence of any of these case assigning particles assigns a specific case mark on the verb. In this section, I will shed light on the particles assigning different cases.

Particles Assigning Accusative Verbal Case

We will be discussing the particles that assign accusative case mark which is morphologically realized as '-a' suffix on the verb. Example (20) explains the behavior of these particles.

'ʔan' = Comp (to/that),

20. <i>yakarh-u</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>youdrab-a</i>
hate.3MS-NOM	the-boy-NOM	Comp	be hit.3MS-ACC
'The boy hates to be hit.'			

Other particles of this kind include: 'lan' = Not (Future), 'wa' of simultaneity, 'li-' = 'li of denial', 'ʔithan' = in that case/then, 'hatta:' = until, 'kay' = so that, 'likay' = so that, 'hata' = so that, 'fa' = so that

Particles Assigning Jussive Verbal Case

Now, we shall shed light on the particles that assign the jussive case which is realized by the absence of a vowel sound or what is called 'Sukoon' in MSA. The following example (21) illustrates how these particles work:

'lam' = Not

21. *lam* *yadrus-Ø* *al-ta:lib-u*
 not study.2MS-JUSS the-student-NOM
 ‘*The student did not study.*’

Particles of this kind include: ‘*ʔalam*’ = Interrogative. Not. Past, ‘*lama*’ = Not. Past. Yet, *ʔalama* = Interrogative. Not. Past. Yet, ‘*li-*’ = ‘*li-* of command’, ‘*la*’ = Not. Imperative, ‘*ʔayna*’ = where (interrogative), ‘*ʔin*’ = if, ‘*ʔithama*’ = whenever, ‘*man*’ = who, ‘*ma:ʔ*’ = what, ‘*ma:hma*’ = whatever, ‘*mata*’ = when, ‘*ʔayana*’ = whenever, ‘*ʔaynama*’ = wherever, ‘*haithuma*’ = whenever, ‘*ʔana*’ = when, ‘*kayfama*’ = however, ‘*ʔay*’ = which(ever)

(1) MSA has structures corresponding to obligatory control structures in other languages. In such structures, where the subject of the null category in the embedded clause is controlled by the referent in the matrix clause, as in (22):

22. *ħa:wal-a* *al-walad-u* *ʔan* *yahrub-a*
 tried.3MS-ACC the-boy-NOM that escape.3MS-ACC
 ‘*The boy tried to escape.*’

Such type of sentences is important, as the status of the subject of the embedded clauses (PRO, pro, NP-trace) has consequences from a case-theoretic perspective.

2.2 Agreement in MSA

Agreement in Arabic language is sensitive to word order. In SVO word order, Arabic language manifests full agreement between the preverbal subject and the verb whereas partial agreement is manifested between the postverbal subject and the verb in VSO order (Fassi Fehri, 1993) and (Benmamoun, 2000). In this section, we will be discussing gender, number and person agreement markers starting with gender agreement.

2.2.1 Gender Agreement

First of all, animate and inanimate nouns in MSA are either masculine or feminine. It is very common that feminine nouns end in ‘*-h*’ as ‘*nahlah/bee*, *namlah/ant*’ and ‘*ħaki:ba/bag*’. This ‘*-h*’ changes to ‘*-t*’ if the noun is linked to

another word. See example (23.a) which shows how the ‘-h’ at the end of the word ‘*haki:ba*/bag’ changes to ‘-t’ when the word is linked with another word, or what we call annexation ‘*idafa*’ and compare it to (23.b) where the ‘-h’ is maintained.

23. a) *haki:ba-t-u* *al-ta:lib-i*
 bag-F-NOM the-student-GEN
 ‘*The bag of the student.*’

b) *wajad-a* *al-ta:lib-u* *haki:ba*
 found.3MS-ACC the-student-NOM a bag
 ‘*The student found a bag.*’

We have to say that not all feminine nouns have ‘-h’ markers at their end as we have feminine nouns that do not end in ‘-h’ as ‘*yad*/hand’. As for verbs, the feminine marker on verbs in Arabic is ‘-t’.

Fassi Fehri, (2012, p. 300) pointed out that English learners of Arabic might encounter an agreement problem when they deal with collective feminine nouns as ‘*nahel*/bees’ and ‘*namel*/ants’ as the feminine marker ‘-h’ does not show on them and because English language hardly show gender distinction on words. This might lead to some morphosyntactic errors.

As for the agreement issue, verbs in Arabic show gender, number and person agreement with their subject.

24. *al-walad-u* *sakan-a-Φ* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the-boy-NOM lived-ACC-3MS in the-city-GEN
 ‘*The boy lived in the city.*’

25. *al-bint-u* *sakan-a-t* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the-girl-NOM lived-ACC-3FS in the-city-GEN
 ‘*The girl lived in the city.*’

Examples (24) and (25) above manifest instances of gender agreement where the verb in (24) is masculine with a masculine subject. In (25), we notice that that verb has the singular feminine marker ‘-t’ at its end to agree with the noun

that comes before the verb which has both: an accusative case mark ‘-a’ and feminine marker ‘-t’.

2.2.2 Number Agreement

Nouns in Arabic have three forms: singular, dual and plural and most nouns consist of trilateral consonantal roots, and we form dual and plural nouns by affixation. The basic meaning of a word is indicated by the trilateral consonantal root and the dual form of a noun is made by adding the inflectional suffixes ‘-a:n’ in the nominative case as in (26.b) and ‘-i:n’ in the accusative and genitive cases as exemplified in (27.b).

26. a. *al-walad-u* *tawi:l-un*
 the-boy-NOM tall-NOM
 ‘The boy is tall.’
- b. *al-walad-a:-n* *tawi:l-a:-n*
 the-boy-Dual-NOM tall-Dual-NOM
 ‘The two boys are tall.’
27. a. *qa:bal-tu* *al-walad-a*
 met-1MS the-boy-ACC
 ‘I met the boy.’
- b. *qa:bal-tu* *al-walad-a-i:n*
 met-1MS the-boy-Dual-ACC
 ‘I met the two boys.’

Feminine nouns are made dual by applying the previous rule in addition, the gender suffix ‘-h’ is changed into ‘-t’ e.g., ‘*shajarah* / tree.F’ becomes ‘*shajara-t-a:-n* / tree-F-Dual-NOM’.

The plural form in Arabic has three forms: broken plural, sound masculine plural and sound feminine plural. Arab syntacticians have presented different patterns for the broken plural. Here I will present a few examples about these patterns:

- a. ‘*kita:b* / a book’ becomes ‘*kutub* / books’
 b. ‘*qalam* / a pen’ becomes ‘*?aqla:m* / pens’

- c. 'ghula:m / boy' becomes 'ghilma:n / boys'
- d. 'ʕamūd /pillar' becomes 'ʔaʕmidah / pillars'
- e. 'ghurfah / a room' becomes 'ghuraf / rooms' and 'raqabah / neck' becomes 'riqa:b / necks'
- f. 'bab/ door' and 'nab / canine' become 'ʔbwab / doors' and 'ʔnyab / canines' in their plural forms.

The sound masculine plural form is formed by adding the suffix '-u:n' to the singular form in the nominative case and the suffix '-i:n' in the accusative or genitive cases. For example, 'muslim' becomes 'muslimu:n, NOM' and 'muslimi:n, ACC or GEN'. The sound feminine plural is made by putting the suffix '-a:t' in place of the suffix '-ah'. The short vowels '-u' and '-i' that are attached to the end of the sound feminine plural as case markers. For example, the plural form of the word 'muslimah' is either 'muslima:tu, NOM' or 'muslima:ti, ACC or GEN'.

Now, consider the following two examples:

28. *al-walada:n* *yaskun-a:-n* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the-two boys-NOM are living-3MDual-NOM in the-city-GEN
 'The two boys are living in the city.'

29. *al-awla:d-u* *yaskun-u:-n* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the- boys-NOM are living-3MP-NOM in the-city-GEN
 'The boys are living in the city.'

Examples (28) and (29) reveal instances of subject-verb number agreement. The verb in (28) has '-a' which is a dual marker in addition to the nominative case marker '-n'. Since the noun that precedes the verb is plural in (29), the verb has a plural agreement marker '-u' before the nominative case marker '-n'.

2.2.3 Person Agreement

In MSA, pronouns are marked for case, person, number, and gender. They are also divided into dependent and independent pronouns depending on their forms. Independent pronouns are those which can stand alone in contrast with the dependent pronouns. They occur as suffixes or prefixes. MSA, like English,

has two first person pronouns. The difference between English and MSA lies in second and third person pronouns. The Arabic language has five different second person pronouns that correspond to the English pronoun 'you'. Also, Arabic language has more third person pronouns than their English counterparts. Furthermore, MSA has no neuter pronouns such as the pronoun 'it' in English. These independent pronouns as Ryding, (2005, pp. 299-300) illustrated can function as a subject of a verb, a subject or a predicate of a verbless sentence and as a copula. Additionally, an independent pronoun can act as both a subject and a copula. Table (1) below shows how dependent pronouns are marked for number, person and gender.

Pronouns in Arabic			
Person	Pronoun	meaning	Subject agreement marker
1 st	ʔana:	I	katab-t
	Nahnu	we	katab-na
2 nd	ʔanta	you.S.M	katab-t
	ʔanti	you.S.F	katab-ti
	ʔantum:	you.dual.F/M	katab-tuma
	ʔantum	you.P.M	katab-tum
	ʔantun	you.P.F	katab-tun
3 rd	Huwa	he/it.M	katab-Φ
	Hiya	she/it.F	katab-t
	Huma:	they.dual.F/M	katab-a
	Hum	they.P.M	katab-u
	Hunna	they.P.F	katab-n

Table (1): *Pronouns in Arabic*

2.3 Case in Arabic Syntax

Case system in MSA is peculiarly inflectional as the major changes occur to a particular constituent are morphologically realized by certain diacritics which corresponds to the counterpart structural case system of Modern Linguistic Theory where a particular category as a governor e.g., particles assigning nominative case contribute to assigning this case to DPs which in turn indicate a grammatical function derived from the affixation or diacritical system of marker. The written form of MSA has a set of miscellaneous diacritics. This kind of diacritic is known as 'tashki:l / supplementary diacritics' which includes

'*haraka:t* / diacritics'. Tashkil main purpose is to provide phonetic aid of how most words pronounced and underlying syntactic functions. It has been proposed by traditional Arabic syntacticians: Al-khalil bin Ahmad Alfarahidi (786), Ibin Jeni (1002) and Ibrahim Mostufa (1992) that diacritics are originally vowels but have been reduced to the present shape as they appear now. These diacritics which may appear in the beginning, middle or end of the word determine different linguistic functions including case. Example of such diacritics on DPs are NOM such as '*al-walad-u* / the-boy-NOM', ACC such as '*al-walad-a* / the-boy-ACC and GEN such as '*al-walad-i* / the-boy-GEN.

Traditional Arab syntacticians had their explanation of case variations on nouns in Arabic syntax. The main achievement of the traditional syntacticians is claiming that certain lexical items influence the case of the nouns. Thus, case endings on nouns (nominative, accusative, and genitive cases) can be determined by the presence or lack thereof of certain lexical items that precede them, which the traditional Arab syntacticians called operants or constituents (Baalabki, 2008, pp. 32-33). Here, we will quickly go over the fundamental ideas expressed in this rich account:

- a. The subject is an obligatory postverbal DP as viewed by Sibawayh and subsequent followers. Under this proposal, a nominative case is assigned to the subject by the verb, as can be manifested in example (30) below (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. II:76):

30. *nam-a* *al-tifl-u*
 slept-ACC.3MS the-child.3MS-NOM
 '*The boy slept.*'

- b. Some syntacticians (Ouhalla, 1994) view that when this DP *al-tulla:b-u* appears in preverbal position, it is not viewed as a subject but a preverbal topic, and the subject is a covert or overt pronoun as example (31) below illustrates. In (31), the subject here is a covert pronoun interpreted as '*they*':

31. *al-tulla:b-u* *yadrus-u:n*
 the-students-NOM study-NOM-3MP
 '*The students, they are studying.*'

In this example, traditional Arab syntacticians propose that the preverbal DP ‘*al-tulla:b-u*’ is a topic phrase, and the true subject of the sentence is the extension ‘*-u:n*’ that appears after the verb. This subject can come in the form of phonetically unpronounced pronominal subject ‘*hum* they’. In this view, the preverbal DP ‘*al-tulla:b-u*’ gets its nominative case as a reflex of the fact that it initiates the sentence and nothing else precedes it. Since no overt constituent seems to influence the nominative case of the topic phrase, traditional Arab syntacticians propose that there is a covert constituent which determines the nominative case on the topic phrase, and they term this covert constituent ‘*being the first lexical item that introduces the sentence and no overt operants precede it*’. (ʔibn al-Sarraj A. B., 1996, p. 64) As for why nominative case should mark topic phrases, they propose that nominative case is the first state of the nouns (*i.e.* the origin or the default), and any other cases including nominative cases on DPs other than preverbal topics are to be explained by the influence of either an overt or a covert operant (*cf.* (Baalabki, 2008, p. 76)).

- c. The subject of verbless, or nominal sentences in traditional Arabic syntax, is also a topic phrase rather than a subject. The DP predicate is termed ‘*comment*’. This is manifested in (32):

32. <i>al-sama:ʔ-u</i>	<i>sa:fiat-un</i>
the-sky-NOM	clear-NOM
<i>‘The sky is clear.’</i>	

In this view, the DP ‘*al-sama:ʔ-u*’ is a topic phrase and the DP predicate ‘*sa:fiat-un*’ is a comment. The nominative case on the topic phrase is assigned by the covert constituent (*i.e.* being the first lexical item that introduces the sentence and is not preceded by any overt constituent), and the nominative case on the DP predicate is assigned by the topic phrase per se (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. II:200). In the view of MP, this would be a problem as DPs do not assign Case.

- d. The subject of passive sentences is assigned the nominative case by the verb (*cf.* (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. II:111). Example (33) below illustrates this:

33. <i>ʔukil-a</i>	<i>al-taʔam-u</i>
was eaten-ACC.3MS	the-food-NOM

35. *ka:na* *al-walad-u* *ghaʔib-an*
was.3MS the-boy-NOM absent-ACC
‘*The boy was absent.*’

Traditional Arab syntacticians hold the view that defective verbs assign nominative case to the first DP ‘*al-walad-u*’, and accusative case to the predicate nominal ‘*ghaʔib-an*’ (cf. (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. I:261)).

g. Traditional Arab syntacticians (e.g. Basris) as (Sibawayh, 1988) also adopt the view that the defective verb ‘*ʔinna* / in deed’ can be added to nominal sentences, and it has the opposite effect to that of the defective verb ‘*ka:na*’ and the other verbs in its class in that they assign the accusative case to the topic phrase and the nominative case to the comment (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. I:345). This is shown in the example (36):

36. *ʔinna* *al-walad-a* *ghaʔib-un*
was.3MS the-boy- ACC absent- NOM
“*The boy was absent.*”

In contrast to the view of the Basri syntacticians, Kufi syntacticians view that the nominative case of nominal predicate in example (36) above is not assigned; instead, this case for them is the outcome of having no overt constituent that is capable of assigning case to the comment (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. I:348).

h. To explain the accusative case that the topic receives instead of the nominative case assigned by the covert constituent (i.e., *being the first lexical item that introduces the sentence and is not preceded by any overt operant*), traditional Arab syntacticians (ʔibn al-Sarraj M. , 1973) claim that the topic phrase in such constructions is assigned accusative case by a covert verb, which is similar to the lexical verb that preceded the postverbal subject. Thus, they propose that the sentence in (37.a) is covertly understood as (37.b):

37. a. *qissat-an* *katab-a-tu-ha*
a story-ACC wrote-ACC-1MS-it
‘*It was a story that I wrote.*’

- j. The object of reason or purpose is assigned the accusative case by the preceding verb as manifested by example (39):

39. *ʔat* *hamd-an*
 give.2MS.JUS thankfulness-ACC
 ‘Give as a sign of thankfulness.’

- k. The object of accompaniment is assigned the accusative case either by the preceding lexical verb (41.a) or the preceding participle (41.b):

40. a. *ʔimsh-I* *wa* *al-nahr-i*
 walk-2MS and the-river-ACC
 ‘Walk along the river.’

b. *Ali-un* *mashi-un* *wa* *al-nahr-i*
 Ali-NOM walk\PART-NOM and the-river-ACC
 ‘Ali is walking along the river.’

- l. Adverbial DPs are assigned the accusative case either by the verb (41.a) or by the nominalized verb (42.b) (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. II:192):

41. a. *ḍarab-tu* *Ali-an* *yawm-a* *al-sabt-i*
 hit-1MS Ali-ACC day-ACC the-Saturday-GEN
 ‘I hit Ali on Saturday.’

b. *farīh-tu* *li* *akl-i-ka* *al-taʕa:m-a* *yawm-a*
 pleased-1MS to eating-ACC-your the-food-ACC day-ACC
al-sabt-i
 the-Saturday-GEN
 ‘I was pleased by your eating of the food on Saturday.’

2.4 DP CASE MARKERS IN MSA

There are different case markers in MSA *e.g.*, the nominative case might be realized by (-u, -n -a:n, and -u:n) while the accusative case mark is realized by (-a) or the deletion of (-n) from the end of the verb. (-i) case marker is the typical marker that indicates the genitive case on nouns. In this section, we are going

to delve deeper into these cases that are borne by DPs in MSA. What these cases are, their diacritics, and their functions. Table (2) below presents a consolidated view on the different DP cases in MSA:

DP CASE MARKERS IN MSA						
		Singular	Broken Plural	Masculine Plural	Feminine Plural	Dual
NOM (-u, -n -an, - un)	<i>Definite</i>	-u <i>al-walad-u</i>	-u <i>al-kutub-u</i>	-u:n <i>al-muṣallim- u:n</i>	-u <i>al-banat-u</i>	-a:n <i>al-walad-a:n</i>
	<i>Indefinite</i>	-un <i>walad-un</i>	-un <i>kutub-un</i>	-un <i>muṣalim-un</i>	-un <i>banat-un</i>	-a:n <i>walad-a:n</i>
ACC (-a, - en, -an, - ain)	<i>Definite</i>	-a <i>al-walad-a</i>	-a <i>al-kutub-a</i>	-i:n <i>al-muṣallimi:n</i>	-a <i>al-banat-a</i>	-ain <i>al-walad-ain</i>
	<i>Indefinite</i>	-an <i>walad-an</i>	-an <i>kutub-an</i>	-i:n <i>muṣalim-i:n</i>	-an <i>banat-an</i>	-ain <i>walad-ain</i>
GEN (-i, - en, -in, - ain)	<i>Definite</i>	-i <i>al-walad-i</i>	-i <i>al-kutub-i</i>	-i:n <i>al-muṣallimi:n</i>	-i <i>al-banat-i</i>	-ain <i>al-walad-ain</i>
	<i>Indefinite</i>	-in <i>walad-in</i>	-in <i>kutub-in</i>	-i:n <i>muṣalim-i:n</i>	-in <i>banat-in</i>	-ain <i>walad-ain</i>

Table 2: DP Case Markers in MSA

2.4.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case in MSA indicates the grammatical function which DPs perform viz, the subject and the comment. The overt diacritics of the nominative case are (-u) which is written as (ـُ), for definite singular, broken plural nouns, and adjectives as exemplified in (42):

42. *yaktub-u* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 write-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boy is writing the lesson.’

The indefinite singular, broken plural nouns, and adjectives are marked by (-un), also referred to as *nunation*, which is orthographically realized as (ـُن). Example (43) below manifests this case in the boldface (-un):

43. *yaktub-u* *awla:d-un* *al-dars-a*
 write-NOM.3MS boys-NOM the-lesson-ACC

‘Boys are writing the lesson.’

Here, I would like to pinpoint that some linguists as Hassan (1980), and due to the complementary occurrence of the final nominative marker (-*un*) with the definite article (*al-*), suggested treating the nunation as an indefinite marker. Examples as (44-45) manifest this view:

44. <i>qaraʔ-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u / walad-un</i>	<i>al-kita:b-a</i>
read-ACC	the-boy-NOM / a boy-NOM.indf	the-book-ACC
<i>‘The boy / A boy read a book.’</i>		

45. <i>qaraʔ-a</i>	<i>*al-walad-un</i>	<i>al-kita:b-a</i>
read-ACC	the-boy-NOM	the-book-ACC
<i>‘The boy read a book.’</i>		

Data in example (44) show that we can have a definite noun bearing the (-*u*) nominative case or an indefinite noun carrying the (-*un*) nominative case. On the other hand, example (45) shows the definite nouns cannot carry the nominative case mark (-*un*).

However, having proper nouns that are genuinely definite bearing the nominative case marker (-*un*), as manifested in example (46) below, may suggest that this marker cannot be considered a marker for indefinite nouns (Fassi Fehri, 1993).

46. <i>thahab-a</i>	<i>Zayd-un</i>
went-ACC	Zayd-NOM
<i>‘Zayd went.’</i>	

The third nominative case marker in MSA is (-*a:n*) which is used with dual nouns and adjectives as shown in (47):

47. <i>yaktub-u</i>	<i>al-walad-a:n</i>	<i>al-dars-a</i>
write-NOM.3MS	the-two boys-NOM	the-lesson-ACC
<i>‘The two boys are writing the lesson.’</i>		

The suffix (-u:n) marks masculine plural nouns and adjectives as we see in example (48):

48. *yaktub-u* *al-muʕallim-u:n* *al-dars-a*
 write-NOM.3MS the-teachers-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The teachers are writing the lesson.*’

2.4.2 Accusative Case

The accusative case in MSA indicates that the DP that carries this case is either an object or its modifying adjective. The overt diacritics of the accusative case are (-a) which is written as (ـا), a short slanting line over the letter, for definite singular, broken plural nouns, and adjectives as exemplified in (49):

49. *yaktub-u* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 write-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy is writing the lesson.*’

The indefinite singular, broken plural nouns, and adjectives are marked by (-an) which orthographic realization looks like (ان) or (ان) without the associated Alef, as example (50) below manifests:

50. *yaktub-u* *awla:d-un* *dars-an*
 write-NOM.3MS boys-NOM a lesson-ACC
 ‘*Boys are writing a lesson.*’

The third accusative case marker in MSA is (-ain) which is used with dual nouns and adjectives, as shown in (51):

51. *qa:bal-a* *al-rajul-u* *al-walad-ain*
 met-ACC.3MS the-man-NOM the-two boys-ACC
 ‘*The man met the two boys.*’

The suffix (-i:n) marks masculine plural nouns and adjectives as we see in example (52):

52. *qa:bal-a* *al-rajul-u* *al-muʕallimi:n*
 met-ACC.3MS the-man-NOM the-teachers-ACC

'The man met the teachers.'

2.4.3 Genitive Case

The genitive case in MSA indicates that the DP that carries this case occurs after a preposition or as second word in annexation *'idafa'* constructions, and their modifying adjectives. There are several markers used to mark the genitive case according to the number, gender and whether the noun is definite or indefinite.

The overt diacritics of the accusative case are (-i) which is written as (-), short slanting line under the letter, for definite singular, broken plural nouns, and adjectives as exemplified in (53):

53. <i>yaktub-u</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>bi-al-qalam-i</i>
write-NOM.3MS	the-boy-NOM	by-the-pen-GEN

'The boy is writing by the pen.'

The indefinite singular, broken plural nouns, and adjectives are marked by (-in), which orthographic realization looks like (-), as example (54) below manifests:

54. <i>yaktub-u</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>bi-qalam-in</i>
write-NOM.3MS	the-boy-NOM	by-a pen-GEN

'The boy is writing by a pen.'

The third genitive case marker in MSA is (-ain) which is used with dual nouns and adjectives, as shown in (55):

55. <i>ja?-a</i>	<i>al-rijal-u</i>	<i>bi-saya:rat-ain</i>
came-ACC.3MS	the-men-NOM	by-two cars-GEN

'The men came in two cars.'

The suffix (-en) marks masculine plural nouns and adjectives as we see in example (56):

56. <i>ja?-a</i>	<i>al-rijal-u</i>	<i>ma?a</i>	<i>al-muṣallimi:n</i>
came-ACC.3MS	the-men-NOM	with	the-teachers-GEN

'The men came with the teachers.'

2.4.4 Special Category (The Five Nouns)

The ‘Five Nouns’ is a special list of nouns that includes:

- 1) ‘ʔabu:’ (father)
- 2) ‘ʔakhu:’ (brother)
- 3) ‘hamu:’ (in-law)
- 4) ‘fu’ (mouth)
- 5) ‘thu’ (an owner of wealth)

What makes them unique is the way they show their case markers. The typical way to show case is to use long (-u:) for the nominative case, long (-a:) for accusative and long (-i:) for genitive case as represented in table (3) below:

The Five Nouns		
Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
<i>ʔabu:</i>	<i>ʔaba:</i>	<i>ʔabi:</i>
<i>ʔakhu:</i>	<i>ʔakha:</i>	<i>ʔakhi:</i>
<i>hamu:</i>	<i>hama:</i>	<i>hami:</i>
<i>fu:</i>	<i>fa:</i>	<i>fi:</i>
<i>thu:</i>	<i>tha:</i>	<i>thi:</i>

Table 3: *The Five Nouns in MSA*

Here are some examples of ‘ʔabu: / father’ in the nominative as shown in example (57), accusative as example (58) represents and genitive cases as in (59):

57. *jaʔ-a* ***ʔabu:*** *al-walad-i*
 came-ACC.3MS father.NOM the-boy-GEN
 ‘The father of the boy came.’

58. *raʔa* *al-muʕallim-u* ***ʔaba:*** *al-walad-i*
 saw.ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM father.ACC the-boy-GEN
 ‘The teacher saw the father of the boy.’

59. *ʔaʕta:i-tu* *al-kita:b-a* ***li-abi:*** *al-walad-i*

gave.ACC-1MS the-book-ACC to-father.GEN the-boy-GEN
'I gave the book to the father of the boy.'

The boldfaced words are in nominative, accusative and genitive cases respectively.

In example (57) '*ʔabu:*' is in the nominative case as it is the subject of the sentence. '*ʔaba:*' in the object and therefore it bears the accusative case marker in (58). The last case is the genitive case realized in '*abi:*' in example number (59) as it appears after the preposition '*li*'.

2.4.5 Overt or Covert Case

Cases on examples (42-59) above are all overt and can easily be detected by looking at the end of the word. However, MSA shows instances where cases cannot be manifested at the end of the word due to phonological reasons, especially when the verb ends with a vowel sound (-a, -u, -i). For example, the word '*alqadi* / Judge) ends with '*-i*' which is a vowel sound. This results in that nominative, accusative and genitive cases do not appear overtly at its end as examples (60-61) below represents, where (53.a) and (54.a) show a word that ends with a vowel and (60.b) and (61.b) show how cases appear overtly when the word ends with a consonant.

60. a. *jaʔ-a* *al-qa:di-∅*
 came-ACC **the-judge-NOM**
 'The judge came.'

b. *jaʔ-a* *al-walad-u*
 came-ACC **the-boy-NOM**
 'The boy came.'

61. a. *tahaddath-a* *ʔila* *al-qa:di-∅*
 talked-ACC. 3MS **to** **the-judge-GEN**
 'He talked to the judge.'

b. *tahaddath-a* *ʔila* *al-walad-i*
 talked-ACC. 3MS **to** **the-boy-GEN**

‘He talked to the boy.’

We notice that the word *‘alqadi’* in examples (60.a) and (61.a) shows no overt realization of its case marker as it ends with *‘-i’* and it is evident that it carries a nominative case mark as a subject in (60.a) and a genitive case as it follows a preposition in (61.a). The nominative and genitive case markers will be apparent if we replace the word with another word as *‘al-walad / boy’* which overtly inflected with the nominative case marker *‘-u’* in (60.b) and *‘-i’* in *‘al-walad-i’* for the genitive case marker as exemplified in (61.b).

2.5 Previous Accounts of Case in MSA

Different accounts of case in MSA have been presented to explain how case is assigned in MSA as in (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Raḥḥali, 2003; Ouhalla, 2005; Soltan, 2007; Al-Balushi, 2011; Al-Balushi, 2012). These proposals are built on the notion of agreement to justify case assignment except Fassi Fehri (1993) , who suggested a hierarchical case account. Now, we will investigate each proposal and the hurdles they might encounter.

2.5.1 Fassi Fehri (1993)

Fassi Fehri (1993) proposal of case system in MSA which incorporates a case hierarchy where accusative case depends on another higher case (mainly nominative case in the CP domain and genitive case in the DP domain). In this section, I will summarize the main ideas of this proposal regarding case.

To explain the agreement asymmetry between the VSO order and the SVO orders in MSA, Fassi Fehri (1993) proposed the functional ambiguity hypothesis, according to this hypothesis, all subject agreement markers in MSA are functionally ambiguous as they can be either be pronouns incorporated into the verb or they can be agreement morphemes. To illustrate, let us consider the examples in (62):

62. a. <i>thahab-a</i>	<i>al- rijal-u</i>
went-3MS	the-men-NOM
<i>‘The men went.’</i>	

- b. *al-rijal-u* *thahab-u*
the-men-NOM went-3MP-ACC
‘*The men went / The men they went*’

Fassi Fehri (1993) claims that the verbal affix in (62.a) can only be considered as an agreement marker and that it cannot be viewed as a subject pronoun; or else, the sentence will have two subjects, which is impossible. As for (62.b), Fassi Fehri (1993, p. 28) believes that the sentence has two interpretations, as represented in the English meaning under the glossing. In one reading, the DP ‘*al-rijal-u*’ is translated as a clitic left-dislocated element (*i.e.*, a base-generated topic phrase), and the verbal affix is thus a subject pronoun incorporated into the verb. In another reading, the preverbal DP is interpreted as the real subject of the sentence. In this case, the verbal affix can only be treated as an agreement marker. When the subject is postverbal, as in (62.a), Fassi Fehri argues that the nominative case of the subject is assigned by a governing T. In the second reading of (62.b), where the preverbal DP is a subject, (Fassi Fehri, 1993, pp. 33,45) argues that the case of the preverbal DP is default. For Fassi Fehri (1993), the nominative case of the preverbal DP is default regardless of whether the DP is a subject or a clitic left-dislocated DP.

The nominative case assigned to subjects of nominal sentences (topic and comment) and subjects of sentences of the SVO order in MSA is a default case, according to Fassi Fehri (1993). In his account, the default case of the subject of these types of sentences surfaces unless there are external case assigners such as the complementizer ‘*ʔinna* / indeed. This is exemplified in (63) below:

63. a. *al-walad-u* *nashet-un*
the-boy-NOM active-NOM
‘*The boy is active.*’
- b. *ʔinna* *al-walad-a* *nashet-un*
indeed the-boy-ACC active-NOM
‘*Indeed, the boy is active.*’

This contrasts with sentences of the VSO order, where only the nominative case is allowed, as can be seen in (64):

64. *thahab-a* *al-rajul-u/*-a*
 went-ACC.3MS the-man-NOM/*-ACC
 ‘*The man went.*’

Default (inherent) case is always a problem for syntactic theory. This is because if you can always assign an inherent case if a structural case assigner is missing, then it should predict that NO sentence could be ungrammatical for case reasons. Default case has to be the last resort we use and assigning default case should be restricted to conditions where nothing in the structure proved to license case *i.e.*, the absence of case assigner.

Also, (Fassi Fehri, 1993) proposed an agree based account for case in MSA which can be summarized in the following points:

- a. The postverbal subject gets nominative case via agreement with AGR in T while the preverbal subject and the subject of verbless sentences (which we consider a topic) receive an unmarked default nominative case unless there are external case assigners such as the indicative complementizer.
- b. The object gets a structural accusative case from V (v in current theory) as long as the subject receives a case.

While these claims provide suitable hypothesis for case and agreement in MSA and capture the empirical facts properly, they cannot be adopted as they are not explanatory adequate and do not seem to fulfil the principle of the economy of representation in the MP. As suggested by (Chomsky, 1995), the existence of AGR phrase is conceptually unnecessary. Furthermore, under the assumptions of the Agree-based model, the agreement on the verb does not play a role in determining the position of the preverbal position, as agreement itself is a product of the Agree relation between the features of C on T and the post verbal subject. Agreement, whether it is full or partial, does not motivate the postverbal subject to move to a preverbal position.

2.5.2 Rahhali (2003)

Rahhali (2003, p. 147) investigated case in SA and he claims that nominative case is licensed by the head of TP. Rahhali (2003, p. 147) and in harmony with Chomsky's (1999) proposal suggests that nominative case is checked by AGR or through incorporation. In VSO constructions, Rahhali claims that the subject DP does not raise to Spec-TP. Instead, it resides in Spec-VP where it gets its nominative case valued by AGR relation between the head of the TP and the subject. Example (65) below illustrates this analysis:

65. *thahab-a* *al-rajul-u*
 went-ACC.3MS the-man-NOM
 'The man went.'

In this example, Rahhali proposes that the subject '*al-rajul-u*' gets its nominative [uCase] feature checked against the nominative case feature of the head T via AGR relation.

Rahhali also claims that the nominative case feature of the subject can be checked through incorporating the subject into the head T in VSO structures, where we will have null subject case '*cases with no overt subject*' as exemplified in (66) below:

66. *thahab-u:*
 went-3MP
 'They went.'

Here, I agree with Rahhali in his claim that the clitic attached at the end of the verb functions as a subject of the verb and not an agreement nor mood marker. I also agree with his claim that the pronominal subject incorporates into the head T where the lexical verb resides after raising from v. In example (66) above, the pronominal subject occupies Spec-VP and then raised to T in order to value its nominative case against the nominative case feature on T.

In order to prove that the clitics that appear at the end of the verb are basic sentence constituents and not agreement markers nor mood markers, consider examples (67-70) below:

Active sentences, as in example (67.a) below, and passive sentences, as in (68), show that the preverbal topic is associated with resumptive pronoun. In example (67.a), the resumptive pronoun carries an accusative case as it is a beneficiary object. In its passive counterpart in (68), the resumptive pronoun bears a nominative case as it is the grammatical subject of the passive sentence.

67. a) *al-tulla:b-u* *daras-a-hum* *Ali-un*
 the-students-NOM taught-ACC-them Ali-NOM
 ‘*The students, Ali taught them.*’

b) *al-banat-u* *daras-a-hum* *Ali-un*
 the-girls-NOM taught-ACC-them Ali-NOM
 ‘*The girls, Ali taught them.*’

68. *al-tulla:b-u* *duris-u:*
 the-students-NOM were taught-3MP.ACC
 ‘*The students were taught.*’

The difference between examples (67) and (68) explains that the resumptive pronouns do function as basic sentence constituent, the same view that was adopted by traditional Arab syntacticians.

The resumptive pronoun in example (67.a) cannot be considered an agreement marker as the verb does not show agreement with the preverbal noun phrase because it is neither the Goal nor the Theme subject. The same resumptive pronoun (*-hum*) is used with a masculine noun in (67.a) and a feminine noun in (67.b). Rather, the verb agrees with the pronominal subject. Putting things clearly, I claim that the resumptive pronouns in (67) and (68) above are object and subject respectively. In fact, the data provide direct evidence in support of this claim.

In (69) below, the preverbal noun phrase is just a topic as the preverbal noun phrases in (67) above. However, unlike, the situation in example (67), the preverbal noun phrase ‘*altulabu*’ in (69) below is linked to the possessive pronoun ‘*-hum*’ which is contained within the object ‘*ʔuma*’; the subject here is a full noun phrase ‘*al-bint-u*’ which appears in a position following the verb.

69. *al-tulla:b-u* *daras-a-t* *al-bint-u* *ʔum-a-hum*
 the-students-NOM taught-ACC-3FS the-girl-NOM mother-ACC-their
 ‘*The students, the girl taught their mother.*’

Example (70) below is the passive counterpart of (69) in which the object ‘*ʔum-a-hum*’ becomes the beneficiary grammatical subject of the passive verb ‘*duris-at*’ with which the verb shows agreement.

70. *al-tulla:b-u* *duris-a-t* *ʔum-u-hum*
 the-students-NOM was taught-ACC-3MS mother-NOM-their
 ‘*The students, the teacher taught their mother.*’

To conclude the argument, the comparison between (67) and (68) in the one hand, and (69) and (70), on the other hand, proves that resumptive pronouns are real argument and not agreement markers in agreement with Rahhali (2003) and in contrast with (Soltan, 2006).²

One problem in Rahhali’s proposal is that he relies on tense as a locus of case checking which is not always applicable. In topic and comment structures, aside from the fact that they are constituents of a TP, I claim that what assigns case is the predicational head rather than the functional head T. The topic and comment in MSA are actually a part of a TP, as topic & comment structures always have [+Present] interpretation. Examples as (71) below cannot have any other interpretation than the present tense and if you want to change the tense to the past; you have to insert a past verb as ‘*ka:na / was*’ which will occupy the head position of the VP as example (72) shows. In the case of topic and comment structures this head is covertly realized as a null verb which is [+Present] and this verb fails to assign an accusative case to its complement as it has [-transitive] feature.

I claim that topic and comment structures form a Predicate Phrase. The head of this PredP, and due to agreement in person, number and gender with the topic DP that occurs on its spec position, assigns the same case to its complement

² In chapter Five, Preverbal DP (Case & Agreement), I will discuss in detail the status of preverbal DPs and whether the clitics that appear at the end of the verb are agreement markers, mood markers or basic sentence constituents.

which is the comment DP. As a by-product of Agree relations with T and Pred, the topic and comment DPs get their case features valued as nominative.

71. *al-bint-u* *thakia-t-un*
 the-girl-NOM smart-F-NOM
 ‘The girl is smart.’

72. *ka:na-t* *al-sama:ʔ-u* *sa:fyat-un* *ʔams*
 was-F the-sky-NOM clear-NOM yesterday-ACC
 ‘The sky was clear yesterday.’

Another problem against Rahhali’s proposal that nominative case is checked by AGR comes from case assignment in quasi verbs that cannot instantiate an AGR⁰ category since they do not have a full set of unvalued (or uninterpretable) f-features as a verbal category, what indicates that quasi verbs do not instantiate any of the categories involved in licensing Nom Case. Therefore, quasi verbal elements encode a [PartP]. This means that quasi verbs instantiate a [PartP] projection (in place of the TP/MoodP/AgrP projections instantiated by fully verbal elements.³

2.5.3 Ouhalla (2005)

Ouhalla (2005) proposed that feature checking and deletion is categorization by computation, as he tried to derive categorial features from agreement features. Ouhalla (2005) followed Marantz (1997) and Chomsky’s (2001) proposal that categorial features such as [N] and [V] have no theoretical status. Ouhalla (2005) also argues that categories such as [N] and [V] are not primitives, which are transferred from the lexicon to the syntactic component. Instead, these labels are determined in the syntactic component of the grammar during the syntactic processes of checking and deletion. In this way, categories such as [N] and [V] are the result of checking abstract features in the syntax. Subject-verb agreement, according to this view, reduces to the process of matching and deleting the abstract agreement features of the verb and its related functional

³ For more information on how case is assigned in quasi verbs, see Chapter 6, Section 6 Case in Quasi Verbal Clauses

heads against those features of the subject. Ouhalla provides arguments to claim that the nominal category can be eliminated to the feature [CLASS] and the verbal category, to the feature [PERSON], and the agreement properties normally associated with T in some languages (*e.g.*, English) is associated with an intermediate functional head, which Ouhalla calls Pred. In this account, subject-verb agreement is essentially the result of an agreement relation between a subject with the features [CLASS, PERSON, NUMBER] and a functional head Pred/T with the features [PERSON, CLASS].

In the process of agreement, the [PERSON] feature of the subject matches with the [PERSON] feature of the Pred/T. The result of matching is that the [PERSON] feature must survive in the feature content of the Pred/T; otherwise, Pred/T would fail to be categorized as a verbal category. In the same way, the feature [PERSON] must be deleted from the feature content of the subject; otherwise, the subject would fail to be categorized as a nominal category. Similarly, the feature [CLASS], must survive in the subject; otherwise, it would fail to be categorized as a nominal category, and the feature [CLASS] must be deleted from the feature content of Pred/T; otherwise, they would fail to be categorized as verbal categories. In other words, both Pred/T and the subject have conflicting categorial features, [CLASS], which is a nominal feature, and [PERSON], which is a verbal feature. The only way to resolve the categorial conflict and be categorized as a verbal or a nominal category is for the subject to delete its verbal [PERSON] feature and retain its nominal [CLASS] feature, and for Pred/T to eliminate their nominal [CLASS] features and retain their verbal [PERSON] features.

According to Ouhalla (2005, p. 672), the difference in subject-verb agreement relative to T and the verb can be captured, as in (73) below:

73. a. Pred [Person, Class] (LP)

b. T[Person, Class] (UP)

The distribution of agreement features in (73.a), according to Ouhalla (2005, p. 672), refer to languages such as MSA, where the subject does not raise to Spec-TP, and instead remains in the lower phase (LP). By contrast, the distribution in

(73.b) describes languages such as English, where the subject raises to Spec-TP, and agreement takes place between T and the subject; therefore, agreement takes place in the upper phase (UP).

Additionally, he argues that the feature [CASE] is likely to match with the verbal feature [\pm Past] of T and the Aspect feature [\pm perfective] of Aspect. This means that [CASE] is a verbal feature on nouns and must therefore be deleted so that nouns can be categorized as nominal categories.

An additional claim that is made by Ouhalla (2005) suggests that the feature [CASE] is available for nouns, but not for pronouns, which only need [PERSON]. He states that feature [PERSON] plays a role in the interpretation / reference of personal pronouns, and that the interpretation / reference of nouns does not depend on [PERSON]. This is what justifies the existence of the verbal feature [PERSON] alongside the verbal feature [CASE]. Ouhalla (2005) also concluded that pronouns are unspecified for [CASE] and this does not necessarily mean that the distinction in the forms of the grammatical functions between the subject and the object cannot be maintained. This distinction can still be maintained in terms of the feature with which [PERSON] is matched. He explained that the subject form [of pronouns] is the result of matching [PERSON] with the tense feature of T and the object form the result of matching [PERSON] with the Aspect feature of the verb.

Ouhalla's account encounters some problems. Let us bear in mind, according to his proposal, that pronouns are unspecified for [CASE], and that they have a [PERSON] feature instead. Let us also accept that the subject and object forms of the grammatical functions of pronouns can still be maintained in terms of the feature with which [PERSON] is matched. Let us also assume in line with Ouhalla (2005) in that the subject form [of pronouns] is the result of matching [PERSON] with the tense feature of T and the object form the result of matching [PERSON] with the Aspect feature of the verb.

Bearing in mind all these claims, the null subject of imperative sentences which lack a tense specification would end up not being categorized according to the following reasoning: the grammatical function of subject in this account can

only be determined by checking the [PERSON] feature of the null subject pronoun against the tense feature of T. However, since T in imperative sentences lack a tense feature, it follows that the null subject pronoun of imperatives would not be determined.

The second problem for Ouhalla's (2005) account lies in his claim that there is evidence that noun phrases seek out the category with a verbal feature nearest to them. He uses the data like (74) in to illustrate his point:

74. a. *ka:na* *al-waladu* *naʔim-an*
 was-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM asleep-ACC
 ‘*The boy was asleep.*’
- b. *al-waladu* *naʔim-un*
 the-boy-NOM asleep-NOM
 ‘*The boy is asleep.*’

Ouhalla (2005, p. 681) argues that ‘*naʔim-an*’ in (74.a) appears with the accusative case because the [CASE] feature of the nominal predicate is matched with the aspect feature of the verb ‘*ka:na*’, given that this verbal feature is the structurally closest one to the predicate nominal. He also claims that in (74.b), ‘*naʔim-un*’ appears with the nominative case because there is no verb in the sentence; therefore, the [CASE] features of the predicate nominal and the subject are both matched with the tense feature of T. He claims that the verbal tense feature of T can be targeted twice in (74.b) given that it is a verbal feature on T, which needs not be deleted, as T is a verbal category.

Maintaining Ouhalla's proposal in mind, let us now think of sentences with psychological predicates, where both the subject and the object are assumed to be base generated in the lexical domain VP (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent work). This is illustrated in (75):

75. *yakhaf-u* *al-walad-u* *al-shams-a*
 fears-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM the-sun-ACC
 ‘*The boy fears the sun.*’

The predicate in (75), according to (Chomsky, 1986; Baker, 1988), is unaccusative, the subject is base-generated in Spec-VP and the object is base-generated in the complement of VP position. Ouhalla's (2005) proposal would predict that the [CASE] feature of the subject of (75) would appear as accusative, given that the Aspect feature of Asp would be structurally closer to the subject and the object than the tense feature of T. However, this is not borne out by the facts, as the subject appears with nominative case rather than with accusative case. Notice that Ouhalla (2005) might object by claiming that the unaccusative-unergative distinction does not hold in MSA. While this might turn out to be true, abandoning the idea that psychological verbs are internal to VP would also mean abandoning The Universal Theta Role Assignment Hypothesis UTAH (Baker, 1988).

2.5.4 Soltan (2007)

Soltan (2007), provided an alternative account of case which can be summarized in the following points:

- a. Phi-feature/CLASS agreement is the centre of case licensing. In Soltan (2007), case is not a probing feature on case valuation heads.
- b. MSA shows no instances of A-movement of any kind. Specifically, there is no piece of evidence for A-movement in typical A-movement structures such as passives and raising constructions of the seem-type.
- c. An Agree-based syntax properly tackles the facts of MSA. Agree can establish a relation between a Probe and a Goal, the only constraint being minimality considerations such as closest c-command. This way, agreement and case in MSA can be established without either of these being driven by A-movement.
- d. T in MSA has the following inventory of uninterpretable features: (i) ϕ features for person and number, which may also be realized as default; (ii) the peripheral P-feature (*i.e.*, the EPP feature), (iii) CLASS feature, which surfaces as a gender feature in many languages. Following (Ouhalla, 2005),

Soltan (2007, p. 69) points out that gender may be able to probe separately if it is not part of the ϕ -complex.

- e. The well-established asymmetry in agreement between the SVO and VSO orders is the outcome of two distinct syntactic derivations. T in the SVO order agrees with a null subject, *pro*, hence the full agreement on T, and the preverbal DP is a topic phrase, situated in Spec-TP. In VSO, on the other hand, T agrees with a phonetically realized DP, and agreement in person and number on T is therefore default, but Agree does take place between T and the postverbal lexical subject in CLASS, which is realized in MSA as GENDER:

One of the criticisms to Soltan's (2007) proposal is that it does not take in consideration structures with first and second person subjects. However, given his proposal, such structures would fall into the SVO order, as agreement in person and number is realized in these structures. The fact that the EPP feature is available in the SVO order but not the VSO order seems to indicate that T in Soltan's system can be lexically specified differently in the two orders of MSA.

Soltan (2007) also considers left periphery a zone rather than a position. Based on this assumption, Soltan argues that the left periphery in MSA is any position higher than *vP*. He therefore maintains that the Spec positions of the functional projections, TP, NegP, Mod(ality)P, AspP are all left peripheral positions.

Soltan's account (2007) also encounters other problems. This account considers a preverbal DP a topic situated in Spec-TP, which, for Soltan (2007), is an A'-position. Consider first the following problem: Soltan (2007) does not address what happens when the subject of the sentence happens to be a first or second person.

However, given Soltan's (2007) proposal, this type of structures will probably have a postverbal *pro* subject, which is identified by agreement in ϕ , which is person and number as well as CLASS, i.e., GENDER which Probes separately from ϕ in this system. To conform with the representation proposed for the SV order, the structure will also have a preverbal null *pro*, which is a topic in Spec-

TP. This is illustrated by the following examples of structures with first and second person subjects:

76. a) *pro_i laʕibna:* / **laʕib-a* / **laʕib-a-t* *pro_i al-kurat-a*
 played-1PM / *played-ACC.3MS / *played-ACC-3FS the-ball-ACC
 ‘*We played football.*’

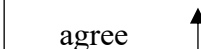
b) *pro_i laʕib-tuna* / **laʕib-ti* *pro_i al-kurat-a*
 played-2FP / *played.ACC.3MS the-ball-ACC
 ‘*You (FP) played football.*’

Note that sentences such as (76) cannot have a postverbal lexical subject. When this happens (as in 77 below), the sentences are ill-formed; they are only well-formed on a reading where the postverbal lexical pronominal subjects are interpreted as topics or focalized DPs

77. a) **laʕibna:* *nahn-u* *al-kurat-a*
 played-1PM we.NOM the-ball-ACC
 ‘*We played football.*’

b) **laʕib-tuna* *ʔantuna* *al-kurat-a*
 played-2FP you.2FP.NOM the-ball-ACC
 ‘*You (2FP) played football.*’

This indicates that these constructions will have the following representation in (78):

78. SV order: [CP C [TP *pro_i* T EPP/ϕ/CLASS [v*P *pro_i* v* [VP V...]]]]


This creates a challenge for Soltan’s (2007) proposal which ended up having constructions with a null preverbal *pro* coindexed with the postverbal null subject. What leaves these questions open: what specifically is the discourse function of a null topic? Why should a topic whose discourse function is presumably to establish an entity or an individual as the frame of reference for

receives a nominative case mark without there being a coindexing topic that licenses it at LF and a subject that receives case without a verbal head.

Here, I would like to disagree with Fassi Fehri (1986) as I consider the PP ‘*fi al-thalla:jat-i* / in the fridge’ as a comment that has been focused and the DP ‘*taṣa:m-un* / food’ as a topic. As we cannot initiate a sentence in MSA with indefinite DP as a topic in Spec-PredP, we need to insert an expletive DP in Spec-TP especially if the comment is a prepositional phrase. One example of expletives is the use of ‘*huna:ka*/there’ and ‘*thamata*/there’ which holds the relationship between the topic and the comment as exemplified in (81) and (82) respectively. These expletive DPs license having indefinite DPs in Spec-PredP.

81. *huna:ka taṣa:m-un fi al-thalla:jat-i*
 there food-NOM in the-fridge-GEN
 ‘*There is food in the fridge.*’

82. *thamata taṣa:m-un fi al-thalla:jat-i*
 there food-NOM in the-fridge-GEN
 ‘*There is food in the fridge.*’

Where in our original example (80) the expletive is deleted as its meaning is understood from the interpretation of the sentence, and the comment PP has been focused from its base-position within TP in order not to start a sentence with indefinite DP.

2.5.6 Choueiri (2016)

Choueiri (2016) presents a new framework to explain the PE in Lebanese Arabic (LA). At first, she claims that the PE is constrained to equational sentences, which involve two constituents of the same category, mainly two DPs. The second DP in an equational sentence, the comment, is a definite NP (i.e., a name, a pronoun, a demonstrative NP, or a definite description as illustrated in (83).

She adds that a PE cannot be used in topic and comment structures, as shown in (84).

83. *hayed* *l-mara* *l-muħaamiyye*
 this.F.S the-woman the-lawyer.F.S
 ‘*This woman is the lawyer.*’ (LA)

84. *l-bornayta* **hiyye* *ħəlwe*
 the-hat.F.S *she nice
 ‘*The hat is a problem.*’ (LA) (Choueiri, 2016: 102)

Choueiri argues that the PE is not an identity pronoun, because it is not always necessary in equational sentences. This is shown in (85), where the precopular expression is a demonstrative NP.

85. *hayde* *l-mara* *Samia*
 this the-woman Samia
 ‘*This woman is Samia.*’ (LA) (Choueiri, 2016: 114)

She also argues that the PE cannot be analysed as a copula, since in LA the copula ‘*ka:na*’ and the PE can co-occur as shown in (86). They are not in complementary distribution, as suggested by other researchers (Ouhalla, 2013). This cooccurrence is a strong argument against analysing the PE as a copula.

86. *yimkin* *ma* *ykun* *ħada* *huwwe* *l-meškke*
 be.possible Neg be someone he the-problem
 ‘*It is possible that no one is the problem.*’ (LA)(Choueiri, 2016: 122)

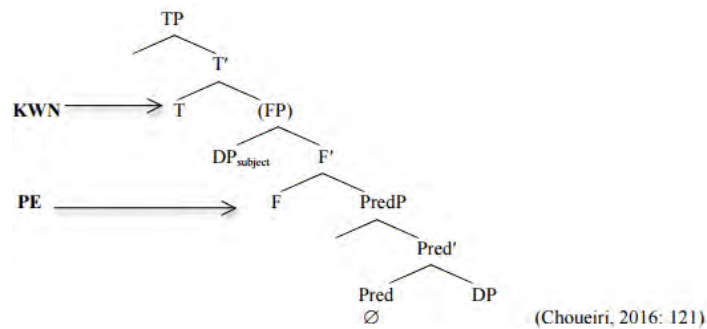
Choueiri proposes that the topic and comment sentence whose comment is a definite NP has a more complex structure than those whose comment is an NP, AP, or PP. To demonstrate, the structure of the equational sentence involves an extra functional phrase (FP) located between TP and PredP, whereas the structure of the predicational sentence does not. The PE projects in the head F that functions as a linker, an independent head marking the syntactic (thematic) relation between the subject and predicate DPs. The impossible use of the PE in the predicational clause follows from the absence of this FP in its structure.

Choueiri assumes that the topic DP, or sometimes the comment DP when it is a first or second person pronoun as in (87), must move to Spec-FP in order to save the derivation. If both topic and comment DPs of the same category remain within PredP, then the two DPs cannot be linearized and hence the derivation will crash.

87. <i>ana</i>	<i>*huwwa/hiyya</i>	<i>il-muskila</i>
I	*he/she	the-problem.F.S
<i>'I am the problem.'</i>		(LA) (Choueiri, 2016: 119)

As can be seen from tree representation (88) bellow, Choueiri assumes that the copula '*ka:na*', which can co-occur with the PE, is generated in T. It is a realization of the verbal morphology features on the head T. Finally, in terms of agreement, Choueiri assumes that the head F, which bears the features [3 Per, Num and Gen], always agrees with the subject of the predication (i.e., the DP in the Spec-PredP). In example (87) the predicate, a first-person pronoun, moves to Spec-FP, and the head F agrees with the subject in situ. That is, the PE seems to be the phonological exponent of the features in F.

88.



Although this account of Choueiri’s departs from previous works by concluding that the PE is neither an identity pronoun nor a copula, it too faces some challenges.

First, Choueiri’s claims that the projection of the FP marks the syntactic relation between the two DPs in an equational sentence, if this is the case, then we do not need to project the PredP. In the literature, it has been assumed that PredP mediates the predicational (syntactic) relation between a subject and a predicate (see. Bowers, 1993, Mikkelsen, 2005; among others).

Second, Choueiri ascribes the impossible use of the PE in topic and comment to the absence of an FP in its structure. Under her analysis, it is not obvious what bars the FP from projecting in the predicational clause involving nonverbal predicates (NPs, APs and PPs) and thus a PredP.

Finally, Choueiri has not expanded on how agreement takes place between the head F and the subject of the predication (i.e., the DP in Spec-PredP). Choueiri argues that the head F always agrees with the subject DP in Spec-PredP even when the subject remains in situ and the predicate raises to Spec-FP, giving the example in (87). However, this cannot be supported in MSA and other Arabic dialects. In MSA, as shown in (89), the head F always agrees with the first DP in gender and number, but not in person.

89. a. *ʔana:* *huwa/*hiya* *l-mufkil-at-u*
 I (M.S) he/*she the-problem-F.S-NOM
 ‘*I am the problem.*’
- b. *ʔal-mufkil-at-u* *ʔʔhuwa/hiya* *ʔana:*
 the-problem-F.S-NOM ʔʔhe/she I (M.S)
 ‘*The problem is me.*’
- c. *ʔanta* *huwa/*hiya* *l-mufkil-at-u*
 you (M.S) he/*she the-problem-F-S-NOM
 ‘*You are the problem.*’
- d. *Zaynab-u* *hiya/*huwa* *al-qa:ʔid-u*
 Zaynab (F)-NOM she/*he the-leader (M)-NOM
 ‘*Zaynab is the leader.*’

Finally, I would like to highlight that none of the above-mentioned studies adopted the suggestions of Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2007) analysis which gives both the Probe and the Goal a chance to get interpreted at the interface which Chomsky’s system allows only the Goal to get interpreted. I will rely on Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2007) in my analysis of the markers that appear at the end of verbs to prove that these markers are a form of case which I call verbal case that is licensed on the verb though the finiteness feature on Inf.

2.6 Summary

II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provided an account of the present literature that handled the topic of case in Arabic language. Mainly, it provided an account of how case was dealt with from the perspective of traditional Arab syntacticians and then we discuss Agr based approaches of (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Raḥḥali, 2003; Ouhalla, 2005; Soltan, 2007; Al-Balushi, 2012; Choueiri, 2016). All these accounts of case provided analysis that is problematic either in theory or application.

We also notice that none of the above-mentioned approaches provided an account of how case is assigned in the scenario of tritransitive verbs in MSA.

CHAPTER THREE: TOPIC & COMMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

3.0 Introduction

When it comes to how case is assigned in a verbal sentence, the situation might appear straightforward as they contain a vP projection, it is reasonable to place the subject at vP specifier position where it will later be raised to Spec-TP position to satisfy [EPP] feature on T and where it gets its nominative case and the complement to receive an accusative case which is assigned to it by the little v. However, the structure of topic-comment sentences in MSA is more complicated. In fact, the structure of topic & comment sentences in MSA raises many questions since that they lack a vP projection as we will present latter in this chapter. Where do the topic and comment receive their case mark and what accounts for their case mark which happens to be nominative?

3.1 Case in Topic & Comment Structures

In attempting to search answers to the questions about case in topic and comment structures, I will present how similar constructions have been perceived in literature.

3.1.1 Schemata of Small Clauses

In English, terms as ‘*verbless clauses, copula constructions, and small clause*’ have been used to refer to strings that consist only of a subject and a predicate as manifested in example (1) below:

1. *Mary considers John a dope.*

Small clauses in English resemble topic and comment structures in MSA since they both consist of two elements: a subject and predicate in English, and a topic and comment in MSA.

The Arabic topic and comment sentences are constructions that lack a verbal projection as shown in (2) below.

2. *al-walad-u* *shuja:ʕ-un*
 the-boy-NOM strong-NOM

'The boy is strong.'

These structures are not found only in Arabic. A number of languages, such as Hebrew, Russian, Ilonggo, Bambara, Burmese, Hungarian, Boumaa Fijian, and Luiseno, plus many Austronesian and Australian languages specifically KonKow and Nisenan do not have verbal projection (Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2004; Matushansky, 2008; Roy, 2013).

The basic structure of small clauses consists of two phrases, separated by a copula, as illustrated in (3). This basic structure allows a wide range of small clause types, as summarised by Den Dikken (2017, p. 3) in (4).

3. XP1 be XP2

4. a. XP1 = DP, XP2 = DP

'Edward is the professor.'

b. XP1 = DP, XP2 = NP

'My brothers are cute boys.'

c. XP1 = DP, XP2 = AP

'The house is huge.'

d. XP1 = DP, XP2 = PP

'The girl is in the wardrobe.'

e. XP 1 = PP, XP2 = DP

'Above the wardrobe is a good place to hide.'

f. XP = PP, XP2 = AP

'Easier than up the hill is down the mountain.'

g. XP = AP, XP2 = DP

'Coward is a terrible thing to be.'

Labelling small classes is not a simple process because different natural categories arise based on whether the emphasis is syntactic structure, semantic structure, or information structure. For example, Higgins (1979) proposed a

four-way classification of small clauses: predicational, specificational, identificational, and identity statement; example (5) illustrates these types:

5. a. *Mark is a very nice guy.* (predicational)
- b. *The professor is William.* (specificational)
- c. *Your money is my money.* (identificational/equative)
- d. *This (boy) is my son.* (identity statement)

Higgins considers several parameters in his typology of small clauses. He notes that in predicational sentences, the predicate assigns an attribute or property to the subject (6. a). On the other hand, specificational sentences comprise two constituents: one presents a variable, i.e. a list of readings, and the other supplies a value for that variable. For example, in (6. b), ‘*the professor*’ represents the variable, and ‘*William*’ represents the value. Whenever the subject and predicate positions are inverted, specificational and predicational sentences are uniformly indistinct; see (7). In other words, the sentence in (7) is ambiguous between specificational and predicational readings. Information structure is what makes (7) specificational, i.e., ‘*Mary*’ is the focus, and ‘*the student*’ is the variable. In the predicational reading, ‘*Mark*’ is a topic, and the sentence ascribes a property for ‘*Mark*’.

6. a. *Mark is a very nice guy.*
- b. *The professor is William.*

7. *Mary is the student.*

Identificational (equative) sentences refer to constructions where two entities are equated with each other. For example, the sentence ‘*Elizabeth is Beth*’ in (8) equates the two entities ‘*Elizabeth*’ and ‘*Beth*’, i.e. they have the same reference. In identity copular sentences, XP1 consists of a demonstrative element with an optional NP, while XP2 is identificational, i.e. descriptively identifying XP1.

8. *Elizabeth is Beth.*
9. *This (boy) is my son.*

To summarize, this section provided an introduction to small clauses. Then, I will provide examples of small clauses in MSA following Higgins (1979) taxonomy: specificational clauses (10), predicational clauses (11), identity clauses (12), and identificational clauses (13).

10. *al-walad-u* *hwa* *Ali-un.*
the-boy-NOM he Ali-NOM
‘*The boy is Ali.*’

11. *Ali-un* *tawi:l-un*
Ali- NOM tall-NOM
‘*Ali is tall.*’

12. *ha:tha (al-walada)* *hwa* *Ali-un.*
this (the-boy)-NOM he Ali-NOM
‘*This boy is Ali.*’

13. *al-kita:b-u* *hwa* *kita:bi.*
the-book-NOM he my book.Nom
‘*The book is my book.*’

This chapter aims at offering a complete paradigm of case in copular sentences available in MSA that accounts to all these types. In this chapter, I argue that the vP layer is not necessarily required in the structure of the Arabic topic and comment sentences. I think that not having a vP projection is more plausible, and less problematic than suggesting a null verbal projection for a number of reasons: First, this analysis is in harmony with the analyses provided for verbless sentences in various other languages. For example, it has been suggested that in Hebrew and Irish verbless sentences there is no VP layer and the small clause SC is merged directly to IP/TP (Carnie, 1995; 1997; Hazout, 2010). Similarly, it has been proposed that in Russian verbless sentences, as in (14) below, the SC is merged to IP/TP without a VP layer (Bailyn, 2001; Matushansky, 2008). That is, this analysis becomes universal rather than language particular.

14. *Vera* *assistent.*

Vera assistant NOM

'Vera is an assistant.'

(Matushansky, 2008, p. 216)

Different approaches have been suggested to account for the structure of small clauses. Most of these approaches fall into two main streams: the lexical projection stream and the functional projection stream. Followers of lexical projection stream consider small clauses a projection of a predicate which can be of any lexical category (Stowell, 1981; 1983). Stowell proposes that the subject of small clauses occupies the specifiers position of the lexical projection. On the other side, supporters of the functional projection approach see that small clauses contain a functional head. The representation in (15-16) below summarises the two viewpoints.

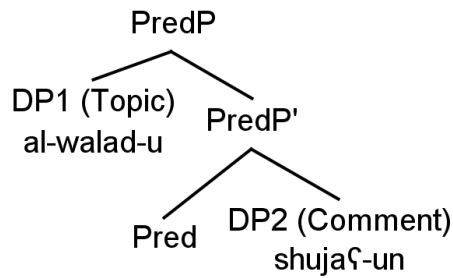
15. [FP [DP Vera] [F' [F] [DP assistant]]]

16. [DP [DP Vera] [D' assistant]]

However, there is dispute around what this functional head is. Bowers (1993) views the functional head in small clauses a Predicate (Pred) head what makes the maximal projection of these small clauses Predicate Phrase (PredP). The only function of this predicate head, as Bowers (1993) believes is to connote predication. In line with Bowers (1993), I think that the function of the head of the (PredP) is to mediate the predicational relationship between the two constituents of its phrase. Other linguists as Starke (1995) view that the predicate head is a null verb head, while Legendre (1997) views it as AGR head. In English, the PredP head is always vacuous and empty. Next, Benmamoun (2000) pointed out that it is possible to account for the absence of accusative case on the predicate in the Arabic verbless sentence, as shown in (2) above, under the analysis which suggests the absence of the vP layer.

As I have proposed, the topic and comment structures, as manifested in example (2) above, are just like small clauses. Such structures have a functional head, Pred⁰, which is responsible for regulating the predicational relation between the topic and the comment (Bowers, 1993). This Pred⁰ head has a maximal projection, PredP, as well as an intermediate projection, thus a specifier and a complement. This initial representation is manifested in tree diagram (17)

below. I also propose that the head of this PredP, is as being responsible for the case that the predicate realizes.



Tree Diagram (17). Initial Topic & Comment Representation

This proposal regarding the similarity between small clauses and the structure of topic and comment in MSA is consistent with Adger & Ramchand’s (2003, pp. 325-326) view that “a clause consists of a predicational core where thematic relations are licensed, which is delimited by a head, *Pred*. *Pred* acts as the syntactic edge of the predicational core (Chomsky, 2000; 2001), and its projection is surmounted by an articulated functional domain containing heads that check formal features, trigger displacement, and mediate other important grammatical and information-structural properties of the clause”.

Actually, the PredP is consistent with other functional categories such as the (vP) (Chomsky, 1995; 2001; 2015) in sentences involving verbal predicates. The functional heads *Pred* and little *v* are both mediators in that they relate the topic in their specifiers to predicates the comment in their complements.

Chomsky (1995; 2001; 2015) proposed that predicates always project functional heads that certify external arguments. Subject DPs are generated in specifiers of functional heads (e.g., Spec-VP, spec-VoiceP, Spec-TP, and Spec-PredP).

Additionally, the view that small clauses contain a functional head is not novel in MSA as many linguists, *i.e.*, (Eid, 1991) and (Fassi Fehri, 1993) among many others, have adopted the view that third person pronouns (‘*hua* / he, *hia* / she, *hum* / they ...*etc.*’ serve as heads of topic & comment sentences in MSA. They also view that this functional head may be overtly or covertly realized. For example, sentence (18.a) below consists of a topic and comment with an overt functional head ‘*hia* / she’ while the next example (18.b) represents the same sentence without an overt functional head.

18. a) *al-bint-u* *hia* *thakia-t-un*
 the-girl-NOM she smart-F-NOM
 ‘*The girl is the very one who is smart.*’

 b) *al-bint-u* *thakia-t-un*
 the-girl-NOM smart-F-NOM
 ‘*The girl is smart.*’

Example (18) above shows that both constituents, topic and comment, have the same syntactic category which is a full DP with its own phi features and they both have a referential relationship. This is to say that the topic ‘*albintu*’ is the same entity that is the comment ‘*thakiatun*’ and ‘*thakiatun*’ refers back to ‘*albintu*’. Syntactically, we notice that the topic and comment structures are based on a pattern with two constituents only. This means that such structures are semantically binary, just as copula clauses are.

Eid (1991, p. 42) views that the function of the overt third person pronouns, as the one manifested in example (18) above, is to serve as anti-ambiguity device to force sentential, vs. phrasal interpretation of the structure. In this example, and to make sure that this sentence is interpreted as a sentence, we insert the third person singular pronoun ‘*hia* / she’ because both parts of the sentence are definite. Without this third person pronoun, the sentence is more likely to be interpreted as ‘*The girl who is smart...*’ and then a predicate is missing.

In fact, native speakers of Arabic language get the sentential interpretation of the previous example by intuition as the pronoun implies that there is no body smart but the girl. This is also clear from the English translation ‘*The girl is the very person who is smart*’.

In MSA, the main function of such pronouns is just to give more emphasis on the topic. Let us consider the following example (19) which illustrates this point:

19. *Allah* *ʔant-a* *ʕalla:m-u* *al-guyou:b-i*
 Allah You-ACC knower-NOM the-unseen-GEN
 ‘*Oh Allah! You ‘alone’ are indeed the Knower of all unseen.*’

III. TOPIC & COMMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

In this example, the primary function of the pronoun ‘*anta/you*’ is giving more emphasis which insinuates that the comment (*knowledge of the unseen*) is restricted to the topic (*Allah*).

In spite of the fact that they lack a verb, topic and comment structures in MSA have been argued to encode the functional category of tense. Let us contrast examples as (20) with (21) below which indicate that verbless sentences do contain tense.

20. *al-sama:ʔ-u* *sa:fyat-un* *al-ʔan-a*
the-sky-NOM clear-NOM the-now-ACC
‘*The sky is clear now.*’

21. **al-sama:ʔ-u* *sa:fyat-un* *ʔams*
the-sky-NOM clear-NOM yesterday-ACC
‘*The sky is clear yesterday.*’

Fundamentally, the ungrammaticality of (21) indicates that the past tense contributed by the adverb contradicts the present tense signified by the verbless sentence. Moreover, the assumption that verbless sentences have a tense feature is backed up by the fact that they are grammatical with temporal adverbs, as (20) above shows, which must be anchored by tense.

I would like to point out that in order to form such structures in the past or future ‘examples (22) and (23) below respectively’, we have to insert a past or future verb. Note that in example (22) we added ‘*ka:na / was*’ which is the equivalent of the past tense form of ‘*be*’ and in (23) we added the present form of ‘*be*’ which is ‘*takun/is*’ plus the future tense marker in MSA ‘*sa/will*’:

22. *ka:na-t* *al-sama:ʔ-u* *sa:fyat-un* *ʔams*
was-F the-sky-NOM clear-NOM yesterday-ACC
‘*The sky was clear yesterday.*’

23. *sa-taku:n-u* *al-sama:ʔ-u* *sa:fyat-un* *ghadan*
will- be-NOM the-sky-NOM clear-NOM tomorrow
‘*The sky will be clear tomorrow.*’

Additionally, the concept that verbless sentences contain tense is supported by the fact that a verbless sentence embedded under a clause in the past tense can have an independent temporal reference, which is the present tense deictic interpretation, as shown by example (24) below.

24. *qa:l-a* *al-rajul-u* *?ann-a* *al-sama:ʔ-a* *sa:fyat-un*
 said.3MS-ACC the-man-NOM that-ACC the-sky-ACC clear-NOM
alyawm-a
 today-ACC
 ‘The man **said** that the sky **is** clear today.’

Thus far, I have argued against the presence of the vP projection in topic and comment structures in MSA as its presence is not necessarily required. This is supported by the fact that having a vP does not participate in the predicational relation. It is also supported by the fact that the present tense is the default or unmarked tense in MSA (cf. (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Ouhalla, 1994)), we do not need to add a vP projection to mark the present tense. Additionally, this analysis is compatible with the analyses provided for similar structures in other languages. As we have mentioned earlier in this section, verbless sentences Hebrew, Irish and Russian verbless sentences project no VP layer and the small clause SC is merged directly to IP/TP without a VP layer (Carnie, 1995; 1997; Bailyn, 2001; Matushansky, 2008; Hazout, 2010). Therefore, I would claim that the PredP can be merged directly to the TP without a vP layer, as we will later illustrate in tree diagram (34) below.

3.1.2 Definiteness

We have to note that the topic has to always be a definite noun. It can be a common noun with an obligatory definite article as manifested in (25), a proper noun as in (26), or a pronoun as in (27).

25. *al-rajul-u* *shuja:ʕ-un*
 the-man-NOM strong-NOM
 ‘The man is strong.’

26. *Ali-un* *shuja:ʕ-un*

Ali-NOM strong-NOM

‘*Ali is strong.*’

27. *ʔanta* *shuja:ʕ-un*

you strong-NOM

‘*You are strong.*’

Fassi Fehri (2012, p. 62) pointed out that Arabic never tolerates an indefinite DP as a topic. Example (28) illustrates this point.

28. **rajul-u* *shuja:ʕ-un*

man-NOM strong-NOM

‘*A man is strong.*’

The question now is: Why can a definite noun, a proper noun, and a pronoun, and NOT indefinite DP, function as a topic?

I suggest that there are two reasons which account for this constraint: The first reason lies on what is called the referentiality condition on topic and comment structures, the topic has to be referential. Definite nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns are all intrinsically referential items. They refer to a well-defined entity. Since these three items are strongly referential, they are allowed to function as topics. This condition also explains why indefinite DPs are not acceptable as topics in MSA, as example (28) above shows. Since indefinite DPs are relatively less referential, they cannot function as topics.

Some linguists (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002; Soltan, 2007; Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueiri, 2010), also propose that a topic DP shows definiteness effects – the DP must be specific, definite and referentially strong, therefore, it canvases enough information for the listener to identify its referent in a given situation. The DP is linked or bound to a topic DP through indexation. Thus, the referentiality condition on the topic and coindexation with the comment provide an explanation for the definiteness constraint on the topic in MSA.

The second reason that justifies this definiteness restriction arises from the question of whether sentence-initial DPs are topics or subjects. Pragmatically

speaking, Mikkelsen (2005) claims that only discourse-old items, conveying discourse-old information, can be considered as topics, whereas discourse-new elements, such as indefinite DPs that lack any form of modification, cannot stand as topics. Depending on this analysis, I assume that definite DPs ‘*nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns*’ are all discourse-old items as they typically convey well-established entities in discourse. Therefore, they can be considered topics. Whereas indefinite DPs are discourse-new items as they usually offer new, unveiled, and previously undiscussed information. Thus, they cannot function as topics. The requirement that sentence-initial DP must be a topic provides another explanation for the definiteness restriction.⁴

To provide extra support to the claim that sentence-initial DP is a topic rather than a subject, Mikkelsen (2005) argues that Spec-TP favours topics and that is why she assumed a topic feature [TOP] on T. I have previously suggested that the topic moves to Spec-TP to satisfy [EPP] feature on T. Backed up by Mikkelsen’s claim, I also argue that the topic moves higher to Spec-TP to check the [TOP] feature on T as manifested in Tree Diagram (20).

As definite nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns can be topics, they can raise from Spec-PredP to Spec-TP to check [EPP] and [TOP] features on T. In contrast, indefinite DPs cannot be topics, so they are not eligible to raise to Spec-TP position because they cannot satisfy the topic feature [TOP] on T and the derivation crashes, *i.e.*, it does not converge at the LF level because T will still have some uninterpretable features that are not satisfied.

3.1.3 Passivization

Now, let us investigate why we cannot passivize the topic in a topic and comment structure.

4 Molly Diesing (1992) investigated the relationship between the syntactic and semantic presentations of sentences and proposed a mapping algorithm that is applied to derive the logical representations of indefinites to a wide range of syntactic and semantic phenomena including scrambling, VP-deletion, and extraction from NP. We can draw on this and claim that, semantically, the topic and comment structure is incompatible with indefiniteness.

We will base our discussion on example (29) below which represents our original topic and comment structure.

29. *al-bint-u* *thakia-t-un*
 the-girl-NOM smart-F-NOM
 ‘*The girl is smart.*’

We have stated before that the function of the functional head in a topic and comment structure as manifested in example (29) above is to carry the predicational and coindexational relationship between the topic ‘*albintu*’ and comment ‘*thakiatun*’ and both constituents of such structure have the same syntactic category which is a DP and they both have a referential relationship. This is to say that in our example (29) above, the topic ‘*albintu*’ is the same entity that is the comment ‘*thakiatun*’ and ‘*thakiatun*’ refers back to ‘*albintu*’.

This predicational, referential and coindexational relationship imposes that the first constituent (topic / *albintu*) cannot be mentioned without its complement (comment / *thakiatun*). If passivization is possible, this means that one of these constituents will be made redundant; thus, the outcome will be incomplete meaning. This referential and coindexational relationship also hinders passivization even in verbal structures as shown in this example:

30. *John shaved himself.*

‘*Himself*’ is the co-referential object of the verb ‘*shave*’. The structure is ternary (consisting of three elements: the subject, the verb, and an object) but reflexive expressions cannot be passivized. A reflexive pronoun cannot become the subject of a sentence if it appears on its own, where ‘*himself*’ is the object complement of the verb ‘*shave*’ but as the object is a part of the subject (co-referential) it cannot be passivized. Another reason behind the ungrammaticality of ‘*Himself was shaved.*’ is that such structures violate Principle A in Binding Theory.

Additionally, we notice that the topic and comment structures have a stative value, and syntactically they are based on a pattern with two constituents only. This means that such structures are semantically binary, just as copula clauses

are. There is one argument only behaving as a subject and a property of the subject is given and this what makes passivization impossible. In a nutshell, Topic comment and structures cannot be passivized just as Copula constructions which cannot be passivized for independent reasons as manifested in example (31) below. Therefore, topic comment structures use a copula-like predicational structure.

31. *The man was a teacher.* *Vs.* **The teacher was.*

To wrap up, sentence-initial DP is considered a topic, and this explains the definiteness restriction. This analysis is compatible with the standard assumption that topics in MSA are always definite and cannot be indefinite (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Ouhalla, 1994; Soltan, 2007)

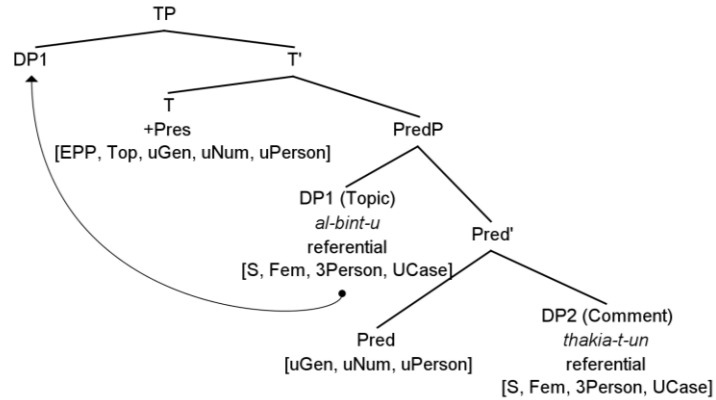
One way around initiating the sentence with an indefinite DP as a topic in Spec-PredP is by inserting an expletive DP in Spec-TP especially if the comment is a prepositional phrase. One example of expletives is the use of ‘*huna:ka* / there’ and ‘*thamata* / there’ as exemplified in (32) and (33) respectively. These expletive DPs license having indefinite DPs in Spec-PredP.

32. *huna:ka taʕa:m-un fi al-thalla:jat-i*
 there food-NOM in the-fridge-GEN
 ‘*There is food in the fridge.*’

33. *thamata taʕa:m-un fi al-thalla:jat-i*
 there food-NOM in the-fridge-GEN
 ‘*There is food in the fridge.*’

Here, I would combine the lexical and functional approaches to claim that underlying structure of the topic and comment, as the one in our initial example (29), in MSA has the representation shown in (34) below:

34.



Tree Diagram (34). Topic & Comment Representation

As suggested by Chomsky, there are two types of features: uninterpretable features [uF] such as ϕ -features-features of T and interpretable features [F] such as ϕ -features of DPs. The uninterpretable features enter the process of derivation unvalued, while the interpretable features enter the derivation valued. Under the operation Agree, which establishes a Probe-Goal relation, the uninterpretable features of the Probe are valued by matching them with the interpretable features of the Goal.

I assume in line with (Chomsky, 2000; 2001; Baker, 2008) that all DPs, both topics and comments, have their own ϕ -features, *i.e.*, they have the intrinsic ϕ -features Gen, Num, and Person. They enter derivations with interpretable ϕ -features and an uninterpretable case feature [uCase], which needs to be valued in the course of derivation.

As manifested in Tree Diagram (34) above, once the head of the TP, which has the unvalued ϕ -features [uGen, uNum, and uPerson], enter derivations, it starts probing down for the closest DP within its c-commanding domain. T in structure (34) creates Agree relation with the subject DP ‘*al-bint-u*’, which has the features [S, F, 3Person, and uCase].

Adopting Baker’s (2008) theory of agreement, I suggest that the PredP head, which has the features [uGen, uNum, uPerson], in the topic and comment structure in MSA, as the one manifested in example (29) represented in Tree Diagram (34) above, can probe downward for a DP to agree with on the condition that Pred c-commands DP. The closest c-commanding DP for it is the

predicate ‘*thakia-t-un*’, which has the features [S, F, 3Person, and uCase]. I also assume that the PredP head here enters Agree with the topic DP in its specifier position. This agreement results in the valuation of gender and number features of the PredP head. Note that the PredP head here is specified for the third-person feature.

In addition, I assume that whatever is located in the specifier of the PredP must raise to Spec-TP. In other words, the DP in Spec-PredP raises to Spec-TP to satisfy the EPP and TOP features of T.

I would use the representation shown in Tree Diagram (34) to claim that the topic and comment constitute a PredP headed by a Pred head that holds the syntactic and semantic referential relationship between the two constituents, namely the topic and the comment. It provides a structural description of the predicational relation between the constituent on Spec-PredP and its complement. It also encodes the semantic concept of predication. A nonverbal predicate predicates a certain property of the topic. This predicational relation takes place within the PredP.

Additionally, the topic and comment in MSA are actually a part of a TP, as topic & comment structures always have [+Present] interpretation. Examples as (18) and (19) above cannot have any other interpretation than the present tense and if you want to change the tense to the past; you have to insert a past verb as ‘*ka:na / was*’ which will occupy the head position of the VP. In the case of topic and comment structures this head is covertly realized as a null verb which is [+Present] and this verb fails to assign an accusative case to its complement as it has [-transitive] feature.

Overtly or covertly realized third person pronouns ‘*hua / he, hia / she, hum / they ...etc.*’ serve as heads of the PredP which shows agreement with the topic ‘*alwaladu hua/ the boy he, albintu hia/ the girl she...etc.*’.

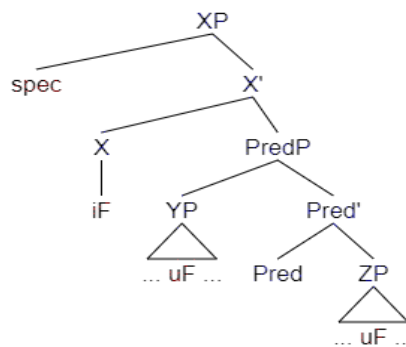
Finally, the topic receives its NOM case as a specifier of the TP and the head of the PredP, and due to agreement in person, number and gender with the topic DP that occurs on its Spec position, assigns the same case to its complement which is the comment DP. As a by-product of Agree relations with T and Pred

in structures (34), the topic and comment DPs get their case features valued as nominative.

Here, I will expand on why I have chosen to project a PredP. In fact, PredP is very well established in literature as it is widely used to account for small clauses in both English and Arabic under the MP. (Stowell, 1983; Bowers, 1993).

Also, the PredP evidently explains the syntactic and semantic referential relationship between the two constituents, namely the topic and the comment. It provides a structural description of the predicational relation between the constituent on Spec-PredP and its complement. It also encodes the semantic concept of predication. A nonverbal predicate predicates a certain property of the topic. This predicational relation takes place within the PredP.

This proposal provides a unified analysis (as represented in 35) for all nonverbal predicates. This means that all nonverbal predicates from diverse lexical categories, including DPs, AdjPs, and PrepPs, might have a single syntactic configuration, namely the PredP. They differ only in what occurs in the complement position of the Pred head.



Tree Diagram (35). Topic & Comment Schematic Representation

Finally, this proposal provides an elegant explanation of case, agreement, and feature checking in MSA within the MP framework. later, this analysis accounts for the identical accusative case once these two nouns become second and third objects.⁵

⁵ Case on tritransitive verbs is discussed in Chapter Six: Section 4

3.1.4 Morphological Realization

Finally, I would like to clarify very briefly the issue of the morphological realization of the head of the PredP. Bowers (1993, p. 596) argues that the Pred head is lexically realized in English among many other languages. He claims that in English, the particle ‘as’, manifested in (36), is the head of the PredP.

36. *She regards Dave as ridiculous.*

In my discussion on the topic and comment structures in MSA, I have suggested that the head of the PredP is morphologically void in most cases. However, on some occasions, this head may be lexically realized. For instance, the particle ‘ka’ in example (37) may be considered a lexical realization of the Pred head.

37. *ʔiʕtabar-t-u Ali-a ka-ʔakhi:-i*
 regard.PST-1-Nom Ali-ACC as-brother-my
 ‘I regarded Ali as my brother.’

While the lexical realization of the Pred head is still a debatable subject in the literature, I want just to indicate that the head of the PredP may be morphologically realised in MSA.

3.2 Syntactic Island Effects

We have followed some Arab syntacticians (Ouhalla, 1994) in assuming that the DP in a clause-initial position should be regarded as a topic, not as a subject⁶. This topic must be followed by a comment that completes the meaning. The [topic and comment] construction is treated as Left Dislocation. This means that when the topic occurs in a sentence-initial position, an overt resumptive pronoun, which is co-referential with this topic, is attached to the verb, and appears in the object position. In example (38) below, the topic ‘*al-ta:lib-u* / the student’ is fronted, the resumptive pronoun ‘*hu* / him’ is attached to the verb ‘*daras-tu* / I taught’ and is co-indexed with the initial topic.

38. *al-ta:lib-u daras-tu-hu*

⁶ We will discuss this topic in detail in chapter four which is about case and agreement in preverbal DPs.

the student-NOM teach-1SM.ACC-him

'The student, I taught him.'

Sometimes, when the comment clause that follows the topic is a wh-question word, it has to be linked to the topic by either an empty category 'as in example (39)' or a resumptive pronoun 'as in example (40)'.

39. *al-qalam-u* *li-man* *aštayt-a?*
 the-pen-NOM to-whom give-ACC.2MS
'Whom did you give the pen?'

40. *al-qalam-u* *li-man* *aštayt-a-hu?*
 the-pen-NOM to-whom give.2MS-ACC-it
'The pen- to whom did you give it?'

The examples in (39) and (40) indicate that object DPs, in MSA, can be topicalized out of direct questions. In these examples, the object DP 'alqalamu / the pen' is extracted over the fronted wh-phrase 'liman / to whom'.

Examples (39-40) demonstrate that the topic and comment structure in MSA constitutes a kind of DP where no constituent can be moved outside it. In MSA, no element can be extracted over a preverbal DP. In this regard, Fassi Fehri (1993) proposes the condition in (41) to account for the contrast between (42.a) and (42.b).

41. *No constituent may be extracted over a topic. (Fassi Fehri, 1993:64)*

42. a. **man* *al-muġallim-u* *darras-a?*
 who the-teacher-NOM taught-ACC
 'Who did the teacher teach?'

b. *man* *ʔant-a* *mudaris-un?*
 who you-ACC teaching-NOM
 'Who are you teaching?'

In (42.a), the DP is considered as a topic that is modified by a wh-question. The example is ruled out because it violates the condition in (41). Assuming that extraction over a preverbal DP is allowed only in nominal sentences, the

example in (42.b) is said to be grammatical. In this example, the preverbal pronoun ' *ʔant-a* / you' is interpreted as the subject, while the DP which follows it is the predicate.

3.3 Topic Phrase or Object Focus Phrase

Hoyt (2007), drawing on the abundance of studies on preverbal noun phrases, assumes that MSA is a topic-initial language unlike to English which is regarded as a subject-initial. This is a commonly used way of stringing a sentence in MSA, and a commonly used pattern with the topic presented first, and then described or commented on.

Now, in order to show the difference between the topic phrase and object focus phrase, let us consider the following two examples:

43. <i>al-qisat-u</i>	<i>katab-a-ha</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>
the-story-NOM	wrote-ACC-3MS	the-boy-NOM
<i>'The story, the boy wrote it.'</i>		

44. <i>qissat-an</i>	<i>katab-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>
a story-ACC	wrote-ACC.3MS	the-boy-NOM
<i>'It was a story that the boy wrote.'</i>		

Based on a set of differences between preverbal DP's in MSA which we will discuss below and after having a look at examples (43) and (44) above, the DP '*al-qisat-u*' in (43) receives the pragmatic function of topic while '*qissat-an*' in (44) is an object focused phrase.

a) CASE

The first scrutiny of the previous two examples (43) and (44) reveals that the phrase '*al-qisat-u*' in (43) appeared in the nominative case mark realized in the '-u' sign at its end; therefore, we consider it a topic while the object focused phrase '*qissat-an*' has an accusative case. This accusative case mark is the case mark of its original position 'object' and results from movement to the specifier of a functional projection.

Now, let us think of why we tend to front certain constituents. The answer to this question lies in the communicative Goal of the speaker by fronting the DP focus is to correct the information available to the addressee. The focus interpretation is indicated in example (45) below and it is confirmed by the negative sequence [*la* plus DP] often employed to specify the focus pragmatic function:

45. *QISSAT-AN* *katab-a* *al-walad-u* (*la uqhniatan*)
 a story-ACC wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM (not a song)
 ‘*It was a story that the boy wrote* (not a song).’

b) DEFINITENESS / REFERENTIALITY / DISCOURSE OLD INFORMATION

Another difference that examples (43) and (44) reveal is related to definiteness. Topics NOT focus phrases can only be definite DP, and NOT indefinite DP and it is due to the referentiality condition on topic and comment structures, the topic has to be referential. Definite nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns are all intrinsically referential items. They refer to a well-defined entity. Since these three items are strongly referential, they are allowed to function as topics. This argument also explains why indefinite DPs are not acceptable as topics in MSA. Since indefinite DPs are relatively less referential, they cannot function as topics. Thus, the referentiality condition on the topic provides an explanation for the definiteness constraint on the topic in MSA.

The second reason that justifies this definiteness restriction arises from the problem of sentence-initial DPs, whether they are topics or subjects⁷. Pragmatically speaking, Mikkelsen (2005) claims that only discourse-old items, conveying discourse-old information, can be considered as topics, whereas discourse-new elements, such as indefinite DPs that lack any form of modification, cannot stand as topics. Building on this analysis, I assume that definite DPs ‘nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns’ are all discourse-old items as they typically convey well-established entities in discourse. Therefore, they can be considered topics. Whereas indefinite DPs are discourse-new items as they

⁷ Chapter 6 investigates, in details, whether sentence-initial DPs are topics or subjects.

III. TOPIC & COMMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

usually offer new, unveiled, and previously undiscussed information. Thus, they cannot function as topics. The requirement that sentence-initial DP must be a topic provides another explanation for the definiteness restriction.

c) STRESS

This leads to another difference related to focal stress. topics do not carry focal stress whereas focused phrases do. This is due to the main purpose of focusing a constituent which is to give it more prominence. Usually, topics are separated by a comma realized in speech by a short pause to signify prominence while focus phrases are not.

d) RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

Another difference between these two examples is that example (43), which has the topic DP, has covert resumptive pronoun ‘-*ha*’ attached to the main verb ‘*katab-a*’ while example (44) is not resumed by a pronoun.

e) ‘?MMA...FA’

The topic DP can also be used in the format ‘?*mma*...*fa*’ which means ‘as for X, X/Z did Y’; therefore, the equivalent of example (43) will be something as (46) below:

46. ?*mma* *al-qisat-u* *fa-katab-a-ha:* *al-walad-u*
as for the-story-NOM Ø-wrote-ACC-3MS the-boy-NOM
‘*As for the story, the boy wrote it.*’

Note that we cannot do the same with focus DPs. See example (47) below which is the reflection of our previous example (44).

47. *?*mma* *qissat-an* *fa-katab-a* *al-walad-u*
as for a story-ACC Ø-wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM
‘**As for a story, the boy wrote.*’

f) TOPP IS HIGHER THAN FOCP.

With regard to the representation, I believe, contrary to Rizzi (1997; 2004)⁸, that the TopP is higher than FocP. The evidence comes from the fact that the topic DP can come before focus DPs while the opposite is not allowed. Consider example (48) below:

48. a) *al-qisat-u*, *man* *katab-a-ha:*
 the-story-NOM who wrote-ACC-3MS
 ‘As for the story, who wrote it?’

b) **man* *al-qisat-u* *katab-a-ha:*
 who the-story-NOM wrote-ACC-3MS
 ‘*Who the story wrote it?’

g) MANY TOPICS – ONE FOCUS

There is no limit on the number of topics. However, there must be only one FocusP in a sentence.

49. a) *al-bint-u* *ʔakhu:-ha* *thakia-un*
 the-girl-NOM brother-her smart-NOM
 ‘As for the girl, her brother is smart.’

b) **ʔyna* *al-qissat-a* *katab-a* *al-walad-u*
 where the-story-NOM wrote-ACC the-boy-NOM
 ‘*Where the story the boy wrote?’

In (49.a) ‘*al-bintu* / the girl’ and ‘*ʔakhu:ha*/her brother’ serve as topic DPs while the ungrammaticality of (49.b) is due to having more than one focused DP.

3.4 Conclusions

⁸ Rizzi’s split CP hypothesis (1997; 2004) suggests that CP should be split into a number of distinct functional projections as a Force marker heading a ForceP. “Focalization” – fronting of focused constituents – should be positioned in FocP headed by Foc. A third projection is positioned between FocP and TP, namely FinP, headed by Fin which specifies the clause as ±finite. Topic Phrases, on the other hand, are positioned within TopP whose head is Top, and they host topicalized phrases. The split CP then consists of the following layers:
 ForceP (TopicP) FocusP (TopicP) FinP IP/TP VP

Given the data, discussion, analyses, and proposals in this chapter, we reach the conclusions in (1-8).

1. Sentence-initial DP is considered a topic, and this explains the definiteness restriction which permits only definite and NOT indefinite DPs to function as topics.
2. The topic and comment are members of a PredP. This predicational relation encodes the syntactic and semantic ties between the topic which occupies Spec-PredP and its complement.
3. Overtly or covertly realized third person pronouns (*'hua / he, hia / she, hum / they ...etc.'*) serve as heads of the PredP which shows agreement with the topic.
4. This PredP is actually a part of a TP, as topic & comment structures always have [+Present] interpretation. The head of this TP is covertly realized as a null verb which is [+Present] and this verb fails to assign an accusative case to its complement as it has [-transitive] feature.
5. Whatever is located in the Spec-PredP must raise to Spec-TP. In other words, the DP in Spec-PredP raises to Spec-TP to satisfy the EPP and TOP features of T.
6. The topic receives its NOM case as a specifier of the TP.
7. The head of the PredP, and due to agreement in person, number and gender with the topic DP that occurs on its spec position, assigns the same case to its complement which is the comment DP. As a by-product of Agree relations with T and Pred, the topic and comment DPs get their case features valued as nominative.
8. The topic and comment structure in MSA constitutes a kind of DP syntactic island where no constituent can be moved outside this DP.

CHAPTER FOUR: PREVERBAL DP (CASE & AGREEMENT)

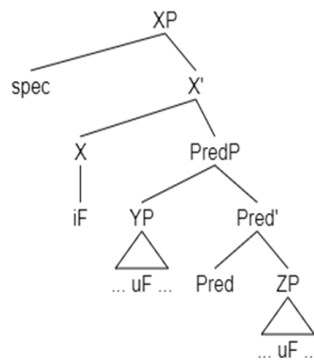
4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyzes so-called left-dislocation constructions in MSA where an argument of the verb is realized in a left-peripheral position and an argument-bound clitic is affixed to the verb.

1. *al-awla:d-u* *qara?-u:* *al-qissat-a*
 the-boys-NOM read.ACC.3MP-they.NOM the-story-ACC
 ‘The boys, they read the story.’

The chapter will first begin with an exploration of the empirical properties of these types of constructions and their relation to the interaction between word order and agreement in MSA. I ultimately argue that the same feature-checking configuration (Tree Diagram (2). Feature-checking configuration) which applies to Topic-Comment constructions is also useful in analyzing left-dislocation constructions.

2.



Tree Diagram (2). Feature-checking configuration

Second, I will demonstrate that the left-peripheral argument is base generated in Spec-TP which means that it has not undergone A-movement and is therefore eligible for A'-movement to the Spec-TopP. Third, I will demonstrate that the verbal clitic is not merely a reflex of agreement but is bound by the argument. Fourth, I will propose that the clitic is the spellout of the tail of the argument chain.

This chapter discusses a concept related to word order in MSA with focus on the issue of sentence initial DPs, its case, movement, and subject-verb agreement. We will scrutinize the SVO word order to unveil the nature of the preverbal DP whether a topic or a subject.

Agreement between the subject and the verb is crucially linked to the issue of word order. Verbs in MSA show full agreement with the preverbal DP and partial agreement with this DP if it comes after the verb (Fassi Fehri, 1993; 2005; Soltan, 2006). We will mainly concentrate on the nature of the DP that precedes the verb, whether it is a subject or a topic. We will also provide a minimalist account of its position, case assignment and subject verb agreement.

To explain the issue under investigation, let us consider the following examples:

3. *SVO*

<i>al-awla:d-u</i>	<i>qara?-u:</i>	<i>al-qissat-a</i>
the-boys-NOM	read.ACC.3MP-they.NOM	the-story-ACC

'The boys read the story.'

4. *VSO*

a. <i>qara?-a</i>	<i>al-awla:d-u</i>	<i>al-qissat-a</i>
read-ACC	the-boys-NOM	the-story-ACC

'The boys read the story.'

b. <i>qara?-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>al-qissat-a</i>
read-ACC	the-boy-NOM	the-story-ACC

'The boy read the story.'

Scrutinizing example number (3) shows that this sentence starts with the DP '*al-awla:d-u*' which bears the nominative case but leaves the nature of this DP a matter of discussion. From one point of view, it can be considered a topic DP whose comment is the verbal Phrase that follows it and the verbal clitic '-u' is then seen as a subject. From another perspective, it can be considered a fronted subject and, in this case, the verbal clitic '-u' is an agreement marker. Example (4) also shows that the verb sticks to one form with different subjects in VSO constructions while it inflects for the subject in SVO word order.

Having a look at these examples reveals some questions:

- a) What is the nature of sentence initial DP ‘*al-awla:d-u* / the boys’ in example (1)?
- b) Is the extension ‘-u’ that appears at the end of the verb ‘*qara?-u:*’ in example (1), a number agreement marker or a pronominal subject of the verb ‘*qama?*’?
- c) How can the MP provide an account for derivation of VSO and SVO in MSA?
- d) Is there an agreement asymmetry in MSA? Especially if we look at example (4.a) which represents the typical VSO counterpart of example (1) above which manifests SVO, and we can see that it has no clitics at the end of the verb (the ‘-u’ disappeared).

If we also consider example (4.b) in which the exact shape of the verb ‘*qara?*’ is used with a singular subject. Do these examples reveal that we have agreement asymmetry in MSA? I will prove using some syntactic tests that what is viewed as an agreement marker is in fact a resumptive pronoun.

In my attempt to attend to these issues, I adopt Chomsky’s phase theory⁹ to claim that the subject does not move to a preverbal position to get its features checked. Instead, it originates in Spec-TP to satisfy the EPP feature of T. This chapter also concludes that resumptive pronouns are not actually clitics, but real pronouns linked to the fronted DP. I also argue that, in MSA, both word orders, VSO and SVO are derived through different processes.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.0 is an introduction which is followed by section 4.1 which is about agreement in MSA, then a discussion about the preverbal DP in 4.2. Resumptive pronouns occupy section 4.3 followed by syntactic tests in 4.4 in which we present the passivization, coordination, relativization, and omission tests. After that a short account of agreement hypothesis is presented in section 4.5, then I present a minimalist

⁹ See section 1.2 about the theoretical framework for more information about Phase Theory.

account in 4.6 after which I investigated CP and movement in section 4.7 and derivation in MSA in section 4.8. The last two sections, 4.9 and 4.10, present the conclusions as well as a summary consecutively.

4.1 Agreement in SVO

Some Arab syntacticians (Hassan, 1980; ʔibn Hisham A. , 2000) view that the subject cannot come before the verb and the preverbal DP is not a subject but a topic which has a comment, the verbal sentence that follows it. This verbal comment has its subject that appears as a clitic that refers to the preverbal topic as manifested in example (5) below:

5. *al-awla:d-u* *qaraʔ-u:* *al-qissat-a*
 the-boys-NOM read.ACC.3MP-they.NOM the-story-AC
'The boys read the story.'

In this example, '*alawla:du*' is viewed as a topic whose comment is the VP '*qaraʔu: alqisata*'. In this comment, the subject of the verb '*qaraʔu:*' is the clitic '-:u' that appears at the end of the verb, and it is coreferential with the topic '*alawla:du*'.

These syntacticians view that the sentence in (5) is the same as (6) with some differences as that the topic has an object pronoun '*ha*' and that the subject of the verb '*qaraʔa*' is the postverbal DP '*alawla:du*'.

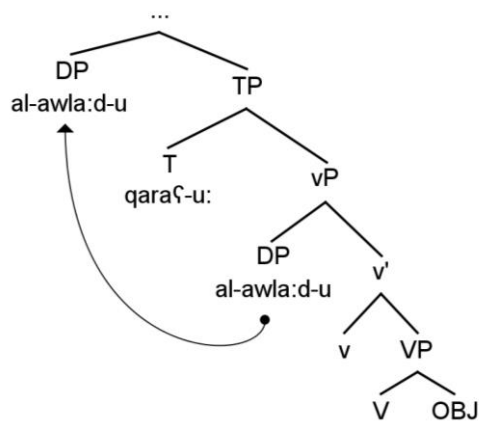
6. *al-qisat-u* *qaraʔ-a-ha* *al-awla:d-u*
 the-story-NOM read-ACC.3MS-her.ACC the-boys-NOM
'The story, the boys read it.'

Example (7) below presents the typical VSO counterpart of (5) and (6) and we can see that it has no clitics.

7. *qaraʔ-a* *al-awla:d-u* *al-qissat-a*
 read-ACC.3MS the-boys-NOM the-story-ACC
'The boys read a story.'

Other syntacticians as Fassi Fehri (1993; 2005) and Soltan (2006) view these clitics as number agreement markers. They believe that the verb in MSA shows full agreement (in person, number, and gender) with preverbal subjects and partial agreement (in person and gender only) with postverbal subjects. Accordingly, the preverbal DP in example (5) above is considered to be a subject and the clitic is a plural number marker while the subject DP in (7) is postverbal and it shows partial agreement as it lacks number agreement.

Now, if we apply the minimalist principle of Agree in which a certain Probe has to agree with its Goal, we will notice that there is a problem in agreement if we consider the pronominal clitics as number markers. If we assume that the verb agrees with the postverbal subject and then this subject DP moves to a preverbal position, then T would not have the opportunity to have a further agreement with the preverbal subject. This means that the agreement pattern between T and the post verbal subject has to be preserved when the subject is shifted to the preverbal position as the following tree diagram represents.



Tree Diagram (8). Feature-checking configuration

4.2 The Preverbal DP

Arab syntacticians are split into two schools in their views to the preverbal DP, whether it is a topic or a subject. Some syntacticians (Fassi Fehri, 1993; 2005; Soltan, 2006) view it as a subject while others (Ouhalla, 1994) consider it a topic. There is also an argument whether this DP is merged internally (raised from a lower position) or externally.

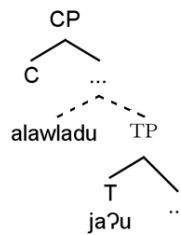
4.2.1 Subject Perspective

Most Arab syntacticians who adopt this view believe that the preverbal DP is a subject that is moved from the vP-Spec position to Spec-TP. Fassi Fehri (1993; 2005) and Soltan (2006) believe that in SVO word order, the subject is moved to a preverbal position. However, Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that the preverbal DP can be considered a topic or a subject but, in a sentence as (9) below:

9. *al-awla:d-u* *jaʔ-u:*
 the-boys-NOM came-ACC.3MP
 ‘The boys came.’

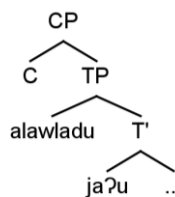
Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that the preverbal DP here is not a subject. He considers it a topic as it resides in a CP and external to TP (represented in tree diagram (10)) while subjects occur as Spec-TP (represented in tree diagram (11)).

10.



Tree Diagram (10). Preverbal DP as a topic

11.



Tree Diagram (11). Preverbal DP as a subject

Fassi Fehri (1993) built his claim on the idea that the nominal sentences in Arabic language cannot start with an indefinite noun, which means that the topic has to be a definite noun unlike the subject. In example (12) below, the sentence is ungrammatical because the DP ‘*awla:dun*’ is indefinite which means that it cannot be considered a topic.

12. **awla:d-un* *daras-u:*
 kids-NOM\Indef studied.ACC-3MP
 ‘*Kids studied.*’

As we have examples like (13) below in which the sentence starts with an indefinite noun which cannot be considered a topic, yet grammatical, Fassi Fehri (1993) argues treats this DP as a subject.

13. *kalb-un* *harab-a*
 a dog-NOM\Indef escaped-ACC.3MS
 ‘*A dog escaped.*’

Fassi Fehri (1993) did not provide enough explanation for this that accounts for the grammaticality judgment of statements like the ones in (12) and (13). I here stand with the view that considers the initial DP in a sentence as (13) above a topic even though it is indefinite. Traditional Arab syntacticians (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980) identified more than forty instances that legitimate starting a sentence with an indefinite noun as a topic. Instances such as giving warnings, exaggeration, talking about strange things ...etc. allow the topicalization of even an indefinite and I consider example (13) among giving warnings. Assuming this, I conclude that the subject interpretation of the initial DP is not satisfying. Section 4.4 provides more syntactic tests to prove that the preverbal DP is in fact a topic. These tests include: Passivization Test, Coordination Test, Relativization Test, Omission Test, and Reflexivization test.

4.2.2 Topic Perspective

Adopting the view of traditional Arab syntacticians, (Ouhalla, 1994) argues that the initial DP ‘*alawla:du*’ in examples (14) and (15) below is a topic.

14. *al-awla:d-u* *yaʔkul-u:n*
 the-boys-NOM eat.NOM-3MP
 ‘*The boys are eating.*’

15. *al-awla:d-u* *udaris-u-hum*
 the-boys-NOM teach-NOM.1MS-they

'The boys, I teach them.'

The only difference between these two examples is that example (14) has a covert resumptive pronoun while example (15) has an overt resumptive pronoun. However, according to (Ouhalla, 1997), sentence initial DPs can be topics, as exemplified in (16) below, or a focus phrase (f-phrase), as manifested in (17). The difference between the topic and the f-phrase is that the former carries a nominative case mark, and it is generated in its preverbal situation while the f-phrase comes with an accusative case, and it is moved from a lower position to the spec position of focus phrase (FP).

16. *al-qisat-u* *katab-a-ha* *al-walad-u*
the-story-NOM wrote-ACC.3MS-it the-boy-NOM
'The story, the boy wrote it.'

17. *qissat-an* *katab-a* *al-walad-u*
a story-ACC wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM
'It was a story that the boy wrote.'

In a nutshell, we have presented different arguments regarding whether the preverbal DP is a subject. (Fassi Fehri, 1993; 2005; Soltan, 2006), a topic (Ouhalla, 1994; 1997) or focus (Ouhalla, 1997). These preverbal DPs are linked to resumptive pronouns, yet there is discrepancy regarding the preverbal DPs that are considered topics or subjects when moved from subject position as there is resumptive pronoun in postverbal subject position.

At the end of this section, I agree with the claim of traditional Arab syntacticians in considering the preverbal DP a topic but disagree with Sultan's (2006) claim that what is considered a resumptive pronoun in examples as (14) above is an agreement marker. Following this, I will define resumptive pronouns and I will prove using some syntactic tests that what is viewed as an agreement marker is in fact a resumptive pronoun.

4.3 Resumptive Pronouns

IV. PREVERBAL DP (CASE & AGREEMENT)

Haegeman (2009) illustrates that a resumptive pronoun is a pronoun that refers back to a previously mentioned constituent within the same syntactic structure. Resumptive pronouns are frequently associated with relative clauses, where they are realized twice, once as relative pronoun and once as resumptive pronoun.

In generative syntax, resumptive pronouns are seen as an alternative strategy to movement (Haegeman, 2009, p. 409), they are spell-out forms, where otherwise (*i.e.*, if movement would have applied properly) only invisible traces would be left.

A resumptive pronoun is a pronoun which appears in the position of the variable bound by a *wh*-phrase. (18) below is example that illustrates this:

18. a. *That is the girlⁱ that John was dreaming of t_i.*
b. **That is the girlⁱ that John was dreaming of herⁱ.*

Example (18) above shows that in English relative clauses where the gap is allowed, a resumptive pronoun is not permitted but it leaves a trace which shows that its place is engaged.

In contrast with English, in MSA topicalization constructions the gap must be filled with a resumptive pronouns manifested in examples (19) and (20) below:

19. **raʔay-tu al-walad-a allathi Ali-un daras-a __*
saw.ACC-1MS the-boy-ACC who Ali-NOM taught-ACC.3MS__
'I saw the boy who Ali taught.'

20. *raʔay-tu al-walad-a allathi Ali-un daras-a-hu*
saw.ACC-1MS the-boy-ACC who Ali-NOM taught-ACC-
3MS.ACC
'I saw the boy who Ali taught him.'

However, resumptive pronouns do not appear in interrogative clauses as example (21) below illustrates. This suggests that there is a true gap where you have WH movement, which in turn suggests that the topicalization constructions discussed earlier are not derived by movement.

21. *man* *daras-a* *Ali-un?*
 who taught-ACC.3MS Ali-NOM
 ‘Who did Ali teach?’

Now, after providing this brief definition of resumptive pronouns, the next step is to apply some syntactic tests to prove that what sounds like an agreement marker is in fact a resumptive pronoun.

4.4 Syntactic Tests

In this section, we are going to use some syntactic tests to prove that the preverbal DP is in fact a topic. These tests include: Passivization Test, Coordination Test, Relativization Test, Omission Test, and Reflexivization test.

4.4.1 Passivization Test

I will use the passivization test to prove that resumptive pronouns behave in the same manner as the normal DPs. Active sentences, as in example (22.a) below, and passive sentences, as in (23), show that the preverbal topic is associated with a resumptive pronoun. In example (22.a), the resumptive pronoun carries an accusative case as it is a beneficiary object. In its passive counterpart in (23), the resumptive pronoun bears a nominative case as it is the grammatical subject of the passive sentence.

22. a) *al-tulla:b-u* *daras-a-hum* *Ali-un*
 the-students-NOM taught-ACC-them Ali-NOM
 ‘The students, Ali taught them.’

b) *al-banat-u* *daras-a-hum* *Ali-un*
 the-girls-NOM taught-ACC-them Ali-NOM
 ‘The girls, Ali taught them.’

23. *al-tulla:b-u* *duris-u:*
 the-students-NOM were taught.ACC-3MP
 ‘The students were taught.’

IV. PREVERBAL DP (CASE & AGREEMENT)

The difference between examples (22) and (23) explains that the resumptive pronouns do function as basic sentence constituent, the same view that was adopted by traditional Arab syntacticians.

The resumptive pronoun in example (22.a) cannot be considered an agreement marker as the verb does not reveal agreement with the preverbal DP because it is neither the Goal nor the subject. The same resumptive pronoun (-*hum*) is used with a masculine noun in (22.a) and a feminine noun in (22.b). Instead, the verb agrees with the pronominal subject. To clarify this point, I claim that the resumptive pronoun in (22) is object and a subject in (23). In fact, the data provide direct evidence in support of this claim.

In (24) below, the preverbal DP is just a topic as the preverbal noun phrases in (22) above. Nevertheless, unlike, the state in example (22), the preverbal DP ‘*al-tulla:bu*’ in (24) below is linked to the possessive pronoun ‘-*hum*’ which is contained within the object ‘*ʔuma*’; the subject here is a full noun phrase ‘*al-bint-u*’ which appears in a position following the verb.

24. *al-tulla:b-u* *daras-a-t* *al-bint-u* *ʔum-a-hum*
the-students-NOM taught-ACC-3FS the-girl-NOM mother-ACC-their
‘*The students, the girl taught their mother.*’

Example (25) below is the passive counterpart of (24) in which the object ‘*ʔum-a-hum*’ becomes the beneficiary grammatical subject of the passive verb ‘*duris-at*’ with which the verb shows agreement.

25. *al-tulla:b-u* *duris-a-t* *ʔum-u-hum*
the-students-NOM was taught-ACC-3MS mother-NOM-their
‘*The students, the teacher taught their mother.*’

To conclude the argument, the comparison between (22) and (23) on the one hand, and (24) and (25), on the other hand, proves that resumptive pronouns are real arguments and not agreement markers in contrast with (Soltan, 2006). However, we will not cover this chapter without handling the question of whether preverbal DPs originated in their position or moved from a lower position.

4.4.2 Coordination Test

Coordination is the second test that can be used to prove that what are supposed to be agreement markers are not agreement markers but pronominal forms. Kayne (1981) proposed that the clitics are not coordinated or modified. Here, Kayne's proposal is handy in two ways: the coordination test reveals that the resumptive pronouns resemble clitics since they cannot be coordinated, example (26.a) below. However, coordination between a resumptive clitic and a free (non-clitic) pronominal form is possible, as (26.b) below shows.

26. a. **daras-a-t-a* *wa *-u*
 study-ACC-3f-Dual and -they
- b. *daras-a-t-a* *wa hum*
 study-ACC-3f-Dual and they
 '*They studied with them.*'

Accordingly, the coordination test shows that the resumptive pronouns are not agreement markers because they can be coordinated with a full noun phrase. In (27.a) below, the object resumptive pronoun is coordinated with a noun phrase, whereas in (27.b) it is the subject resumptive pronoun that is coordinated with the full noun phrase.

27. a. *al-walad-u* *daras-tu-hu* *wa* *al-bint-a*
 the-boy-NOM taught.ACC-I-him and the-girl-ACC
 '*The boy, I taught him and the girl.*'
- b. *al-awalad-u* *daras-u:* *wa* *al-bint-u*
 the-boys-NOM studied.ACC-3MP and the-girl-NOM
 '*The boys, they and the girl studied.*'

4.4.3 Relativization Test

The extensions that appear at the end of the verb in examples as (1) in the introduction of this chapter behave in a similar manner to the resumptive pronoun in (28) below:

28. *al-bint-u* *darab-a-ha:* *al-awla:d-u*
the-girl-NOM hit-ACC-3MS the-boys-NOM
'It is the girl who the boys hit.'

The relativized subject in the modifying relative clauses in (29.a) below is associated with a resumptive pronoun; therefore, a gap is not allowed as (29.b) shows.

29. a. *darabt-u* *al-awlad-a* *allatheena*
hit.ACC-1MS the-boys-ACC who.MP
kasar-u *al-zuja:j-a*
broke-3MP.ACC the-glass-ACC
'I hit the boys who broke the glass.'

- b. *... *allatheena* *kasar* *al-zuja:j-a*
... who-MP broke-3MS the-glass-ACC
'... who broke the car.'

The resumptive pronoun '-u' in (30.a) has the same status as the pronoun which is associated with the preverbal noun phrase in (29.a). In both constructions, *i.e.* (29.a) and (30.a), the absence of the pronominal element '-u' leads to ungrammaticality, as (29.b) and (30.b) shows.

30. a. *al-awlaad-u* *kasar-u* *al-zuja:j-a*
the-boys-NOM broke-3MP.ACC the-glass-ACC
'The boys broke the glass.'

- b. **al-awlaad-u* *kasar-a* *al-zuja:j-a*
the-boys-NOM broke-ACC.3MS the-glass-ACC
'The boys broke the glass.'

4.4.4 Omission Test

The omission test checks whether the target string can be omitted without influencing the grammaticality of the sentence. Let us reconsider example (30.a) above and compare it with example (31) below:

31. *kasar-u:* *al-zuja:j-a*
 broke-3MP.ACC the-glass-ACC
 ‘They broke the glass.’

These two examples suggest that ‘*al-awla:d-u*’ is a constituent in example (30.a) that is deleted from example (31). The fact that we can delete ‘*al-awla:d-u*’, yet having a grammatical sentence suggests that it cannot be a subject and this makes the interpretation of the ‘*-u*’ clitic in the end of the verb as an agreement marker less likely.

The only differences between the two examples is that in example (30.a) we have a nominal sentence consisting of the topic ‘*al-walad-u*’ and a comment that comes in the form of a verbal sentence consisting of the verb and its subject, the ‘*-u:*’ clitic, and an object while example (31) is considered a verbal sentence consisting of the verb ‘*kasar*’ and its subject which came in the form of the pronominal ‘*-u:*’ and the object.

The pronominal ‘*-u*’ in example two above has a reference that is agreed upon by the speaker and the listener. Its reference is a mutual knowledge that is shared between the parties of the conversation.

4.4.5 Reflexivization Test

Reflexivization can be used to prove that resumptive pronouns should not be considered number markers. In fact, Condition A in Binding Theory states that anaphoric reflexives such as *himself*; *themselves*, ...etc. must be bound in its binding domain. This means that the anaphoric reflexive must be c-commanded by its antecedent.

Reflexives In MSA, just like their counterparts in English, cannot refer to clause-external antecedents and cannot function as subjects as well, therefore, examples as (32) below are considered ungrammatical.

32. **thahab-a* *anfus-u-hum*
 went-ACC selves-NOM-their
 ‘*Themselves went.*’

binds the reflexive, number marker analysis seems to be deflated. However, we will not cover this chapter without handling the question of whether preverbal DPs originated in their position or moved from a lower position.

To wrap up this section, I consider, using different syntactic tests, the preverbal DP a topic and the clitics that appear at the end of the verb subjects and not agreement markers.

4.5 Short Account of Agreement Hypotheses

We see a huge association between the subject position and its agreement with the verb. Most of the analysis was done in light of (Koopman & Sportiche, 1991) vP- Internal Subject Hypothesis which views that the postverbal subject DP originates in the Spec-VP, or vP. In SVO sentences, the preverbal subject DP originates in Spec-TP position to satisfy the EPP feature on T. The Spec-vP position on the other hand is occupied by a resumptive pronoun which is linked to the Topic (preverbal subject) what means that the preverbal subject has not undergone A-movement and is therefore eligible for A-bar movement to the Spec-TopP. As for the agreement asymmetry between the verb and its subject, there are different explanations, and this section presents a short account of these explanations.

As we have stated in section 4.1 of this chapter, Fassi Fehri (1993) suggests that the merged morphemes that appear in the nominative case at the end of the verb can be considered as either real pronouns or agreement morphemes. When a sentence, as (37) below, does not contain an overt subject, the pronominal clitic is then considered a merged subject pronoun.

37. *laʔib-u:* *al-kurat-a*
 played-3MP.ACC the-ball-ACC
 "They played football."

But when the subject is an explicit DP, as in example (38) below, the pronominal clitic is considered a genuine agreement morpheme.

38. *al-awla:d-u* *darab-u:* *anfus-a-hum*

the-boys-NOM hit.ACC-3MP selves-ACC-their

"The boys, they hit themselves."

Fassi Fehri (1993, p. 34) introduces the AGR Criterion - a principle that explains the relationship between the full and partial agreement and the subject position. AGR Criterion states that rich AGR is licensed by an argumental DP in its Spec, and an argumental DP in Spec-AGR is licensed by rich AGR.

This principle suggests that the sentence initial DP occupies the position of the Spec-AGR phrase. The licensing of the preverbal subject DP in SVO sentences and full agreement is mutual in that full agreement licenses the preverbal subject DPs and vice versa.

Fassi Fehri (1993) AGR Criterion offers a suitable hypothesis, but it cannot be adopted as it does not seem to fulfill the principle of the economy of representation in the MP. As suggested by Chomsky (1995), the presence of AgrP is conceptually unnecessary. Additionally, under the assumptions of the Agree-based model, the agreement on the verb does not play a role in determining the position of the preverbal subject, as agreement itself is a product of the Agree relation between the features of C on T and the post verbal subject. Agreement, whether it is full or partial, does not motivate the postverbal subject to move to a preverbal position.

Later, Soltan (2006) argues that the preverbal subject DP, in SVO word order, is base generated in the Spec-TP position to satisfy the EPP feature of T. The Spec-VP position, on the other hand, is engaged by *Pro* which is linked with the preverbal subject. In contrast, T in VSO word order does not have an EPP feature. Consequently, the subject originates and stays in Spec-VP position.

Soltan (2006) attributes the total agreement in SVO word order to *Pro Identification Requirement* (Rizzi, 1986), which shows that null *Pro* should be identified by its full agreement on the verb. Nevertheless, the main disagreement with the *Pro Identification Requirement* is that the verb in VSO word order shows full agreement with the postverbal lexical pronominal subject. Let us have a look at example (39) below to elucidate this.

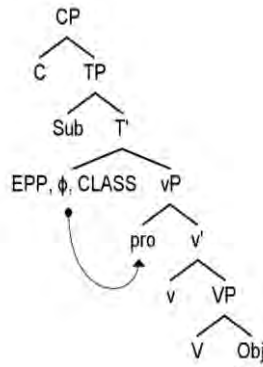
39. *jaʔ-u:* *hum* *min* *al-qaryat-i*
 came.ACC-3MP they.NOM from the-village-GEN
 "They came from the village." (MSA)

In his explanation of the agreement issue in example (39) above, which seems to refute the *Pro* Identification Requirement, Soltan (2006) proposes that the manifestation of the pronominal in subject position is actually because of an interface operation of lexicalization of a null subject *Pro* and not insertion of a pronominal element with phonological content. This is a feeble justification as the full agreement in MSA is attained with full noun phrases in VSO.

As the discussion goes on, Soltan (2006) adds that T features determine whether the verb agreement is full or partial. T has the following set of uninterpretable features: First, ϕ -features of Person and Number which may also happen to have *default* values. Second, T may also have a distinct CLASS feature, familiar from languages with rich classifier systems such as Bantu, which also appears as a Gender feature in many languages. If Gender is not part of the ϕ -complex on T, then it should be ready to probe separately for the purpose of Agree. Finally, T may appear with an EPP feature. In principle, then, T can appear with ϕ , CLASS, EPP, or any combinations of these three, subject to lexical parameterization"

Congruently, in SVO word order, the full agreement form on the verb is considered an exhibition of Agree relation between T and *Pro*. As the tree diagram in (40) below displays, T has a set of EPP, CLASS and ϕ -features. As we have stated, EPP is satisfied by the base generation of the nominal subject in the Spec-TP position. T, which has CLASS feature and ϕ -features, probes down and locates *Pro* in the Spec-VP position as a matching Goal. As a result, an Agree relation is established between the two elements: the Probe T and the Goal *Pro*. To state it differently, as assumed by Soltan (2006), CLASS and ϕ -features probe "*separately for the purpose of Agree*"; the result of this operation is full agreement in CLASS feature and ϕ -features. The tree diagram in (40) below represents the Agree relation which induces full agreement in SVO orders.

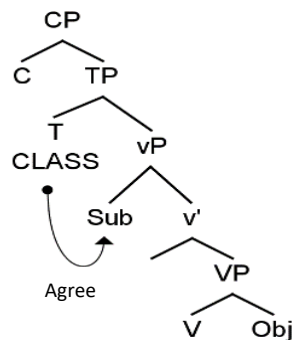
40.



Tree Diagram (40). Agreement Relation in SVO

Soltan (2006) argues that VSO word order is different to SVO in that they do not have *Pro*. The lexical subject originates in vP-Spec position and that in VSO word order T has no ϕ -features nor EPP features, as a lexical option for MSA. T has only CLASS feature; the CLASS-owned T selects the postverbal subject in vP-Spec as a corresponding Goal with which it agrees. The outcome of the Agree relation is partial agreement which is limited to gender only. Let us compare the VSO structure in (41) below with the SVO structure in (40) above.

41.



Tree Diagram (41). Agreement Relation in VSO

Challenges for Soltan’s (2006) proposal come from two sources: the first one is that there are some varieties of Arabic language in which the subject shows full agreement with the verb in VSO word order. This agreement indicates that T has ϕ -features plus CLASS features. I will not dwell on this point as it is beyond the scope of this research.

Now, we have to remember that Soltan (2006) claims that his suggested accounts for both word order variations and agreement asymmetry. Whether we have *Pro* or not is the main criterion on which we rely to determine if we have

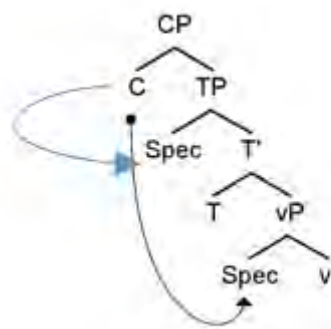
SVO or VSO. The former word order is gained if *Pro* exists while the latter word order is gained when *Pro* is not present in the structure. Consequently, *Pro* plays a significant role in determining the agreement patterns. As tree diagrams (40) and (41) above represent, full agreement is obtained when T agrees with *Pro* while partial agreement is an indication of an Agree relation between T and the lexical subject.

The second source of criticism comes from the fact that Soltan (2006) proposes that a null *Pro* occurs in SVO word order but not in VSO while one of the fundamental minimalist principles suggests that any element within the numeration must have effects on both LF and PF interface levels or at least on one of them (Chomsky, 1995; 2000), otherwise, it is theoretically redundant. Because the null *Pro* has an effect at LF, then we assume that its existence is not expected to cause a theoretical problem. However, this null *Pro* which has to be identified by the ϕ -features on T causes some problems because the uninterpretable ϕ -features of T would not be able to identify the null *Pro*. In other words, since the ϕ -features on T are uninterpretable, they have no specific values. The Probe T which carries these unvalued ϕ -features needs a matching Goal with a set of valued ϕ -features so that the Agree operation can work. Since the null *Pro* is unidentified, it does not seem to be an appropriate Goal. Hence, Soltan's view which claims that *Pro* is identified by complete ϕ -complex on T is controversial simply because the ϕ -complex itself is not valued, hence it would not be able to identify *Pro*. Therefore, assuming that T has an interpretable set of ϕ -features implies that T is an inactive Probe that cannot initiate the Agree operation.

However, criticism regarding the Pro-proposal keeps arising due to the suggested interaction between the null *Pro* and the features of T. It is not clear, under Soltan's hypothesis, why and how *Pro* is able to determine the type of features on T. Under the principles of feature inheritance model (Chomsky, 2005), the features of T in both SVO and VSO word orders are inherited from C. This means that whether *Pro* exists or not, the features of T are not influenced.

Soltan’s (2006) proposal can be modified if we apply Chomsky’s (2005) feature inheritance model by getting rid of *Pro* as it does not add to the derivation, therefore its existence is redundant. An alternative derivation of both VSO and SVO word orders in MSA can be obtained without *Pro*, as an Agree relation can be established regardless of the position occupied by the subject. To explain this, C is considered the phase head which carries all features that trigger Agree operation. Being selected by it, T inherits the features from the phase head C. Accordingly, when C-T agrees with the Goal DP, the latter which originates in Spec-TP to satisfy EPP features on T under agree, with all uninterpretable features valued. This, in principle, means that the domain of the Probe C extends from the specifier of TP to the specifier of vP, the left edge of the vP phase.

42.



Tree Diagram (42). Alternative Agreement model

As Tree Diagram (42) above shows, whether the subject, which is the Goal with which C agrees, is in the Spec-VP position is VSO word order or in the Spec-TP in SVO word order, the Agree relation still works and all the unvalued features are valued by matching them with their valued counterparts. Thus, *Pro* is considered redundant, and its existence is not needed.

Yet, the other problem that is left unattended under the feature inheritance model is the agreement alternation in MSA. To put everything in a nutshell. in VSO word order, the postverbal subject DP is consistently nominative. On the other hand, in SVO word order the preverbal DP can be either nominative or not depending on whether it is preceded by an overt case assigner, such as the complementizer ‘*ʔinna*’, or not. In order to illustrate this case variability, I assumed that some C's spread only part of their features to T; the inherited

features are valued via Agree with the postverbal subject while the kept lexical Case feature is valued via Agree between C and the preverbal DP.

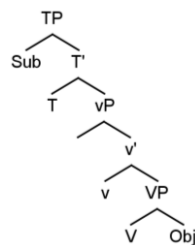
As we have reviewed the previous analyses and discussed the problems they encounter and having proven that resumptive pronouns that are related with the preverbal DPs are not agreement markers, it is time now to offer analysis under the MP.

4.6 A Minimalist Account

The proposal that I will put forward here regarding the position of the subject and the issue of agreement in MSA relies on the idea that the Topic DPs are not raised from a lower position. This means that Topic DPs have not undergone A-movement and therefore eligible for A-bar movement to the Spec-TopP. Assuming the Copy Theory, I also propose that these DPs create pronounceable elements which are realized as resumptive pronouns located in Spec-vP. Case on the preverbal DP does not follow from Agree relation between these DPs and T. The subject DPs are active Goals by virtue of having an unvalued Case feature. Therefore, they receive lexical Case from C. Here, I rely on two basic assumptions underlying the analysis I introduce for subject positions and agreement in MSA.

The first hypothesis claims that the fundamental structure in MSA is SVO. I claim that the subject in MSA originates in the Spec-TP. Tree Diagram (43) manifests the basic sentence structure in MSA.

43.



Tree Diagram (43). Basic Sentence Structure in MSA

The second hypothesis is related to the differences in word orders. While SVO is a marked word order in MSA, VSO is the basic and unmarked word order.

Bearing this difference in mind, I guess that the derivational operations required to derive unmarked word orders are less than the operations that are required to derive marked word orders. The latter word orders contain topicalized elements which are moved from their positions. To put this assumption clearly, a given SVO structure in MSA is derived by applying a further operation after the VSO structure is derived.

4.7 CP and Movement

What determines whether we have VSO or SVO is determined by C which heads the CP phase (Fassi Fehri, 2005). C, which Rizzi (1997) calls *Left Periphery* involves features that spread over another functional heads. (Chomsky, 2005). In Rizzi's (1997) work, CP is split into a number of projections ranging from Force Phrase, the maximal projection, to Finite Phrase, the lowest projection. Topic Phrase and focus phrase occupy positions between Force Phrase and Finite Phrase (Rizzi, 1997, p. 297).

I go in line with Chomsky's (2005) suggestion that the edge feature of C draws topics from lower positions. Though, I deviate from Chomsky in hypothesizing that topic movement does not target the Spec-CP position. Adopting Rizzi's proposal, I claim that the preverbal topics in Arabic are raised to the specifier position of Topic Phrase (TopP) which is placed between C and above TP, as the tree diagram (44) below represents:

44.



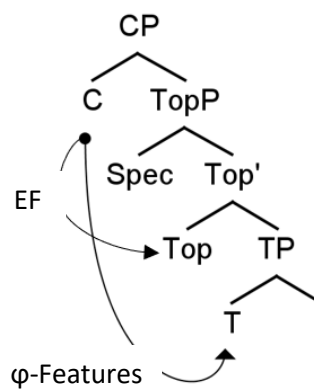
Tree Diagram (44).

In order to present my proposal, we need to set the ground by providing a brief review of Chomsky (2005) account on movement to the left periphery. Chomsky (2005) distinguishes between two types of movement: A-movement

and A' -movement. He also distinguished between the positions targeted by the two kinds of movement. According to his view, the Spec-CP position and the outer Spec-VP position are A' positions. A' -movement to these positions is initiated directly by the phase head. The edge feature of the phase head triggers the A' movement from lower positions providing that the A' -moved element has not undergone A-movement. This means that, as Chomsky assumes, the edge feature of C does not motivate A' -movement from the specifier position of TP which is the landing site of A-movement. Chomsky assumes also that, like A' -movement, A-movement is initiated by the phase head, nevertheless, unlike A' -movement, A-movement is not triggered directly by the edge feature of the phase head. Instead, such movement is stimulated indirectly by the C features which are inherited by T; these features raise the subject from the Spec-VP position to the Spec-TP.

Adopting Rizzi (1997) split CP and building on Chomsky's dissociation between ϕ -features of C on T, which trigger Agree operation, and edge feature of C which triggers A' -movement, I claim that C can spread the edge feature in the same way as ϕ -features. While ϕ -features are inherited by T, the edge feature is inherited by Top, the head of TopP. The tree diagram in (45) below explains this point of view:

45.



Tree Diagram (45).

As the edge feature of C is spread to the Top head, the topicalized elements in MSA are raised from lower positions to the specifier position of TopP. The use of the complementizer ‘*ʔinna*’ provides support for this claim. In the syntax of

Arabic language, the complementizer ‘*inna*’ takes a topic and comment complement. Arab syntacticians refer to the DP ‘*alawla:da*’ that directly follows the complementizer ‘*inna*’ in example (47) below as ‘*the name of inna*’, this DP has the same status as the topic ‘*alawla:du*’ in (46) with a change in the case mark where the topic bears a nominative case mark but when it is preceded by ‘*inna*’ this case mark become accusative.

46. *al-awla:d-u* *ʔakal-u:* *al-taʕa:m-a*
the-boys-NOM ate.ACC-3MP the-food-ACC
"The boys ate the food."

47. *inna* *al-awlad-a* *ʔakal-u:* *al-taʕa:m-a*
comp the-boys-ACC ate.ACC-3MP the-food-ACC
"Indeed, it is the boys who ate the food."

The preverbal noun ‘*al-awla:d-a*’ in example (47), which is seen as a topic in (46), cannot come before the overt complementizer; Building on this assumption, I propose that topics in MSA cannot come in the Spec-CP position but in a position that is below C; it is in the Spec-TopP in tree diagram (44) above. Nevertheless, it seems that the spread of edge feature from C to a lower head is dependent on the type of C itself. In interrogative clauses, the wh-word occupies initial position, and it is in a complementary distribution with overt C. Therefore, we can simply say that the Spec-CP is higher than topic phrase which is a phase in MSA.

48. **inna* *matha* *ʔakal-a* *al-awla:d-a?*
comp what ate-ACC.3MS the-boys-ACC
"What did the boy eat?"

Example (48) above shows that the question word cannot come before or follow the complementizer ‘*inna*’. In another scenario, the question word can coexist with an overt complementizer; yet the question word must come before the complementizer. as example (49) below suggests.

49. *Matha:* *in* *lam* *adrus?*
what comp not study.JUS.1MS

"What if I do not study?"

The difference between examples in (46) on the one side, and (47) and the question in (49), on the other side, illustrates that C in interrogative clauses does not spread its edge feature to a lower head. Therefore, the "kept" edge feature of C pulls the question word directly to the Spec-CP position (Chomsky, 2005). This outcome is supported by the absence of the resumptive pronouns in interrogative clauses. The data presents strong evidence that proves the assumption that the edge-feature-attracted elements can target the Spec-CP position.

Now let us have a look at the interrogative sentences in (50-54) below. The affirmative sentence is exemplified in (50). Neither the wh- subject nor the wh-object is associated with a resumptive pronoun, therefore examples (52) and (54) are marked as ungrammatical.

50. *ʔakal-a* *al-awla:d-u* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 ate-ACC.3MS the-boys-NOM the-food-ACC
"The boys ate the food."

51. *man* *ʔakal-a* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 who ate-ACC.3MS the-food-ACC
"Who ate the food?"

52. **man* *ʔakal-u:* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 who ate.ACC-3MP.they the-food-ACC
"Who ate the food?"

53. *matha* *ʔakal-a* *al-awla:d-u*
 what ate-ACC.3MS the-boys-NOM
"What did the boys eat?"

54. **matha* *ʔakal-a-hu* *al-awla:d-u*
 what ate-ACC-3MS.it the-boys-NOM
"What did the boys eat?"

In fact, wh-question words bear a resemblance to foci (Ouhalla, 1997; Rizzi, 1997; Chomsky, 2005). Sentences (51) and (53) are similar to the constructions where the fronted DP is a focus. Unlike the topic, the focus is not related to the resumptive pronoun, and it carries the same case which is associated with its base position inside the clause (Ouhalla, 1997). Consider example (55) below.

55. *qissat-an* *katab-a* *al-walad-u*
 a story-ACC wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM
 'It was a story that the boy wrote.'

An overt main clause complementizer does not precede the focus, therefore, example (56) below is considered awkward. In contrast with (56) below, (50) above is undoubtedly grammatical.

56. # *?inna* *qissat-an* *katab-a* *al-walad-u*
 comp a story-ACC wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM
 'Indeed, it was a story that the boy wrote.'

Building on this, someone might think that a constituent that is raised to the Spec-CP by the edge feature would not be able to receive a lexical Case from C. Hence, these constituents maintain their original Case values; that is why they are not connected with resumptive pronouns. In summary, I propose, in the light with Fassi Fehri (2005), that the type of C specifies the clause properties; in contrast with C which allows topicalization in example (47). The C in questions as examples (51) and (52) and C that permits focus movement in (53) do not assign lexical Case. Therefore, wh-moved elements and foci maintain their internally valued Case.

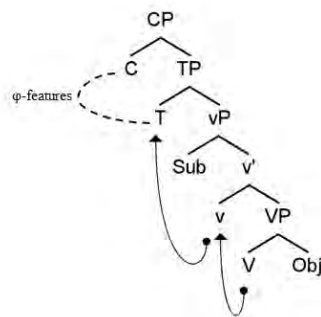
4.8 Derivations in MSA

This section presents an account on how VSO and SVO word orders are derived from the underlying SVO structure in Tree Diagram (43)- *Basic Sentence Structure in MSA* above. The proposed feature inheritance analysis is based on the two proposals stated in Section 4.6, A Minimalist Account, above. Fundamentally, I propose that SVO is the basic word order and that VSO and SVO word orders in MSA are derived differently through different processes.

4.8.1 VSO Word Order

The basic and unmarked structure in MSA is the VSO word order which is achieved by raising the lexical verb from V to the little head v then to the functional head T. The configurational relations between the little heads v and T (*i.e.*, the Probes) and the object and the subject (*i.e.*, the Goals) guarantee that the Agree operation can be applied. Consequently, all the unvalued uninterpretable features of the functional heads and the nominals are valued under Agree. The subject DP remains in situ in the Spec-VP position as C in VSO word orders does not have an edge feature. This interprets as no movement of any element is needed. Tree diagram (57) below represents how VSO word order in MSA is derived. The dashed line shows that ϕ -features of T are inherited from C.

[CP [TP [iCase, uPhi] [vP [DP uCase, iPhi] [v' [v] ...



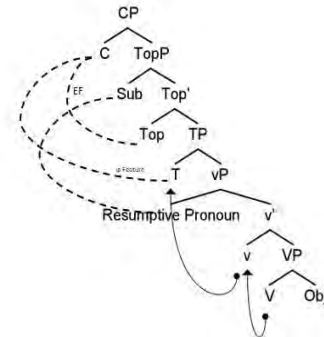
57. Tree Diagram (54). Derivation of VSO in MSA

4.8.2 SVO Word Order

SVO word order in MSA is derived in a similar way to the VSO structures. The lexical verb rises from V to the little v which in its turn probes down and agrees with the resumptive pronoun. After that, the verb moves up to T. Nevertheless, SVO word order departs from VSO structure in that a further operation applies. The operation Move (or Internal Merge) takes the subject from the Spec-TP to the preverbal position to get topicalization. Here, I propose that T does not get a feature from C that triggers subject movement, but this movement of the subject to a preverbal position is triggered by the edge feature, which is inherited from C by Top, the head of TopP; the preverbal DP is moved to the Spec-TopP position. I propose in light with (Chomsky, 2005) that topic movement is

triggered by the edge feature of C. Since this feature is on the Top head, the topicalized subject in SVO structures moves from the Spec-TP to the Spec-TopP. Tree diagram (58) below represents how SVO word order in MSA works.

58.



Tree Diagram (58). Derivation of SVO in MSA

In tree diagram (58) above, the lexical verb rises from V to the little v and from there to T respectively and the subject moves from the Spec-vP to the specifier position of the TopP. The moved subject leaves behind it a resumptive pronoun in the specifier position of vP¹⁰. Thus, it is important to note that a resumptive pronoun can be base generated in the specifier of VP to be assigned a theta role. Matrix T would check case features on the DP.

[CP [TP [DP uCase,iPhi] [T [iCase,uPhi] [vP [pronoun uCase,iPhi]...

As for how features are inherited from C, adopting (Rizzi, 1997) proposal, both TopP and TP belong to the CP layer; using Chomsky's proposal, TopP and TP are not phases. Therefore, the heads of these projections inherit their features from C, the head of the CP phase. While T inherits ϕ -features and agrees with

¹⁰ Bošković (2004) and Nunes (2004) point to many instances which prove that the “traces” may be phonetically realized. Evidence comes from European Portuguese sentences that show constructions where a finite verb occurs twice. Such sentences express affirmation and are either elliptic structures produced as responses to a yes/no question assuming a negative answer or full indicatives which oppose a preceding negative statement. European Portuguese emphatic verb copying views the two phonologically undistinguishable verb forms as copies of the same constituent in the numeration. Multiple copies may be allowed when morphological reanalysis makes some copy imperceptible to the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). In the case of emphatic affirmation in European Portuguese, it is argued that verb copying outcomes from the movement of the verb to C, followed by morphological reanalysis of C, which makes the attached verb copy invisible to the LCA and resilient to deletion.

the postverbal subject, the edge feature is inherited by Top. The inherited edge feature raises the subject to the specifier of TopP.

Regarding the lexical case, C has a lexical Case feature that is not shifted to lower node. The fronted topic is a copy of the postverbal subject; this copy is an active Goal as it has an unvalued Case feature. Therefore, the topicalized subject can be probed by C and be given lexical Case.

4.9 Conclusion.

This chapter analyzed subject agreement and movement in MSA in harmony with the MP feature inheritance hypothesis that presented an alteration to (Soltan, 2006) null *Pro* proposal that relied on the *Pro* Identification Requirement. Adopting the proposal presented in this chapter, we no longer require null elements to account for the impoverished agreement in VSO word order in MSA and full agreement in SVO word orders.

Adopting this proposal, keeping in mind that under this proposal resumptive pronouns are not considered number markers, we could arrive at the conclusion that, regardless of the subject position, there is only one agreement pattern in MSA. Viz., agreement is restricted to the features of person and gender; the feature of number is singular by default.

One of the limitations of this proposal comes from constructions in MSA that resemble ‘*ʔinna* / indeed’. Those constructions are forms of complementizers which are known as ‘*ka:na* / was’ which contain an auxiliary plus the lexical main verb. Two points are interesting about these constructions: First, both the auxiliary and the lexical verb show agreement. Consider example (59) below that illustrates this point:

59. *ka:na* *al-awla:d-u* *yalʕab-u-n-a* *al-kurat-a*
 was.3MS the-boys-NOM play-3MP-ACC the-ball-ACC
 "The boys were playing football."

The second interesting thing about these constructions is that the introduction of ‘*ka:na*’ changes the case mark of the topic and comment to the contrary of

'*?inna*'. Example (60) below shows us the Case that '*?inna*' assigns and we can contrast it with '*ka:na*' in example (59) above.

60. *?inna* *al-walad-a* *yal?ab-un-a* *al-kurat-a*
 was.3MS the-boys-ACC play-3MP-ACC the-ball-ACC
 "Indeed, the boys are playing football."

4.10 Summary

This chapter aimed at investigating the relationship between agreement asymmetry and the position of the subject DP in MSA from the minimalist feature inheritance account viewpoint. Mainly, we reviewed (Soltan, 2006) null *Pro* hypothesis which proved to be redundant to account for the derivation of VSO or SVO word orders. We have also proved what Soltan (2006) considered agreement markers are not agreement markers but resumptive pronouns and we have applied the passivation test to prove this.

Considering that the unmarked structure in MSA is VSO, this word order is derived by the verb being raised to the little *v* and it goes further to land in T. The subject DP does not move and remains in situ, as a specifier of *vP*, since it got its features checked under Agree against the c-commanding T.

On the other hand, in SVO order, the subject is raised to the Spec-TopP to receive topicalization. The moved subject DP leaves behind a pronounceable trace that is realized as a resumptive pronoun.

Finally, the proposed analysis indicates that there is no agreement asymmetry in MSA. Agreement pattern in MSA is the outcome of the Agree operation and is achieved under Probe-Goal alignment; whether the Goal moves or remains in situ, the agreement is not supposed to change. This conclusion is in harmony with the principles of the Agree Theory.

CHAPTER FIVE: CASE IN DI & TRITRANSITIVE VERBS

5.0 Introduction

Assuming that verbs, being considered the main core of the verbal sentence in MSA, assign nominative case to the head of their subject DP as well as an accusative case mark to the head of their object DP. In the case of ditransitive verbs, sometimes known as double-object constructions or ditransitive, which are followed by two DPs, where the first DP functions as the first indirect object and the second DP is considered a second and direct object, both DPs in such constructions in MSA are assigned an accusative case mark. MSA language differs from English in having some tritransitive verbs that are eligible to be followed by three objects; all bear an accusative case mark. How accusative case is assigned to the third object is also investigated in this chapter.

In this Chapter, we will investigate how verbs assign case in MSA. We will limit the scope of discussion to provide explanation of the nominative Case mark that is assigned to the subject and the accusative case mark that is assigned to both, the direct and indirect objects. We will also provide an account for the derivation of case assigned to these objects and their underlying structure.

5.1 Arguments of Verb

The verbal sentence in MSA language might contain up to four argument DPs: one is the obligatory nominative subject DP, the remaining arguments are internal accusative arguments of the verb depending on whether we have transitive, ditransitive or even tritransitive verbs. The first internal argument DP corresponds to the indirect object in English and the second internal DP functions as the second object, which corresponds to the direct object in English. This is demonstrated in example number (1) below:

1. *ʔaʕta:* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *imtiha:n-an*
 gave.ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC exam-ACC
 ‘The teacher gave the student an exam.’

In example (1) above, the verb ‘*ʔaʕta:*’ selects one external subject argument and two internal arguments: ‘*al-muʕallimu*’ is the subject DP carrying the nominative case mark realised overtly in the short vowel case marker /-u/ at its end, ‘*alta:liba*’ is the first object and the final DP ‘*imtiha:nan*’ is the second object. The two internal arguments bear the accusative case, which are realised overtly in the accusative case marker, /-a/ for the first object and /-an/, for the second object. The canonical order of the verb’s argument structures is that subject DP precedes the verb while the first object DP must precede the second internal object argument and they both come after the verb. Arab syntacticians explained the order of these DPs on the basis of semantic justification. In example (1), ‘*alta:liba*’ is the recipient of the action expressed by the verb ‘*ʔaʕta:*’, therefore, it is considered as (the semantic subject). The second internal DP is known as (the semantic object) since it is affected by the action of the semantic subject (Hassan, 1980). This implies a semantic hierarchy expressed in the following word order:

AGENT > RECIPIENT > AFFECTEE / THEME

In example (1), the first object comes before the second object and that is why we have a grammatical sentence, however, if we reverse the order, we will end up having an ungrammatical sentence as manifested in example (2) below:

2. **ʔaʕta:* *al-muʕallim-u* *imtiha:n-an* *al-ta:lib-a*
 gave.ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM exam-ACC the-student-ACC
 ‘**The teacher gave an exam to the student.*’

Many studies have been done in the domain of case marking in MSA but most of them did not deal with the derivation of case and how case is checked in ditransitive verbs ‘exemplified in (1) above’ and tritransitive verbs, which, as indicated by the name, have three objects as manifested in example (3) below.

3. *aʕlam-a* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *al-imtiha:n-a*
 informed-ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC the-exam-ACC
 sahl-an
 easy-ACC
 ‘*The teacher informed the student that the exam was easy.*’

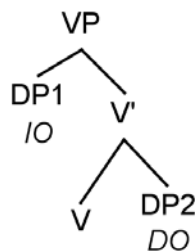
In example (2) above, the three object DPs are ‘*alta:liba* / the student, *alimtiha:na* / the exam, and *sahlan* / easy’ respectively. Traditional Arabic syntacticians did not provide a convincing explanation of how the verb assigns case to its arguments (Hassan, 1980)¹¹.

5.2 Derivation of Case in MSA

Case assignment within the framework of the Minimalist Program relies on the VP Internal Subject Hypothesis which generate the subject as a specifier of the verb phrase and the object as its complement (Larson R. K., 1988; Chomsky, 1995; Radford, 1997a; 2004; 2009) adopted this hypothesis but with modification.

Chomsky (1995) provided modification to the theory of case assignment presented in Larsen’s VP Internal Subject Hypothesis. Instead of having the subject getting its case in the Spec-VP position and the object in the complement position, Chomsky assigns the indirect object to the specifier position and the direct object as a complement of the VP, as represented in Tree Diagram (4). Also, the accusative case is assigned by little v:

4.



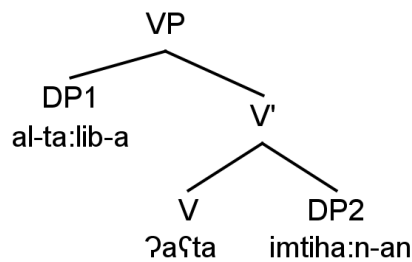
The modified proposal of how case is assigned will be adopted to explain case assignment in MSA language. We will have the initial structure of the verb phrase as consisting basically of a specifier which is the first object DP and a complement of the main verb which is the second object. Both objects always bear the accusative case. Let us consider our first example again in (5) below:

¹¹ See Section 2.3 for more information on traditional Arabic syntacticians explanation of Case.

5. *ʔaʕta:* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *imtiha:n-an*
gave.ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC exam-ACC
‘The teacher gave the student an exam.’

Tree diagram (6) represents the VP of example number (5):

6.



‘*ʔaʕta: almuʕallimu alta:liba imtiha:nan*’

The view that verb and the object DPs are base generated, the first object ‘*alta:liba*’ as its Spec and the second object ‘*imtiha:nan*’ as the complement of the main lexical verb ‘*ʔaʕta:*’ helps to present an account for the accusative case-assignment for both the first and second objects in these structures, as we will discuss next.

5.3 Case-assignment in MSA

As we have seen, the object of a transitive verb refers to the DP that has the accusative markers as /-a/ or /-an/. Ditransitive verbs are followed by two DPs. The first DP is considered the Goal of the action whereas the second one functions as a Theme.

The issue now is how the second DP object ‘*imtiha:nan*’ checks its case, bearing in mind that the main verb has only one case feature to be checked and this verb here has already valued its case against that of the Theme, then it is deleted. The deletion of the case feature of the verb results in causing the derivation to crash because the case feature of the Goal ‘*alta:liba*’ will be visible to PF because it is still unvalued.

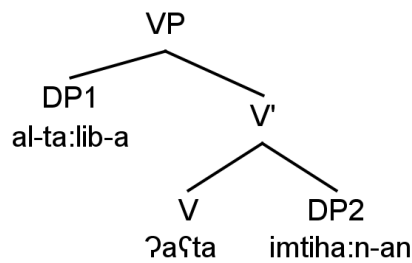
Transitive verbs assign an accusative case to the complement of VP and the accusative little verb assigns an accusative case to the Spec-VP, can provide an

explanation of ditransitive verbs accusative case-assignment of the Goal DP, as exemplified in number (7) below:

7. *ʔaʕta:* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *imtiha:n-an*
 gave.ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC exam-ACC
 ‘The teacher gave the student an exam.’

The verb ‘*ʔaʕta:*’ is merged with the second object ‘*imtiha:n-an*’ to form the V-bar ‘*ʔaʕta: imtiha:n-an*’ and this is then merged with the first object ‘*alta:liba*’ to form the VP structure, as shown in the following tree diagram (8):

8.



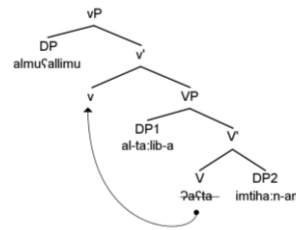
ʔaʕta: almuʕallimu alta:liba imtiha:n-an

The V ‘*ʔaʕta:*’ resides as the head position of the VP, whereas the first object ‘*alta:liba*’ acts as the specifier of the VP and the second object ‘*imtiha:n-an*’ functions as the complement of the lexical V. It can be observed that the V c-commands DP2, but it is impossible to c-command DP1.¹²

The resulting VP is then merged as a complement with the abstract causative little verb (v). As the causative light verb is affixal in nature, the V ‘*ʔaʕta:*’ projects to little v and then the subject ‘*almuʕallimu*’ is merged in the specifier of little v as an external argument as represented in Tree Diagram (9) below:

9.

We adopted Radford’s (2004) definition of c-command which states that: Node α c-commands node β if α does not contain, nor is contained within, β and the node k that immediately contains α immediately contains β .



Tree Diagram (9): ‘ʔaʕta: almuʕallimu alta:liba imtiha:nan’

Tree Diagram (9) shows that the lexical ditransitive verb ‘ʔaʕta:’ c-commands the second DP which is the Theme ‘imtiha:nan; so, its accusative case feature is checked against that of the verb. But this leaves the question of how the first object DP ‘imtiha:nan’ gets its case vague. Actually, the accusative little verb which is the head of the vP functions as a Goal and assigns it an accusative case mark. Accordingly, we have two accusative case assigners to DP2. The first accusative case assigner is the lexical ditransitive verb ‘ʔaʕta:’ and the second accusative case assigner is the little verb. The fact that the two case assigners, namely little V and the lexical verb itself always assign the same on the objects strongly suggests that there is some connection between these two case assigners. They also need to be linked or able to communicate with one another. This can be explained by the fact that the glottal stop serves as a transitivity marker that heads the vP. I will explain which of these functions as a case assigner for the second DP.

The answer is: the second DP is case assigned by the lexical ditransitive verb due to many reasons that prevent little verb from assigning it a case:

- a) The first constraint behind the incapability of the little verb to assign an accusative case mark to the second DP is the "*The Defective Intervention Constraint*" stated by Chomsky (2000, p. 123). This constraint demands that the Probe has only one Goal and rules out any Probe, which has more than one Goal. As a result, the little verb cannot take the second DP as its Probe and value its unvalued accusative case. The little verb has one accusative case which it can value against the unvalued accusative case of its close Probe DP, accordingly, it has no other accusative case feature to be checked against any other Probe found in the same construction.

- b) The second justification is that the little verb has the first DP as its Probe because it is closer to it than the second DP and this would result in a minimality violation should case be assigned.

Finally, it is worth mentioning here that in Tree Diagram (9), having the first DP '*alta:liba*' which is the Probe, is in the Spec-VP position, and the accusative little verb, as the Goal in the head of vP is in compliance with the principles of the Minimalist Program where the Probe should c-command its Goal to value its Phi features of person and number, and in a reflexive operation, the c-commanded Goal should value its case against its Probe.

As the lexical tritransitive verb '*ʔaʕta:*' is not eligible to be the Goal of the first DP '*alta:liba*', the first DP then should look for a c-commanding Probe to value its accusative case that it bears. The only possible candidate that can Probe the Goal DP is the accusative little verb which is the head of the v-bar. The accusative light verb can function as the Goal for the Probe for two reasons.

First, it c-commands the first Probe DP where the first Probe DP is in the Spec-VP position, the ditransitive little verb is in a higher position, as the head of v, as the previous tree diagram shows.

The second justification for the little verb to assign accusative case marking for the Probe DP is that the little verb, as a Goal, carries the feature of 'accusative' that should be checked against the c-commanded DP. Furthermore, both the Probe and the Goal are active as they have unvalued features that should be valued and then be deleted. As a result, the accusative little verb values the unvalued feature of case on the Goal as accusative.

To put the story in a nutshell, we can say that the accusative case mark for ditransitive verbs in MSA is assigned in two different ways. The accusative featured little verb selects the first DP, which is the indirect object, as its Probe and assigns its accusative case to it. The second DP, which is the direct object, is assigned the accusative case by the c-commanding verb.

5.4 Tritransitive Verbs

5.4.1 On the Nature of Tritransitive Verbs

MSA differs from English in that it has tritransitive verbs, which, as indicated by the name, have three objects as manifested in example (10) below:

10. *aʕlam-a* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a* *al-imiha:n-a*
 informed-ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC the-exam-ACC
sahl-an
 easy-ACC
 ‘The teacher informed the student that the exam was easy.’

In example (10) above, the three object DPs are ‘*al-ta:liba* / the student, *al-imiha:na* / the exam, and *sahlan* / easy’ respectively. The first one of these objects cannot be mentioned without the other two objects as exemplified in (11) below:

11. **aʕlam-a* *al-muʕallim-u* *al-ta:lib-a*
 informed-ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC
 ‘The teacher informed the student that.’

Actually, the second and the third objects in example (10) compose a complete nominal sentence (topic & comment) which is ‘*al-imiha:n-u sahl-un*’ represented in (12) below where the first DP ‘*al-imiha:n-u*’ serves as a topic and the second ‘*sahl-un*’ as a comment. The first object alone does not give a complete meaning by its own (Sibawayh, 1988, p. 1:41).

12. *al-imiha:n-u* *sahl-un* (*topic & comment*)
 the-exam-NOM easy-NOM
 ‘The exam is easy.’

It might be argued that the third DP ‘*sahlan*’ is an Adjective Phrase and not an object DP, usually because of its meaning.

In order to prove that the DP ‘*sahlan*’ is a DP and not an AdjP, we have to provide an account of the agreement features between DPs and AdjPs in MSA. Adjectives have full agreement features of definiteness, person, number and gender with the nouns they describe, whereas comments disagree with the topic in definiteness. Consider the word ‘*sahlan*’ in example (13) below. In (13.a, 13.b and 13.c), it is used as an adjective describing the DP ‘*al-imiha:n*’ and

agrees with it in person, number, definiteness and case mark at the end of the word. We notice that ‘*sahlan*’, as an adjective, carried the same case mark of the noun it describes and appeared in the nominative case in (13.a), accusative in (13.b) and genitive in (13.c). whereas in (13.d) it is used as a comment DP for the topic ‘*alimtiha:nu*’ and in this case it does not agree with it in definiteness and it cannot appear in cases other than the nominative.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---------------------------|-----------|
| 13. | a. | al-imtiha:n-u
the-exam-NOM
<i>‘The easy exam.’</i> | al-sahl-u
the-easy-NOM | (Adj) |
| | b. | al-imtiha:n-a
the-exam-ACC
<i>‘The easy exam.’</i> | al-sahl-a
the-easy-ACC | (Adj) |
| | c. | al-imtiha:n-i
the-exam-GEN
<i>‘The easy exam.’</i> | al-sahl-i
the-easy-GEN | (Adj) |
| | d. | al-imtiha:n-u
the-exam-NOM
<i>‘The exam is easy.’</i> | sahl-un
easy-NOM | (comment) |

The general view among Arab syntacticians as (Abu Hayyan, 1998; Al-Istirabadhi, 1996; Al-Mubarrad, 1994; ?ibn ʕaqil, 1980) of how case is assigned to the topic and comment DPs as the one in example (13.d) above is not convincing. They claim that topic and comment in Arabic language always bear the nominative case mark by default. Default inherent case, as Schütze (2001) argues, is neither related to case Filter, nor is it assigned by syntactic means. A number of linguists (Fassi Fehri, 1987; 1993; Ouhalla, 1994) have proposed that the default case in Arabic is employed only when no case assigners are available.

Default case in Arabic is always nominative and it is manifested in two structures only. First, in structures where the DP precedes the verb, the preverbal DP is assigned nominative case, which does not seem to result from a relation

between the DP and the functional head T as exemplified in sentence (14) below. Second, in Topic and Comment sentences which lack overt verb forms, both the topic and the comment are assigned nominative case, as (13.d) above shows.

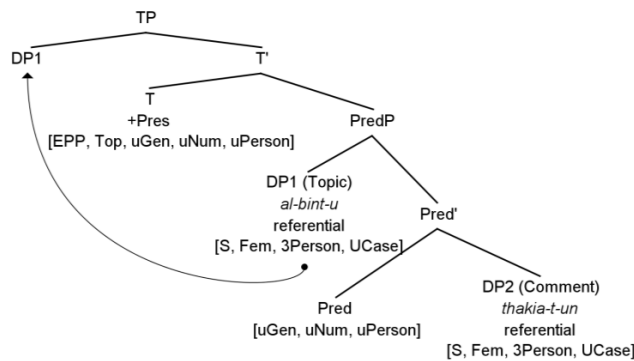
14. *al-ta:lib-u* *daras-tu-hu*
 the student-NOM teach.ACC-1SM-him
 ‘The student, I taught him.’

Therefore, the presence of a default nominative agreement strongly suggests that the verbal complement includes a topic-comment (small-clause like) structure.

5.4.2 Case Assignment in Tritransitive Verbs

Having suggested in our discussion about case in topic and comment structures in Chapter four that the topic and comment constitute a PredP headed by a Pred head that holds the syntactic and semantic referential relationship between the two constituents, namely the topic and the comment. It provides a structural description of the predicational relation between the constituent on Spec-PredP and its complement. It also encodes the semantic concept of predication and coindexation between the two arguments. A nonverbal predicate predicates a certain property of the topic. This predicational relation takes place within the PredP. This concept is represented in tree diagram (15) below:

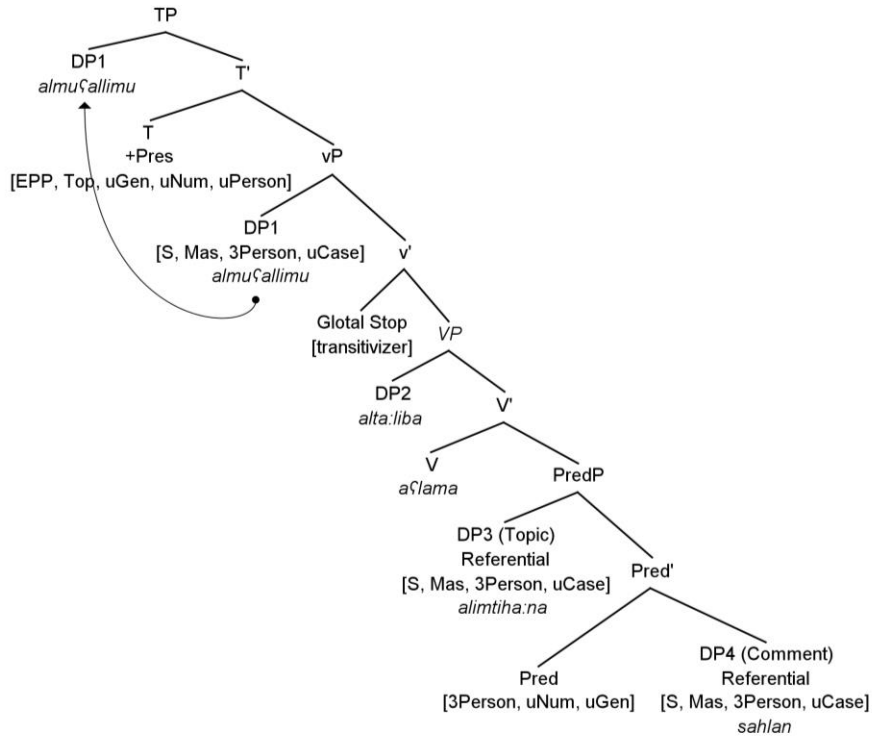
15.



Tree Diagram (15). topic & comment Representation

This will be the base of our representation of tritransitive verbs as shown in Tree Diagram (16):

16.



Tree Diagram (16). Representation of Tritransitive Verbs ‘aṣlama almuṣallimu alta:liba alimtiha:na saḥlan.’

As can be seen from the representation in (16) above, the verb ‘aṣlama’ is merged with the PredP which contains DP3 ‘alimtiha:na’ and DP4 ‘saḥlan’ which were originally a topic and comment. As we have established in the previous section, the PredP is headed by Pred which is null, but it encodes the predicational relationship between its specifier DP3 and complement DP4; this makes DP3 and DP4 equidistant. The outcome of this Merge is a V-bar ‘aṣlama alimtiha:na saḥlan’ which is then merged with DP2 which is considered to be the first object DP ‘alta:liba’ to form the VP structure.

The V ‘aṣlama’ exists in the head position of the VP, whereas DP2 ‘alta:liba’ which is the first object acts as Spec-VP and the PredP, which comprises the second and third objects ‘DP3 and DP4 respectively ‘alimtiha:na saḥlan’, functions as the complement of the V. Because DP3 and DP4 ‘alimtiha:na

sahlan' are equidistant, the lexical verb '*aflama*' checks both case features simultaneously (Hasan, 1962; Soltan, 2007). It can be observed that the V c-commands DP3 and DP4, but it is impossible to c-command DP2.

The resulting VP is then merged as a complement with the abstract causative little verb (*v*) to form the *v*-bar. The resulting *v*-bar is then merged with the subject DP1 '*al-muṣallim-u*' to form *v*P.

Tree Diagram (16) shows that the lexical tritransitive verb '*aflama*' c-commands DP3 and DP4 '*alimtiha:na sahlān*', so, their accusative case feature is valued against that of the verb as they are equidistant. This leaves the question of how DP2 '*alta:liba*' gets its case unattended. Actually, the accusative little verb functions as a Goal and assigns it an accusative case mark.

Because they are equidistant, the lexical tritransitive verb '*aflama*' assigns DP3 and DP4 '*alimtiha:na sahlān*' accusative case while the little verb - due to the "*The Defective Intervention Constraint*" stated by Chomsky (2000, p. 123) - is incapable to assign an accusative case mark to them because little *v* already has DP2 as its Probe since the little *v* is closer to DP2 than DP3 and DP4. Also, the little verb has one accusative case which it can value against the unvalued accusative case of its close Probe DP, accordingly, it has no other accusative case feature to be checked against any other Probe found in the same construction.

As the lexical tritransitive verb '*aflama*' is not in a position to be the Goal of DP2 '*alta:liba*', then DP2 should search for a c-commanding Goal to value its accusative case that it carries. The only possible candidate is the accusative little verb which is the head of the *v*-bar. The accusative light verb can function as the Goal of the Probe for two reasons: First, the Probe DP2, which is in Spec-VP position, c-commands the Goal and the tritransitive little verb is in a lower position, as the head of VP, therefore it does not c-command DP2. The second justification is that the little verb, as a Goal, carries the feature of 'accusative' that should be checked against the c-commanded DP. Furthermore, both the Probe and the Goal are active as they have unvalued features that should be

valued and then be deleted. As a result, the accusative little verb values the unvalued feature of case on Probe DP2 as accusative.

The last point here is how DP4 '*sahlan*' gets its feature of accusative case valued. Let us recall our analysis of PredP in topic and comment structures in MSA and that DP3 and DP4 were originally a topic and comment. We stated that the head of the PredP provides a structural description of the predicational relation between the constituent on Spec-PredP and its complement. It also encodes the semantic concept of predication. Because Pred is defective, it makes DP3 '*alimtiha:na*' and DP4 '*sahlan*' equidistant; therefore, the lexical transitive verb checks both uCase features simultaneously.

Finally, due to the previous points, agreement in person, number and gender between DP3 and DP4 that are the constituents of the PredP, the Pred head which is defective and null raises to V. this makes DP3 '*alimtiha:na*' and DP4 '*sahlan*' equidistant' and because they are equidistant, the lexical transitive verb '*aflama*' checks both uCase features simultaneously.

The head Pred is also consistent with other functional categories such as the (vP) (Chomsky, 1995; 2001; 2015) in sentences involving verbal predicates. The functional heads Pred and little v are both mediators in that they relate the topic in their specifiers to predicates the comment in their complements. Chomsky (1995; 2001; 2015) proposed that predicates always project functional heads that certify external arguments. Subject DPs are generated in specifiers of functional heads (*i.e.*, Spec-VP, spec-VoiceP, Spec-TP, and Spec-PredP).

I have also adopted Baker's (2008) theory of agreement to suggest that the PredP head, which has the features [uGen, uNum, uGen] can probe downward for a DP to agree with on the condition that Pred c-commands DP. The closest c-commanding DP for it is DP4 '*sahlan*' which has the features [S, Mas, 3Per, and uCase]. I also assume that the PredP head here enters Agree with the DP3 in its specifier position. This agreement results in the valuation of gender and number features of the PredP head.

So, we can claim that the tree representation in (16) goes in line with the MP where the verb '*aflama*' exists as the head of the VP and its first object DP

'*alta:liba*' functions as its specifier while the PredP '*alimtiha:na sahlān*' that contains its second and third object DPs as its complement. The resulting VP is then merged as a complement of the abstract little verb for the purpose of accusative case checking headed by the Glottal Stop in MSA since it serves as a transitivizer which has the same function as the light *v* (Chomsky, 1995, p. 353). This top vP layer has the subject DP '*almuṣallimu*' as its specifier.

Unlike the previous accounts of Radford (1997b) and Ura (2001)¹³, this representation keeps the principle of the economic representation of language and no felicitous movements are employed.

This representation indicates the original relationship between the second and the third objects as being a topic and comment originally that are in a c-commanding relationship. Having DP3 and DP4 in a PredP which is the complement of the verb '*aṣlama*' plus the close predicational relationship between them since they were a topic and comment makes it impossible to extract DP3, which is the second object, from its base position specifier (*e.g.*, through passivization), then this would be a syntactic island effect as we have explained in our chapter about case in topic and comment structures. Example (17), where we have maintained both DP3 and DP4 is permissible while (18) is considered ungrammatical in MSA as it breaks the predicational relationship by extracting DP3 out of the PredP.

13 Radford (1997b) presented his Agr proposal on how direct and indirect objects get their case marks assigned. It revolves around the idea that the verb moves to AgrDO and the DO is raised to the specifier position of AgrDOP. Since the DO and the verb are now in a Spec-head relationship, the objective case feature carried by each can be checked by the other. The verb, then moves to AgrIO followed by the IO which raises to [Spec-AgrIOP] where it can check its Dative-case- feature against that of the verb under a Spec-head configuration.

In 2001, Ura attempted to find answers to the shortcomings of Radford's (1997b) model of explanation by arguing that accusative case feature for ditransitive verbs is [+multiple] which interprets as the ditransitive verbs allow multiple checking of accusative case mark and it undergoes more than one feature checking operation and capable of performing multiple case checking operations accordingly. Depending on Ura's Proposal, the accusative case marks are valued by the functional head in the specifier's position of that head.

The verb is raised up first to AgrDOP where it can check its accusative case against that of the theme under Spec-head configuration. Since the accusative case feature is [+multiple], it is not deleted. The verb has to value its accusative case again in order to fulfill this feature. Accordingly, it is raised up to AgrIOP where its accusative case mark can value against that of the Goal in a spec-head relation.

17. *uʕlim-a* *al-ta:lib-u* *al-imtiha:n-a* *sahl-an*
 informed.3MS-ACC the-student-NOM the-exam-ACC easy-ACC
 ‘The student was informed that the exam was easy.’

18. **uʕlim-a* *al-ta:lib-u* *sahl-an*
 informed.3MS-ACC the-student-NOM easy-ACC
 ‘The student was informed that it was easy.’

The lexical head of the VP ‘*aʕlama*’, being a Goal of DP3 ‘*alimtiha:na*’ and c-commands it, assigns an accusative case to it (Radford, 2009). The accusative little verb serves as a Goal that assigns an accusative case mark to the first object ‘*alta:liba*’ as it c-commands it and a nominative case mark to its specifier DP ‘*almuʔalima*’.

Contra the proposal of Fassi Fehri (1987; 1993), Schütze (2001) and Ouhalla (1994) on how the topic and comment get a Default case mark, and building on the theory of rich agreement in zero copula sentences, (Hiraiwa, 2001; Fassi Fehri, 1993), and Chomsky’s Minimality Condition, and since DP3 and DP4 were originally a topic and comment, I propose that the head of the PredP is defective and its only role is to link DP3 and DP4 in a predication relationship. Because Pred is defective it makes DP3 ‘*alimtiha:na*’ and DP4 ‘*sahlan*’ equidistant. Alternatively, because Pred is null, it needs to be head-governed (in the pre minimalist jargon), it raises to V; this makes ‘*alimtiha:na*’ and ‘*sahlan*’ equidistant. Because they are equidistant, the lexical verb ‘*aʕlama*’ checks both uCase features simultaneously.

[V *aʕlam-a*(iCase) [*alimtiha:na* (uCase/ACC) [pred *sahlan*(uCase/ACC)]]

To put the story in a nutshell, we can say that the accusative case mark for tritransitive verbs in MSA is assigned in two different ways. The accusative featured little verb functions as a Goal of DP2, which is the indirect object, as its Prob and assigns its accusative case to it. DP3 and DP4 are equidistant and the lexical verb ‘*aʕlama*’ checks both uCase features on them simultaneously.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter shed some light on how accusative case is assigned in MSA. The discussion within the framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program. We have handled two main issues: the first is the derivation of case and the accusative case assignment of ditransitive verbs. The analysis was done in light of the Chomsky's Minimalist Program and Radford's proposals, as outlined in (2004; 2009). We explained that accusative case in MSA for ditransitive verbs can be derived by the adoption of the VP shell, as introduced by Chomsky (1995; 2000; 2001). The construction of a VP shell in MSA can have the first object as its specifier and the second object as its complement. Following that way, the verb does not c-command the first object and it cannot also c-command it in any process of derivations. Still, the verb c-commands the second object as its complement.

Radford's principles can be used as a base to justify accusative case assignment for ditransitive verbs in MSA where the first object DP occurs in Spec-VP position, it is not c-commanded by the verb. For this reason, the first object values its unvalued accusative case by the abstract little verb, not the actual lexical verb. The second object gets its accusative case valued against that of its c-commanding V. Thus, it can be concluded that in MSA, the first object is assigned accusative case by the accusative little verb whereas; the second object checks its accusative case against that of the main lexical V.

In tritransitive verbs, the second and third objects, being a separate topic and comment in origin, receive an accusative case mark from the Lexical verb as they are equidistant and the lexical verb '*aʕlama*' checks both uCase features on them simultaneously.

CHAPTER SIX: THE VERBAL CASE

This chapter explores the nature of markers that appear at the end of verbs in order to provide an account of how special sets of verbs and nouns manifest cases. Before proceeding on, I have to notify that some of these markers (such as the genitive case marker which indicates that the noun is in the scope of a preposition) appear only on nouns, while others (as the jussive marker which indicates that the verb is in the range of genitive particle) appear only on verbs. Still, some of these markers as the nominative and accusative are shared by both nouns and verbs.

This chapter proceeds as follows: the first section raises some question about the markers that appear at the end of verbs in MSA. Then I investigated the nature of these markers. Different syntacticians have different interpretations of these markers and their views are discussed in the following section 6.2. Following this, I presented section 6.3 which explains case assigning particles in MSA to pave the way for the new analysis of such markers as verbal case markers in section 6.4. The next two sections explain the licensing of verbal case and case on quasi verbs and the conclusions are presented in section 6.7.

6.1 Verbal Markers

Let us consider the following examples for the sake of investigating markers that appear at the end of verbs:

1. a. *yarkud-u* *al-walad-u*
 run-?.3M the-boy-NOM
 ‘*The boy is running.*’

- b. *yarkud-u* *al-walad-a:n*
 run-?.3M the-two boys-NOM
 ‘*The two boys are running.*’

- c. *yarkud-u* *al-muʕallim-u:n*
 run-?.3M the-male teachers-NOM
 ‘*The male teachers are running.*’

d. <i>yarkud-u</i>	<i>ʔakhu:</i>	<i>al-walad-i</i>
run-?.3M	brother-NOM	the boy-GEN
‘ <i>The brother of the boy is running.</i> ’		

Now, if we scrutinize the previous example (1.a), we will realize that the markers that the verb ‘*yarkud-u* / run’ bears seem similar to the nominative case marker ‘-*u*’ borne by the subject ‘*al-walad-u*’. In (1.b), the verb bears (-*u*) which resembles the nominative case marker, and its subject bears the nominative case marker for the dual (-*an*). (-*un*) is the nominative case marker of the masculine plural subject in example (1.c) and in (1.d) it is (*ʔakhu:*) as the subject is one of the five nouns.

As for the accusative case, let us examine its markers on DPs and verbs through the following examples (2.a-e):

2. a. <i>ʔakal-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>al-tuffa:hat-a</i>	
ate-?.3MS	the-boy-NOM	the-apple-ACC	
‘ <i>The boy ate the apple.</i> ’			
b. <i>ʔakal-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>tuffa:hat-a:n</i>	
ate-?.3MS	the-boy-NOM	an apple-ACC.Indef	
‘ <i>The boy ate an apple.</i> ’			
c. <i>ʔakal-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>tuffa:hat-ain</i>	
ate-?.3MS	the-boy-NOM	two apples-ACC	
‘ <i>The boy ate two apples.</i> ’			
d. <i>qa:bal-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>al-muʕallimi:n</i>	
met-?.3MS	the-boy-NOM	the teachers-ACC	
‘ <i>The boy met the teachers.</i> ’			
e. <i>qa:bal-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>ʔakha</i>	<i>al-muʔalim-i</i>
met-?.3MS	the-boy-NOM	brother. ACC	the teacher-GEN
‘ <i>The boy met the brother of the teacher.</i> ’			

The same thing is noticed with the marker ‘-*a*’ that appears on the verb ‘*ʔakal-a* / ate’ in example (2.a) and its object ‘*al-tuffa:hat-a*’. In (2.b), the object carries

the accusative case marker (-*a:n*) as the noun is indefinite and (-*ain*) in (2.c) as the object is dual. (-*en*) is the accusative case marker the masculine plural subject carries in (2.d) and since the object in (2.e) belongs to the five nouns, its accusative case is (*ʔakha:*).

If we think of ‘-*u*’ as a present tense marker and ‘-*a*’ as past tense markers, examples (3-4) pose a challenge.

3. *lan yarkud-a al-walad-u*
 not run-?.3MS the-boy-NOM
 ‘The boy is not running.’

4. *lam yarkud-∅ al-walad-u*
 not run-?.3MS the-boy-NOM
 ‘The boy has not run.’

If we claim that ‘-*u*’ is a present tense marker and ‘-*a*’ is past tense marker, the present tense bears different case markers in these examples. In (3), it appeared with a marker similar to the accusative case marker on objects and in (4), its case marker is the deletion of vowel sound from its end.

This raises questions about the nature of the markers that appear on verbs. Are the markers that appear at the end of verbs in MSA agreement, tense, mood or case markers and how can we provide a Minimalist Program account to explain case checking on verbs in MSA? I also aim at investigating the validity of the claim that such markers are perfective, imperfective and jussive mood markers.

6.2 CASE ON VERBS

Early attempts to formulate a system where verbs can bear cases date back to the generative approach, *e.g.*, Zagona (1982) claims that there is a requirement for verbal case parallel to the case on nouns because assigning verbal case accounts for verbs restricted distribution. According to the assumption of Zagona (1982), verbal Case assigners are verbal affixes and INFL elements such as modals, *do* and *to*. However, Zagona (1982, p. 24) claims that verbal Case cannot be sustained since features as [\pm Past] are better treated as analogous to

NP person/number features, rather than to Case features. She also argues that the “*VP cannot have a Case requirement at S-structure, since it would then be visible as an argument, which would incorrectly block adjunction to VP*”, (Zagona, 1982, p. 84).

Building of the Visibility Requirement on Theta-Assignment condition which demands that every node in a theta-indexed chain to be visible, Fabb (1984) claims that verbs as well as nouns, modifiers, predicates, ... *etc.* require cases so that they be visible when they assign their θ -roles to the appropriate NPs. For Fabb, θ -assigners and assignees have to be visible at LF. The constituents that assign Verbal Case as Fabb perceives compromise some causative and perception verbs, verbal affixes (*-ing, -en, ...*), prepositions, AGR, and *do* and modals, which are representations of AGR. It is worth mentioning here that Fabb’s approach assumes that verbal Case is assigned to the VP, and then moves to the head, V. Despite the prominence and novelty of Fabb’s approach, it was not developed further.

Similar to Fabb’s suggestion, Roeper and Vergnaud (1980) claimed that stems are assigned Case by perception verbs, and that “*to*” as an element of both a prepositional and an infinitival feature assigned case to both verbs and nouns and that case-licensing was wider than thought.

6.2.1 Verbal Case in MSA

The assumption that verbs in MSA are case marked is not new in Arabic syntax as it was the prominent view of 8th century syntacticians as Sibawayh, ʔibn ʕaqil and ʔibn Hisham which was later adopted by Wright (1981). In his explanation of case on present tense verbs, ʔibn Hisham said ‘*present tense verbs appear in nominative case if not preceded by accusative or jussive particles*’ (ʔibn Hisham A. , 1383, p. 47). The main incentive behind the claim was that verbs in MSA show the same markers realized by nouns in roughly the same configurations. This parallelism is evident when we compare the nominative case marker with the indicative case marker, and when comparing the accusative case morphology to the subjunctive verbal marking. Initially, traditional Arab syntacticians claimed that the nominative case marker is the

default case that is assigned in the absence of a case assigner. Similarly, they have also observed that indicative verbal case is acquired by a verb when it is not in the precinct of a verbal case assigner.

This observation of the similarity between the nominative and indicative markers, tempted traditional Arab syntacticians to consider both nominative case markers or what they refer to as ‘*marfu:ʕ*’. Additionally, accusative and genitive case markers are assigned if the noun is within the scope of an accusative or genitive case assigner respectively. On a similar pattern, accusative and jussive verbal case values are assigned to a verb if it is in the scope of an accusative or a jussive verbal case assigning particle, respectively. Traditional Arab syntacticians referred to the accusative case forms as ‘*mansu:b*’. To wrap up the view, while the accusative case marker is realized as a result of cooccurring with verbs and nominal particles, the accusative verbal case suffix results from cooccurring with verbal particles. This led traditional Arab syntacticians to assume case assignment in the verbal as well as the nominal patterns.

In order to put this assumption in practice, we have to think of the distribution of DPs as manifested in examples (5-6) below and the distribution of VPs exemplified in (5-6):

5. We would like [that he/*him/*PRO arrives early].
6. We would like [for *he/him/*PRO to arrive early].

Example (5) reveals that only ‘*he*’ is grammatical because it is in a position where nominative case is assigned, being in the context of tensed I’. Also, only ‘*him*’ is grammatical in (6) as it is in a position where accusative case mark is assigned, being in the context of ‘*for*’.

Now, a similar examination can be applied on data from MSA. The data in (7-9) show that verbs in MSA share some features with the embedded English DPs in (5-6).

7. *lan yalʔab-a /*-u/*-Ø al-walad-u al-kurat-a*

not play-ACC/*-NOM/*-JUSS the-boy-NOM the-ball-ACC
 ‘The boy will not play football.’

8. *lam* *yadrus-Ø/*-a/*-u* *al-ta:lib-u*
 not study.2MS-JUSS/*-ACC/*-NOM the-student-NOM
 ‘The student did not study.’

9. *yaḥsab-u /*-a/*-Ø* *al-walad-u* *al-kurat-a*
 play-NOM/*-ACC/*-JUSS the-boy-NOM the-ball-ACC
 ‘The boy plays football.’

Mainly, only the verb in the accusative case is grammatically correct in (7) because it is in a position where the accusative case is licensed by ‘*lan*’ which is an accusative case assigning particle. Similarly, only the verb in the jussive is grammatical in (8) because it is in a position where the jussive case is licensed by ‘*lam*’. Likewise, only the verb in the nominative case is grammatical in (9) because it is in a position where the nominative case is licensed. In a sense, the relation between these verbal forms and the positions in which they are licensed is similar to the relation between the DPs ‘*he*’ and ‘*him*’ in (5-6) and the positions in which they are licensed.

Having provided a short account of early attempts to formulate case in MSA, I would now move back to the main research question to discuss whether these markers are tense, agreement, or mood markers.

6.2.2 Tense Markers

Now, let us consider these examples:

10. *al-walad-u* *yaktub-u* *al-dars-a*
 the-boy-NOM write-NOM.3MS the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boy writes the lesson.’

11. *al-awla:d-u* *yaktub-u:-n* *al-dars-a*
 the-boys.PL-NOM write-3MP-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boys are writing the lesson.’

12. *al-walad-u* *yara-∅* *al-saya:rat-a*
 the-boy-NOM see.3MS-NOM the-car-ACC
 ‘*The boy sees the car.*’

These three examples have present tense verbs ‘*yaktub-u*, *yaktub-u:-n*, and *yara*’ where, in compliance with our assumption, the nominative case mark is realized by the ‘*-u*’ in example (10), ‘*-n*’ in example (11) because this verb belongs to a specific group of verbs in Arabic called ‘*The Five Verbs*’. Example (12) has a verb ‘*yara / see*’ which ends in a vowel sound. Here, the nominative case mark cannot be realized overtly due to phonological reasons ‘difficulty of pronouncing ‘*-u*’ after a vowel sound’.

These nominative case markers cannot be considered tense markers because we can have the previous present tense examples in the accusative case as manifested in:

13. *lan* *yaktub-a* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 not write-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy is not writing the lesson.*’

14. *al-awla:d-u* *lan* *yaktub-u:-∅* *al-darsa*
 the-boys-NOM not write-3MP.ACC the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boys are not writing the lesson.*’

15. *al-walad-u* *lan* *yara-∅* *al-saya:rat-a*
 the-boy-NOM not see.3MS.ACC the-car-ACC
 ‘*The boy does not see the car.*’

Examples (13-15) above have present tense verbs that are in the accusative case which is realized by ‘*-a*’ in example (13). While the nominative case mark is realized by the presence of ‘*-n*’ in example (11), the accusative case mark is realized by the deletion of this ‘*-n*’ as shown in example (14). Example (15) has the verb ‘*yara / see*’ which ends in a vowel sound what prevents us from realizing the accusative case marker at its end.

Present tense verbs can also bear the jussive case. In example (16) below, the jussive case mark is realized overtly in Arabic language by what is called ‘*Sukoon* / absence of vowel sound’ which is orthographically recognized as (-). In example (17), the deletion of the final vowel sound from the verb marks the jussive case as the verb is originally ‘*tamshi*’. The jussive case mark is realized by the deletion of ‘-n’ in example number (18) just as the accusative case.

16. *lam* *yaktub.∅* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 not write.JUS.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy did not write the lesson.*’

17. *la* *tamsh.∅* *huna:*
 do not walk.JUS.2MS here
 ‘*Do not walk here.*’

18. *al-awla:d-u* *la* *yaktub-u:∅* *al-darsa*
 the-boys-NOM not write-3MP.JUS the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boys are not writing the lesson.*’

Past tense verbs can also bear the accusative case as represented in example (19) which is the past counterpart of example (10):

19. *katab-a* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 wrote-ACC.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy wrote the lesson.*’

Having present tense verbs in three different cases in addition to having past tense verbs bearing some of these cases indicate that they cannot be tense markers. This argument is also backed up by the fact that Arabic language has a defined set of present tense markers viz; ‘*a-,n-, y-, and t-*’ as exemplified in (20-23) respectively:

20. *ana:* *aktub-u* *al-dars-a*
 I PRES-write-NOM.1MS the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*I write the lesson.*’

21. *nahn-u* *naktub-u* *al-dars-a*

we-NOM PRES-write-NOM.3MP the-lesson-ACC
'We write the lesson.'

22. *al-walad-u* *yaktub-u* *al-dars-a*
 the-boy-NOM PRES-write-NOM.3MS the-lesson-ACC
'The boy writes the lesson.'

23. *al-bint-u* *taktub-u* *al-dars-a*
 the-girl-NOM PRES-write-NOM.3FS the-lesson-ACC
'The girl writes the lesson.'

The past form of these verbs (*katabt-u*, *katab-na*, *katab-a* and *katab-a-t*) lacks the present tense markers and the coexistence of these present tense markers with the case markers at the end of each verb in examples (20-23) indicates that there are two different entities.

6.2.3 Agreement Markers

We have manifested in chapter two that agreement in Arabic language is sensitive to word order. In this section, we will be discussing whether the markers that appear at the end of the verb are agreement markers.

As for gender agreement issue, let's investigate the following examples.

24. *al-walad-u* *sakan-a-Φ* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the-boy-NOM lived-ACC-3MS in the-city-GEN
'The boy lived in the city.'

25. *al-bint-u* *sakan-a-t* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the-girl-NOM lived-ACC-3FS in the-city-GEN
'The girl lived in the city.'

Examples (24) and (25) above manifest instances of gender agreement where the verb in (24) is masculine with a masculine subject. In (25), we notice that that verb has the singular feminine marker '-t' at its end to agree with the noun that comes before the verb which has both: an accusative case mark '-a' and feminine marker '-t'.

Examples (26) and (27) reveal instances of subject-verb number agreement:

26. *al-walada:n* *yaskun-a:-n* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the-two boys-NOM are living-3MDual-NOM in the-city-GEN
 ‘The two boys are living in the city.’

27. *al-awla:d-u* *yaskun-u:-n* *fi* *al-madi:nat-i*
 the- boys-NOM are living-3MP-NOM in the-city-GEN
 ‘The boys are living in the city.’

The verb in (26) has ‘-a’ which is a dual marker in addition to the nominative case marker ‘-n’. Since the noun that precedes the verb is plural in (27), the verb has a plural agreement marker ‘-u’ before the nominative case marker ‘-n’.

As for person agreement, consider the following examples:

28. *ana:* *adrus-u* *al-nahu-a*
 I PRES IM/FS-study-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘I study syntax.’

29. *anti* *tadrus-i-n* *al-nahu-a*
 you.2FS PRES 2FS-study-2FS-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘You study syntax.’

30. *hum* *yadrus-u-n* *al-nahu-a*
 they PRES 3MP-study-3MP-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘They study syntax.’

Example (28) above shows that the verb is inflected for the first-person singular. In example (29) we have the three markers: ‘-t-’ for the second person, ‘-i’ as a feminine marker and ‘-n’ which is the nominative case marker. The last example (30) also has the ‘-y-’ for the third person, ‘-u’ for plural and the ‘-n’ for the nominative case.

6.2.4 Mood Marking

This section discusses the view of whether the verbal markers that appear at the end of the verb are mood markers and how traditional Arab language

syntacticians handle the concept of mood and what drawbacks there are in viewing these markers as mood markers. Following this, I will present my proposed concept regarding these morphological markers which does not consider them signs of modality, tense, nor even aspects. As my assumption states, my conception regarding these markers deals with them as case markers on verbs. My ultimate aim is to prove that what Arab syntacticians consider indicative, subjunctive, optative, conditional, imperative, jussive, and emphatic moods, are actually nominative, accusative and jussive case markers.

6.2.4.1 Traditional View

Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli (1990) and Plunkett (1993) claim that the traditional Arab syntacticians (13th century) such as Sibawayh and Ibn Hisham (2000) analyse the verbal system of Arabic language as having three moods: Perfective, Imperfective, and Imperative.

They distinguished between what they call '*al-mabni* / the uninflected' which is suffixal and '*al-muṣrab* / the inflected'. Depending on this distinction, the perfective form of the verb in MSA is '*mabni*' as it has only one form that is uninflected to show mood distinction. On the contrary, the imperfective form of the verb is '*muṣrab* / inflected'. This means that the present form of the verb is inflected by different morphological endings to mark mood, as we shall see in a while.

Traditional Arab syntacticians elaborated by claiming that the imperfective form of the verb has three forms: Indicative, Subjunctive, and Jussive. They recognize that the verb is in the imperfective form by the inflections that appear at its end as it is '*inflected*'. These inflections might be assigned to the verb by default or due to the existence of certain particles. In other words, a verb is specified according to its inflection, or the lack thereof. Indicative is assigned in the absence of particles; subjunctive if the verb is preceded by the future negative particle '*lan*', plus other particles; jussive is assigned by the past negative particle '*lam*', plus other particles. The imperative sticks to one inflectional form regardless of the syntactic context and that is why Traditional

Arab syntacticians called them ‘*mabni*’, meaning ‘*uninflected*’ just as the perfective form.

Wright (1981) argued the verbal system in MSA to include only two forms: the Perfective which has one form only, and the Imperfective which has five forms: viz, indicative, subjunctive, jussive, imperative, and energetic (or emphatic). Actually, Wright was the first to refer to these forms as ‘*moods*’ as traditional Arab linguists did not use this term to tag different verb forms.

Holes (2004) argued that MSA displays four different moods. The use of a particular mood is determined by the structure in which the verb is used. Note here that these are some moods Wright (1981) stated. The only difference is that Wright views them as subcategories of a wider form called the imperfective which also includes the energetic. Below, I am presenting the traditional view about these four common moods and their uses with illustrative examples before presenting my argument regarding them as verbal case markers.

6.2.4.2 Indicative Mood

This mood is marked by the use of the ‘-*u*’ marker and it is used in declarative affirmative statements to report facts and beliefs (Ryding, 2005). Note that the mood marker resembles the nominative case marker Consider the sentence in (31) below:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 31. <i>al-walad-u</i> | <i>yaʔkul-u</i> | <i>al-tuffa:hat-a</i> |
| the-boy-NOM | eat-NOM.3MS | the-apple-ACC |
| ‘ <i>The boy is eating the apple.</i> ’ | | |

6.2.4.3 Subjunctive Mood

This mood expresses wishes, doubts, suggestions, desires, or necessity (Ryding, 2005, p. 53). The subjunctive mood is marked by ‘-*a*’ which is also the same marker of the accusative case. In (32) below, the verb ‘*nasila* / arrive’ in the embedded complement is assigned an accusative case by the particle ‘*ʔan*’ which is an accusative case mark assigner as we will see in the next section.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|----------------|----------------------|
| 32. <i>ʔakha:f-u</i> | <i>ʔan</i> | <i>nasil-a</i> | <i>mutaʔakheri:n</i> |
|----------------------|------------|----------------|----------------------|

fear-NOM.1MS comp arrive-ACC.3MP late

'I am afraid that we arrive late.'

6.2.4.4 Jussive Mood

The jussive mood expresses negation, and its marker is the Sukoon 'absence of vowel sound' (Ryding, 2005). The verb is said to be in the jussive mood when it is preceded by a negation particle e.g., 'lam/not' (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 41). 'lam/not' is one of the jussive case markers as we see later in the next section.

While the verb 'yalʕabu / play' is in the indicative mood as the sentence in (33.a) is affirmative, its negative counterpart (33.b) is in the jussive mood which is realized by the absence of a vowel marker.

33. a. *yalʕab-u* *al-walad-u* *al-kurat-a*
 play-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM the-ball-ACC
 'The boy is playing football.'

b. *lam* *yalʔab-∅* *al-walad-u* *al-kurat-a*
 not play.3MS the-boy-NOM the-ball-ACC
 'The boy has not played football.'

Bearing in mind what we have mentioned about having different case markers for different cases in MSA. We can say that the mood in (31), (32) and (33) above can be marked differently depending on whether the verb ends in a consonant or vowel sound, and whether the subject is dual or plural.

The indicative mood is inflected by a final '-n' when its subject is dual or plural, while the subjunctive and jussive moods are inflected by the deletion of the final '-n' marker. Let us compare (34.a) where the verb is in the indicative mood, (34.b) with the embedded subjunctive verb, and the jussive verb in (34.c) below.

34. a. *al-walad-a:n* *yaʔkul-a:-n* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 the-boy-Dual eat-3MDual-NOM the-food-ACC
 'The two boys are eating the food.'

b. *nasi-a* *al-walad-a:n* *ʔan* *yaʔkul-a:* *al-taʕa:m-a*

forgot-ACC the-boy-Dual comp eat-3MDual the-food-ACC
 ‘The two boys forgot to eat the food.’

c. *al-walad-a:n lam yaʔkul-a:-∅ al-taʕa:m-a*
 the-boy-Dual not eat-3MDual the-food-ACC
 ‘The two boys have not eaten the food.’

6.2.4.5 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood forms a command or request and that an action is demanded or required to be accomplished. In Arabic language, the subject of the imperative is always covert when it is the masculine second person singular. Other than the masculine second person singular, the subject of the imperative has to be realized overtly in the form of pronominal clitic attached to the end of the verb. Just as the jussive mood, the marker of the imperative mood is the Sukoon (Ryding, 2005), as example (35.a) below shows. Nevertheless, like the jussive and subjunctive verbs in (34.a) and (34.b) above, when there is a subject clitic, the imperative mood is marked by the absence of (-n).

35. a. *iftah-∅ al-bab-a*
 open.2MS-JUSS the-door-ACC
 ‘Open the door!’

b. *iftah-u al-bab-a*
 open.3P the-door-ACC
 ‘You all open the door!’

6.2.5 A Special Category (The Five Verbs)

First of all, this set of verbs is called the ‘Five Verbs’ because they are a special group that shows their nominative case marker by keeping the final (-n) marker which is dropped if these verbs appear in the accusative or jussive case. Simply, the Five Verbs are any present tense verb that is inflected for the reciprocal alif (-a) ‘*alif al-ithnayn*’, plural (-u), or second person feminine (-i).

The conjugation of the five forms of the verb ‘*yathhab* / go’ are:

- 1) ‘yathhaba:n / they both go’ for the dual third person masculine and feminine
- 2) ‘tathhaba:n / you both go’ for the dual second person masculine and feminine
- 3) ‘yathhabu:n / they all go’ for the plural third person masculine and feminine
- 4) ‘tathhabu:n / you all go’ for the plural second person masculine and feminine
- 5) ‘tathhabi:n / you [f.] go’ for the singular second person feminine,

An example of these five verbs in the nominative case is presented in (36) below where the nominative case marker is the boldface letter (-n):

36. *al-awla:d-u* *yaktub-u:-n* *al-dars-a*
 the-boys-NOM write-3MP-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boys are writing the lesson.’

In example (37), we notice that the final (-n) marker is deleted as the verb is in the accusative case due to the existence of ‘lan / not’ which assigns an accusative case to the verb.

37. *al-awla:d-u* **lan** *yaktub-u:-* *al-dars-a*
 the-boys-NOM not write-3MP.ACC the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boys are not writing the lesson.’

The final (-n) marker is also deleted from the verb in example (38), but this time to mark the Jussive case as the verb follows ‘?in / if’ which is a jussive case assigning particle:

38. *?in* *tadrus-u-~~n~~* *tanjah-u-~~n~~*
 if study.2MP-JUSS pass.2MP-JUSS
 ‘If you study, you will pass’

One final remark is the similarity between having a set of five nouns that has a special case marker and a set of five verbs that also has its own case markers.

6.2.6 Verbal Case Markers

Now we can expand the case system of nouns in MSA to account for case assignment of verbs where the only difference is in the genitive case as it is restricted to nouns and the jussive case as it is associated with verbs. In a nutshell, we will see how the same diacritics that mark case on nouns which was presented in chapter two, section 4 are also used to indicate the case system on verbs *e.g.*, on both nouns and verbs, the nominative case might be realized by (-*u*, and -*n*) while the accusative case mark is realized by (-*a*) or the deletion of (-*n*) from the end of the verb. ‘*Sukoon* / absence of vowel sound’ which is orthographically recognized as (ـ) case marker is the typical marker that indicates the jussive case on verbs. The deletion of (-*n*) from the end of the verb also marks the jussive case on verbs. In this section, we are going to present these cases and their diacritics through illustrative examples.

6.2.6.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case marker on verbs in MSA is (-*u*) which is overtly written as (ـ) at the end of the verb as exemplified in (39):

39. *al-walad-u* *yaktub-u* *al-dars-a*
 the-boy-NOM write-NOM.3MS the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy is writing the lesson.*’

As the verb root ‘*yaktub-u* / write’ in the above example ends in a consonant sound, we can overtly realize the nominative case marker ‘-*u*’ at its end. However, MSA shows instances where cases cannot be manifested at the end of the word due to phonological reasons, especially when the verb ends in a vowel sound (-*a*, -*u*-, -*i*). For example, the verb ‘*yara* / see’ ends in ‘-*a*’ which is a vowel sound. In this case the nominative case marker is considered a covert ‘-*u*’ as shown in example (40) below:

40. *al-walad-u* *yara:-Φ* *al-bayt-a*
 the-boy-NOM see-NOM.3MS the-house-ACC
 ‘*The boy sees the house.*’

The evidence that this verb carries a covert nominative case markers is that the case marker will appear if we replace the verb ‘*yara / see*’ with another verb that ends in a consonant as ‘*yahdim-u / destroy*’ as exemplified in (41):

41. *al-walad-u* *yahdim-u* *al-bayt-a*
 the-boy-NOM destroy-NOM.3MS the-house-ACC
 ‘*The boy destroys the house.*’

The final diacritics of the nominative case marker on verbs is the ‘-*n*’ which only appears on verbs that belong to the special category of five verbs as shown in the following example (42):

42. *al-awla:d-u* *yaktub-u:-n* *al-dars-a*
 the-boys-NOM write-3MP-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boys are writing the lesson.*’

6.2.6.2 Accusative Case

The accusative case marker on verbs in MSA is (-*a*) which is overtly written as (ـَ), a short slanting line over the letter, at the end of the verb as exemplified in (43) which has a past tense verb and (44) which has a future tense verb. If we assume that (-*a*) is a tense marker, then both (43) and (44) would be in the same tense.

43. *al-walad-u* *katab-a* *al-dars-a*
 the-boy-NOM wrote-ACC.3MS the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy wrote the lesson.*’

44. *al-walad-u* *lan* *yaktub-a* *al-dars-a*
 the-boy-NOM not write-NOM.3MS the-lesson-ACC
 ‘*The boy will not write the lesson.*’

The same phenomenon applies here, if the verb ends in a vowel sound, the accusative case marker is considered a covert ‘-*a*’ as shown in example (45) below:

45. *al-walad-u* *raʔa:-Φ* *al-bayt-a*

the-boy-NOM saw-NOM.3MS the-house-ACC
'The boy saw the house.'

The final diacritics of the accusative case marker on verbs is the deletion of the '-n' from the end of the five verbs as shown in the following example (46):

46. *al-awla:d-u* *lan* *yaktub-u-~~n~~* *al-dars-a*
 the-boys-NOM not write-3MP.ACC the-lesson-ACC
'The boys are not writing the lesson.'

6.2.6.3 Jussive Case

The jussive case marker is represented overtly in Arabic language by what is called '*Sukoon* / absence of vowel sound' which is orthographically recognized as (ـ) and this is exemplified in (47) below:

47. *iftah-∅* *al-kita:b-a*
 open.2MS-JUSS the-book-ACC
'Open the book.'

Example (48) also has a present tense verb in the jussive case.

48. *lam* *yaktub.∅* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 not write.JUSS.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
'The boy did not write the lesson.'

In example (49), the deletion of the final vowel sound from the verb marks the jussive case as the verb is originally '*tamshi*'.

49. *la* *tamsh.∅* *huna:*
 do not walk.JUSS.2MS here
'Do not walk here.'

The jussive case marker is realized by the deletion of '-n' in example number (50) just as the accusative case.

50. *al-awla:d-u* *la* *yaktub-u-~~n~~* *al-darsa*
 the-boys-NOM not write-3MP.JUSS the-lesson-ACC

‘The boys are not writing the lesson.’

To wrap up, this section provided, with illustrative examples, an account of the different case markers that appear on verbs in MSA which appear to be similar to the diacritics that mark case on nouns *e.g.*, on both nouns and verbs, the nominative case might be realized by (-*u*, and -*n*) while the accusative case mark is realized by (-*a*) or the deletion of (-*n*) from the end of the verb. ‘*Sukoon* / absence of vowel sound’ and the deletion of (-*n*) from the end of the verb are the typical jussive case markers on verbs.

6.3 VERBAL CASE ASSIGNING PARTICLES

MSA has a set of particles, some of these particles are associated with nouns while others are associated with verbs, and some are even associated with both. In this section, we will discuss some particles that assign different case marks to verbs. Just as the cooccurrence of a preposition with a certain noun assigns it a genitive case mark, the occurrence of any of these case assigning particles assigns a specific case mark on the verb. In this section, I will shed light on the particles assigning different cases.

6.3.1 Particles Assigning Accusative Verbal Case

We will be discussing the particles that assign accusative case marking which is morphologically realized as the ‘-*a*’ suffix on the verb. The data (51-61) explains these particles.

‘**?an**’ = Comp (to/that)

51. <i>yakarh-u</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	?an	<i>youdrab-a</i>
hate.3MS-NOM	the-boy-NOM	Comp	be hit.3MS-ACC
<i>‘The boy hates to be hit.’</i>			

‘**lan**’ = Not (Future)

52. lan	<i>yalʕab-a</i>	<i>al-walad-u</i>	<i>al-kurat-a</i>
not	play-ACC	the-boy-NOM	the-ball-ACC
<i>‘The boy will not play football.’</i>			

‘**wa**’ of simultaneity

53. *la takun* *daʕif-an* **wa** *tudhir-a* *al-quat-a*
 don’t be weak-ACC with pretend-ACC the-strength-ACC
 ‘Do not be weak and pretend strength.’

‘**li-**’ = ‘li of denial’

54. *ma* *ka:na* **li-yathhab-a** *al-yawm-a*
 not was to-go.2MS-ACC the-today-ACC
 ‘He was not to go today.’

‘**ʔithan**’ = in that case/then

55. *ʔurus.Ø* **ʔithan** *tanjah-a*
 study.2MS.JUSS in that case pass-2MS-ACC
 ‘Study! Then you will pass.’

‘**Hatta:**’ = until

56. *sa-ʔurdus-u* **hatta** *anjah-a*
 will-study.1MS.NOM until pass.1MS-ACC
 ‘I will study until I pass.’

‘**kay**’ = so that

57. *yalʕab-u* *al-fariq-u* **kay** *yafu:z-a*
 play.2MS-NOM the-team-NOM so that win.2MS-ACC
 ‘The team plays so that they would win.’

‘**li-**’ = so that

58. *yana:m-u* *al-rajul-u* **li-yartah-a**
 sleep-2MS-NOM the-man-NOM so-rest.2MS-ACC
 ‘The man sleeps so that he would rest.’

‘**likay**’ = so that

59. *yana:m-u* *al-rajul-u* **likay** *yartah-a*

sleep.2MS-NOM the-man-NOM so that rest.2MS-ACC
'The man sleeps so that he would rest.'

'Hata' = so that

60. *yana:m-u* *al-rajul-u* ***hata*** *yartah-a*
 sleep.2MS-NOM the-man-NOM so that rest.2MS-ACC
'The man sleeps so that he would rest.'

'fa' = so that

61. *ʔurdus.∅* *fa-tanjah-a*
 study.2MS.JUSS so-pass.2MS-ACC
'Study so that you pass.'

6.3.2 Particles Assigning Jussive Verbal Case

Now, we shall shed light on the particles that assign the jussive case which is realized by the absence of a vowel sound or what is called '*Sukoon*' in MSA. The following examples (62-80) illustrate these particles

'lam' = Not

62. ***lam*** *yadrus-∅* *al-ta:lib-u*
 not study.2MS-JUSS the-student-NOM
'The student did not study.'

'ʔalam' = Interrogative. Not. Past

63. ***ʔalam*** *yadrus-∅* *al-ta:lib-u*
 Int.Not study.2MS-JUSS the-student-NOM
'Didn't the student study?'

'lama' = Not. Past. Yet

64. ***lama*** *yathhab-∅* *al-rajul-u*
 yet go.2MS-JUS the-man-NOM
'The man has not gone yet.'

ʔalama = Interrogative. Not. Past. Yet

65. *ʔa-lama* *nathhab-Ø* *maʔak-a*
 haven't gone.3MP-JUSS with you-ACC
 'Haven't we gone with you?'

'li- = 'li- of command'

66. *li-yaktub-Ø* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 Impr-write.2MS-JUSS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 'Let the boy write the lesson.'

'la: = Not. Imperative

67. *la:* *taktub-Ø* *al-dars-a*
 do not write.2MS-JUSS the-lesson. ACC
 'Don't write the lesson!'

'ʔayna = where (interrogative)

68. *ʔayna* *tathhab-Ø*
 where go.2MS-JUSS
 'Where do you go?'

'ʔin = if

69. *ʔin* *tadrus-Ø* *tanjah-Ø*
 if study.2MS-JUSS pass.2MS-JUSS
 'If you study, you will pass'

'ʔitha:ma = whenever

70. *ʔitha:ma* *talʔab- Ø* *alʔab- Ø*
 whenever play.2MS-JUSS play.1MS-JUSS
 'Whenever you play, I play.'

'man = who

71. *man* *yalʔab- Ø* *yafuz- Ø*

who play.3MS-JUSS win.3MS-JUSS
 ‘Who plays, wins.’

‘**ma:**’ = what

72. **ma:** tadfaʕ-Ø adfaʕ-Ø
 what pay.2MS-JUSS pay.1MS-JUSS
 ‘What you pay, I pay.’

‘**mahma:**’ = whatever

73. **mahma:** tatbukh-Ø akul-Ø
 whatever cook.2MS-JUSS eat.1MS-JUSS
 ‘Whatever you cook, I eat’

‘**mata:**’ = when

74. **mata:** tahdur-Ø athhab-Ø
 when come.2MS-JUSS leave.1MS-JUSS
 ‘When you come, I will leave.’

‘**ʔaya:na**’ = whenever

75. **ʔaya:na** tathhab-Ø athhab-Ø
 whenever go.2MS-JUSS go.1MS-JUSS
 ‘Whenever you go, I go.’

‘**ʔaynama:**’ = wherever

76. **ʔaynama:** tajlis-Ø ʔajlis-Ø
 wherever sit.2MS-JUSS sit.1MS-JUSS
 ‘Wherever you sit, I sit.’

‘**Haithuma:**’ = whenever

77. **Haithuma:** tasmaʕ-Ø tafham-Ø
 whenever listen.2MS-JUSS understand.2MS-JUSS
 ‘Whenever you listen, you understand.’

‘ʔana’ = when

78.	<i>ʔana</i>	<i>tughani-Ø</i>	<i>ʔughani-Ø</i>	<i>maʕak-a</i>
	when	sing.2MS-JUSS	sing.1MS-JUSS	with you-ACC
	‘When you sing, I sing with you.’			

‘kayfama:’ = however

79.	<i>Kayfama:</i>	<i>tajlis-Ø</i>	<i>ant-a</i>	<i>ana:</i>	<i>ajlis-Ø</i>
	however	sit.2MS-JUSS	you-ACC	I	sit.1MS-JUSS
	‘However you sit, I sit.’				

‘ʔaya:’ = which(ever)

80.	<i>ʔaya:</i>	<i>ta:lib-in</i>	<i>yadrus-Ø</i>	<i>yanjah-Ø</i>
	whichever	student-GEN	study.2MS-JUSS	pass.2MS-JUSS
	‘Whichever student studies, passes.’			

Scrutinizing the previous examples (62-80) reveals that most of the case assigning particles are Comp elements that are located in positions higher than the Infl domain. The fact that a particle must assign a specific case to the verb is exemplified in the following examples (81-82):

81.	<i>*lan</i>	<i>yalʕab-u</i>	<i>al-kurat-a</i>
	Neg	play.2MS-NOM	the-ball-ACC
82.	<i>*lam</i>	<i>yalʕab -a</i>	<i>al-kurat-a</i>
	Neg	play.2MS-ACC	the-ball-ACC

Example (85) is ungrammatical because ‘lan’ is supposed to assign an accusative case mark, but the verb is inflected with a nominative case mark and example (82) is also ungrammatical because ‘lam’ is assumed to assign jussive case mark while we see that the verb is inflected with an accusative case mark.

Furthermore, we have to notify that the case is assigned to the verb and not to any other element. This concept is explained in examples (83-84) below:

83.	<i>*lan</i>	<i>al-ta:lib-u</i>	<i>yaktub-a</i>	<i>al-dars-a</i>
-----	-------------	--------------------	-----------------	------------------

Neg the-student-NOM write.2MS-ACC the-lesson-ACC

84. **lam* *al-yawm-a* *yaktub -Ø* *al-ta:lib-u* *al-dars-a*
 Neg the-today-ACC write.2MS-JUSS the-student-NOM the-lesson-ACC

Examples (83-84) reveal to us that the case which is assigned by the particle cannot be received by any other nonverbal constituent. The second point that is worth mentioning here is related to the adjacency condition. This condition demands that the particle and the verb cannot be separated.

Since verbs realize tense, mood, agreement, as well as aspect, I would like to expand by claiming that verbs in MSA carry verbal case which in turn suggests that verbs have a formal feature called Verbal Case [VC].

6.4 THE NEW PARADIGM

Having presented the common view regarding moods in MSA which was adopted by many linguists as Wright (1981) amongst many others, I would now depart from their division to present a new paradigm. I will claim that what are commonly referred to as mood markers in MSA are in fact not mood markers at all but rather case markers that appear on the verb. This means that verbs in MSA are just like DPs in that they do bear case marks as nominative, accusative and jussive and I will provide a minimalist account of how these verbs bear such cases.

First, support for our argument comes from the traditional Arab syntacticians (*cf.* ʔibn ʕaqil 13th c./1980), Benmamoun (2000, p. 31) and Fassi Fehri (1993, pp. 82-83)) who did not talk about these markers as mood markers. They claim that verbs in Arabic language are, actually nominal roots, inflected by specific markers that indicate nominative, accusative and jussive cases. Specifically, traditional Arab syntacticians used terms as ‘*marfu:ʕ, mansu:b and majzu:m*’ that translate literally as ‘*nominative, accusative and jussive*’ when they talk about the inflectional status of the verb. I believe that the belief that these markers are mood markers is a European contribution to the inquiry “*do not translate into formal features that head projections in the syntactic representation of their sentences*” Benmamoun (2000, p. 31).

The other factor that might have led to such belief is that verbs in MSA overlap with nouns. This is because the imperfective case on verbs is just the same as the nominative case on nouns, the perfective case coincides with the accusative case on nouns and the jussive case resembles the genitive case.

One interesting point to be mentioned here is the resemblance of what are thought to be mood markers and cases which is also backed up by the resemblance of the nominative case markers on verbs and the five nouns. These are two different categories: verbs and nouns but they have the same nominative case marker ‘-u’. consider example (85.a) which represents the nominative case on a verb and example (85.b) which represents one of the five nouns.

85. a. *al-walad-u* *yaʔku-u*
 the-boy-NOM eat-NOM.2MDual
 ‘*The boy is eating.*’
- b. *jaʔ-a* *akh-u:* *al-bint-i*
 came-ACC.2MS brother-NOM girl-GEN
 ‘*The brother of the girl came.*’

As a native speaker of Arabic language, one of the first lessons in syntax we learned was parsing and until this current day, learners, for example, parse the verb ‘*yaʔkul-u* / eat’ in this sentence as (86) below as a present tense verb in the nominative case and the nominative case marker is the ‘-u’ that appears at its end.:

86. *yaʔkul-u* *alwalad-u* *al-tuffa:hat-a*
 eat-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM the-apple-ACC
 “*The boy is eating the apple.*”

Note that this parsing of the verb does not differ from parsing the subject ‘*alwalad-u* / the boy’ in the same example which is parsed as a subject in the nominative case and the nominative case marker is the ‘-u’ that is attached at its end. This supports the claim that verbs, just like nouns, are inflected by a case marker and not a mood marker. In fact, ʔibn Malik (ʔibn ʕaqil, 1980, p. 341:64) specified a section (lines 676-694) in his poem ‘*Alfiya*’, which for many is a

constitution of Arabic syntax, about verbs in nominative, accusative and jussive cases.

The ‘indicative mood’ is not specific to the imperfective form which denotes present tense; indicative mood is also conveyed by the perfective form as manifested in example (87) below, which denotes past tense. We can convey the indicative mood by verbs in the future tense as shown in example (88).

87. *faz-a* *al-musha:rik-u* *fi* *al-musabakat-i*
 won-ACC.3MS the-participant-NOM in the-competition-GEN
 ‘*The participant won the competition.*’

88. *sanusafir-u* *ghadan*
 will.travel-NOM.3MP tomorrow
 ‘*We will travel tomorrow.*’

Also, the subjunctive conveys subjunctive and optative moods as well as other functions. Likewise, the jussive form conveys imperative and conditional forms besides other functions.

Furthermore, Fassi Fehri (1993, pp. 82-83) claims that what Wright (1981) refers to as moods are not moods, but rather inflectional morphemes attached to the verb. Fassi Fehri claims that modality is expressed by using free morphemes as ‘*sawfa* / will’ and ‘*gad* / already’ which if followed by the perfective form of the verb expresses certainty as manifested in example (89.a) and uncertainty if followed by the imperfective form as illustrated in example (89.b). As for ‘*sawfa*’, it expresses certainty or “actual happening” when followed by imperfective verbs, as (89.c) shows; ‘*sawfa*’ does not co-occur with perfective verbs, as example (89.d) illustrates.

89. a. *gad* *ʔakal-a* *al-walad-u* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 already ate.3MS-ACC the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC
 ‘*The boy has already eaten the food.*’

b. *gad* *yaʔakal-u:* *al-walad-u* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 already eat.3MS-NOM the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC

'The boy might eat the food.'

c. *sawfa* *yaʔakal-u:* *al-walad-u* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 will eat.3MS-NOM the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC

'The boy will eat the food.'

d. **sawfa* *ʔakal-a* *al-walad-u* *al-taʕa:m-a*
 will ate.3MS-ACC the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC

Benmamoun (2000, p. 31) also claims that what are referred to as mood markers are in fact morphemes that mark the relationship between the verb, tense, negation, or complement. They, according to Benmamoun, do not interpret as mood markers or appear to have any semantic interpretations. The claim that these morphemes are mood markers might be the result of that forming the verb includes the use of certain classes of temporal and syntactic contexts. For example, the subjunctive form occurs in future negatives as represented in example (90) below and embedded clauses as in example (91); the jussive occurs in imperatives manifested in example (92), past negatives in example (93), and conditional sentences in (94) and (95); the indicative occurs in affirmative present tense sentences, as in (96), affirmative present tense progressive sentences, as in (97), affirmative future sentences, as in (98), present negative sentences, as in (99), and in the embedded clause of causatives, as in (100).

90. *lan* *yaktub-a* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 not write-ACC the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC

'The boy will not write the lesson.'

91. *yurid-u* *al-walad-u* *ʔan* *yalʔab-a* *al-kurat-a*
 want-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM Comp play-ACC the-ball-ACC

'The boy wants to play football.'

92. *iftah-∅* *al-bab-a*
 open.2MS-JUSS the-door-ACC

'Open the door.'

93. *lam yaktub -Ø al-ta:lib-u al-dars-a*
 Neg write.2MS-JUSS the-student-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boy did not write the lesson.’
94. *mata tahdur-Ø athhab-Ø*
 whenever come.2MS-JUSS leave.1MS-JUSS
 ‘Whenever you come, I will leave.’
95. *ʔayana tathhab-Ø athhab-Ø*
 whenever go.2MS-JUSS go.1MS-JUSS
 ‘Whenever you go, I go.’
96. *al-walad-u yuhib-u al-taʕa:m-a*
 the-boy-NOM love.3MS-NOM the-food-ACC
 ‘The boy loves the food.’
97. *al-walad-u yaʕkul-u al-taʕa:m-a*
 the-boy-NOM eat.3MS-NOM the-food-ACC
 ‘The boy is eating the food.’
98. *sa-yaʕkul-u al-walad-u al-taʕa:m-a*
 Fut-eat.3MS-NOM the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC
 ‘The boy will eat the food.’
99. *la-yuhib-u al-walad-u al-taʕa:m-a*
 Neg-love.3MS-NOM the-boy-NOM the-food-ACC
 ‘The boy does not like the food.’
100. *jaʔal-a al-muʕallim-u al-ta:lib-a*
 made-ACC.3MS the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC
yaktub -u al-dars-a
 write.2MS-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The teacher made the student write the lesson.’

Ryding (2005) mentioned particles that precede the verb and cause a change in its mood marker as he claims. The problem is that he did not provide information about some of these particles as ‘ʔin/if’ and its variant ‘ʔan’ that

can be followed by a noun, or a verb and they have the same influence on the case as they change the nominative case mark to an accusative one. Consider their influence on the verb in (101.b) below and on a noun in (101.b):

101. a. *yadrus-u* *al-walad-u*
 study.3MS-NOM the-boy-NOM
 ‘*The boy is studying.*’

b. *yurid-u* *al-walad-u* *?an* *yadrus-a*
 wants.3MS-NOM the-boy-NOM that study.3MS-ACC
 ‘*The boy wants to study.*’

102. a. *al-bint-u* *thakiat-un*
 the-girl-NOM smart-NOM
 ‘*The girl is smart.*’

b. *?in-a* *al-bint-a* *thakiat-un*
 that-ACC the-girl-ACC smart-NOM
 ‘*The girl is actually smart.*’

The verb is said to be in the jussive mood when it is preceded by a negation particle as ‘*la/not*’ as in the following example (103.a) while in (103.b) it is followed by a noun which appears in the nominative case:

103. a. *la* *yathhab* *Ali-un*
 not go.3MS.JUSS Ali-NOM
 ‘*Don’t let Ali go!*’

b. *la* *Ali-un* *musafir-un* *wala* *Zayd-un*
 not Ali-NOM travel-NOM nor Zayd-NOM
 ‘*Neither Ali nor Zayd has travelled.*’

Now, consider the following example:

104. *anti* *tadrus-i-n* *al-nahu-a*
 you.2FS study-2FS-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘*You study syntax.*’

In example (104), we have the three markers: ‘*t-*’ for the second person, ‘*-i*’ as a feminine marker and ‘*-n*’ which is the nominative case marker. We cannot claim that the ‘*-u*’ is the imperfective mood marker as the verb is in the present tense which indicates imperfective mood according to Wright (1981). The reason that we cannot consider the ‘*-u*’ for this is that the present tense might appear with accusative and jussive cases.

Ryding (2005) considered the ‘*-a*’ morpheme which appears at the end of past tense verbs as a perfective mood marker as he assumes that this mood is expressed by the past tense verbs. Here, I would like to notify that this is a partial view as some Arab syntacticians claim that the past tense might even bear different case markers as the nominative case as example (105.a) represents or even jussive as represented in (105.b)

105. a. *al-awla:d-u* *nam-u*
 the-boys-NOM slept.NOM-3MP
 ‘*The boys slept.*’

b. *katab-tu* *al-wajib-a*
 wrote.JUSS-1MS the-homework-ACC
 ‘*I wrote the homework.*’

This means that we cannot consider the ‘*-a*’ as an imperfective mood marker which Ryding (2005) associates with the past tense since this tense might bear other markers.

6.5 THE LICENSING OF VERBAL CASE

If the markers that appear at the end of the verb are not agreement, tense nor mood markers as I have discussed in section 6.2 above and that I consider them case markers as presented in section 6.3 and 6.4, it becomes necessary now to discuss the source that licenses such verbal case markers on verbs. In this section, I am going to present a novel account that revolves around the concept of ‘*finiteness*’ which lies on the Infl head as being the main source that licenses

the verbal case feature on verbs. This section starts by defining the concept of finiteness, then we will present some evidence for the VC feature before providing a minimalist account of the process of valuation of this verbal case.

6.5.1 The Concept of Finiteness

Many linguists have proposed different definitions of the concept of '*finiteness*'. Some of these linguists relied on the distribution of the verb as a criterion to check the finiteness feature of these verbs. By distribution, they view a finite verb as a verb "*whose form is such that it can stand in a simple declarative sentence*" (Matthews, 1997). To explain this, we can say that finite verbs are the independent ones that make a clause an independent one, whereas the non-finite ones are those that make a clause dependent. Another definition of finiteness is based on the inflection of the verb. Generally, linguists who adopt this inflectional interpretation of finiteness argued that a finite verbal form is a verb that is "*limited by properties of tense, number and person*" (Huddleston, 1988, p. 44). In other words, a finite verb is the verb that is inflected for both tense and agreement. The common feature of these two definitions is that they assume that '*finiteness*' is a property of the verb. Given these two definitions, the natural tendency is that verbs inflected for tense and agreement would occur in independent clauses.

A third definition of finiteness is more abstract than the previous two definitions where finiteness is viewed as an abstract feature rather than a verbal inflectional form. In other words, our understanding of finiteness should reconsider it as something that is more abstract and is optionally reflected on the form of the verb. (Nikolaeva, 2007, p. 4); this understanding of finiteness allows it to receive the status of a phrasal head, by this, Nikolaeva refers to the Infl node that heads the IP, which was later recognized as T, as the representation of finiteness. Here, I do agree with Nikolaeva that the Infl head interpretation of finiteness is a needed criterion that is responsible for licensing the verbal case.

Now, let us alter our question to become: Has the concept of finiteness ever been proposed as criterion of case assignment or been at least associated with it? The answer to this question is yes. For instance, in Aygen's (2002)

investigation of case and agreement in Turkish and some other languages, she associated finiteness with the licensing of the nominative case mark as she was questioning the relevance of tense and agreement as a licensing feature in a minimalist account. Moreover, in his analysis of the ‘*finiteness*’ in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar, Sells (2007, p. 79) states that “*finiteness is considered to really be a property of a clause*”, linked to nominative case marking. By such association of finiteness and nominative case mark, I think that both Aygen’s (2002) and Sells (2007) are referring to the notion of licensing. Also note that Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) demonstrate the link between tense and Nominative case by arguing that Nominative case is an expression of uninterpretable tense on D. In addition to Benmamoun’s observation that Classical Arabic expresses case on verbs.

6.5.2 Evidence for VC

Given the fact that VC is not a common proposal in syntax, there are a few studies that have accounted for case on functional heads. Specifically, I am going to handle some studies that suggest that some functional heads have some potential of [VC].

Fabb (1984) has expanded case theory and the visibility condition to account for the distribution of modifiers, adjectival phrases and prepositional phrases plus verbs. Here, what interests us is verbs which Fabb assumed are just as nouns in that they need to be visible since they assign θ -role to DPs. Therefore, he claimed that for verbs to be visible, they need case, and this case is also assigned in the same manner case is assigned to DPs; a verb must be governed syntactically or through affixation by a node carrying a matching case feature. In this manner, the visibility condition is extended to account not only for θ -role assignees (DPs), but also to case assignment on verbs. Fabb’s account is based on the distribution of verbs with different verbal affixes such as verb-ing, verb-ed, and verb-s. These being the different case forms and the verbal case assigners are certain auxiliaries, causative verbs or AGR.

Fabb claims that Verbal Case is assigned by some causative and perception verbs, verbal suffixes as *-ing*, *-en*, ...etc., prepositions, AGR, do and modals

that assign some form of a verbal case on the VP. This case then percolates down to the verb. This case is what makes these verbs visible. Therefore, the infinitive verb gets its verbal case from its governor, in this case it is the infinitival *to*, which bears verbal case feature that then percolates from the VP to the verb, and this makes the verb visible.

Although Fabb presented an elegant proposal for verbal case and his account is a good step that paved the way to uncover case on verbs, he was mainly concerned about the concept that verbs need case in order to be visible while my proposal is more concerned with the licensing of this case on verbs. My proposal is summarised in the following point:

106. Checking Case on verbs:

The valuation process is subject to 'AGREE' where a functional inflectional head which has an unvalued yet interpretable [VC] feature assigns [VC] to the verb. The verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it.

Another weakness point in Fabb's assumption that verbs need Case in order to be visible for θ -role assignment comes from data in MSA where a verb such as '*ka:na* / to be' does not assign θ -role but it realizes the three case markers: nominative as in '*yakun-u*' in example (107), accusative as in '*yakun-a*' in example (108) and jussive as in '*yakun-Ø*' as in example (109). Therefore, we can say that there is disassociation between thematic roles and case when it comes to visibility.

107.	<i>yakun-u</i>	<i>al-waladu-u</i>	<i>naʔim-an</i>
	be-NOM	the-boy-NOM	asleep-ACC
	<i>'The boy is sleeping.'</i>		

108.	<i>lan</i>	<i>yakun-a</i>	<i>al-waladu-u</i>	<i>naʔim-an</i>
	not	be-ACC	the-boy-NOM	asleep-ACC
	<i>'The boy will not be sleeping.'</i>			

109.	<i>lam</i>	<i>yakun- Ø</i>	<i>al-waladu-u</i>	<i>naʔim-an</i>
	not	be-JUSS	the-boy-NOM	asleep-ACC
	<i>'The boy did not sleep.'</i>			

Additionally, Fabb proposed that verbal case assigning particles are similar to the particles that assign case on DPs such as AGR, V, Prep...*etc.* However, the standard approach to visibility, where only DPs need to be visible, (Chomsky, 1981) best illustrates the situation in MSA. To illustrate, there are many case assigners in MSA but only one or two may co-occur with DPs. This means that verbs and nouns have distinct case assigners, and this is in fact vital for our discussion. We have two distinct features: Case and Verbal Case where the first one only is subject to visibility.

Levin & Massam (1985) suggest that Case assignment involves ‘*linking*’ between potential Case assigners (CA), which enter the process of derivation with a Case feature [+CA], and governed DP. In this derivation, the two elements become co-indexed via a government relation. In this proposal, the view of Case assignment as linking is executed as follows. The verb enters the process of derivation with an associated Case, that is, it is [+CA]. This Case (Cv) is disassociated with the verb, projected to the inflectional head, in which case it becomes CI(NFL), a property of Infl, that can then be assigned to the NP governed by Infl.

While Levin & Massam’s proposal differs from mine in that they assume that Case assignment is subject to the government relation while my proposal does not, there are some similarities between the two proposals. Both proposals assume that verbs genuinely have a case feature and that in some ways this case feature is assigned by an inflectional head.

In Levin & Massam (1985) proposal, some verbs do not possess the [+CA] feature, while others do, this Case feature then moves to Infl, and to the DP, which is governed by Infl, afterwards. In my proposal, verbs possess a formal case feature which I call Verbal Case, the source of which is finiteness on Infl. The inflectional functional head Infl that heads the IP has an interpretable feature [VC] that is, via Agree, values its unvalued [VC] feature on the verb. Upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters an Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned *e.g.*, ‘*lan*’ is an accusative case assigning particle which has the

feature ‘*lan* ACC. This valuation process is subject to ‘AGREE’ where a functional inflectional head to assign [VC] to the verb, the verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it.

Massam (1985) has also investigated case assignment to IP-Spec position in some Romance languages and she proposed that, in some cases, Case is assigned by an element such as the auxiliary verb or an index rather than by the matrix verb where the head of the Comp assigns Case to the specifier of its complement [IP], a process that has the same effect as ECM.

Massam (1985, p. 74) claims that the so-called “*inflected infinitival*” in European Portuguese may occur embedded under certain epistemic verbs if the clause contains an auxiliary verb in its initial position. Massam (1985, p. 80) proposes that for a certain head to assign a case, it must have a Case associated with it (for INFL, via AGR) and it must also contain the feature [+CA] (for INFL, via Tense). Given the fact that the European Portuguese inflected infinitive has AGR (or f-features), but not tense features, it is not expected to assign Case; that is, it is capable of achieving the first condition, it must have a case associated with it. But where does the embedded subject (in Spec-IP) get its Nom Case from? Massam claims that the embedded subject gets its Nom Case “*if we assume that the COMP position of complements embedded under certain verbs contains a Case assigning potential, that is a feature [+CA], then, when AGR, and its associated Case, move to COMP, with its [+CA] feature, the result is an element fully able to assign this Case to the subject position of the embedded infinitival complement*” (p. 80). She finally proposes an analysis where the head of the complementizer phrase has a Case Assigner feature [+CA].

Massam (1985) differs from my proposal in that she assumes that the head of the CP has case features while I propose that the head of the inflectional phrase has an interpretable [VC] feature that is uninterpretable on verbs. The second difference is that case proposal relies on the agreement feature between the case assigner and the case assignee, mine relies on the finiteness feature of the inflectional head. I claim that the inflectional functional head Infl that heads the IP has an interpretable feature [VC] that is, via Agree, values its unvalued [VC]

feature on the verb. Upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters an Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned *e.g.*, ‘*lan*’ is an accusative case assigning particle which has the feature ‘*lan* ACC’. This valuation process is subject to ‘AGREE’ where a functional inflectional head to assign [VC] to the verb, the verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it.

Before proceeding to the next step which is to show how the process of features valuation works and building on my suggestion that verbs in MSA bear verbal case and the observation that this case is morphologically realized at the end of verbs, I would like to suppose that the process of case assignment passes through two steps: First, narrow syntax specifies the verbal case through the process that is called ‘*case checking*’. Narrow syntax then manifests this verbal case morphologically at the end of the verb through a process known as ‘*case assignment*’. Now, let us go back to the main core of the section which is specifying the source of these two processes.

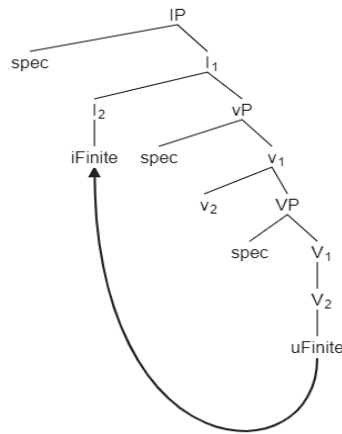
Building on the observation that we made in section (6.3) that the verbal case assignment process does not always demand the existence of a case assignment particle; we can infer that case assignment particles cannot always be considered the source of verbal case.

Now, given our analysis of the finiteness feature of the verb, we might assume that this finiteness feature that lies on the functional head is the source of Verbal Case and again, given our observation that introducing a particle in MSA results in changing the verbal case marker from nominative to either accusative or jussive ‘as we do not have nominative case assigning particles’ depending on the nature of the particle that precedes the verb it is reasonable to claim that the existence of a certain particle is the source of these two cases on the verb.

As DPs in English language receive case that is uninterpretable on nouns from the functional head *v* that heads the *vP*, I think it would be reasonable to build on this fact and assume that verbs in MSA have a verbal feature that is uninterpretable on verbs from the *Infl* functional head which holds interpretable

VC feature on it. This means that the inflectional functional head Infl that heads the IP has an interpretable [VC] feature, which is different to the [Case] that is assigned to DPs, that is via Agree, values its unvalued [VC] feature on the Infl head as manifested in tree diagram (110). Now, upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters an Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned e.g., ‘lan’ is an accusative case assigning particle which has the feature ‘lan ACC. Likewise, ‘lam’ is a jussive case assigning particle that has a feature which is ‘lam JUS’

110.



Tree Diagram (110). Verbal Case

Since Arabic language has verbless sentences that consist of a Topic and a Comment, and verbal sentences where nominative, accusative and jussive are assigned, it seems that we need a condition that controls when case is assigned.

6.5.3 Verbal Case Cross Linguistically

The case on verbs is no novelty as markers of the verbal case are used in some Indo-European languages. An instance of such markers is the accusative case on the Latin supine which is exclusively used to express purpose after verbs of motion and in Vedic Sanskrit where non-finite dependent verbs bear accusative, dative, ablative-genitive and locative cases (Burrow, 1955). In some languages, case markers on the verb of a subordinate clause indicate whether the subject is the same as or different from the subject of the governing clause and these case

markers are usually stuck to the verb. I will start by introducing some Latin examples of case on verbs and their Australian counterparts.

The Latin supine verbs were always dependent verbs, and they bear the accusative case mark to express purpose with verbs of motion as exemplified in (111) below which was derived from (Blake, 1999, pp. 300-305):

111. *venerunt pacem petitum.*
 came-3PL peace-ACC seek-ACC
'They came to seek peace.'

The verb of motion is '*venerunt*' and our supine here is '*petitum*'. The principal part of the verb is '*peti*' and the '*-tum*' is the accusative case marker that is attached to the verb. The example above also shows that case markers incorporated into the verb signal some changes in the valency of the verb and this is a phenomenon in Australia. Case marking on verbs may also signal some type of dependency as with the case of the Latin supine and infinitive.

In the Northern Australian languages, the relation between case marking on nouns and on verbs is normally quite transparent. The next examples are from Wagiman (Cook, 1987, pp. 132-261). In the first, (112), we have the dative case, represented by the widespread marker '*-gu*', marking the function of purpose,

112. *bolomin bakpak nga-ra-ng guda-gu*
 bolomin break 1sG-move-PAST fire-DAT
'I broke up Bolomin for fire(wood).'

The dative case marker appears on a non-finite verb marking purpose,

113. *nga-di-nya dupay-gu*
 1SG-come-PAST sit-DAT
'I came to sit down.'

The Pitta-Pitta (*an Australian Aboriginal language*) offers transparent examples of how tense markers come to be used as derivational, nominalizing suffixes facilitating the addition of case marking to verbs. In the languages of this family, there are markers for present tense and past tense. Several case

markers can be attached to verbs, but these always come after the past tense marker as in the next set of examples. In some examples, the use of the past tense might seem motivated, but discouraged in others. When one considers that there is only one possibility in this environment, it becomes clear that the past tense marker has become a root-forming suffix facilitating the addition of case marking to verbs. Examples (114) and (115) are from Pitta-Pitta, where the past tense marker is *-ka*. Examples (116) and (117) are from Lanima (another Australian Aboriginal language), where the past tense marker is ‘*-nya*’.

114. *nhatyi-ya nga-thu i-nha-ka takuku-nha tunytyi-ka-nha*
 see-PRES I-ERG he-ACC-HERE child-Acc cry-[PAST]-ACC
 'I [can] see the child crying.'

115. *tatyi-ka-inya, mutyi-ka nganytya*
 eat-[PAST]-ABL sleep-PAST I
 'After eating, I slept.'

116. *nga-thu pangka-ri thana-nha-parra wani-nha wangka-nyanha*
 I-ERG hear-PRES they-ACC-HERE song-ACC sing-[PAST]-ACC
 'I hear them singing a song.'

117. *ira-nya ngintya karnta-nya-na*
 ail-PAST I leave-[PAST]-Loc
 'I fell ill when [he] left.'

6.5.4 On Interpretability and Value

Formal features have two facets, interpretability (interpretable vs. uninterpretable) and values (valued or unvalued). Feature interpretability is a subject of interface levels. If a particular feature is interpretable, then it gets an interpretation at the interface level. Syntax can also determine if a particular feature is valued or not. In the process of derivation, if an unvalued feature is detected, an Agree relation will be initiated and an unvalued feature starts searching for a matching Goal with a valued feature so that the unvalued feature matches a valued one and gets checked. Thus, feature interpretability and feature values are two independent characteristics of formal features. However,

it is broadly believed that there is a strong link between feature interpretability and feature values in such a way that a feature F is uninterpretable iff F is unvalued and vice versa. This is largely due to Chomsky's (2000; 2001) paradigm of feature interpretability and feature values which claims that there are only two types of features visible to the computational system:

Types of features Chomsky's (Chomsky, 2000; 2001):

uninterpretable, unvalued

interpretable, valued

This paradigm is challenged by Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), who claim that feature interpretability is different to and independent from feature values. Example (118) below presents the four plausible feature types.

- 118. a. iF valued
- b. uF unvalued
- c. iF unvalued
- d. uF valued

Chomsky's (2000; 2001) biconditional relation between interpretability and value would permit only interpretable and therefore valued (118.a) and uninterpretable; hence unvalued (118.b) while Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) scheme permits all the four feature types. The feature types that are allowed by Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) system but not by Chomsky's are interpretable which can be unvalued (118.c) and uninterpretable which can be valued as (118.d).

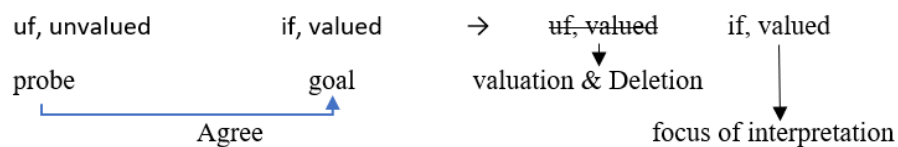
Now let us explain what would be possible and impossible derivations if we permit the four feature types, but before that, let us summarize the assumptions that we adopt here in a few points:

- a. Syntax examines feature values looking for unvalued features.
- b. If a feature is unvalued, it acts as a Probe and starts searching for a potential Goal whose features are valued. When this Probe finds its Goal, an AGREE relation is established between them and the unvalued feature gets valued.

- c. An uninterpretable feature must be deleted and cannot be carried out to the interface level.
- d. A feature has to be interpreted either on the Probe or on the Goal, but not on both.

With these assumptions in mind, let us examine our first instance (example 119 below) of derivation that is allowed by Chomsky’s (2000; 2001) and Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) paradigm. In this case, the Probe has an uninterpretable and unvalued feature while the Goal is interpretable and valued.

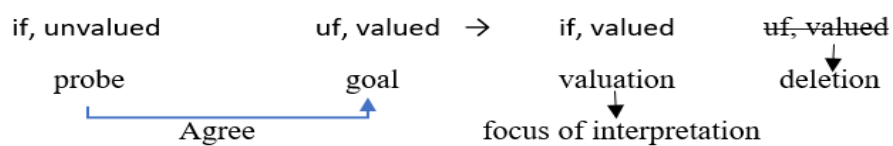
119. Possible Derivation 1



In this scenario, after the Agree relation is established, the Probe gets valued and deleted because it has an uninterpretable feature (by assumption c) whereas the Goal will be the focus of interpretable for the feature F since it is valued and interpretable. In other words, the feature F will get an interpretation on the Goal and not on the Probe.

Now, another possible derivation is presented in (120) below:

120. Possible Derivation 2



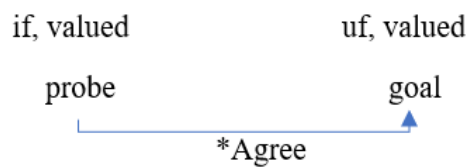
Pesetsky and Torrego’s (2007) analysis would allow this derivation because the Probe has interpretable but unvalued features while the Goal is uninterpretable but valued; therefore, an Agree relation can be held between them. Since the Probe is unvalued, it starts searching for a matching Goal, and since the Goal is valued, it can assign its value to the Probe. The outcome of this agree relation is that the Probe gets its feature valued whereas the Goal gets deleted as it is uninterpretable (by assumption c). In this derivation, it is the Probe that forms

the focus of interpretation for the feature F. To put it differently, the feature F will get interpreted on the Probe, not the Goal.

One of the suggestions of Pesetsky and Torrego’s analysis is that it gives both the Probe and the Goal a chance to get interpreted at the interface which Chomsky’s system allows only the Goal to get interpreted. Now, notice that the two derivations in examples (119) and (120) above differ in terms of the focus of interpretation of the feature F. While the Goal constitutes the focus in (119), the Probe does so in (120).

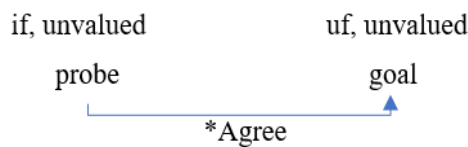
Now consider some impossible derivations.

121. Impossible Derivation 1



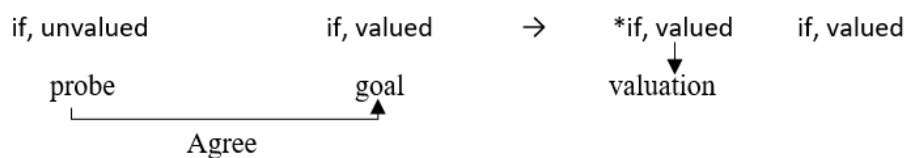
This derivation is impossible because when the Probe is valued, it cannot be considered a Probe.

122. Impossible Derivation 2



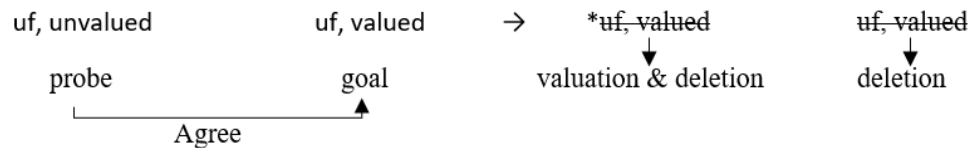
The Goal has to be valued; otherwise, it cannot value the Probe’s unvalued feature.

123. Impossible Derivation 3



A feature must be interpreted either on the Probe or on the Goal, but not on both by assumption (d). Since both the Probe and the Goal have interpretable features, the feature F cannot be considered a single focus of interpretation.

124. Impossible Derivation 4



A feature must be interpreted either on the Probe or on the Goal, not on both.

(d)

Here, we have both the Probe and the Goal bearing uninterpretable features. Accordingly, the feature F will get deleted on both of them without getting interpreted. Derivations in (121) through (124) will crash.

6.5.5 Feature Valuation Process

Before proceeding on, it is vital to highlight that the valuation process is subject to AGREE, which means that, for a particular element to value an unvalued feature on another element, the valuing element must have a valued version of that feature. Thus, for a functional inflectional head to assign [VC] to the verb, the verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it. Therefore, we can say that the [VC] feature on the functional head is interpretable yet unvalued as in our possible derivation (2) above.

The question now revolves around what grants this inflectional functional head the potential to possess this [VC] feature. I argue that '*finiteness*' is what makes this functional head eligible to bear a [VC] feature on it as this head is taken to be marked by tense or agreement since their presence is what makes a verb finite, and their absence makes it non-finite.

In a nutshell, my assumption goes like this:

1. The valuation process is subject to 'AGREE' where a functional inflectional head to assign [VC] to the verb, the verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it.
2. Infl head has an unvalued [VC] feature on it.
3. The [VC] feature is interpretable on the Infl head.
4. The verb has an uninterpretable yet valued [VC] feature on it.
5. Certain complementizers 'case assigning particles' that assign certain cases as the accusative or jussive cases dictate certain cases depending on the nature of the complementizer.
6. Our proposal has to account for how case is assigned in Topic and Comment structures or such structures that lack a VP projection.

The following table (125) summarizes features value and interpretation in my assumption:

	Valued	Unvalued
interpretable		I
uninterpretable	V	

Table (125): *Features Value and Interpretation*

Upon the notion of c-selection (Chomsky, 1995, p. 54) which proposes that each functional head has certain features that select its complement. I claim that the inflectional head which acts as a Probe here has an interpretable but unvalued [VC] feature on it selects a version of verb 'Goal' and values its unvalued [VC] feature via Agree. Now, let us see how this proposed analysis work on examples as example (126) below:

126. *yaktub-u* *al-walad-u* *al-dars-a*
 write-NOM.3MS the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 'The boy writes the lesson.'

First, we merge our vP/VP and the subject in its Spec:

[_{vP} Subject v⁰ [_{VP} Spec V⁰]].

The presence of the verb ‘*yaktub-u* / writes’ indicates the presence of an IP which has a nominative [VC] feature on it which is realized by the ‘-u’ at the end of the verb. In minimalism, all features are in the lexicon and the VC feature would be merged from the lexicon as part of the verb’s features; therefore, I postulate that the verb ‘*yaktub-u* / writes’ originally has a [VC] feature on it and they do not just acquire this feature through the process of derivation because such assumption violates the principle of inclusiveness that demands that the outcomes of the process of derivation include nothing more than what is already there in the lexicon (Chomsky, 1995, p. 225).

Now as the verb ‘*yaktub-u*’ which has a valued uninterpretable [VC] feature on it enters the numeration, it gets merged in V with the object ‘*al-dars-a* / the lesson’ as its Comp. Now as the verb ‘*yaktub-u*’ is transitive in nature, it got merged in a vP. Now the external argument is merged in Spec-VP.

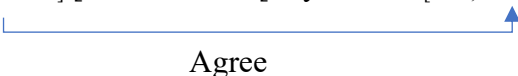
[IP Spec I⁰ [vP Subject v⁰ [VP Spec V⁰]]].

Since the verb is indicative and inflected for tense realized in ‘-y’, which we assume as a present tense marker, then this IP has a finiteness feature according to Pesetsky and Torrego (2007). Then, the external argument moves to spec-IP

[IP Subject I⁰ [vP Subject v⁰ [VP Spec V⁰]]].

Next, as the verb is finite, an IP is merged with the vP. Given our proposal that the inflectional head has unvalued interpretable [VC] which lies in it due to the finiteness feature since they encode tense and agreement, I claim that an Agree relation is held between the inflectional head as a Probe and the lexical verb as a Goal. Since the Probe has unvalued [VC] it starts searching for a matching Goal, and since the Goal is valued, it can assign its value to the Probe. The result of this derivation is that the Probe gets its feature valued whereas the Goal gets deleted as it is uninterpretable (by assumption c). In this derivation, it is the Probe that forms the focus of interpretation for the feature F. In other words, the feature F will get interpreted on the Probe, not the Goal.

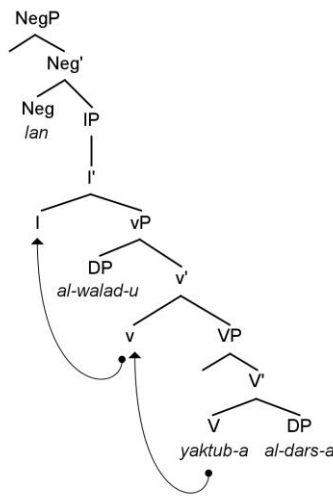
[IP I [iVC, unvalued] [vP al-walad-u [v-yaktub-a [uVC, valued] [VP [V al-dars-a]]]]]



But what happens when we introduce a case assigning particle such as ‘lan / not’ which assigns a jussive case as manifested in (127):

127. lan yaktub-a al-walad-u al-dars-a
 not write.3MS-ACC the-boy-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 ‘The boy will not write the lesson.’

Above the previous process, the negative case assigning particle is merged in NegP. This case assigning article has the feature [ACC] on it as represented in tree diagram (128) below:



Tree Diagram (128). Lan yaktub-a al-walad-u al-dars-a

The case has indices that dictate what kind of [VC] has to be assigned, which ‘lan ACC’ in this example. This NegP selects an IP as its complement which has an unvalued [VC] feature. Here, the IP which has an unvalued [VC] feature in it Matches and Agrees with V resulting in valuing the [VC] on the verb.

As for the nature of the case that is assigned, I assume that the verb will realize whatever [VC] value associated with the particle and that the absence of case assigning particle makes the verb preserve the nominative case marker.

To restate the proposal made in this section, I would say that:

1. The inflectional head has a [VC] feature and it selects a vP. The [VC] feature is uninterpretable but valued on verbs.

2. The inflectional head has $i[VC]$ which is unvalued.
3. Formal features are checked via Agree.
4. The existence of a verbal assigning case particle assigns certain $[VC]$ specifications on the verb.
5. Nom case is in a complementary distribution with case assigning particles.

6.6 Case in Quasi Verbal Clauses

As far as case is concerned, we have discussed case in two main types of sentences in MSA, verbal and Topic and Comment constructions. The main features of the first are that they have a verb (main or copular) and also license Case, while the main characteristics of the latter are that they do *not* have a verb but license Case. Now, it is the time to investigate a different type of sentences in MSA, so-called quasi verbal clauses, where the main verbal element is a quasi-verbal/ quasi-nominal element that licenses Accusative Case but not Nominative Case. I will first discuss the question of why quasi verbs do not license Nominative Case, and then move to the question of why they license Accusative Case. Initially, quasi verbal sentences do not license NOM Case because they are ungrammatical in the VSO order, as (129) shows, where ‘*al-ta:lib-u*’ (post-verbal DP) is a subject that requires Nominative Case. They are grammatical in the SVO order, as (130) shows, where ‘*al-ta:lib-u*’ (preverbal DP) is a Topic that receives NOM case as a specifier of the PredP.

129. **katib-un* *al-ta:lib-u* *qissat-an*
 writing-NOM the-student-NOM a story-ACC

130. *al-ta:lib-u* *katib-un* *qissat-an*
 the-student-NOM writing-NOM a story-ACC

‘*The student writes (is writing) a story.*’

Finally, I will discuss the process of case checking in these clauses. In particular, I will show that ACC Case is assumed to be licensed to the object as a result of

V^0 inheriting agreement and Case features from the lower phase head, v^{*0} , (Chomsky, 2001; 2005; 2006).

6.6.1 Why Quasi Verbs do not License NOM Case

Given the proposal where Nominative case is assigned as a result of valuing case features on I^0 by Fin^0 , there seem to be a few scenarios to be investigated. Basically, quasi verbal clauses do not license NOM Case because they lack either Fin^0 , I^0 , or a combination thereof.

The first hypothesis is that quasi verbal sentences do not have the Fin^0 node. However, this hypothesis is shaky given the fact that such sentences have a CP layer, hence a $FinP$, as shown by (131-133).

131. *al-rajul-u* *baʔiʃ-un* *al-saya:rat-a*
 the-man-NOM selling-NOM the-car-ACC
 ‘The man sells (is selling) the car.’

132. *ʔinna* *al-rajul-u* *baʔiʃ-un* *al-saya:rat-a*
 comp the-man-NOM selling-NOM the-car-ACC
 ‘Certainly, the man sells (is selling) the car.’

133. *man* *baʔiʃ-un* *al-saya:rat-a*
 comp selling-NOM the-car-ACC
 ‘Who sells (is selling) the car?’

First, the fact that quasi verbal clauses are grammatical in the SVO order, as example (130) shows, where ‘*al-ta:lib-u*’ is a Topic, which occupies the Spec-PredP position [Spec-TopP in the split Comp domain of Rizzi (1997)] indicates that C^0/Fin^0 is available in these sentences.

Second, given the fact that quasi verbal sentences can (co-occur with or) be preceded by the Complementizer such as ‘*ʔinna*’, as example (132) shows, indicates that such sentences are CPs.

Third, the fact that quasi verbal sentences can form wh-questions, as (133) shows, indicates that the wh-moved element moves to spec, CP (or to a Spec,

position of a Comp-domain head). These facts thus show that quasi verbal sentences have the Fin⁰ head. Thus, the first hypothesis cannot be maintained.

The second hypothesis is that quasi verbal sentences do not have the I⁰ node, where I⁰ could be Mood⁰ or Agr⁰, all associated with licensing structural NOM Case (in different clause types). The fact that MSA participles are ungrammatical in embedded clauses, as (134) shows, where subjunctive mood is assigned, as well as with optative mood, as (135) shows, indicates that participles do not instantiate a Mood⁰ category.

134. **yuhib-u* *al-rajul-a* [*?an* *ba?if-un* *al-saya:rat-a*]
 like-NOM the-man-ACC [comp selling-NOM the-car-ACC]
 ‘*The man likes to sell (selling) the car.*’

135. **yadrus-u* *al-ta:lib-u* *likay* *najih-un*
 study-NOM the-student-Nom so that passing-NOM
 ‘*The student studies to pass.*’

Second, examination of the data in (136-141) indicates that, unlike fully verbal elements which inflect for person, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, as (136-138) respectively show, quasi verbs do not inflect for person, as (139-141) show; they only realize 3rd person morphology.

136. *nahn-u* *na-drus-u* *al-nahw-a*
 we-NOM 1P-study-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘*We study syntax.*’

137. *antum* *ta-drus-u-n* *al-nahw-a*
 you (P) 2P-study-PM-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘*You (p) study syntax.*’

138. *hunna* *ya-drus-na- Ø* *al-nahw-a*
 they (F) 3P-study-PF-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘*They study syntax.*’

139. *nahn-u* *daris-a:-t-un* *al-nahw-a*
 we-NOM studying-P-F-NOM the-syntax-ACC

'We study syntax.'

140. <i>antun-a</i>	<i>daris-a:-t-un</i>	<i>al-nahw-a</i>
you.PF-ACC	studying-P-F-NOM	the-syntax-ACC

'You (PF) study syntax.'

141. <i>hun-a</i>	<i>daris-a:-t-un</i>	<i>al-nahw-a</i>
they.F-ACC	studying-P-F-NOM	the-syntax-ACC

'They (F) study syntax.'

I take the data (139-141) to indicate that quasi verbs cannot instantiate an Agr⁰ category since they do not have a full set of unvalued (or uninterpretable) f-features as a verbal category, of the sort Schütze (1997) and Chomsky (2001) argue available in English main clauses. The preceding discussion thus indicates that quasi verbs do not instantiate any of the categories involved in licensing Nom Case. Therefore, I take this conclusion as well as the distribution of MSA quasi verbs as evidence that quasi verbal sentences encode a [PartP]. This means that quasi verbs instantiate a [PartP] projection (in place of the TP/MoodP/AgrP projections instantiated by fully verbal elements).

This state of affairs leads to the expectation that NOM Case is not licensed in quasi verbal sentences. Therefore, the fact that quasi verbal sentences are ungrammatical in the VSO order, as shown in (142), where *'al-ta:lib-a-t-u'* is a subject, is accounted for.

142. * <i>daris-a:-t-un</i>	<i>al-ta:lib-a:-t-u</i>	<i>al-nahw-a</i>
studying-P-F-NOM	the-students-p-f-NOM	the-syntax-ACC

*'*Studying the students the syntax.'*

The fact that they are grammatical in the SVO order, as in (143), where *'al-ta:lib-a:-t-u'* is a topic which receives NOM case as it is in a Spec-TopP position.

143. <i>al-ta:lib-a:-t-u</i>	<i>daris-a:-t-un</i>	<i>al-nahw-a</i>
the-students-p-f-NOM	studying-P-F-NOM	the-syntax-ACC

'The students Study the syntax.'

Therefore, I argue that (142) is ungrammatical because the post-participle DP, ‘*al-ta:lib-a:-t-u*’, meaning ‘*the female students*’, does not receive NOM Case in the post-participle position due to the absence of an I^0 node, which is responsible for checking NOM Case. Thus far, we have discovered that participial sentences have a PartP projection and lack an IP projection.

6.6.2 Why Quasi Verbs License ACC Case

I will adopt traditional Arabic syntacticians’ insight (Sibawayh 8th century, and subsequent work) which assumes that quasi verbs are derived from present and past tense verb forms. This thus indicates that these quasi-verbal units start their journey as category-less roots (as is the case with verbs), but then merge with little *v* head, which then turns them into verbs with NOM verbal case. However, instead of merging with an I-finiteness head, T^0 or $Mood^0$ and instantiating an IP, as what happens in clauses with main verbs in MSA, these verbs merge with a nominalizing head, which turns them into quasi-nominal elements, hence the absence of an IP (and NOM Case) and the presence of what I called PartP.

Thus, given traditional Arab syntacticians’ insight that quasi verbs are derived from verb forms, it is reasonable to assume that quasi verbs are also licensed structurally in the same manner NOM VC verb forms are. This reasoning predicts that, like indicative VC forms, quasi verbal elements are capable of licensing structural Case. Therefore, I claim that quasi verbs license ACC Case to the object, as shown in (144).

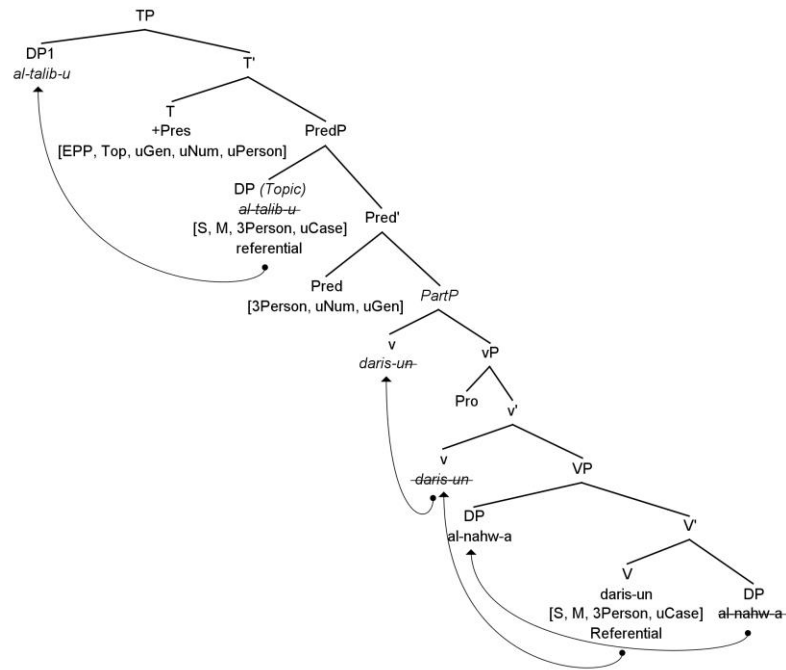
144. <i>al-ta:lib-u</i>	<i>yarsum-u</i>	<i>al-rajul-a</i>
the-student-NOM	writes-NOM	the-man-ACC
‘ <i>The student draws the man.</i> ’		

Given the Case theory presented in chapter 5, ACC Case can be licensed to the object if the Fin^0 head has a verbal case feature, which is only possible iff the XP selected by Fin^0 has a categorial [V] feature as well as an I-finiteness feature. Given the observation that these are *quasi-verbal elements*, the selected PartP has a categorial [V] feature. The remainder of this section will be devoted to showing that the proposed theory of Case can account for the ACC Case on the object in (144).

Now, let us see how the proposed system as well as the preceding discussion can account for Case checking in quasi verbal sentences of the example (145) below which receives the tree diagram in (146).

145. *al-ta:lib-u daris-un al-nahw-a*
 the-student-NOM studying-NOM the-syntax-ACC
 ‘The student study the syntax.’

146.



Tree Diagram (146). *al-ta:lib-u daris-un al-nahw-a*

The process of Merge and Case checking works as follows. The quasi verb (*daris-un*) is merged as a head of the VP as it is a quasi-verbal element hence has a valued categorial [V] feature, with the object (*al-nahw-a*), which has an unvalued [Case] feature, in its complement position. The application of Radford’s (2004; 2009) principles, transitive verbs assign an accusative case to the complement of VP and the accusative little verb assigns an accusative case to the specifier of the VP. Following this, the resulting VP is then merged as a complement with the abstract causative little verb (v). As the causative light verb is affixal in nature, the participle ‘*daris-un*’ is raised to it to form the v-bar.

Pro is merged in Spec-VP as the external argument that licenses the pre- quasi verbal DP topic through co-indexation. The valued categorial [V] feature on the participle gets ‘projected’ to the highest verbal projection in the clause, vP. Having a valued categorial [V] feature, vP gets selected by a PartP, where the participle is then raised to its specifier position.

Adopting the view that sentence initial DP is a topic which was discussed earlier, I would claim that ‘*al-ta:lib-u*’ is a topic and its comment is the PartP ‘*daris-un al-nahw-a*’. This means that the PartP is part of a PredP whose head has the features [3,uGen, uNum,]. ‘*al-ta:lib-u*’ as a topic occupies the Spec-PredP position and it then starts probing downward for a node to agree with on the condition that Pred c-commands X.

The closest c-commanding node for it is the quasi-verbal element ‘*daris-un*’, which has the features [S, F, 3Person, and uCase]. I also assume that the PredP head here enters Agree with the topic DP in its specifier position. This agreement results in the valuation of gender and number features of the PredP head. Note that the PredP head here is specified for the third-person feature.

As manifested in Tree Diagram (146), once the head of the TP, which has the unvalued ϕ -features [uGen, uNum, and uPerson], enter derivations, it starts probing down for the closest DP within its c-commanding domain. T in Tree Diagram (146) creates Agree relation with the subject DP ‘*al-ta:lib-u*’, which has the features [S, M, 3Person, and uCase],

In addition, I assume that whatever is located in the specifier of the PredP must raise to Spec-TP. In other words, the DP in Spec-PredP raises to Spec-TP to satisfy the EPP and TOP features of T.

6.7 Conclusions

Given the data, discussion, analyses, and proposals in this chapter, we reach the conclusions in (1-9).

1. The MSA markers that appear at the end of verbs are not mood, agreement, nor tense markers, but rather (verbal) Case markers.

2. This formal feature on verbs is a special form of case that appears on verbs and which I call Verbal Case (VC).
3. The process of case assignment passes through two steps: First, narrow syntax specifies the verbal case through the process that is called ‘case checking’. Narrow syntax then manifests this verbal case morphologically at the end of the verb through a process known as ‘case assignment’.
4. Finiteness on Inf is the source that licenses the verbal structural Case feature on verbs in MSA.
5. The inflectional functional head Infl that heads the IP has an interpretable feature [VC] that is, via Agree, values its unvalued [VC] feature on the verb. Upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters an Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned e.g., ‘*lan*’ is an accusative case assigning particle which has the feature ‘*lan* ACC’.
6. The valuation process is subject to ‘AGREE’ where a functional inflectional head to assign [VC] to the verb, the verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it.
7. Certain complementizers ‘case assigning particles’ that assign certain cases as the accusative or jussive cases dictate certain cases depending on the nature of the complementizer. These case assigning particles are Comp elements that are higher than the Infl.
8. Quasi verbs cannot instantiate an Agr⁰ category since they do not have a full set of unvalued (or uninterpretable) f-features as a verbal category, which indicates that quasi verbs do not instantiate any of the categories involved in licensing Nom Case. Therefore, I take this conclusion as well as the distribution of MSA quasi verbs as evidence that quasi verbal sentences encode a [PartP]. This means that quasi verbs instantiate a [PartP] projection (in place of the TP/MoodP/AgrP projections instantiated by fully verbal elements).

9. ACC Case can be licensed to the object if the Fin⁰ head has a verbal case feature, which is only possible iff the XP selected by Fin⁰ has a categorial [V] feature as well as an I-finiteness feature. Given the observation that these are quasi-verbal elements, the selected PartP has a categorial [V] feature.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the main conclusions I arrived at in the discussion in the previous chapters of this thesis. Before presenting these conclusions, I find it vital to remind the reader of the main research questions this thesis is sought out to investigate. In particular, this study aims at investigating and find answers to the following questions:

1. Where do the topic & comment (verbless constructions) receive their case mark and what accounts for their case mark which happens to be nominative bearing in mind that they lack a vP projection?
2. How is Case assigned and checked in MSA transitive, ditransitive and tritransitive verbs?
3. Are the markers that appear at the end of verbs in MSA agreement, tense, mood or case markers and how can we provide a minimalist program account to explain case checking on verbs in MSA? I aim also at investigating the validity of the claim that such markers are perfective, imperfective and jussive mood markers.
4. Why quasi verbs fail to assign NOM case on their external argument, yet they are able to assign ACC case on their complement?
5. What is the nature of sentence initial DP? Is it a topic or a subject? And what about the clitics that appears at the end of the verb in SVO word order. Are these extensions number agreement markers or a pronominal subject of the verb?
6. How can the MP provide an account for derivation of VSO and SVO in MSA?
7. Is there agreement asymmetry in MSA? Especially if we look at examples from the typical SVO word order and their VSO counterparts from which the clitics disappeared.

7.1 Conclusions

Given the analysis, arguments, data, proposals and discussion in the previous chapters, I reach the following conclusions:

1. Sentence-initial DP is considered a topic, and this explains the definiteness restriction which permits only definite and NOT indefinite DPs to function as topics. This topic receives its NOM case as a specifier of the TP.
2. The topic and comment are members of a PredP. This predicational relation encodes the syntactic and semantic ties between the topic which occupies Spec-PredP and its complement. Overtly or covertly realized third person pronouns (*'hua / he, hia / she, hum / they ...etc.'* serve as heads of the PredP which shows agreement with the topic.
3. This PredP is actually a part of a TP, as topic & comment structures always have [+Present] interpretation. The head of this TP is covertly realized as a null verb which is [+Present] and this verb fails to assign an accusative case to its complement as it has [-transitive] feature.
4. Whatever is located in the Spec-PredP must raise to Spec-TP. In other words, the DP in Spec-PredP raises to Spec-TP to satisfy the EPP and TOP features of T.
5. The head of the PredP, and due to agreement in person, number and gender with the topic DP that occurs on its Spec position, assigns the same case to its complement which is the comment DP. As a by-product of Agree relations with T and Pred, the topic and comment DPs get their case features valued as nominative since they are equidistant from the head of the PredP.
6. The topic and comment structure in MSA constitutes a kind of DP syntactic island where no constituent can be moved outside this DP.
7. What Soltan (2006) considered agreement markers are not agreement markers but resumptive pronouns.

8. Considering that the unmarked structure in MSA is VSO, this word order is derived by the verb being raised to the little *v* and it goes further to land in T. The subject DP does not move and remains in situ, as a specifier of *v*P, since it got its features checked under Agree against the c-commanding T.
9. In SVO order, on the other hand, the subject is raised to the specifier of TopP to receive topicalization. The moved subject DP leaves behind a pronounceable trace which is realized as resumptive pronoun.
10. There is no agreement asymmetry in MSA. Agreement pattern in MSA is the outcome of the agree operation and is achieved under Probe-Goal alignment; whether the Goal moves or remains in situ, the agreement is not expected to change. This conclusion is in harmony with the principles of the Agree Theory.
11. We explained that accusative case in MSA for ditransitive verbs can be derived by the adoption of the VP shell, as introduced by Chomsky (1995; 2000; 2001). The structure of VP shell in MSA can have the first object as its specifier and the second object as its complement. Following that way, the verb does not c-command the first object and it is impossible to c-command it in any process of derivations. Meanwhile, the verb c-commands the second object as its complement.
12. Radford's principles can be used as a base to justify accusative case assignment for ditransitive verbs in MSA where the first object DP occurs in VP-spec position, it is not c-commanded by the verb. For this reason, the first object values its unvalued accusative case by the abstract little verb, not the actual lexical verb. The second object values its accusative case against that of its c-commanding V. Thus, it can be concluded that in MSA, the first object is assigned accusative case by the accusative little verb whereas; the second object checks its accusative case against that of the main lexical V.
13. In tritransitive verbs, the second and third objects, being a separate topic and comment in origin, receive an accusative case mark from the Lexical

verb as they are equidistant and the lexical verb ‘aʕlama’ checks both uCase features on them simultaneously.

14. The MSA markers that appear at the end of verbs are not mood, agreement, nor tense markers, but rather (verbal) Case markers.
15. This formal feature on verbs is a special form of case that appears on verbs and which I call Verbal Case (VC).
16. The process of case assignment passes through two steps: First, narrow syntax specifies the verbal case through the process that is called ‘case checking’. Narrow syntax then manifests this verbal case morphologically at the end of the verb through a process known as ‘case assignment’.
17. Finiteness on Inf is the source that license the verbal structural Case feature on verbs in MSA.
18. The inflectional functional head Infl that heads the IP has an interpretable feature [VC] that is, via Agree, values its unvalued [VC] feature on the verb. Upon the introduction of a particle in the process of derivation, the particle enters an Agree relation with the verb that results in assigning the verb a [VC] specification as these particles have certain indices that specify the [VC] mark that is assigned e.g., ‘lan’ is an accusative case assigning particle which has the feature ‘lan ACC’.
19. The valuation process is subject to ‘AGREE’ where a functional inflectional head to assign [VC] to the verb, the verb must have a valued [VC] that is uninterpretable on it.
20. Certain complementizers ‘case assigning particles’ that assign certain cases as the accusative or jussive cases dictate certain cases depending on the nature of the complementizer. These case assigning particles are Comp elements that are higher than the Infl.
21. Quasi verbs cannot instantiate an Agr0 category since they do not have a full set of unvalued (or uninterpretable) f-features as a verbal category

what indicates that quasi verbs do not instantiate any of the categories involved in licensing Nom Case. Therefore, I take this conclusion as well as the distribution of MSA quasi verbs as evidence that quasi verbal sentences encode a [PartP]. This means that quasi verbs instantiate a [PartP] projection (in place of the TP/MoodP/AgrP projections instantiated by fully verbal elements).

22. ACC Case can be licensed to the object if the Fin₀ head has a verbal case feature, which is only possible iff the XP selected by Fin₀ has a categorial [V] feature as well as an I-finiteness feature. Given the observation that these are quasi-verbal elements, the selected PartP has a categorial [V] feature.

Bibliography

- Abu Hayyan, M. (1998). *Manhaj as-salik : Abu Hayyan's commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Malik* (Vol. II). (S. Glazer, Ed.) New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Adger, D., & Ramchand, G. (2003). Predication and Equation. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 34(3), 325-359.
- Aikhenvald, A., & Dixon, R. (2004). *Adjective Classes A Cross-linguistic Typology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Al-Balushi, R. (2011). *Case in Standard Arabic: The untraveled paths. Doctoral dissertation*. University of Toronto.
- Al-Balushi, R. (2012). Why verbless sentences in Standard Arabic are verbless. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 57(1), 1-30.
- Al-Istirabadhi, R. (1996). *Sharh al-Radhi ala l-kafiya* (second edition ed., Vols. I- IV). (Y. H. Omar, Ed.) Benghazi: Jami'at Qaryunus.
- Al-Mubarrad, M. i. (1994). *Al-Muqtadab* (Third Edition ed., Vols. I-IV). Cairo: Wazarat Al-Awqaf.
- Aoun, J., Benmamoun, E., & Choueiri, L. (2010). *The syntax of Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aygen, N. G. (2002). *Finiteness, Case and Clausal Architecture. Ph.D. Dissertation*, Harvard.
- Baalabki, R. (2008). *The legacy of the Kitāb*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Bailyn, J. F. (2001). The Syntax of Slavic Predicate Case. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 22, 1-23.
- Baker, M. (1988). *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Baker, M. (2008). *The syntax of agreement and concord*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beeston, A. F. (1968). *Written Arabic An Approach to the Basic Structures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benmamoun, E. (2000). *The Feature Structure of Functional Categories: A Comparative Study of Arabic Dialects*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, B. (1999). Nominal marking on verbs: Some Australian cases. *Word*, 50(3), 299-317.
- Boeckx, C. (. (2006). *Minimalist Essays*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Company. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/la.91>
- Bohas, G., Guillaume, J.-P., & Kouloughli, D. (1990). *The Arabic Linguistic Tradition*. London: Routledge.

- Bošković, Ž. (2004). PF Merger in stylistic fronting and object shift. (G. F. Arthur Stepanov, Ed.) *Minimality Effects in Syntax*, 37-71.
- Bowers, J. (1993). The syntax of predication. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 24, 591--656.
- Burrow, T. (1955). *The Sanskrit Language*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Carnie, A. H. (1995). *Non-Verbal predication and head movement. (Doctoral dissertation)*. Cambridge.: MIT.
- Carnie, A. H. (1997). Two types of non-verbal predication in modern Irish. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 42, 57-73.
- Carroll, J. B., & Bulos, A. A. (1965). *The Arabic Triliteral Verb: A Comparative Study of Grammatical concepts and processes* (1st ed.). Khayats.
- Carstens, V. (2000). Concord in Minimalist Theory. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 31, 319-355.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language " its nature, origins, and use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. (K. Hale , & S. J. Keyser, Eds.) *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, 1-52.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1999). Derivation by phase. *MIT occasional papers in linguistics*.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist Inquiries: The framework. (M. Roger , M. David , & U. Juan , Eds.) *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 9-155.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. (M. Kenstowicz, Ed.) *Ken Hale. A Life in Language*, 1-52.
- Chomsky, N. (2004). Beyond explanatory adequacy. (A. Belletti, Ed.) *Structures and beyond*, 3, 104-131.
- Chomsky, N. (2005). Three Factors in Language Design. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36(1), 1-22. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1162/0024389052993655>
- Chomsky, N. (2006). *Language and mind*. New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791222>
- Chomsky, N. (2007). Approaching UG from below. In U. Sauerland, & H.-M. Gärtner, *Interfaces + Recursion = Language? Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Syntax-Semantics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chomsky, N. (2015). *The minimalist program*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Choueiri, L. (2016). The pronominal copula in Arabic. *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics*, 8, 101-135.
- Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Cook, A. (1987). *"Wagiman Matyin: A description of the Wagiman language of the Northern Territory."* Bundoora: La Trobe doctoral dissertation. Melbourne : a Trobe University.
- Den Dikken, M. (2017). Pseudoclefts and other specificational copular sentences. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax*.
- Eid, M. (1991). Verbless sentences in Arabic and Hebrew. (B. Comrie , & M. Eid , Eds.) *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics, III*, 31-61.
- Fabb, N. (1984). *Syntactic Affixation. Ph.D. Dissertation*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT.
- Fassi Fehri, A. (1986). *Linguistics and the Arabic language* . Beirut, Lebanon.: Œuwaidat Publishing House.
- Fassi Fehri, A. (1987). Case, Inflection, VS Word Order and X' Theory. *Proceedings of the First International Conference of the Linguistic Society of Morocco, 1*, 189-221.
- Fassi Fehri, A. (1993). *Words, Issues in the Structure of Arabic Clauses and*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic. doi:10.1007/978-94-017-1986-5
- Fassi Fehri, A. (2005). *The Arabic Case for a CP Phase. Ms. Mohammad V*. Rabat : Ms. Mohammad V University.
- Fassi Fehri, A. (2012). *Key features and parameters in Arabic grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Haegeman , L. (2009). The Blackwell Companion to Syntax. *Language, 85*(1), 190-197.
- Haeri, N. (2002). *Sacred language, ordinary people: dilemmas of culture and Politics in Egypt*. Basingstoke:: Pal grave Macmillan.
- Hasan, A. (1962). *ʔal-naħu l-waafii [The comprehensive syntax]* (2nd ed., Vol. 3). Cairo: Al- maʕaarif Publishing House.
- Hassan, A. (1980). *Al-Naħw Al-Wafi [Comprehensive Syntax]* (Vol. 3). (4, Ed.) Cairo: Dar Al-Ma'arif.
- Hazout, I. (2010). Verbless sentence and clause structure. *Linguistic Inquiry, 41*(3), 471-485.
- Higgins, F. (1979). *The pseudo-cleft construction in English*. Routledge.
- Hiraiwa, K. (2001). Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese.. 40. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, 40*, 67-80.
- Holes, C. (2004). *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Hornstein, N. (2001). *Move! : a minimalist theory of construal*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.

- Hornstein, N., Nunes, J., & Grohmann, K. (2005). *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511840678>
- Hoyt, F. (2007). Arabic nominal clauses. *The Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 429-434.
- Huddleston, R. (1988). *English Grammar: An Outline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackendoff, R. (1990). On Larson's account of the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 21, 427-454.
- Kayne, R. S. (1981). On Certain Differences between French and English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 12(3), 349-371.
- Koopman, H., & Sportiche, D. (1991). The position of subjects. *Lingua*, 85, 211-258.
- Larson, R. (1990). Double Objects Revisited: Reply to Jackendoff. , 21(4), . *Linguistic Inquiry*, 21(4), 589-632. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4178697>
- Larson, R. K. (1988). On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 19(3), 335-391.
- Lasnik, H. (2003). Minimalist Investigations in Linguistic Theory.
- Legendre, G. (1997). Secondary Predication and Functional Projections in French. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 15(1), 137-183.
- Levin, J., & Massam, D. (1985). Surface Ergativity: Case/Theta Relations Reexamined. *North East Linguistics Society*., 15, 286-301.
- Marantz, A. (1997). No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 4(2).
- Massam, D. (1985). *Case Theory and the Projection Principle*. Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.
- Matthews, P. (1997). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matushansky, O. (2008). A case study of predication. (F. Marušič, & R. Žaucer, Eds.) *Studies in Formal Slavic Linguistics: Contributions from Formal Description of Slavic Languages 6.5*, 213-239.
- McRae, K., Ferretti, T. R., & Amyote, L. (1997). Thematic Roles as Verb-specific Concepts. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 12((2/3)), 137-176.
- Mikkelsen, L. (2005). *Copular clauses. Specificational, predicational and equation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. .
- Mohammad, M. A. (2000). *Word Order, Agreement and Pronominalization in Standard and Palestinian Arabic*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Nikolaeva, I. (2007). *Introduction. In Finiteness: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nunes, J. (2004). *Linearization of chains and sideward movement*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Ouhalla, J. (1994). *Introducing transformational grammar – from rules to principles and parameters*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ouhalla, J. (1997). Remarks on focus in Standard Arabic. (M. Eid, & R. R. Ratcliffe, Eds.) *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics. Papers from the Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics, X*, 9-45.
- Ouhalla, J. (2005). Agreement and antiagreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 23*, 655-686.
- Ouhalla, J., & Shlonsky, U. (2002). *Themes in Arabic and Hebrew Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Owen, J. (2006). *A linguistic history of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pesetsky, D. & (2001). T-to-C Movement: Causes and Consequences. In K. Hale, & M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *A Life in Language* (pp. 355-426). Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, D., & Torrego, E. (2001). T-to-C Movement: Causes and Consequences. In K. Hale, & M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *A Life in Language* (pp. 355-426). Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, D., & Torrego, E. (2007). The Syntax of Valuation and the Interpretability Interpretability Interpretability. In imin Karimi, Vida Samiian and Wendy K. Wilkins (Ed.), *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture: Syntactic derivation and interpretation* (pp. 262–294). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Plunkett, B. (1993). The position of subjects in modern Standard Arabic. (M. E. Holes, Ed.) *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics: Papers from the Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics., V*, 231-260.
- Radford, A. (1997a). *Syntactic theory and the Structure of English*. London: Cambridge University Press.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139166706>
- Radford, A. (1997b). *Syntax: A Minimalist introduction*. London: Cambridge University Press. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139166898>
- Radford, A. (2004). *Minimalist syntax: Exploring the structure of English*. London: Cambridge University Press. doi:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511811319>
- Radford, A. (2009). Analyzing English sentences: A Minimalist Program.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511801617>

- Raḥḥali, M. (2003). *Tarkiiibu j-jumlati al-ṣarabiyyati: Muqarabatun naḍariyyatun jadiidatun [The syntax of Arabic sentences: A new theoretical approach]*. Casablanca: Tubqal Publishing Company.
- Rizzi, L. (1986). Null objects in Italian and the theory of pro. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 17(3), 501-557.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. (L. Haegeman, Ed.) *Elements of Grammar*, 281-337.
- Rizzi, L. (2004). "Locality and Left Periphery. (A. Belletti, Ed.) *Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, 3, 104–131.
- Roeper, T., & Vergnaud, J.-R. (1980). *The Government of Infinitives*. Amherst: Ms University of Massachusetts.
- Roy, I. (2013). *Nonverbal predication: Copular sentences at the syntax-semantics interface*. Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Ryding, K. C. (2005). *A reference grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schütze, C. (1997). *INFL in child and adult language: Agreement, Case, and licensing. Ph.D. Dissertation*. Cambridge: Massachusetts: MIT.
- Schütze, C. (2001). On the Nature of Default Case. *Syntax*, 4(4), 205-238.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9612.00044>
- Sells, P. (2007). *Finiteness in Non-Transformational Syntactic Frameworks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sibawayh, A. (1988). *Al-Kitab* (Third edition ed., Vols. I-IV). (A.-S. Harun, Ed.) Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanaji.
- Soltan, U. (2006). Standard Arabic subject-verb agreement asymmetry revisited in an Agree-based minimalist syntax. (C. Boeckx, Ed.) *Agreement Systems*, 239-65.
- Soltan, U. (2007). On formal feature licensing in Minimalism: Aspects of Standard Arabic morphosyntax. *Doctoral dissertation*.
- Sportiche, D. (1995). French Predicate Clitics and Clause Structure. In A. C. Dominique Sportiche, *Small Clauses: Syntax and Semantics* (pp. 287-324). New York: Academic Press.
- Starke, M. (1995). On the Format for Small Clauses. In Cardinaletti, Anna and Maria Teresa Guasti (eds.). *Syntax and Semantics 28: Small Clauses*, 237-269.
- Stetkevych, J. (2006). *The Modern Arabic Literary Language: Lexical and Stylistic Developments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stowell, T. (1981). *Origins of Phrase Structure. Ph.D. Dissertation*. Massachusetts: MIT.
- Stowell, T. (1983). Subjects across Categories. *The Linguistic Review*, 2, 285–312.

- Ura, H. (2001). Local economy and generalized pied-piping. (H. v. Hulst, Ed.) *The Linguistic Review*, 18, 91-169. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.18.2.169>
- Wright, W. (1981). *GRAMMAR OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE A*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.
- Zagona, K. (1982). *Government and Proper government of Verbal Projections Ph.D. Dissertation*,. University of Washington.
- ʔibn al-Sarraj, A. B. (1996). *Usul fi al-Nahu* (Vol. I). Beirut: Al Resalah PUBLISHING House.
- ʔibn al-Sarraj, M. (1973). *Al-Usul fi al-nahu* (fourth edition ed., Vol. I). (A.-h. al-Falti, Ed.) Beirut: Muʔassasat al-Risalah.
- ʔibn Hisham, A. (1383). *Sharh Qatr al-Nada wa-Ball al-Ṣadā*. (M. M. Abdelhamid, Ed.) Cairo: Dar Nashr al-Lugha al-Arabiyyah.
- ʔibn Hisham, A. (2000). *Mughni al-Labib 'an Kutub al-A'arib* (Vols. II-V). (A.-I. al-Khatib, Ed.) Kuwait: al-Majlis al-Watani.
- ʔibn Ṣaqil, A. (1980). *Sharh ʔibn Ṣaqil Ala Alfyyat ʔibn Malik*. Cairo: Darul Turatha.