



ISSUES IN WORD ORDER

by

Nayla Mohammed Yateem

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As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have
read the dissertation prepared by Nayla Mohammed Yateem
entitled Issues in Word Order

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation
requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Eloise Jelinek

Dr. Eloise Jelinek

Aug. 20, 1997

Date

Simin Karimi

Dr. Simin Karimi

20 Aug. 1997

Date

Richard T. Oehrle

Dr. Richard T. Oehrle

20 AUGUST 1997

Date

Date

Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon
the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the
Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my
direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation
requirement.

Simin Karimi

Dissertation Director Dr. Simin Karimi

August, 27-1997

Date

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of word order in Gulf Arabic.

This work provides facts about word order in this language. In addition to listing the permissible word orders in matrix clauses and simple Wh-questions, I also document the semantic changes which result from the variation in word order. These facts of word order are analyzed within the Minimalist Program. Throughout this work I support the concept of no optionality and that movement has to be well-motivated. I propose that overt movement is not only morphologically motivated, as claimed in the Minimalist Program, but it is also semantically motivated. Such a proposal better accounts for the word order facts, both structural and semantic. In this proposal, I do not have to resort to optionality to explain the variation in word order.

I look at the semantic difference between SV and VS word orders. In the SV order, an entity is chosen and a statement is given about it; in VS order, an event is displayed which has an entity that takes part in it. This variation in word order reflects thethetic/categorical distinction. In these word order, the verb raises overtly to the functional heads: T and AGR. This is an example of an overt movement which is morphologically driven.

The subject in preverbal position in Gulf Arabic has to be information that is previously given in the discourse while if the subject is in postverbal position, it could either be new or given. Hence, I propose that the subject raises to be topicalized. Overt movement of the subject is

not motivated by morphology but by semantics. Accordingly, Case and nominal agreement features are considered weak and they do not motivate the subject to move overtly.

In Gulf Arabic, argumental Wh-phrases can be both fronted and left in-situ. I propose that the fronted argumental Wh-phrases raise to [Spec,CP] to be focused. Focus movement is an example of a semantically driven movement. Adjunct Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic are base-generated in [Spec,CP].

Chapter One

Introduction

1 The Goal of the Project

The general aims of this dissertation are descriptive and theoretical. The descriptive aim of the dissertation is concerned with documenting some of the facts about word order in Gulf Arabic. I have closely examined data from this language in order to arrive at such generalizations. This is an important first step to take because of the lack of this information in the literature about Gulf Arabic. In Chapter Two, I look at the permissible word orders in matrix clauses. I conclude that in matrix clauses in Gulf Arabic the verb can either precede or follow the subject but this is not without meaning differences. Chapter Three continues to look at the permissible word orders in matrix clauses, concentrating on the properties of the subject. I arrive at interesting results with regard to the position of the subject, before or after the main verb, and the condition on the newness or the givenness of the subject. Chapter Four deals with word order in interrogative clauses in Gulf Arabic. This chapter documents the possible word orders with respect to interrogative Wh-questions and the various means of asking questions in Gulf Arabic, namely fronted Wh-questions and Wh-in-situ. As part of my descriptive aim, I show that certain semantic or pragmatic factors must be included in the statement of word order facts. For example, the speaker's intentions,

whether something is marked or not, and whether something is focused or not.

The second aim of this work is to account for the word order generalizations in terms of current theories. I take the Minimalist Program to be the theoretical framework within which I achieve my second objective. This program is developed in Chomsky (1991), (1993), (1994) and (1995) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993). In addition, I make several proposals designed to enrich this framework. The central proposal of this work is that overt movement is not motivated by morphology alone but by semantics or pragmatics. Examples of such movements are the topicalization of the subject and the focusing of argumental Wh-phrases. It is proven in this work that semantics and pragmatics play a crucial role in accounting for word order facts. A framework which depends solely on morphology cannot account for meaning differences and also fails to correctly predict the permissible surface word order.

To motivate movement by semantics does not mean to change the underlying thematic relations in a sentence. For example, in a sentence like *John kissed Mary*, where *John* is the agent and *Mary* is the patient, through movement we cannot derive the sentence *Mary kissed John*, where *Mary* is the agent and *John* is the patient. This type of movement is prevented by the theory itself because movement to a θ -position is prohibited.

2 What is Gulf Arabic?

In the Arab countries, a number of different dialects of Arabic are spoken by their people. These dialects vary from one country to the other, and they even vary within the same country. Speakers of the same dialect might even differ according to their cultural and educational backgrounds. In addition to these spoken dialects there is a highly respected variety of Arabic which is the language of the Holy Quran, known as Classical Arabic, which is also found in pre-Islamic poetry. Modern Standard Arabic is the standard variety of Arabic. It is used by Arabs all over the Arab world and it is learnt by Arabs after their initial acquisition of their own dialects. Modern Standard Arabic is used only in formal contexts such as: speeches, debates, discussions, news broadcasts, newspapers, and books, and in schools and universities as a medium of instruction.

There are both phonological and morphological differences between Modern Standard Arabic and the dialects. For example, the dialects no longer have Case inflections, dual forms for pronouns and verbs and some dialects do not have the feminine plural inflection for pronouns and verbs.

The dialect which I have chosen to study in this dissertation is Gulf Arabic. It is the spoken language of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates¹. There are differences among the dialects of these states but there are more characteristics in common than there are differences as stated in Johnstone (1967). In fact there are enough characteristics in

¹ Saudi Arabia and Oman are excluded from this study because the Arabic spoken in these two countries is different from that spoken in the other Gulf states.

common among these dialects to distinguish them as a separate dialect group from dialects of Oman and Saudi Arabia. In studies of Gulf Arabic, the common characteristics are emphasized while the differences are ignored.

The reader should note that Gulf Arabic is the language studied in this dissertation. I concentrate on its word order and the related pragmatic issues. The analyses proposed for this language is not proposed with Standard Arabic in mind. In other words, these analyses might not be extendable to the standard variety of Arabic because of their differences. I review the analyses that have been proposed for Standard Arabic and show that they also cannot be applied to Gulf Arabic. The purpose of looking at the research done with respect to Standard Arabic is to bring to the reader's attention that Standard Arabic is not similar to Gulf Arabic. In addition to that, such research cannot be overlooked when studying the spoken varieties of Arabic.

3 Theoretical Assumptions

In this section I lay out the theoretical assumptions upon which I base my upcoming analyses. The theoretical framework within which I work is the Minimalist Program (MP). I will only review those assumptions from the MP which are directly related to my work. During the progress of my research, syntactic theory in the transformational tradition was at a crossroad between the Government and Binding Theory (GB) and MP;

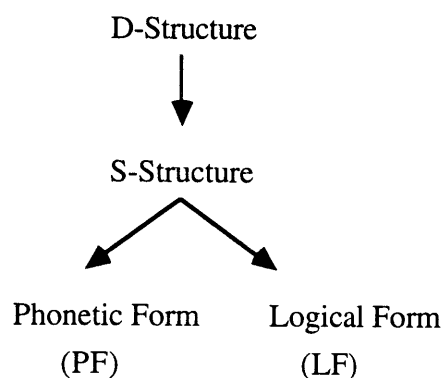
therefore, I will try to clarify, wherever necessary, the changes brought by the new program and compare it to the GB theory. This will ease the reader into this new stage of syntactic theory.

3.1 Model of Grammar

3.1.1 Government and Binding Model

The model of grammar assumed by GB theory is the following (this model has been proposed in Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) and it is called the T-model):

(1)



D-Structure, S-Structure, PF and LF are levels of representation. The mapping between these levels, which is called derivation, is applied by Move- α and governed by various filters. PF and LF are called interface levels as LF interfaces with semantics-conceptual systems of cognition and PF interfaces with articulatory-perceptual modules.

The lexicon in GB is a structured data-base. Each word of the language has an entry which specifies all and only the idiosyncratic, unpredictable information associated with that word. The lexical entry includes the syntactic category of the word and its subcategorization frame, i.e. the syntactic category of the complement which the word takes. For example, the lexical entry for the verb *persuade* is

- (2) V; [___ NP CP]

The lexical entry also includes the thematic roles or θ -roles which show the type of relation each argument has with regard to the action (or state) expressed by the verb. For example, the verb *break* has the following lexical entry including the θ -roles:

- (3) BREAK: V; [___ NP]
< {Agent,Theme},Patient >

In *John broke the window*, *John* is the agent of the activity of breaking and the *window* is the direct object or patient of the activity. The subject does not necessarily have to be assigned an agent θ -role since the subject could be a theme as in *The rock broke the window*.

The lexicon is mapped to the four levels of representation via these two principles: the Projection Principle and the θ -Criterion.

The Projection Principle:

The syntactic structures in which a word appears must satisfy all its specified properties.

The Projection Principle ensures that the lexical items in all the syntactic levels of representation appear in configurations that are in accordance with their lexical properties.

θ -Criterion:

- a) Each θ -position belongs to a chain containing exactly one argument.
- b) Each argument belongs to a chain containing exactly one θ -position.

Chomsky (1986)

D-Structure is projected from the lexicon “all at once”. This property is no longer present in MP; details to follow. In GB theory, the derivation would start as follows: a multi-set of lexical items is drawn from the lexicon, then this multi-set is combined in a single structure tree according to X-bar theory and the subcategorization features of the lexical items. This yields D-Structure. Another view would be to generate a tree by Phrase Structure rules and then insert the lexical items into this tree, thus producing D-Structure.

S-Structure is derived from D-Structure through movement, where a constituent moves to its surface position and leaves a trace behind, as postulated for the special cases of Move- α known as V-movement, NP-movement and Wh-movement.

Mapping to LF from S-Structure is similar to mapping to S-Structure from D-Structure and is applied by Move- α . Quantifier Raising

is an example of an LF operation where the quantificational phrase moves at LF to a position where it receives its scope. (4) illustrates quantifier raising:

(4) S-Structure: Mary loves everyone

LF: [Everyone_i [Mary loves t_i]]

Everyone moves at LF to receive wide scope.

Another example of Move- α in the derivation to LF is Wh-raising, in multiple Wh-constructions in English, for example:

(5) S-Structure: What_i did John give t_i to whom?

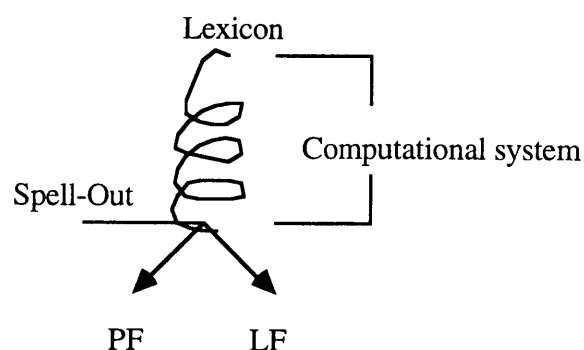
LF: [to whom_j what_i [John gave x_i x_j]]

In S-Structure, the Wh-phrase *to whom* is in-situ, but all Wh-phrases are analyzed as operators binding variables. Therefore, *to whom* is assumed to move to [Spec,CP] at LF.

3.1.2 The Minimalist Program Model

Turning now to MP, the four levels of representation assumed by GB theory are reduced to only two levels: PF and LF, i.e. the interface levels. Thus the model assumed by MP is best presented as in (6) (taken from Marantz (1995)):

(6)

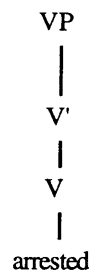


The lexicon in MP contains unlimited tokens of each lexical entry. For example, the lexicon contains as many tokens of the lexical item *John* as one wants. The lexical item is a completely formed word, fully inflected for Case, agreement, tense, etc. This differs from what was assumed in GB theory, where lexical items were bare of inflection when drawn from the lexicon.

The derivation in GB had a starting point where the lexicon and Phrase Structure Rules combine to produce D-Structure. In MP, on the other hand, there is no D-Structure and no single tree.

The derivation in MP begins by selecting an array of lexical items. For example *Sam*, *arrested*, and *was* are selected from the lexicon. Then projection which complies with X'-theory starts: X projects X'; X' projects XP. The computational system targets some constituent and projects from this constituent. For example, from the array of lexical items above *arrested* is targeted, which projects as in (7):

(7)



How can we combine the constituents? When projecting from a constituent an empty category can be left as a sister to this targeted constituent. This empty category has to be filled and it can be filled either by:

1) Generalized Transformations, or

2) Movement

Generalized Transformation takes a constituent and inserts it into a designated empty position Φ in the targeted constituent thus forming an expanded constituent.

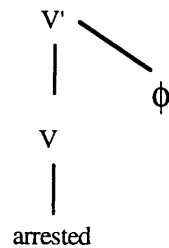
Take a constituent:

(8)



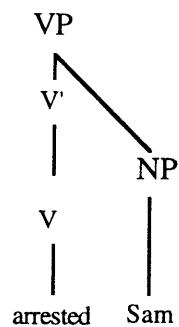
The verb *arrested* projects an empty category:

(9)



Through Generalized Transformations *Sam* is inserted into the empty position forming VP:

(10)



2) Movement is like Generalized Transformation in that it targets a constituent and projects an empty category. This empty category is filled by a constituent but this constituent originates from within the targeted constituent. For example, let the targeted constituent be:

(11) a. [I' was [VP arrested [Sam]]]]

an empty position is projected:

- b. [IP Φ [I' was [VP arrested [Sam]]]]

Sam from within the constituent is inserted into the empty position:

- c. [IP [NP *Sam*] [I' was [VP arrested]]] Marantz (1995)

A derivation in MP is considered grammatical if it is the one which is the most economical (in a way yet to be determined) when compared with other derivations. Competing derivations are those which share the same lexical resources.

In MP there is a point in the computation where the derivation splits into the two interface levels: PF and LF. This point is known as Spell-Out (refer to the model in (6)). In the process of derivation leading to Spell-Out, where computation takes place and the sentence is constructed, Economy Principles (explained in section 3.3) also apply in order to evaluate derivations. Movements which occur before Spell-Out affect the pronunciation but those which occur after Spell-Out on the way to LF do not.

After Spell-Out, the Generalized Transformations procedure is no longer active, only movement continues to be active at LF. If the pieces have not been put together in the area before Spell-Out then there is no way to combine them at LF or PF. Lexical items have to be combined prior to Spell-Out. Therefore, movements at LF have to be within constituents that are already built. Operations in PF are assumed not to conform to the basic mechanisms of the computational systems. There is no feature checking movements at PF. If a strong feature is not checked by

Spell-Out, it will not be checked at PF and it will remain unchecked, causing the derivation to crash (feature checking will be explained in more details below.)

3.2 Major Conceptual Changes between GB and MP

Firstly, since MP has eliminated both D-Structure and S-Structure, then the principles and constraints which apply at these levels in the GB system will no longer be valid in MP. In GB, there was emphasis both on interface levels and on D-Structure and S-structure. D-Structure played an important role in θ -assignment and subcategorization while Binding conditions applied at S-Structure. In our new system, principles that constrain derivations will apply at LF, PF, or during the derivation where it is relevant, but D-Structure and S-Structure do not play any role in the application of those principles.

The second major difference between the two systems is the following. The general assumption in GB is that movement is optional in all three components: D-Structure, S-Structure and LF. Although it is optional, there are principles that conspire to force it to apply (movements were forced to apply only in the most recent versions of GB theory.) For example, A-movement is forced by the need to satisfy the Case filter and Wh-movement is forced by the Wh-Criterion. However, movement in MP has to be well-motivated and this is tightly connected to the grammaticality of the derivation, i.e. if movement in MP occurs for no reason it is

considered to be an ungrammatical derivation. This is one of the main conceptual changes introduced by MP: constituents must move for a reason and there are no optional movements. All overt movements are motivated and forced morphologically in MP. I support the concept of no optionality throughout my dissertation with evidence from Gulf Arabic. However, the proposal of all overt movement are forced morphologically in MP is under scrutiny in this work.

Thirdly, grammaticality in MP depends on a comparison between different derivations which produce the same sentence, and the most economical derivation is the grammatical one. While in GB, evaluation was done of one derivation in isolation.

3.3 Principles of MP

In MP there are a number of principles which constrain derivations. Individual constituents in MP can have features that have to be checked and this motivates the constituents to move. If the feature is not checked by Spell-Out or at LF, depending on the nature of the feature, then the structure is not interpretable. If a structure fails to meet the interface conditions of PF or LF, then this structure is said to “crash”. A derivation that crashes at LF or PF is said to “fail to converge” at that level.

The Economy Principles of Shortest Move, Greed, Procrastinate, and Last Resort involve comparison of alternative derivations. Let us look at these principles in detail.

3.3.1 Shortest Move

This principle is intended to replace Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990), Subjacency, and the Head Movement Constraint in GB theory. The basic idea of Shortest Move is that a constituent must move to the first position up from its source position that is of the right kind. For example, (12) below is an example of a violation of the Head Movement Constraint, which is that a head cannot pass over the closest c-commanding head.

- (12) * Have_i John will t_i left by the time we get there?

Shortest Move accounts for the ungrammaticality of this example by stating that the head is prohibited from skipping over a head position between its source position and the landing site. The head *have* has skipped over the head *will* to move to a higher head position, thus violating Shortest Move.

(13) is an example of “Superraising” as referred to in GB. Its ungrammaticality is attributed to the lack of government. The trace of *John* is not antecedent-governed because the intervening A-specifier *it* blocks government between *John* and its trace. This structure, therefore, violates the Empty Category Principle, ECP.

- (13) * John_i is likely for it to seem t_i to have left.

Here *John* undergoes A-movement; therefore, only intervening A-positions are relevant. *John* skips over *it* in A-position to get to the subject of *is likely*. This example is ungrammatical by Shortest Move because the moved constituent skips over a position of the right kind; i.e. an A-position.

(14) is an example of superiority, where if there are a subject Wh-phrase and an object Wh-phrase, the former which is structurally “superior” has to be extracted not the latter.

(14) * What_i did you persuade who to buy t_i?

This example shows A'-movement where *what* skips over another A'-position of *who*. Shortest Move accounts for a violation of Relativized Minimality regarding A'-movement.

3.3.2 Greed

Greed states that a constituent may not move to satisfy the needs of another constituent. Movement is done for selfish reasons. For example, a constituent cannot move in order to check off the feature of another constituent, but moves to check off its own features. Marantz (1995) provides the following examples where an NP has moved from a Case position. Marantz comments that Greed may be used to account for the ungrammaticality of these sentences.

- (15) a. * John seems [t is leaving]
 b. * John seems to t [that Bill is leaving]
 c. * John was said to t [that Bill is leaving]

NP-movement of *John* from a Case position may be ruled out by Greed. An NP in a Case position already has its Case feature checked. Therefore, if the NP moves further from that position, then its movement is in order

to check off the features of a higher Case position. As a result, the NP moves to check off the features of another constituent and not its own features which renders the examples in (15) ungrammatical. However, Marantz claims that the theory of features and feature checking has to be made clearer in order to rule out sentences on the basis of not complying with Greed.

3.3.3 Procrastinate

Procrastinate prefers movements to delay in order to occur after Spell-Out, and therefore have no effect on pronunciation. Procrastinate may be violated by movements that occur before Spell-Out in order for the derivation to converge. To give an examples for both obeying and violating Procrastination, let us look at English and French main verbs. English main verbs do not raise to Tense before Spell-Out and therefore they are pronounced within the VP. French main verbs, on the other hand, raise before Spell-Out. English verbs obey Procrastinate while French main verbs violate it. The main assumption is that tense features on French main verbs are strong and have to be checked prior to Spell-Out because they are visible at PF if they are not checked. Therefore in French Procrastinate has to be violated in order to ensure convergence. English tense features are weak and are not visible at PF; therefore, they can wait until LF to be checked off. English here obeys Procrastinate because feature checking is delayed until LF. (This explanation of Procrastination is due to Marantz (1995).)

3.3.4 Last Resort

In Last Resort, priority is given to the simplest and shortest movement, but if this is not possible, then another movement is applied as a last resort. This guarantees the elimination of superfluous steps in the derivation, minimizing its length.

3.4 Copy Theory of Movement

While in GB, movement leaves behind a trace of the moved constituent, in MP movement is a copying operation. Copy theory can be put as follows. Every instant of movement leaves behind a copy of the moved element. At the interface levels, the grammar has to decide which members of the chain are pronounced and which are interpreted. For example, in A-movement (NP raising or passives) the constituent in the head position of the chain is the one which is pronounced.

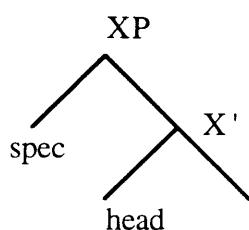
3.5 Features

Morphological features are an important ingredient of MP. Among such features are tense, Case, and agreement. Lexical items, as discussed above, are fully inflected when drawn from the lexicon. These inflections are represented as features on these lexical items. For example, if the verb is inflected for tense and agreement, then it has to carry those inflections as features too.

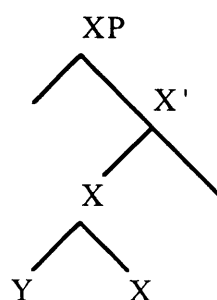
Checking features consists of comparing two features: if they match, then both occurrences are deleted. All overt movements in MP occur in order to check features; all overt syntactic movements are driven by morphology, and there are no semantically driven movements. (I intend on challenging this in my analysis.) Covert movement has no effect on word order, and is not necessarily driven by morphology as in Quantifier Raising.

The checking of features in MP is allowed through the relation between a head and its specifier, as in (16a). No licensing takes place through head-complement relations; government plays no role in MP. Another checking configuration is head-head which is a head adjoined to a head as in (16b). For example, NPs check their Case and Φ -features in a Spec-Head configuration, and verbs adjoin to functional heads and their features are checked by these heads.

(16) a.



b.



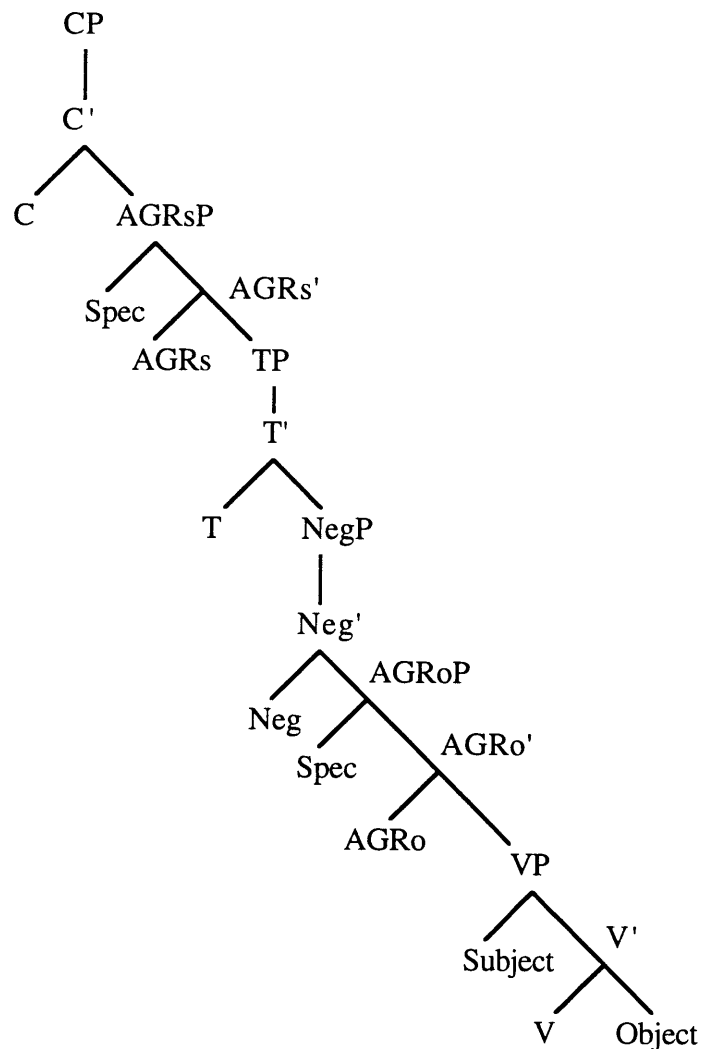
Features of functional categories can either be “weak” or “strong”. Strong features are visible at PF if they are not checked off prior to Spell-Out. Therefore, they have to be checked before Spell-Out. Weak features

are not visible at PF. And if they appear at PF they do not cause the derivation to crash. By the Principle of Procrastinate, movement must wait until after Spell-Out if waiting will not cause any ungrammaticality. Thus weak features must be checked at LF.

3.5.1 Functional Categories AGR and T

Let us first look at the structure of CP (advocated by Chomsky (1995)) in order to determine the positions of the functional categories AGR and T:

(17)



Note that there are two AGRPs: AGRsP for subject agreement and AGRoP for object agreement. There are no intrinsic differences between the features of AGRs and AGRo, only a positional difference as both can have number, person, and/or gender features regardless of their positions.²

² In Chomsky (1995) (chapter 4) AGRP is no longer used. Both TP and AGRP are collapsed in T(ense)P. I will continue to use the functional projection of AGR throughout this dissertation.

The functional categories of AGR and T do not have the same function in MP as in GB. In the former, the Vs and Ns are fully inflected with inflectional affixes, and the role of the functional nodes is to carry the morphological features which are necessary to check off the features on Ns and Vs. In GB, on the other hand, lexical items are not fully inflected and they raise to these functional nodes which are associated with the affixes to get inflected, i.e. inflections are attached to the lexical items in these nodes after movement.

In MP, the functional categories of AGR and T carry agreement and tense features, respectively. When the verb raises and adjoins to these categories it checks its features against their corresponding features. If the features match they are eliminated. The functional categories carry two sets of features. AGR carries two sets of Φ -features (person, number and/or gender features): one is “verbal” to check against the agreement features on the verb which adjoin to the AGR head and the other is “nominal” to check against the agreement features of NPs that raise to the Spec of AGRP. T carries two sets of features as well: tense features to check off against the tense features of the verb and Case features to check off against the corresponding features of NPs. Note that while the verb raises and adjoins to the heads of the functional categories, NPs raise to the Specs of those functional categories.

Nominative Case is usually licensed by AGRs after T (which carries nominative Case features) raises and adjoins to this node and accusative

Case is licensed by AGRo after V (which carries accusative Case features) raises and adjoins to this node.

In MP, Ns must be assigned Case in the lexicon before they are inserted into the structure. When Ns carry the Case feature, this ensures that they have to move in order to check off this feature. Depending on whether the feature is strong or weak, the N will move prior to Spell-Out or at LF respectively. For example, in English, nominative Case is a strong feature which has to be checked prior to Spell-Out and accusative Case is a weak one which must wait until LF.

3.5.2 Parametric Differences

In MP, the parametric differences are accounted for on the basis of the differences in features among lexical elements which occupy the functional category nodes. For example, to account for the difference in word order between English and French, MP resorts to features.

- (18) a. John often eats apples.
 b. * John eats often apples
- (19) a. Jean mange souvent des pommes
 Jean eats often the apples
 “Jean often eats apples”
 b. * Jean souvent mange des pommes
 Jean often eats the apples

English has the main verb following the adverb as in (18a), while French has it preceding the adverb as in (19a). This is explained as follows. English leaves the verb inside VP so there is no overt verb movement. If there is overt verb movement in English as in (18b) this renders the sentence ungrammatical. French raises the verb to T before Spell-Out and the verb is pronounced to the left of the adverb. If the verb stays within VP as in (19b) the sentence is considered ungrammatical. Note that in English modals and *have*, unlike main verbs, raise before Spell-Out *John has often eaten apples* and *John must often eat apples*.³

MP accounts for this word order difference as follows. The verbal features of either AGR or T or both must be strong in French. This forces the verb to move prior to Spell-Out to check off these features, because the strong features are visible at PF, and if left unchecked, they cause the derivation to crash. The verb moves prior to Spell-Out in French, which means that this movement is visible at Spell-Out. In English, the verbal features of T and AGR are weak. Weak features are not visible at PF and they will not cause the derivation to crash. Therefore, by Procrastinate, verb movement can be delayed until after Spell-Out. As a result the verb is pronounced within VP in English.

³ This is only one way to account for word order differences between English and French. Others have been proposed.

4 The Outline of the Dissertation

I turn now to an outline of my dissertation which shows the organization of the work and a more detailed look at both the descriptive observations that I reach and the theoretical proposals I put forward.

Chapter Two: VS Order and Theticity

In this chapter, I look at a problem that has intrigued a number of linguists, which is the ability of the subject in Arabic to appear in both preverbal and postverbal positions. I refer to it as the SV/VS word order alternation. This variation in word order is available in both Modern Standard Arabic and a number of dialects of Arabic such as Lebanese, Moroccan and Gulf Arabic. This chapter primarily focuses on verb movement and the derivation of VS word order, while the following chapter deals with the position of subjects and the SV word order. Both chapters contribute to an understanding of word order in Gulf Arabic and more specifically to the understanding of the SV/VS word order alternation.

The majority of work done in this area has only considered the subject-verb agreement facts in Standard Arabic, i.e. the morphological aspect of this issue. However, after exploring the data in Gulf Arabic I reach the conclusion that the answers lie not only within morphology but also within pragmatics. Investigating this area reveals that there are differences in meaning between SV and VS word orders; they could be

captured by thethetic/categorical expressions. I contribute to the morphology of Gulf Arabic by proposing the overt movement of verbs for morphological reasons.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In section (2), I lay out the data for both Standard and Gulf Arabic. The examples given show the SV/VS word order alternation in both varieties of Arabic and the examples also show the differences between the two. In section (3), I give a review of previous analyses that attempted to account for the variation in word order in Standard Arabic. Then, I present both the theoretical and empirical difficulties these analyses encounter when extended to Gulf Arabic. In section (4) I turn to my own analysis of the Gulf Arabic data.

A fact that has been overlooked in the discussion of Standard Arabic word order is the meaning difference between the SV and VS word orders. When the subject is in preverbal position the order is the most neutral and when the subject follows the verb this tends to be marked. This observation has led to the conclusion that both morphology and pragmatics must be utilized in any thorough analysis of the SV/VS word order. First, I look at the morphological aspect of verb movement, i.e. verb movement to I. In my analysis, this is an obligatory movement that is required in both word orders. I exclude adverbs as a reliable test for verb movement or lack of it. The following subsection introduces thethetic/categorical distinction. I show that the SV/VS alternation in Gulf Arabic is a way to reflect thethetic/categorical distinction. This proves that these word orders cannot be treated as equals. Finally, I look at the derivation of the VS order. I

propose that the subject stays in-situ and it raises at LF to [Spec,AGRP] to check both nominative Case and agreement features. This proposal does not deal with SV order. I investigate subject position and its overt raising in the following chapter.

In this chapter, I limit my discussion of Standard Arabic to: presenting the Standard Arabic data and comparing it to the Gulf Arabic examples; and to reviewing the analyses given for that language. However, my analysis does not deal with Standard Arabic examples and does not provide an account for them.

Chapter Three: The Position of Subjects

This chapter seeks to answer the questions that were left unanswered in the preceding chapter. I explore the subject position and the derivation of the SV order in Gulf Arabic. Once more the SV/VS word order alternation has to be discussed. In this chapter I look at the problem from the perspective of the subject. Both chapters 2 and 3 combined are hoped to offer an insight into this alternation. Case and agreement, i.e. morphology, have been the dominating idea in the discussion of subject raising. However, in this chapter I argue that semantics is the factor in subject raising which accurately accounts for the data. The subject in the SV order raises to be topicalized; thus yielding the topic-predicate dichotomy.

In section (2), I review two proposals: the single base position, proposed by Benmamoun (1992) and Ouhalla (1994) among others; and the

dual base position, advocated by Demirdache (1992), Olarrea (1994) and others. Both attempt to account for the position of the subject in the SV and VS word orders. They also aim at deriving those word orders and at accounting for Case and subject verb agreement in Standard Arabic. I list a number of problems that both proposals encounter. The single base position proposal faces the problem of optionality. In addition to that it fails to recognize and account for the meaning differences between the SV and VS orders. The dual base position proposal, on the other hand, is based on the assumption that preverbal subjects and “left-dislocated” NPs are similar and hence assumes the same structure for both. This assumption has its share of problems.

In section (3), I present my alternative proposal. I show the semantic differences between the SV and VS word orders in Gulf Arabic which are best captured by the *thetic/categorical* distinction. I also show that the preverbal subject is a topic which the VP predicate provides information about. There is a condition imposed on topics which is that they have to be previously mentioned in the discourse; topics cannot be newly introduced into the discourse. And Gulf Arabic preverbal subjects comply with this condition. My proposal departs from other proposals in that I propose that the subject overtly raises out of VP in order to be topicalized and not to check its Case and agreement features. In other words, semantics motivates subject movement and not morphology. The subjects raise to [Spec,AGRP] position to get topicalized. Case and agreement features are assumed to be weak in both word orders.

Section (4) reexamines “left-dislocated” NPs in Standard Arabic and compares them to topics. It is argued that “left-dislocated” NPs are topics which are base-generated in a position adjoined to AGRP. But preverbal subjects and “left-dislocated” NPs are not the same structurally, contrary to the claim advanced by the dual base position proposal, since the former raises to the Spec of AGRP and the latter is adjoined to it.

Chapter Four: Wh-Questions

This chapter is an investigation of Wh-questions in Gulf Arabic; different aspects of this topic are under scrutiny. Among the observations of this chapter is the asymmetry between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases with respect to the permissible word orders following those phrases. Another observation is that Gulf Arabic allows both Wh-in-situ and fronted Wh-questions with respect to argumental Wh-phrases only.

In this chapter, I propose that argumental Wh-phrases are focused, and they undergo focus movement in the fronted cases. In the process I investigate other focused constituents in Gulf Arabic. The adjunct Wh-phrases are proposed to be base-generated and not moved.

In section (2), I present the Gulf Arabic data. The data show the facts about simple Wh-questions, both argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. In this section I only investigate cases with fronted Wh-phrases. I also look at the permissible word orders, i.e. SV or VS, following the Wh-phrases. This reveals interesting facts about Gulf Arabic Wh-questions. It shows the

asymmetry between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. It also presents the differences in meaning with respect to the changes in word order.

In section (3) I consider the proposal in Suñer (1994) to account for the facts in Gulf Arabic. This proposal has theory-internal problems, in addition to its inability to account for all the data from Gulf Arabic. I look at the possibility that Gulf Arabic might be behaving like verb-second languages. This proposal fails to account for the data.

Section (4) deals with the analysis I propose for Gulf Arabic Wh-questions. I assume that argumental Wh-phrases and adjunct Wh-phrases are not to be treated the same. Based on the differences in their behaviour, I present separate accounts for each one. As far as argumental Wh-phrases are concerned, they permit both fronted and in-situ Wh-phrases. Accordingly, I propose that argumental Wh-phrases are motivated to move to their initial position by focus and not by any morphological reason. Support for this proposal is derived from the differences in meaning between fronted Wh-questions and their in-situ counterparts. In addition to that there are similarities between the fronted Wh-phrases and the focused constituents in Gulf Arabic.

Adjunct Wh-phrases, on the other hand, do not raise to their initial position but they are base-generated there. Scope considerations show that this is true of Gulf Arabic adjunct Wh-phrases. I also account for the differences in meaning resulting from the SV/VS word order alternations using thethetic/categorical distinction; these word orders follow the adjunct Wh-phrases.

In this chapter, I argue for semantically/pragmatically motivated overt movements. Morphology is not the only reason for movement as seen in argumental Wh-phrases movement. Using morphology to account for overt Wh-movement fails to show the difference in meaning between fronted and in-situ argumental Wh-phrases. Such an account runs into problems of optionality since it treats both questions with fronted Wh-phrases and those with in-situ Wh-phrases as equals, ignoring the semantic aspect of this problem. Semantically motivated movements also play a role in deriving the adjunct Wh-phrases+SV and adjunct Wh-phrases+VS orders and the subsequent changes in meaning captured by thethetic/categorical distinction. In this case, the adjunct Wh-phrase does not move, but the subject could raise in order to be topicalized. Both topicalization and focus movement in Gulf Arabic argue for overt movement within the MP framework for semantic reasons.

Transcription

ɣ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
q	voiceless uvular affricate
ʔ	glottal stop
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
č	voiceless palatoalveolar affricate
š	voiceless palatoalveolar fricative
ʐ	voiced velarized interdental fricative
ʈ	voiceless velarized dental affricate
θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ʂ	voiceless velarized dental fricative
x	voiceless velar fricative
ɣ	voiced velar fricative

Chapter Two

VS Order and Theticity

1 Introduction

A problem that has intrigued a number of linguists is the ability of the subject in Arabic to appear in both preverbal and postverbal positions. I will refer to it as the SV/VS word order alternation. This variation in word order is available in both Modern Standard Arabic and a number of dialects of Arabic such as Lebanese, Moroccan and Gulf Arabic. Since this has been a rather central issue in the discussion of Modern Standard Arabic linguistics, and since it has never been investigated in Gulf Arabic, I dedicate the next two chapters to an exploration of this issue in Gulf Arabic. This chapter primarily focuses on verb movement and the derivation of VS word order, and the following chapter deals with the position of subjects and the SV word order. Both chapters, I hope, will contribute to an understanding of word order in Gulf Arabic and more specifically to the understanding of the SV/VS word order alternation.

The majority of work done in this area has only considered the subject-verb agreement facts in Standard Arabic, i.e. the morphological aspect of this issue. Exploring the data in Gulf Arabic leads to the conclusion that the answers lie not only within morphology but also within pragmatics. Because this chapter deals only with verb movement, I hold constant the definiteness of the subject in all the examples provided so that this factor will not affect the judgements on grammaticality.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In section (2), I lay out the data for both Standard and Gulf Arabic. The examples given show the SV/VS word order alternation in both varieties of Arabic and the examples also show the differences between the two. In section (3), I give a review of previous analyses that attempted to account for the variation in word order in Standard Arabic. Then, I present both the theoretical and empirical difficulties these analyses encounter when extended to Gulf Arabic. In section (4) I turn to my own analysis of the Gulf Arabic data.

A fact that has been overlooked in the discussion of Standard Arabic word order is the meaning differences between the SV and VS word orders. When the subject is in preverbal position the order is the most neutral. But the order in which the subject follows the verbs tends to be marked. This observation has led to the conclusion that both morphology and pragmatics must be utilized in any thorough analysis of the SV/VS word order. First, I look at the morphological aspect of verb movement, i.e. verb movement to I. In my analysis, this is an obligatory movement that is required in both word orders. I exclude adverbs as a reliable test for verb movement or the lack of it. The following subsection introduces the *thetic/categorical* distinction. I show that the SV/VS alternation in Gulf Arabic is a way to reflect the *thetic/categorical* distinction. This proves that these word orders cannot be treated as equals. Finally, I look at the derivation of the VS order. I propose that the subject stays in-situ and it raises at LF to [Spec,AGRP] to check both nominative Case and agreement features. This proposal does not deal with SV order. I investigate subject position and its overt raising in the following chapter.

Note that I limit my discussion of Standard Arabic to sections (2) and (3). The former section presents the Standard Arabic data and compares it to the Gulf Arabic examples. The latter section reviews the analyses given for that language. However, my analysis does not deal with Standard Arabic examples for the following reason. The analysis I provide for the Gulf Arabic sentences is based on native speakers' intuitions. I lack access to comparable intuitions for Standard Arabic. I cannot supply such judgements myself and they are not reported in the literature. The reason for lacking speakers' intuitions is due to the limited spoken use of Standard Arabic and secondly it is due to the fact that this language is learnt in schools as a second language.

2 Facts about Word Order in Matrix Clauses

Let us begin by looking at the facts regarding the Standard Arabic word order alternation. Since this has been extensively discussed in previous works such as Fassi Fehri (1993), Benmamoun (1992), Mohammad (1989) among others, it will be a good starting point. In the literature on Standard Arabic, both SV and VS orders are said to be equally acceptable. It has also been well established that this variation in word order results in changes in subject-verb agreement. The examples below illustrate these two points.

- (1) a. ?al-?awlaad-u saafaruu Standard Arabic
 the-boys-NOM travelled
 [3rd,pl,ms]
- b. * ?al-?awlaad-u saafara
 the-boys-NOM travelled
 [3rd,sg,ms]
- (2) a. saafara ?al-?awlaad-u Standard Arabic
 travelled the-boys-NOM
 [3rd,sg,ms]
- b. * saafaruu ?al-?awlaad-u
 travelled the-boys-NOM
 [3rd,pl,ms]
 “The boys travelled”

Examples (1a) and (2a) clearly show that in Standard Arabic, the subject can either precede or follow the verb. Both instances are said to be equally acceptable. In example (1), when the subject is in preverbal position, SV order, the verb *saafaruu* fully agrees with the subject in number, person and gender. The singular verb *saafara* in (1b) is not acceptable because it does not agree with the subject in number. In the VS order in (2), the subject-verb agreement is not as rich since the verb does not agree with the subject in number, as exemplified in (2a). The plural verb *saafaruu* which agrees with the subject in number is not an option and

renders (2b) ungrammatical. Therefore, subject-verb agreement is affected by the change in word order.

Let us look at what happens in Gulf Arabic.

- (3) a. li-Sbayyaan saafiraw Gulf Arabic
the-boys travelled
[3rd,pl,ms]
- b. * li-Sbayyaan saafar
the-boys travelled
[3rd,sg,ms]
- (4) a. saafiraw li-Sbayyaan Gulf Arabic
travelled the-boys
[3rd,pl,ms]
- b. * saafar li-Sbayyaan
travelled the-boys
[3rd,sg,ms]
“The boys travelled”

Both SV and VS word orders are attested in matrix clauses in Gulf Arabic, as in Standard Arabic as shown in (3a) and (4a)¹. In the former the subject

¹ VOS order is also possible in Gulf Arabic (only if the object is followed by a pause or if there is a rising intonation on the subject.) This, however, is a less frequent word order in this language and will not be further discussed:

i. baa9 sayyaarteh Hasan
sold his-car Hasan
“Hasan sold his car”

li-Sbayyaan precedes the verb while in the latter the subject follows the verb. However, the variation in word order in Gulf Arabic does not result in subsequent changes in subject-verb agreement. The verb agrees fully with the plural subject *li-Sbayyaan*, whether the subject is in preverbal or postverbal position; that is, *saafiraw* is the only acceptable form. In (3b) where the subject precedes the verb, and in (4b) where it follows it, the singular verb *saafar*, which does not agree with the subject in number, is unacceptable.

In summary, the examples above show that both varieties of Arabic permit the subject to occur either preverbally or postverbally. There is also an obvious difference between the two, with respect to subject-verb agreement. Gulf Arabic requires full agreement with the subject regardless of its position, but this is not the case in Standard Arabic since the verb fully agrees with its subject only if the subject precedes it. In the following section, I review the analyses proposed for the Standard Arabic data and I apply those proposals to Gulf Arabic. The second half of this section presents a number of problems for these proposals.

3 Review of Previous Analyses

The basic facts presented in the previous section raise the following questions:

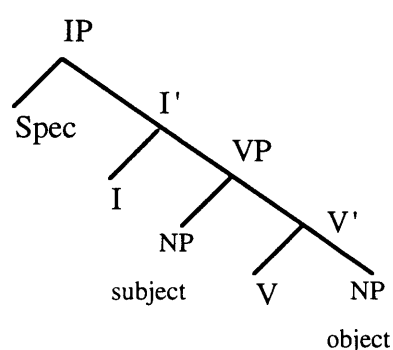
- 1) What is the underlying structure for matrix clauses?

- 2) What is the surface position of the verb?
- 3) What is the surface position of the subject?
- 4) What is the structural configuration under which agreement and nominative Case take place?

In this section, I present the answers proposed by several authors for the questions above with respect to Standard Arabic. Then I evaluate their answers and apply them to Gulf Arabic. In the process of my review of the previous analyses, I will only highlight the most important points, saving the details for Section (3) below.

In works like Fassi Fehri (1989, 1993), Mohammad (1989) and Benmamoun (1992), the underlying structure for all matrix clauses is assumed to be as in (5):

(5)

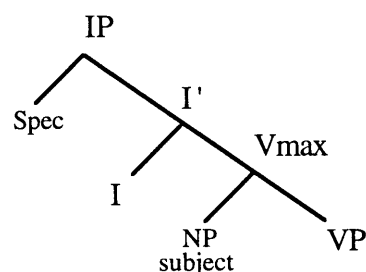


This underlying structure conforms to the proposal of Speas (1986), Kuroda (1988), and Koopman and Sportiche (1991) which is that the

thematic subject is generated VP-internally.² Mohammad (1989), Fassi Fehri (1989, 1993) and Koopman and Sportiche (1991) propose that VS order as in (2a) can be derived by verb movement to I and adjoining to it. The SV order as in (1a) is derived by V-to-I movement and the subject raising to [Spec,IP]. In order to answer questions (2) and (3) above, the verb is pronounced in I position in both SV and VS orders. The subject can either be pronounced in its base position [Spec,VP] or its derived position [Spec,IP]. I provide structures (6a,b) in order to illustrate the surface structures for both VS and SV word orders according to this proposal.

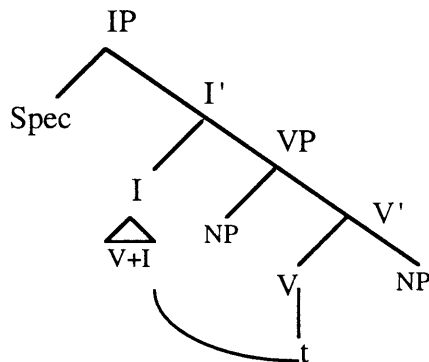
² Although the works above all adopt the so-called VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, they differ in the basic structures for matrix clauses. Koopman and Sportiche (1991) propose that the subject is based in a position of a small clause with VP as a predicate:

i)

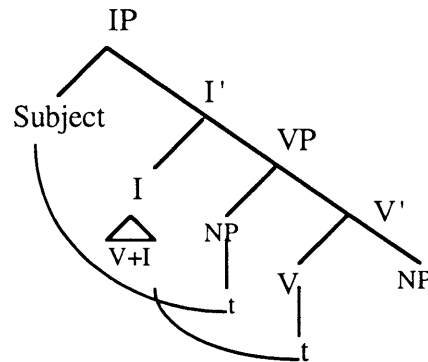


Kuroda (1988) and Speas (1986) have suggested that the subject is in the specifier position of VP which is headed by the main verb. The structure is given in (5) above. I, along with the works I review above, assume the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis and follow Kuroda (1988) and Speas (1986) in assuming that the subject is in [Spec,VP].

(6) a.



b.



The final question concerns agreement and Case. Let us review the analysis offered for subject-verb agreement. In section (2) above, I presented the idiosyncratic agreement facts of Standard Arabic, repeated here:

- (1) a. ?al-?awlaad-u saafaruu Standard Arabic
 the-boys-NOM travelled
 [3rd,pl,ms]
- (2) a. saafara ?al-?awlaad-u
 travelled the-boys-NOM
 [3rd,sg,ms]
 “The boys travelled”

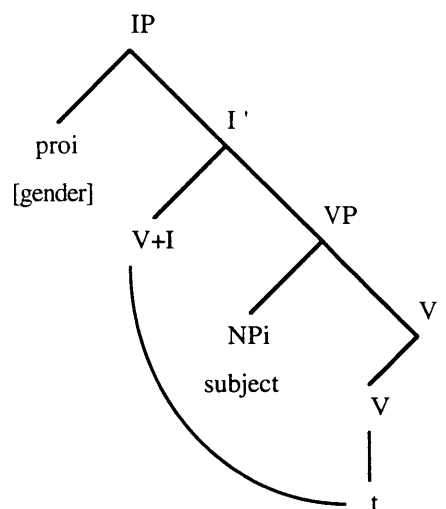
While in (1a) the verb fully agrees with the plural subject, in (2a) the verb does not show agreement with the subject in number. One additional fact concerning subject verb agreement is that the verb displays gender agreement with the subject whether it follows the subject or precedes it.

The question here is what is the structural configuration under which agreement takes place in Standard Arabic, taking into consideration the variation in subject-verb agreement? The agreement relation holds between a head and a phrase and has to be licensed locally. There are two types of local relationships between a head and a phrase: 1) government and 2) the specifier-head relation. Therefore, agreement can take place either in a government configuration (the phrase XP agrees with the head Y only if Y governs XP) or in an agreement configuration (the phrase XP agrees with the head Y only if XP is in the specifier of Y.) Both configurations have been investigated in the literature with respect to agreement in Standard Arabic.

For example, Benmamoun (1992) explores the possibility that agreement takes place in a government configuration or a Spec-Head configuration. He concludes from the data listed above that there are two independent subject verb agreement relations in Arabic. He suggests that gender agreement takes place in either a government or a Spec-Head configuration, while number agreement takes place in a Spec-Head configuration only. This descriptive conclusion is based on the fact that gender agreement is available in both SV and VS orders; hence gender agreement could be derived when the subject and the verb are in either configuration. Secondly, number agreement is only available in SV order, i.e. when the subject and the verb are in Spec-Head configuration.

There are also attempts to derive subject verb agreement through the Spec-Head configuration only. This runs into difficulties with VS order since the subject with which agreement takes place is lower than the specifier of the head with which it agrees as in examples (2a) and (7b). Therefore, it was argued in Mohammad (1989), Benmamoun (1992) and Ouhalla (1994) that there exists a null expletive in [Spec,IP] in the VS order. The verb in VS order would, therefore, enter into an agreement relationship with this expletive. The null expletive in Standard Arabic is specified for the gender feature only, and it gets its value via coindexation with the postverbal subject as in (8). (I supply this structure to illustrate this proposal.)

(8)



Under this analysis, examples (2a) and (7b) would be represented as follows:

- (2') a'. pro saafara ?al-?awlaad-u Standard Arabic
 travelled the-boys-NOM
 [3rd,sg,ms]
 “The boys travelled”
- (7') b'. pro saafarat al-banaat-u
 travelled the-girls-NOM
 [3rd,sg,fem]
 “The girls travelled”

The verbs *saafara* and *saafarat* are in an agreement relation with the expletive *pro* which is supplied by the postverbal subjects *?al-?awlaad* and *al-banaat* with the gender features: masculine and feminine, respectively.

The proposal above of expletive *pro* is based on the following argument. In VS order as in examples (2a) and (7b) the verb does not “fully” agree with the subject; it displays third person singular features, also known as default features. These features are the same features displayed by verbs that take non-argument subjects, *seem*-type and impersonal passives (9a,b).

- (9) a. *yabdu* *?anna* *?al-?awlaad-a* *saafaruu* Standard Arabic
 seem that the-boys-ACC travelled
 [3rd,sg,ms] [3rd,pl,ms]
 “It seems that the boys have travelled”
- b. *suriqa* *al-kitaab-u*
 stolen(passive) the-book-NOM
 [3rd,sg,ms]
 “The book was stolen”

Both *yabdu* and *suriqa* display third person singular features. Therefore, based on the observation that the default features displayed by verbs in the VS order are the same features displayed by verbs that take non-argument subjects, then it can be assumed that there exists an expletive *pro* in [Spec,IP] in the VS order. This is the position argued for in Mohammad (1989). He argues that in VS order the thematic subject occupies [Spec,VP] and expletive *pro* occupies [Spec,IP].

Mohammad (1989) argues that the existence of an expletive *pro* can be more directly seen from the behavior of the complementizer *?anna*. It is

- ?anna* in this example forces *pro* to be lexicalized, and it cliticizes onto the complementizer.

How do subjects receive nominative Case in Standard Arabic? Recall that under the current view the subject can occupy either the [Spec,VP] or [Spec,IP] position. If the assumption that Case assignment in Standard Arabic takes place in specifier-head configuration only is maintained, as shown above with agreement, then Case is assigned in the following manner. In the SV order the subject raises to [Spec,IP] and receives nominative Case by agreement with I. Koopman and Sportiche (1991) claim that the subject raising out of VP is motivated by Case. The subject has to be assigned Case, and if the only way it can get Case is through

specifier-head agreement, this forces it to move. In the VS order, where an expletive *pro* is generated in [Spec,IP], *pro* receives nominative Case through agreement with I. The thematic subject in [Spec,VP] receives Case through transmission of the Case of the expletive to it (this view is argued for by Ouhalla (1994).)

Another view, which is argued for by Benmamoun (1992), assumes that nominative Case can be assigned not only under agreement but under government as well. Therefore, there are two configurations for nominative Case assignment: government by I and specifier-head agreement. In SV order, the thematic subject in [Spec,IP] is assigned Case through specifier-head agreement. In VS order, on the other hand, both mechanisms are used: Case is assigned to the expletive *pro* through agreement and to the thematic subject in [Spec,VP] through government.

I have provided an overview of the account given in the literature of word order in Standard Arabic. The basic structure for matrix clauses follows the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis in assuming that the subject is generated VP-internally with the verb as the head. The verb moves to I in both word orders (SV and VS.) On the other hand, it is proposed that the subject is pronounced either in its base-generated position, Spec of VP, or in its derived position, Spec of IP. When the subject is in the preverbal position, the verb manifests full agreement because the subject is in specifier-head relation with the verb in I. When the subject is in postverbal position, an expletive *pro* is posited in [Spec,IP], which is specified for gender only, as argued for in Mohammad (1989). This would explain the

partial agreement, because the subject is not in specifier-head relation with the verb. I have presented two accounts for nominative Case assignment: one where only specifier-head agreement is used (Ouhalla (1994)) and another where both agreement and government are used for nominative Case assignment, Benmamoun (1992).

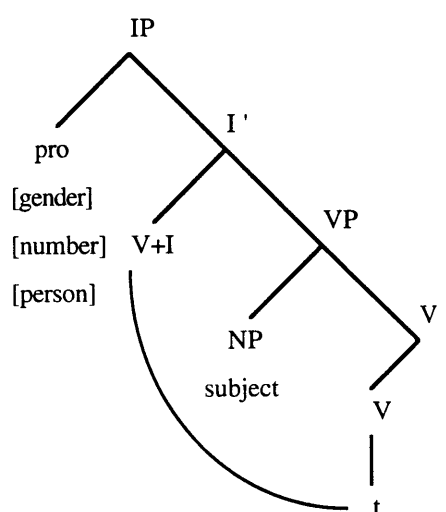
3.1 Problems for these analyses

Here I look at the problems facing the analyses outlined above. In order to explain partial agreement in the case of postverbal subjects, a covert expletive has been posited. It was argued that *pro* is specified for gender only, which is supplied by coindexation with the postverbal subject (cf.(8).) But how would this account for subject-verb agreement in Gulf Arabic? In section (1), I show that agreement in Gulf Arabic is not affected by the variation in subject-verb order. The plural verb *saafiraw* is not only acceptable in SV order but in VS as well, as seen in (3a) and (4a), repeated here.

- (3) a. li-Sbayyaan saafiraw Gulf Arabic
the-boys travelled
[3rd,pl,ms]
- (4) a. saafiraw li-Sbayyaan
travelled the-boys
[3rd,pl,ms]
“The boys travelled”

According to the proposal presented above, (3a) can be accounted for straightforwardly, since the subject is in a specifier-head relation with the verb in I. Because the right configuration obtains for agreement, the verb fully agrees with the subject. In (4a), if we posit an expletive *pro*, specified only for gender, as the proposal above suggests, then this would predict the wrong verb *saafar*. This problem can be resolved if we assume that the expletive *pro* in Gulf Arabic is fully specified for number, person and gender, which are supplied by coindexation with the postverbal subject as illustrated in (11).

(11)



The verb agrees with the covert expletive and it does not agree with the postverbal subject directly.

But this account of subject-verb agreement faces a fundamental problem noted in Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche (1994). This analysis is based on the assumption that an expletive always cooccurs with the

postverbal subject and that this expletive has to be fully specified in Gulf Arabic (also in Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic as these authors note.) The verb, therefore, does not agree with the postverbal subject directly, but agrees with the expletive as in (12).

(12) [IP _{pro}_i [I' V [VP subject_i [V' t]]]]

The expletive *pro* and the thematic subject are coindexed, which entails that the subject supplies *pro* with features. The verb agrees with *pro* in its specifier position.

I follow the same line of argumentation presented in Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994) for Gulf Arabic. As in Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic, discussed by these authors, Gulf Arabic has an agreement morpheme which must be affixed to the complementizer *?inn*. In an embedded clause introduced by the complementizer *?inn*, when the subject is a null pronominal, the morpheme can either agree with the null subject (13a) or it can have default third person singular features (13b):

- (13) a. timanneet ?in-ha (hya) tinjaH fi li-mtiHaan
hoped that-[3rd,sg,fem] (she) succeed in the-exam
[1st,sg] [3rd,sg,fem]
- b. timanneet ?inn-a (hya) tinjaH fi li-mtiHaan
hoped that-[3rd,sg,ms] (she) succeed in the-exam
[1st,sg] [3rd,sg,fem]
- “I hoped that she would pass the exam” Gulf Arabic

If, instead of the null pronominal subject, the embedded clause has a full lexical NP as subject, then the morpheme attached to the complementizer does not agree with the subject, (14a), but takes default features, (14b).

- (14) a. *timanneet ?in-ha salwa tinjaH fi li-mtiHaan
hoped that-[3rd,sg,fem] Salwa succeed in the-exam
[1st,sg] [3rd,sg,fem]
- b. timanneet ?inn-a salwa tinjaH fi li-mtiHaan
hoped that-[3rd,sg,ms] Salwa succeed in the-exam
[1st,sg] [3rd,sg,fem]
- “I hoped that Salwa would pass the exam” Gulf Arabic

Let us look at postverbal subjects in embedded clauses. According to the hypothesis introduced above, there is a covert expletive in preverbal position which is fully specified for number, person and gender features for Gulf Arabic and other dialects of Arabic. These features are supplied by the postverbal subject. Agreement on the verb is a reflex of specifier-head relation between *pro* and the verb. Therefore, we would expect that the morpheme attached to the complementizer agrees with expletive *pro* as

exemplified in (13) above. But this is not the case. The morpheme does not agree with the expletive *pro* as shown in (15a), but takes default features as in (15b):

- [illegible]

To put it simply, the embedded sentences with postverbal subjects are similar to the ones with preverbal subjects, and they differ from sentences with empty pronominals. Examples (15) are similar to (14) but the hypothesis under consideration predicts that (15) should be similar to (13). This point, raised by Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche poses a problem for the assumption that agreement in VS order is through an expletive *pro*. Using examples from Gulf Arabic, I have shown that this problem extends to this language as well.

Another problem raised by Coopmans (1994) relates to Case transmission. Ouhalla (1994) proposes that nominative Case can be assigned to postverbal subjects through assigning Case to the expletive *pro* in [Spec,IP] by agreement and Case is then transmitted to the subject in [Spec,VP]. This faces a problem represented by the following sentence:

- (16) idda9a ?aHmad-u ?anna-hu jaa?a arrijaal-u
 claimed Ahmed-NOM that-it arrived the-men-NOM
 ACC

“Ahmed claimed that the men arrived”

Standard Arabic

The complementizer *?anna* in Standard Arabic assigns accusative Case to the preverbal subject in the embedded clause. The pronoun *-hu* affixed to the complementizer is in its accusative form. If Case is transmitted from the expletive to the postverbal subject, the latter would have to surface in the accusative, and not the nominative form. There is a mismatch between the Case of *-hu* and the postverbal subject *arrijaal-u*.

The view advocated by Benmamoun (1992), following Koopman and Sportiche (1991), with respect to nominative Case also faces a problem of a theory-internal nature. According to this proposal, nominative Case can either be assigned through agreement or government. If nominative Case can be assigned through government to the postverbal subject, then there is nothing that forces the subject to raise to [Spec,IP]. Subject raising is not motivated and SV word order is left unexplained.

This disjunctive approach towards Case also runs into a problem if we adopt the Minimalist Program. It would have to be assumed that the Case feature is both weak and strong. A strong nominative Case forces overt subject movement but a weak feature can be checked at LF and subject raising becomes covert. This is not permissible in this framework. Another analysis for nominative Case checking has to be formulated in the Minimalist framework.

Finally, a further problem for this analysis is noted in a footnote in Suñer (1994)³. The issue she raises is that if we were to argue that the verb obligatory raises to I while the subject optionally moves out of its base-generated position, this entails that the VSO word order is the basic surface order. (Fassi Fehri (1993) also states that the basic word order in Standard Arabic is VSO.) This proposal falls short of explaining why certain sentences with VSO order are not fully natural like the ones in (17) from Spanish:

- (17) a. ? Sabia Maria la leccion
knew Maria the lesson
b. ? Temio Juan a Dios
feared Juan God
- Suñer (1994:353)

The same is also true of Gulf Arabic:

- (18) a. ?9iraf Hasan il-?ijaabe Gulf Arabic
knew Hasan the-answer
b. ?xaaf Hasan min ?alla
feared Hasan from Allah

An analysis that allows the verb to obligatorily move to I and the subject to optionally move to the specifier position cannot explain why the sentences

³ Suner offers an analysis for the SV/VS alternation in word order in Spanish. In this respect Spanish is similar to Arabic in allowing the subject to occur either preverbally or postverbally but they differ in the agreement facts discussed above. Suner proposes that the verb in Spanish obligatorily moves to I, the subject, however, can either raise to [Spec,IP] or stay VP-internally. The same optionality in Case assignment is proposed for Spanish as for Arabic.

in (17-18) are marginal. In order to account for their marginality, the analysis would have to stipulate that the subject (in those sentences only) has to obligatorily raise to [Spec,IP]. This analysis is based primarily on the bipositionality of the subject and to restrict it to [Spec,IP] would not make any sense. The current analysis does not offer any insight into this problem.

To summarize, the analysis proposed to account for SV/VS word order alternation encounters a number of difficulties. First, subject verb agreement in VS order remains unresolved. Expletive *pro* has been proposed to occupy [Spec,IP] and agree with the verb. The Gulf Arabic data has shown that the verb agrees with the postverbal subject directly not through *pro*. In fact, subject verb agreement in VS order is similar to the sentences with SV order and it differs from sentences with empty pronominals. Secondly, there are two proposals concerning the Case of the subject. Both have failed either empirically or theoretically. The first is based on the hypothesis that nominative Case is assigned only through Spec-Head relation. It has failed, because of a mismatch in Case between expletive *pro* and the postverbal subject. The second is based on the hypothesis that Case is assigned either through government or agreement. This has faced a more fundamental problem of disjunction. The no optionality principle of MP is not respected by this proposal. The third problem is of a pragmatic/semantic in nature. The reviewed analysis makes the wrong prediction as far as VS being the basic word order.

The tasks ahead may be summarized as follows:

- 1) To determine the underlying structure of matrix clauses.
- 2) To explore verb movement in Gulf Arabic, and whether it occurs prior to Spell-Out or at LF.
- 3) To explore subject movement and its surface position(s).
- 4) a) To examine subject verb agreement in both SV and VS orders and the configuration it takes place in.

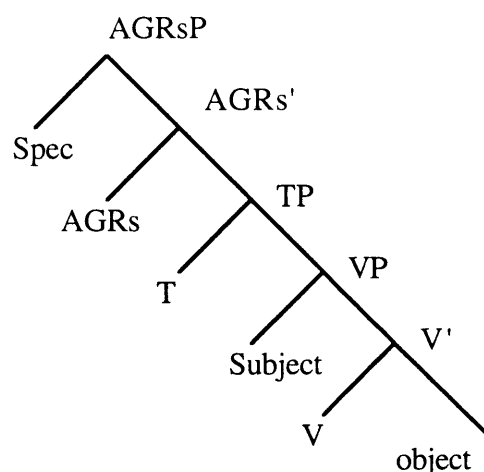
b) To look at nominative Case checking and whether it is a strong or weak feature.
- 5) To explore the semantic/pragmatic component of SV/VS word order.

In the following section, I attempt to fulfill these tasks concentrating primarily on Gulf Arabic. I take MP as a framework, and I work within the assumptions stated in the previous chapter.

4 An Alternative Analysis

I follow Speas (1986), Kuroda (1988), and Koopman and Sportiche (1991) in assuming the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis where the subject is base-generated within the VP. I follow Kuroda (1988) and Speas (1986) in assuming that the subject is base-generated in [Spec,VP]. The basic structure of the clause in Gulf Arabic assumed here is as in (19).

(19)



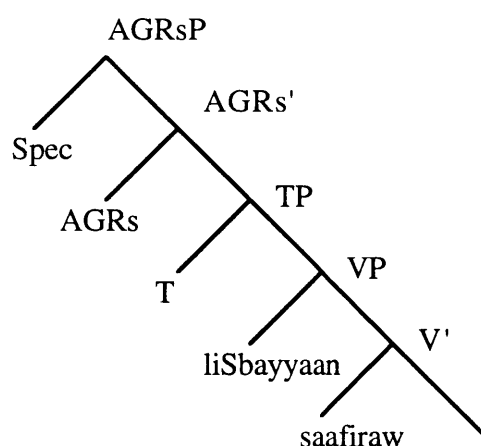
In (5) above only IP appears, whereas in (19) we see a more elaborate inflectional system where IP has been split into AGRP and TP, following Pollock (1989). Omitted here are a possible [Spec,TP] and a phrase headed by the functional element Neg(ation). There are two types of AGR: AGR_s and AGR_o, for subject and object agreement respectively. The latter is also omitted from the basic structure shown here because it is not relevant to our discussion. AGR is a collection of Φ features (person, number and gender.)

This entails that the basic structure for both (3a) and (4a), repeated here is as shown in (20) below.

- (3) a. li-Sbayyaan saafiraw Gulf Arabic
 the-boys travelled
 [3rd,pl,ms]

- (4) a. saafiraw li-Sbayaan
 travelled[3rd,pl,ms] the-boys
 “The boys travelled”

(20)



The subject *liSbayyaan* is base-generated in [Spec,VP] and the verb *saafiraw* is in the head position of this projection.

4.1 Verb Movement

Following the assumptions of MP, the verb is base-generated with both agreement and tense features. This differs from GB theory, where the verbal inflections are affixed to the bare stem of the verb after its movement to the heads of the functional categories. In addition, T carries tense features and AGR carries Φ features, so that when the verb raises and adjoins to these categories (T and then AGR), it checks its features against their corresponding features. If the features match they are eliminated. The

remaining questions with respect to the morphological properties of verb movement are the following:

-- Are AGR and T features strong or weak? In other words, does the verb move prior to Spell-Out or at LF?

-- What evidence is there to support either claim?

The answer to the questions above of whether T or AGR are weak or strong in Gulf Arabic has not proven to be straightforward. In much of the work on verb movement, the diagnostics for verb movement relate to its position with respect to adverbs. I use Pollock (1989) as an example of using adverb placement as a test for verb movement. Pollock looks at the difference in word order between English and French:

- (21) a. John often kissed Mary
b. * Jean souvent embrasse Marie

- (22) a. * John kissed often Mary
b. Jean embrasse souvent Marie

In English the adverb is not allowed to intervene between the verb and its object. French, on the other hand, allows the adverb to intervene. By establishing the position of the adverb, Pollock is able to determine the movement of the verb. The adverb is assumed to be left adjoined to VP in both English and French. This shows that the verb has not moved in English, (21a), and its movement is blocked in (22a). French forces the verb to move, as seen in (22b), and the verb cannot stay within VP as in (21b). Pollock proposes that verb raising in English is blocked by weak

This predicts that in languages where agreement is strong, verb raising should always take place, since agreement can transfer the semantic roles of the verb to its trace. However, in Gulf Arabic, in spite of the richness of AGR, it fails to pass the test of adverbs.

- (23) a. Hasan saa9aat yaakil beeZ Gulf Arabic
Hasan sometimes eats eggs
- b. * Hasan yaakil saa9aat beeZ
Hasan eats sometimes eggs
“Hasan sometimes eats eggs”

If we continue to assume with Pollock that the adverb *saa9aat* is base-generated in an adjoined position to VP, then verb raising is blocked in Gulf Arabic, (23b), and the verb *yaakil* is in-situ.

Do we conclude then that AGR and T features are weak in Gulf Arabic and thus the verb moves at LF by Procrastinate? I reject this conclusion about verb movement in Gulf Arabic because I consider adverbs to be insufficiently studied. Adverbs are complicated both semantically and syntactically, and we know very little about them. It is a questionable move to take adverbs to indicate the position of the verb and to determine its movement. Among the authors who have noted this are Iatridou (1990),

Benmamoun (1992) and Williams (1994). It has been assumed that adverbs occupy a fixed position and the change in word order is an indication of verb movement, but is this right? Pesetsky (1989) offers some examples contradicting Pollock's conclusion:

- (24) a. Bill knocked recently on it.
 b. Sue looked carefully at him.
 c. Harry relies frequently on him.

Here the verb precedes the adverb, then can we conclude that the verb in English does raise? But AGR is weak in English. Iatridou (1990) offers another example:

- (25) I believe John to have been often sarcastic.

In this example two auxiliaries precede *often*. If the adverb is fixed and the auxiliaries move then both *have* and *been* would have to move. These examples prove that adverbs are not a conclusive test for verb movement and that adverb placement and verb movement should be kept separate. The assumption all along was that the adverb is fixed in its position while verbs move around it. We need to consider the possibility that adverbs are not fixed, and can be base-generated in different positions. The ungrammaticality of sentences like (23b) may be due to other factors. Let us take Gulf Arabic as an example. The adverb *saa9aat* appears in initial, final and "middle" positions. It is possible that adverbs are base-generated in these positions. How can we explain the ungrammaticality of (23b)? Case can resolve this issue. The ungrammaticality can be explained by the

requirement that the verb be strictly adjacent to its object for accusative Case checking to take place. (This was originally proposed by Stowell (1981).)

Adverbs have been dismissed as a diagnostic of verb movement but we are left with the same question: are AGR and T weak or strong features in Gulf Arabic?

Another diagnostic for verb movement is morphology. Within the GB theory, one way to determine if the verb has overtly raised to I is with the help of the inflection on the verb. If the verb carries tense and agreement affixes then it follows that the verb has moved to the heads of these functional categories. This is possible within GB theory because the verb is assumed to be drawn from the lexicon as a bare stem with no affixes, and the inflectional categories are derived by head movement in the syntax. This is not readily available in MP. The verb in this framework is drawn from the lexicon fully inflected. The verb then raises to check its features. Consequently, there is no morphological way to decide if the features have been checked or not. And in MP the least costly and most economical way is to check the features at LF.

In spite of this a generalization can be made within this framework, which is that a language with rich inflection, like Gulf Arabic, has V-to-I raising in the overt syntax and the rich inflection could be taken as an indication of the strength of its features.

Lightfoot and Hornstein (1994) show that Standard English, which does not have a rich inflectional system, has one verb which is richly inflected: the copular *be*. *Be* raises overtly to I and appears to the left of *not* as in (26a), and then it raises to C as in (26b):

- (26) a. George isn't president now.
 b. Is George president now?

These authors point out that in some dialects of English, *be* shows no inflection and it is used uniformly regardless of number and person of the subject.

- (27) % George be president now.

Negatives or interrogatives are expressed as follows:

- (28) a. % George don't be a president
 b. % Do George be a president now?
 c. % What do George be?

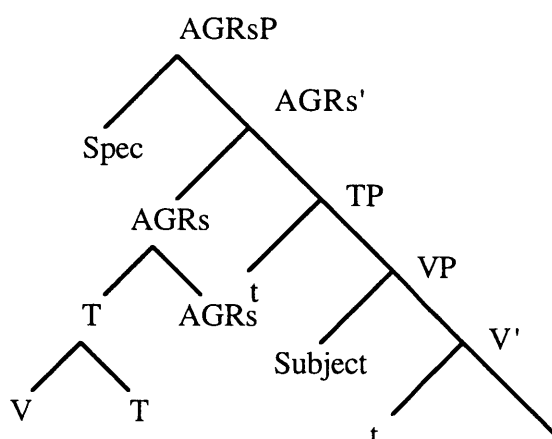
If the uninflected *be* raises to I, this is what would be expected:

- (29) a. * George ben't a president now.
 b. * Be George president now?
 c. * What be George?

These data (provided by Lightfoot and Hornstein) prove that when *be* is uninflected it does not overtly raise to I, but it raises when richly inflected in Standard English. This establishes a connection between rich inflection and overt V-to-I raising.

Therefore, on the basis of the rich inflectional system of Gulf Arabic, I conclude that tense and verbal agreement are strong features, which entails that they must be checked before Spell-Out so that the derivation will not crash. Thus the verb raises prior to Spell-Out first to adjoin to T and check off the tense features. Then the V-T complex raises and adjoins to AGR to check off the agreement features. If those features are not checked they are not legitimate objects to appear at Spell-Out.⁴

(30)



4.1.1 The Thetic/Categorical Distinction

We have seen that the verb in Gulf Arabic moves from its base-generated position to T and AGR prior to Spell-Out. In other words verb movement is overt. I have chosen to use Gulf Arabic's rich inflections as a

⁴ I realize that verb movement is an area of syntax that is yet to be fully discovered. Therefore, the proposal I make for Gulf Arabic might have to be revised if new facts are discovered.

diagnostic of overt verb raising. Accordingly, verb movement here is motivated by morphology; i.e. to check tense and agreement features. Putting the other issues aside, e.g. subject position and subject raising, in this subsection, I present the semantic differences between the SV and VS orders. I argue that this alternation in word order reflects the thematic/categorical distinction.

The analyses proposed so far to account for SV/VS word order alternation have ignored the semantic property of this alternation. I attempt to draw attention to this property of SV/VS in Gulf Arabic. Below I list a number of sentences from Gulf Arabic where the sentences in (a) have an SV order and those in (b) have a VS order then I lay out the differences between the two orders.

- | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------|-------------|
| (31) | a. | Hasan saafar | Gulf Arabic |
| | | Hasan travelled | |
| | b. | saafar Hasan | |
| | | travelled Hasan | |
| | | “Hasan travelled” | |
| (32) | a. | il-maay Tibax | |
| | | the-water boiled | |
| | b. | Tibax il-maay | |
| | | boiled the-water | |
| | | “The water has boiled” | |

- (33) a. faTma ti9aššat
Fatima had-dinner
- b. ti9aššat faTma
had-dinner Fatima
“Fatima had dinner”
- (34) a. šeeleen liSbayyaan yširbuun
these the-boys drink
- b. ? yširbuun šeeleen liSbayyaan
drink these the-boys
“These boys drink (alcohol)”
- (35) a. jaasim yil9ab gmaar
Jassim plays gambling
- b. ? yil9ab jaasim gmaar
plays Jassim gambling
“Jassim gambles”

(31a) is a statement about *Hasan*. First, *Hasan* is selected and then the predicate *saafar*, that he has travelled, is given about him. Whereas in (31b), it is not a statement made about *Hasan*, where *Hasan* is selected and then a statement is made about him; rather in the VS order, an event of travelling has taken place and *Hasan* was involved in this event.

Looking at (32a), here again, a statement is made about the water which is that it has boiled. It can be viewed as two things: the water and the

predicate of it boiling. On the other hand, (32b) is about the event of boiling which happens to be of the water; it is not a statement made about the water. This can be viewed as a single thing: the event of the water boiling. In (33a) the speaker selects Fatima and then gives a statement about her which is that she had dinner. (33b) can be paraphrased as, there was an event of having dinner and Fatima took part in it.

(34,35) give clearer judgements. (34a) selects the subject *ǵeleen liSbayyaan* and gives a statement about them which is that they drink alcohol. This statement is also understood as a property ascribed to the subject: the boys are alcohol-drinkers. The same reading is not available in (34b); this is not a statement about *ǵeleen liSbayyaan* and it is not understood that they have the property of drinking alcohol. (34b) expresses an event of drinking in which the boys are involved. This sentence is acceptable only if it is qualified by the time or place where the event took place but it cannot be given as an independent sentence as with (34a). While (34a) gives a property which is associated with the subject *ǵeleen liSbayyaan*, (34b) expresses an event that it is not a property of the subject.

The same judgements are present in (35). (35a) selects *Jassim* and the predicate *yil9ab gmaar* “gambles” is made about him. This sentence is understood as *Jassim* is a gambler; therefore, assigning a property to *Jassim*. (35b) does not select *Jassim* and it does not give a statement about him. It can be paraphrased as, an event of gambling is taking place and *Jassim* is involved as the one who is gambling. Therefore, to make this sentence acceptable a time or place have to be provided for this event:

- (36) yil9ab jaasim gmaar filleel
 plays Jassim gambling in-the-night
 “Jassim gambles at night”

A time and place do not have to be supplied for the sentence in (35a). Also, (35b) cannot be understood as “*Jassim* is a gambler” because *Jassim*’s gambling could be temporary or infrequent.

It seems that the (a) sentences above, under the interpretation given to them, can be described as “categorical” statements and (b) sentences with the readings presented above can be described as “thetic” statements. The categorical/thetic distinction was first proposed by the 19th century philosopher Brentano and then elaborated by his pupil Marty. It was an attempt on their part to challenge the Aristotelian logic (another attempt was made by Frege). Brentano and Marty talked about a categorical judgement, which was assumed to be constituted of two successive acts: one names the entity and the other makes a statement about it. A typical example of a categorical judgement is *John is intelligent*. *John* is an entity to which the property *being intelligent* is given. They assumed that the thetic judgement has no logical structure and it expresses an event or a situation. A typical example of thetic judgement is a weather expression like *It is raining*. Here there is no statement made about any entity but a recognition of the fact that it is raining. Thus, it can be concluded that in Gulf Arabic the SV order permits a categorical reading and the VS order permits a thetic reading.

This distinction was revived within a linguistic framework by Kuroda (1972-1973). He found evidence from Japanese to show that its sentence structure reflects the *thetic/categorical* distinction. The particles *wa* and *ga* which attach to the subject reflect, as claimed by Kuroda, the *thetic/categorical* distinction. When a subject is marked by *wa*, the sentence is interpreted as *categorical* and when the subject is marked by *ga* the sentence is to be interpreted as *thetic*. Sasse (1987) reexamines this distinction also against a linguistic background. He investigates how different languages (including English) reflect this distinction in their sentence structure. Another work that has to be noted in this area is von Stechow (1989). He reexamines the *thetic/categorical* distinction in the light of recent developments in formal semantics and generative grammar. He proposes some ideas on what *theticity* might be in the framework of generative grammar and formal semantics. In this article von Stechow argues that the logical form of existential sentences is unambiguously a *thetic* one.

Sasse (1987) gives a number of examples from different languages where the *thetic/categorical* distinction is reflected syntactically. In English, for example, this distinction is reflected through its intonation. (I follow Sasse in using capital letters to indicate high pitch in intonation.)

- (37) a. HARry's coming
- b. HARry's SINGing
- (38) a. The CAT is miaowing
- b. The CAT is MIAOWing

Here in both (37a,b) and (38a,b) there is a subject followed by a predicate. However, there are two intonation patterns. In both (a) sentences the subject only receives a high pitch and in (b) both the subject and the predicate receive high pitch. In (37a), for example, an event of coming is taking place and Harry is involved in this event as the one who is coming. In (37b) Harry is selected and then a statement about him is made which is that he is singing. The (a) sentences can be characterized as *thetic* and the (b) as *categorical*. *Thetic* utterances express a pragmatically unanalyzed state of affairs and it is presented as a piece of complex information. But with *categorical* utterances, an analyzable state of affairs is presented. It can be broken down into smaller information units. It selects an entity as the subject and a predicate is given about it. (According to Sasse, this mechanism of intonation is also found in German.)

Sasse argues that in Romance languages, *thetic* statements are normally expressed by subject inversion, i.e. the verb is in sentence-initial position.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| (39) | Arriva Fabrizio | (Italian) |
| | “FaBRIZio is coming” | |
| (40) | En ese momento, entro un soldado | (Spanish) |
| | “In this moment, a SOLdier came in” | |
| (41) | Se rasgo el papel | (Spanish) |
| | “The paper has torn” | |

(42) a. Boli me garloto (Bulgarian)

“I’ve got a sore throat”

“It’s my throat that hurts”

bark dog-ART

“The DOG is barking”

“The DOG is BARking”

These examples from Italian, Spanish and Bulgarian are similar to the Gulf Arabic examples in (31-35). This entails that Gulf Arabic is not unique in using VS to expressthetic reading, other unrelated languages use VS to reflect this reading. Beside intonation and subject inversion, Sasse shows

other mechanisms such as split structures, incorporation and verb nominalization utilized by different languages to expressthetic statements.

Sasse explains the reason for the markedness of VS order: when an expression denoting an entity is combined with another which denotes an event, the most unmarked way is for the event to act as a predicate to the entity, i.e. categorical expressions. Since the categorical expression is the most normal way to express an entity-event combination across languages then this explains the unmarkedness of SV order in Gulf Arabic.

According to Sasse,thetic statements assert the existence of a state of affairs without predicating this assertion of existence about some entity. For example, (44a) asserts the existence of God but it does not give a predicate which asserts the existence of God as in (44b). (44a) isthetic but (44b) is a categorical expression.

- (44) a. There is a God
 b. God exists

The state of affairs to Sasse is a single entity as in (44) above. It could also be a single event as in *It is raining*. The state of affairs could be an event where an entity is part of it as in *HARry's coming*.

In Gulf Arabic, for stating the existence of an entity the existential particle *fii* is used.

- (45) *fii čalb fil-Hadiiqa*
 there-is dog in-the-garden

“There is a dog in the garden”

Whereas for stating the existence of an event, as in weather expressions, VS order is the only available order.

(46) a. habb il-hawa
 blow the-wind
 “The wind blew”

b. * il-hawa habb
 the-wind blow

(47) a. Tagg il-muTar
 fell the-rain
 “It rained”

b. * il-muTar Tagg
 the rain fell

Note that these can be viewed as a single piece of information. However, unlike English weather expressions where a referential expression is missing, in Gulf Arabic there are subjects in weather expressions which take part in this event, i.e. *il-muTar*, *il-hawa*. Therefore, weather expressions in Gulf Arabic are similar to the third type below because it is a description of an event with an entity which takes part in it and not just an event.

Finally, to assert an event, part of which is an entity, VS order is preferred as with the examples (31-35) above, which all represent an event with an entity.

However, generics in Gulf Arabic are expressed through categorical and notthetic statements:

- (48) a. il-yihaal yHibbuun il-maay
 the-children love the-water
 “Children love the water”
 b. * yHibbuun il-yiHaal il-maay
 love the-children the-water
- (49) a. issimač y9iiš fil-baHar
 the-fish live in-the-sea
 “Fish live in the sea”
 b. * y9iiš issimač fil-baHar
 live the-fish in-the-sea

The sentences in (a) which have an SV order make a generalization about children and fish. (b) sentences show that thetics cannot express generics. This shows that the SV and VS orders in Gulf Arabic cannot be treated as equals since there are cases where one is acceptable but not the other.

The evidence given above shows that the verb-initial order in Gulf Arabic permits thetic reading and subject-initial order permits categorical reading. However, it remains to be investigated the intonation patterns and context effects in Gulf Arabic and their significance in the thetic/categorical distinction. Intonation in English reflects this distinction, is it also true of Gulf Arabic? I leave the answer to these questions for future research.

(18) a. ? 9iraf Hasan il-?ijaabe Gulf Arabic
knew Hasan the-answer
b. ? xaaf Hasan min ?alla
feared Hasan from Allah

I have considered an alternative proposal to thethetic/categorical distinction which is that the verb in VS order is “focused”. But this has been excluded because the VS order in Gulf Arabic does not force the reading where there is a narrow focus, i.e. contrastive focus, on the verb. If the verb has been focused in (4a), repeated below, we would expect that the reading of the sentence is always “The boys travelled, they didn’t stay home”. In other words, if the verb *saafiraw* is focused then on this reading all other possibilities have to be excluded as is the case with examples like (50). *John* is contrastively focused. (50) means that from the set that both the speaker and hearer have in mind only *John* bought a car.

The verb in sentence (4a) and other VS order sentences can be contrastively focused with a special intonation contour. This intonation can also be imposed on verbs in SV order, thus forcing contrastive focus on the verb. Therefore, verb focus is not forced by the VS word order but by a special intonation pattern.

At this point, it would be useful to summarize the distinction between categorical andthetic sentences and show how these sentences resemble other sentences with quantifier operators.

Categorical sentences display a dichotomy where an entity is selected and a predicate gives information about it. Traditional Arab grammarians have identified the constituents of these types of sentences as *?al-mubtada? wa ?al-xabar* translated literally as “the topic and the news/information”. This distinction is not different from the one explained in recent works. The categorical sentences as seen above are expressed through an SV word order.

Generics are an example of categorical sentences as shown in (48-49) above. The only permissible order is the SV order and VS order is ruled out as a possibility for this type of sentences. In these sentences, a generic

subject is selected and it is assigned a permanent property. For example, in (49) *fish* is selected as a generic subject and it is assigned the property that it lives in water. This property is not a transient one.

The categorical sentences resemble individual-level properties in that both express a permanent state as seen in this example from English, *Cats chase mice*. That the cats chase mice is permanent property of cats.

Thetic sentences, on the other hand, have the subject within VP. In these sentences, an event is described and an entity takes part in that event but there is no statement made about some entity. In Gulf Arabic, VS order is used to express this type of sentences. Traditional Arab grammarians identified the constituents as *fi9il wa faa9il* translated as “an act and a doer”. Once more this is similar to our definition of thetic sentences.

Existential and weather sentences are an example of thetic sentences as in (45-46). The permissible word order is VS for these sentences while SV is ruled out. As can be seen in these examples, the subject cannot occur in initial position; it either follows the verb as in weather sentences or it is preceded by the existential particle *fii*.

Thetic sentences are not individual-level sentences but are stage-level sentences because they express a temporary state. In addition to that, all thetic sentences are existential since they can be paraphrased as: there is an event such that x is an entity and x takes part in that event.

4.2 Nominative Case and Agreement

After arguing that the *thetic/categorical* distinction in Gulf Arabic is reflected in the VS/SV word order alternation, we remain with the structural issues. It has been concluded that the verb raises to T and then to AGR prior to Spell-Out and it raises in order to check off its tense and agreement features. The remaining issues are the following: subject raising; nominative Case and nominal subject-verb agreement feature checking; and the derivation of SV and VS orders.

The central problem of the prior analyses is that the subject has the option of appearing either in its base-generated position, Spec of VP, or in [Spec,IP/AGRP]. This entailed that the nominative Case could be assigned either through government or agreement. In MP terms, the Case feature would have to be both weak and strong. The bipositionality of the subject was vital to that line of argumentation in order to account for SV and VS orders.

In this subsection I only consider the VS order and leave the derivation of SV order and overt subject raising to the next chapter, where these are discussed in detail. I propose that the subject is base-generated in [Spec,VP] with the Case feature and so is the head T. The Case feature is assumed to be weak, thus the subject in VS order sentences does not move prior to Spell-Out. Since T raises along with the adjoined verb to AGR, so that the verb can check its agreement features, the subject has to raise to [Spec,AGRP] to check its Case feature at LF.

As a result there is only one configuration for Case checking as government is no longer valid. In using the Spec-Head relation alone we did not have to resort to the use of expletive *pro* and the transmission of Case which were proven to be problematic.

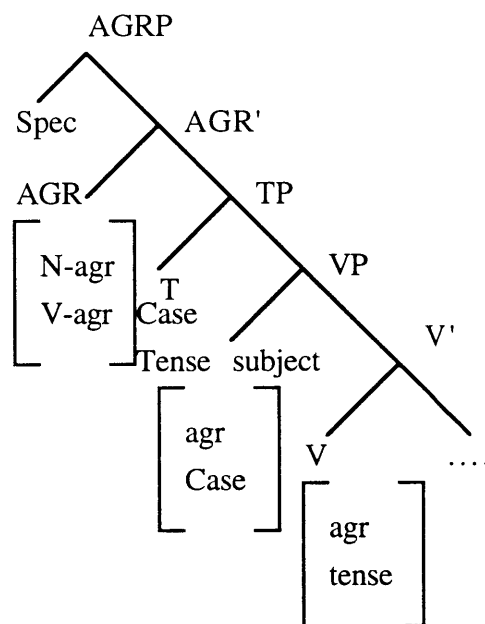
Recall that the problems faced by the previous analyses regarding subject-verb agreement is that of disjunction, and indirect agreement between the subject and the verb through expletive *pro*. My account of subject verb agreement in Gulf Arabic has avoided these problems.

The subject, in my analysis, is not only base-generated with Case, it also has agreement features. AGR carries two sets of Φ features: nominal and verbal. The latter has been checked through the adjunction of the verb to AGR, but the former still remains unchecked. We have previously explored the possibility of obtaining subject verb agreement in Gulf Arabic exclusively through a Spec-Head relation with expletive *pro*. This possibility has been excluded.

I propose that the subject can check its agreement features against those on AGR. I assume here that nominal AGR features (in the case of VS word order) are weak which means that they are checked at LF. Hence VS order is derived through verb movement to T then AGR and the subject stays in its base-generated position until LF. The subject raises to [Spec,AGRP] at LF to check its Case and Φ features.

(51) exemplifies the tentative structure of matrix clauses in Gulf Arabic prior to any movement:

(51)



AGR has two sets of features: nominal and verbal, the latter is strong but the former is weak. T carries tense and Case features, tense feature is strong but Case is weak. This forces the verb to move prior to Spell-Out because of the strong tense and agreement feature. The subject stays in [Spec,VP] until LF because both Case and nominal agreement features are weak. This derives the VS order sentences which permits the thetic reading.

In Chomsky (1995), it is proposed that feature checking at LF, like with checking subject features in Gulf Arabic, does not necessitate the movement of the phrase at LF; only the unchecked features raise at LF. In addition to that, at LF feature checking is only carried out through a head-head configuration. Therefore, in Gulf Arabic the postverbal subject does

not have to raise at LF, only the agreement and Case features raise at LF in order to be checked.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the SV/VS word order alternation available in Gulf Arabic and also in Standard Arabic. I reviewed analyses proposed mainly for Standard Arabic which concentrate on the word order alternation and the subsequent change in subject-verb agreement. In other words, morphology is the main concern of the analyses proposed for Standard Arabic. Next I look at the problems faced by those analyses. The alternative analysis I present in this chapter concentrates on: verb movement, the semantic differences between SV and VS orders and the derivation of the VS order. Verb movement has been argued for on the basis of morphology excluding adverbs as a reliable test for overt or covert verb movement. The thetic/categorical distinction originally proposed by Brentano and Marty accounts for the differences in meaning between both orders. Finally I assume that the subject does not raise prior to Spell-Out since both Case and nominal agreement features are weak. The next chapter deals with the remaining issues of overt subject raising and the derivation of SV order.

Chapter Three

The Position of Subjects

1 Introduction

The previous chapter treats verb movement and the derivation of VS word order in Gulf Arabic. I argue that the verb in Gulf Arabic moves and adjoins to T and AGR for morphological reasons. I show that there are differences in meaning between SV and VS word orders which can be captured by thethetic/categorical distinction. This observation has not been investigated in Arabic linguistics. As for the subject, it is assumed that the subject in Gulf Arabic is base-generated in [Spec,VP] with both nominative Case and Φ features. They are taken to be weak features thus the subject raises covertly to [Spec,AGRP] at LF to check those features. As a result the VS word order is derived.

This chapter seeks to answer the questions that were left unanswered in the preceding chapter. Here I explore the subject position and the derivation of the SV order in Gulf Arabic. Once more the SV/Vs word order alternation has to be discussed. In this chapter I look at the problem from the perspective of the subject. Both chapters combined are hoped to offer an insight into this alternation.

Case and agreement, i.e. morphology, have been the dominating idea in the discussion of subject raising. However, in this chapter I argue that semantics is the factor in subject raising which accurately accounts for the

data. It is argued that the subject in the SV order raises to be topicalized; thus yielding the topic-predicate dichotomy.

In section (2), I review two proposals: the single base position and the dual base position. Both attempt to account for the position of the subject in the SV and VS word orders. They also aim at deriving those word orders and at accounting for Case and subject verb agreement in Standard Arabic. I list a number of problems that both proposals encounter. The single base position proposal faces the problem of optionality. In addition to that it fails to recognize and account for the meaning differences between the SV and VS orders. The dual base position proposal, on the other hand, is based on the assumption that preverbal subjects and “left-dislocated” NPs are similar and hence proposes the same structure for both. This assumption has its share of problems.

In section (3), I present my alternative proposal. I show the semantic differences between the SV and VS word orders in Gulf Arabic which are best captured by thethetic/categorical distinction. I also show that the preverbal subject is a topic which the VP predicate provides information about. There is a condition imposed on preverbal subjects in Gulf Arabic which is that they have to be previously mentioned in the discourse. This is a condition imposed on topics. My proposal departs from other proposals in that it is claimed that the subject overtly raises out of VP in order to be topicalized and not to check its Case and agreement features. In other words, semantics motivates subject movement and not morphology. The

subjects raise to [Spec,AGRP] position to get topicalized. Case and agreement features are assumed to be weak in both word orders.

Section (4) reexamines “left-dislocated” NPs in Standard Arabic and compares them to topics. It is argued that “left-dislocated” NPs are topics which are base-generated in an adjunction position to AGRP. But preverbal subjects and “left-dislocated” NPs are not the same structurally, as claimed by the dual base position proposal, since the former raises to the Spec of AGRP and the latter is adjoined to it.

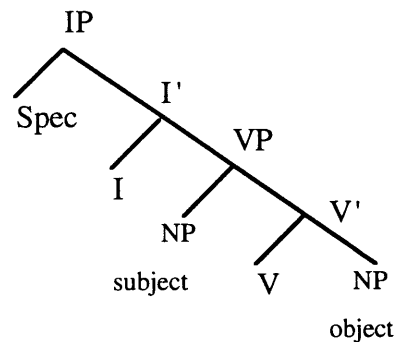
2 Two Proposals, One Problem

In this section I review the two main proposals in the literature which discuss the position of subjects in Arabic. In addition to that issue, they look at the SV/VS word order alternation, nominative Case assignment and subject verb agreement. I show that both proposals have their share of problems in accounting for the data in Gulf Arabic. The first depends fundamentally on the idea that there is one base position for the subject and two derived positions. (These are the analyses reviewed in the previous chapter.) The second proposal depends on the idea that there are two base positions and two derived positions for the subjects in SV and VS orders. I will call the first the “single base position” proposal, and the second the “dual base position” proposal.

Advocates of the single base position proposal, Mohammad (1989), Benmamoun (1992), and Fassi Fehri (1993), assume the VP-Internal

Subject Hypothesis. Therefore the subject is base-generated in the [Spec,VP] position. The verb, based within VP, is assumed to raise to I to get inflected with both tense and agreement affixes. The verb appears in I at the level of S-Structure. The structure in (1) exemplifies the underlying structure for matrix clauses assumed by advocates of the single base position analysis:

(1)



Within the single base position proposal, there are two hypotheses: i) government or Spec-Head agreement is the licensing configuration, and ii) Spec-Head is the only licensing configuration. According to the first hypothesis, the subject is assigned nominative Case in a Spec-Head agreement, i.e. Case is assigned to the NP in [Spec,IP]. Therefore, the subject moves to [Spec,IP] for Case reasons. The derived position is a $\bar{\theta}$ -bar position and a Case position. This movement is similar to that of NP movement in passives and raising.

However, this is not the only Case assignment alternative in this hypothesis. Case can also be assigned through government. The subject in

its base position [Spec,VP] is assigned nominative Case through government, this position is therefore a θ -position and a Case position. The subject stays within VP since there is no reason for it to raise. [Spec,VP] within this hypothesis is both a θ -position and a Case position, on the one hand, and a θ -position and Caseless position, on the other. (Koopman and Sportiche (1991) and Benmamoun (1992), for example, advocate this hypothesis.)

To derive SVO sentences, as in (2a), the verb raises to I and Case is assigned in Spec-Head configuration, thus forcing the subject to raise to [Spec,IP]. In VSO as in (2b) the verb raises to I and Case is assigned through government to [Spec,VP], hence the subject stays in its base-generated position. Note that I take Gulf Arabic as an example for this hypothesis.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| (2) | a. | Hasan kitab irrisaale | Gulf Arabic |
| | | Hasan wrote the-letter | |
| | b. | kitab Hasan irrisaale | |
| | | wrote Hasan the-letter | |
| | | “Hasan wrote the letter” ¹ | |

In the second hypothesis, Spec-Head relation is claimed to be the only licensing configuration, as claimed in Ouhalla (1994). Thus nominative Case is assigned to [Spec,IP] only. It is also concluded under this approach

¹Recall the difference in meaning between (2a) and (2b). The former has a categorical reading and the latter has athetic reading where the event of writing the letter is described and not giving a statement about *Hasan* as in (2a). This is not reflected in the gloss for both sentences.

that an expletive *pro* is base-generated in [Spec,IP] in VSO order only (for a discussion of this issue refer to the previous chapter.)

SVO order is derived by verb movement to I for inflection and the subject raising to [Spec,IP] to be assigned Case. It differs from the previous approach in its derivation of VSO sentences. In the VSO order, the verb raises to I but the subject stays in [Spec,VP]. Since Case is only assigned in a Spec-Head relation, nominative Case is assigned to the expletive *pro* which is base-generated in [Spec,IP]. The subject gets Case through transmission from *pro* since both *pro* and the subject are coindexed.

Within the single base position proposal, subject verb agreement, as nominative Case assignment, falls into two hypotheses: i) subject verb agreement takes place either through government or Spec-Head configuration, and ii) Spec-Head is the only licensing configuration for subject verb agreement.

If Spec-Head and government are both assumed as licensing configurations, then in SV order the verb agrees with the subject through a Spec-Head relation. In VS order, the verb can agree with the postverbal subject through government. If Spec-Head is the only licensing configuration, agreement in SV is direct but something has to be said about agreement in VS sentences since agreement takes place with the subject which is in a position lower than [Spec,IP]. Once more expletive *pro* is used here. It is proposed that *pro* in [Spec,IP] is specified for agreement where its values are supplied by the postverbal subject through coindexation. Subject verb agreement thus takes place between the verb and

the expletive *pro* and not between the verb and the subject. Recall that there are differences between subject verb agreement in Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic. In the former the word order alternations lead to subsequent changes in subject verb agreement but this is not true of Gulf Arabic. (Refer to the previous chapter for more details on the differences in subject verb agreement between Gulf Arabic and Standard Arabic.)

The problems facing the single base position proposal have been discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Therefore, it would be sufficient to give the reader a quick summary of those problems.

The hypothesis which takes Spec-Head or government as potential licensing configurations faces a problem of disjunction. If the subject is assigned Case in its base position through government, then there is no clear motivation for it to raise overtly to [Spec,IP]. Hence NP movement is optional. But if we eliminate either of the options, government or agreement, the proposal would fail to account for SV/VS alternation. Using MP terminology, nominative Case under this hypothesis is both a weak and a strong feature which is not permitted within this framework.

Positing the existence of a null expletive in [Spec,IP] faces problems as well. First a problem faces Case transmission because there is a mismatch between the Case of the expletive *pro* and the Case assigned to the postverbal subject. Under Case transmission both elements have to carry the same Case. There is also empirical evidence which shows that subject verb agreement in the VS order does not take place indirectly through the null expletive (more details in the previous chapter.)

Another problem that faces this proposal is semantic in nature. The motivation for subject raising in Koopman and Sportiche (1991), and all the literature that adopted their idea, is morphological. As a result, the alternation in word order in Arabic is classed as completely optional. There is no way of predicting within this framework when either word order is permissible. It might be argued that subject-verb agreement in Standard Arabic determines word order alternations. Recall that in Standard Arabic only, the verb agrees with the subject in person, gender and number in the SV order. In the VS order the agreement is impoverished, since the verb does not agree with the subject in number. Therefore, it might be argued that when the agreement on the verb is full then we can predict that the word order is SV and when it is impoverished, the VS order is to be predicted. However, subject-verb agreement is only a by-product of the subject position, and not a way to license subject movement. Accordingly, morphology cannot be used to predict when either word order is permissible.

The following sentences pose a problem for the single base position proposal:

- (3) a. Taalib kitab irrisaale Gulf Arabic
 student wrote the-letter
 “A student wrote the letter”
 * “There was a student who wrote the letter”
- b. kitab Taalib irrisaale
 wrote student the-letter

“There was a student who wrote the letter”

“A student wrote the letter”

Taalib is an indefinite NP. I use “indefinite” as a morphological term, i.e. if the definite article *al-* is not prefixed to the NP it is indefinite. NPs with the definite article and proper nouns are definite.

When the indefinite NP appears postverbally as in (3b), it could mean that any student wrote the letter. The subject does not have to be given information, it can be new. The indefinite NP can be introduced for the first time in the discourse. In (3a), however, there is a different reading. The indefinite NP *Taalib* can only appear in the preverbal position if it has been mentioned before in the discourse, i.e. the subject is given information. These examples show that the alternation in word order is not without semantic consequences. The subject can only be given information in a preverbal position but this condition does not hold for postverbal subjects. This is not accounted for by the proposal under discussion which has no room for semantics.

Turning now to the dual base position proposal. Here a proposal made by traditional Arab grammarians is revived. They classed the preverbal subject as *?al-mubtada?*, i.e. topic. Modern syntacticians interpreted *?al-mubtada?* structurally as a “left-dislocated” element. Those adopting this proposal include Bakir (1980), Ayoub (1981), Demirdache (1992) and Olarrea (1994). I take the latter as a representative of the dual base position proposal. Olarrea writes his proposal within the MP framework.

Following Demirdache (1992), Olarrea notes a number of similarities between “left-dislocated” NPs and preverbal subjects. The examples he provides are from Standard Arabic. Using this variety of Arabic is useful since it has overt Case marking which is important in illustrating the similarities between “left-dislocated” NPs and preverbal subjects. First, both bear nominative Case.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|-------------------|
| (4) | a. | xaalid-un _i , ra?aa-hu _i saalim-un | Standard Arabic |
| | | Khalid-NOM saw-him Salim-NOM | left-dislocation |
| | | “Khalid, Salim saw him” | |
| | b. | xaalid-un ra?aa saalim-an | Preverbal subject |
| | | Khalid-NOM saw Salim-ACC | |
| | | “Khalid saw Salim” | |

xaalid acts as a “left-dislocated” NP in (4a) and a preverbal subject in (4b). It bears nominative Case marking *-un* in both cases. *Salim* in (4a) ends in *-un* which marks nominative Case since it is an agent. In (4b) *Salim* ends in *-an* which marks accusative Case because it has a patient θ -role.

Second, both are required to be definite.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-------------------|
| (5) | a. | addaar-u _i , ra?aa-ha _i saalim-un | Standard Arabic |
| | | the-house-NOM saw-her Salim-NOM | left-dislocation |
| | | “The house, Salim saw it” | |
| | b. | arrajul-u ra?aa saalim-an | Preverbal subject |
| | | the-man-NOM saw Salim-ACC | |

“The man saw Salim”

- c. * rajul-un raʔaa saalim-an Preverbal subject
man-NOM saw Salim-ACC

In (5c) the preverbal subject is indefinite, it does not carry a definite article like prior examples, this renders the sentence ungrammatical. (No examples were provided by Olarrea for indefinite left-dislocated NPs.)

Thirdly, Olarrea notes that a “left-dislocated” NP must be linked to an accusative resumptive pronoun as in (4a) and (5a) above, where *xaalid* is linked to *-hu* and *addaar* is linked to *-ha* respectively. He assumes that a preverbal subject is also linked to a resumptive pronoun and since Arabic is a *pro*-drop language then the pronoun can be dropped; therefore, the preverbal subject is linked to an empty pronominal *pro*.

- (6) [xaalid-un_i [pro_i raʔaa saalim-an]] Standard Arabic
Khalid-NOM pro saw Salim-ACC Preverbal subject
“Khalid saw Salim”

Finally, the relation between the “left-dislocated” element and the resumptive pronoun violates island constraints and subjacency as in (7a). Arabic preverbal subjects also violate island constraints as in (7b). The examples Olarrea provides are of wh-island type.

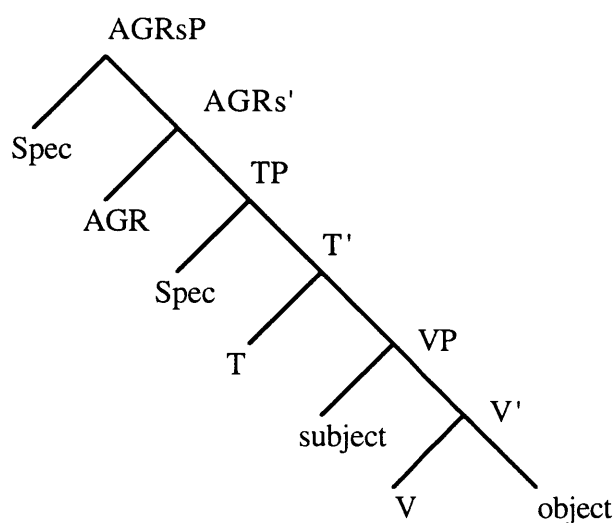
- (7) a. addaar-u_i mataa raʔaa-ha_i saalim-un ? Standard Arabic
the-house-NOM when saw-her Salim-NOM left-dislocation
“As for the house, when did Salim see it?”

- b. arrijaal-u mataa ra?uu addaar-a ? preverbal subject
 the-men-NOM when saw the-house-ACC
 “The men, when did they see the house?”

Based on these similarities Olarrea concludes that the preverbal subject in Arabic is base-generated in the same position as the “left-dislocated” NPs, i.e. adjoined to AGRP.

The structure assumed by Olarrea for the basic sentence structure is the following:

(8)

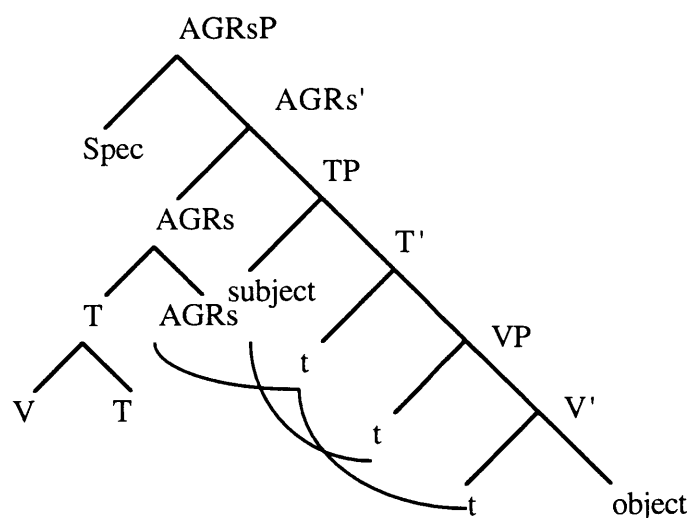


According to Olarrea, T projects a specifier position diverging from the assumptions of MP. [Spec,TP] will be used for nominative Case checking.

Under this proposal, VS order sentences are derived as follows. The verb carries tense and agreement features. Olarrea claims that tense features carried by T and verbal agreement features carried by AGR are

strong. Therefore by Spell-Out the verb has raised and adjoined to T and then the V-T complex has raised and adjoined to AGR. The tense and agreement features are checked off. The Case feature carried by T is strong, forcing the VP-Internal subject to raise to [Spec,TP] to check off this feature (after the verb has raised to T.) This is illustrated in (9) below.

(9)

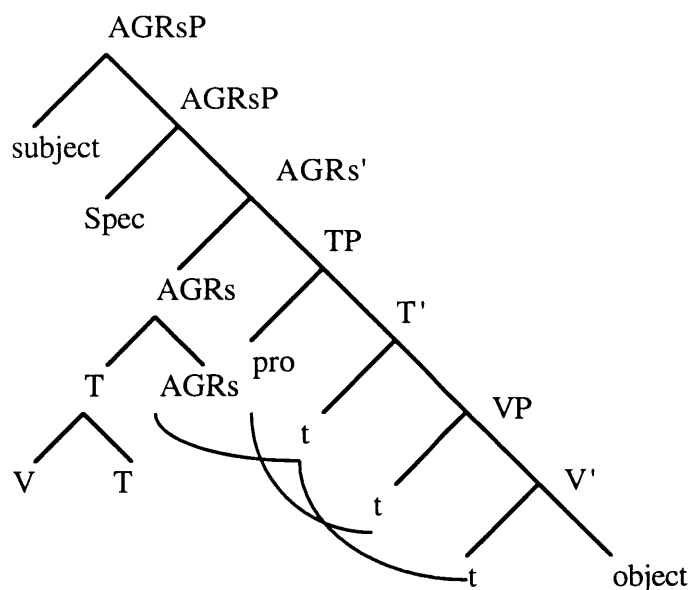


The nominal agreement features on AGR is weak. By Procrastinate the subject in [Spec,TP] raises at LF to [Spec,AGRP] to check its agreement feature.

To derive SV order sentences, he assumes that the preverbal subject is base-generated in an adjoined position to AGRsP and it is coindexed with resumptive *pro* in [Spec,VP] as it is similar to the “left-dislocated” NPs. As above the verb raises and adjoins to AGR after adjoining to T. The subject *pro* raises to [Spec,TP] in order to check nominative Case feature under

agreement with the V-T complex. This feature is strong and it has to be checked prior to Spell-Out. This is the result:

(10)



At LF, *pro* raises further to [Spec,AGRP] to check its agreement features against the nominal features of AGR.

Therefore the sentence in (11) is equivalent to that in (11').

- (11) aTTullaab-u yadrusuuna Standard Arabic
the-students-NOM study
[3rd,ms,pl]
“The students are studying”
- (11’) aTTullaab-u, (hum) yadrusuuna
the-students-NOM they study
[3rd,ms,pl]

“As for the students, they are studying”

The preverbal subject *aTTullaab* is base-generated in an adjoined position to AGRP. It is coindexed with the pronoun *hum* in subject position, and since Arabic is a *pro*-drop language, the pronoun can be dropped.

Olarrea recognizes the problem that the preverbal subject in Arabic has to be given information (cf. (5a-c)) and he attempts to resolve it. Olarrea uses the term “specific” instead of given information. Here is Olarrea’s explanation, which is partly based on Demirdache (1992). The preverbal subject, under his analysis, is coindexed with an empty pronominal just as a “left-dislocated” NP is linked to a resumptive pronoun. He assumes that at the LF level the two elements have to agree in Φ features and specificity. Since pronominals are specific, then in order for the subject to agree with the empty pronominal it has to be specific as in (5b). If the preverbal subject is not specific, it does not agree with the empty pronominal and the derivation crashes as in (5c). The preverbal subject has to be specific in order for the derivation to converge.

How does the preverbal subject, base-generated in an adjoined position, check its Case? Olarrea proposes that all NPs base-generated outside the checking domain of a head that can check Case check their nominative Case feature by default in Arabic.

The dual base position proposal has succeeded in avoiding the problems of the first proposal. The problem of the optionality in Case assignment is resolved. In Olarrea’s proposal, nominative Case checking of

the subject, whether it is an empty pronominal or a lexical NP, can only take place by subject raising to [Spec,TP] and checking its Case against T. Another resolved problem is the specificity of the subject which is related to its position, whether it precedes or follows the verb.

Apparently the analysis is complete and all the problems are resolved. But actually the dual base position proposal is not without problems. The first problem is with respect to the structural position of preverbal subject. Based on its similarities with “left-dislocated” elements, it is concluded that the preverbal subject is in an adjoined position to AGRP. A problem arises when we look at Wh-questions as in (7b), repeated below:

- (7) b. arrijaal-u mataa ra?uu addaar-a ? Standard Arabic
 the-men-NOM when saw the-house-ACC
 “The men, when did they see the house?”

The same example occurs in Gulf Arabic:

- (12) liSbayyaan mita čaafaw issayyaara ? Gulf Arabic
 the-boys when saw the-car
 “As for the boys, when did they see the car?”

The preverbal subject in (7b) and (12) occurs to the left of the Wh-word. If *mataa* “when” in Standard Arabic and *mita* “when” in Gulf Arabic occupy [Spec,CP] then the subject has to occupy a position to the left of [Spec,CP]. Then can Olarrea still maintain the proposal that preverbal

subjects are adjoined to [Spec,AGRP]? Examples (7b) and (12) represent problems for the claim that preverbal subjects are adjoined to AGRP.

The second problem relates to the assumption that, like “left-dislocated” elements which must be linked to a resumptive pronoun, the preverbal subject is also linked to a resumptive pronoun base-generated in [Spec,VP]. And since Arabic is a *pro*-drop language the resumptive pronoun linked to the subject can be an empty resumptive pronominal *pro*.²

According to Olarrea, a personal pronoun will always be allowed in preverbal position, i.e. adjoined to AGRP, because it is specific and it will match the features of *pro*. This gives us the examples in (13a) for Standard Arabic and in (13b) for Gulf Arabic:

²Here, I introduce some facts about *pro*-drop. The *pro* subject is the null counterpart of the overt pronoun. The presence of *pro* is associated with rich inflection because *pro*-drop tends to occur in languages like Italian, Spanish and Arabic which have rich subject verb agreement morphology but not in English which has a poor agreement morphology. As for the distribution of *pro*, in some languages, it mainly occurs in subject position. But it is not restricted to subject position, it could also be found in other positions providing that the language has the agreement morphology which recovers the dropped pronoun.

However, a direct one-to-one relation between *pro*-drop and rich morphology cannot be established because it is not always the case. It has been noted that in languages with rich inflection like German and Icelandic, *pro*-drop is not always readily available. Chinese and Japanese allow *pro*-drop in subject position although they have no agreement morphology at all.

In an influential work, Rizzi (1986) states that there is a licensing and an identification requirement on *pro*. *Pro* is licensed if it is Case-governed by a head which belongs to a designated class of licensing heads, which vary from language to language. In languages with *pro*-drop in subject position, I is the licensing head. In English there are no licensing heads due to the lack of rich inflection, hence *pro*-drop is disallowed. Identification is achieved through coindexing *pro* with features on its Case-governing head.

(13')	a'. humu _i pro _i jaaʔuu	Standard Arabic
	they pro came	
	b'. hma _i pro _i yaaw	Gulf Arabic
	they pro came	

(14) a. * humu humu jaa?uu Standard Arabic
 they they came

 b. * hma hma yaaw Gulf Arabic
 they they came

(15) a. Hasan-un mariiD-un Standard Arabic
 Hasan-NOM sick-NOM

“Hasan is sick”

b. Hasan waagif Gulf Arabic

Hasan standing

“Hasan is standing”

If we were to analyze these sentences as sentences with verbs, then *Hasan* is a subject like the preverbal subjects in previous sentences. *Hasan* in (15) is to be considered a left-dislocated NP which is, according to the analysis, adjoined to AGRP. Therefore the structure should be:

(15') a'. Hasan-un pro mariiD-un Standard Arabic

Hasan-NOM pro sick-NOM

b'. Hasan pro waagif Gulf Arabic

Hasan pro standing

Hasan is in an adjoined position to AGRP and *pro* is in [Spec,TP] because it raises to check its Case feature. We would expect that under emphatic conditions *pro* can be pronounced.

(16) a. * Hasan-un huwa mariiD-un Standard Arabic

Hasan-NOM he sick-NOM

b. * Hasan hwa waagif Gulf Arabic

Hasan he standing

But this is impossible even when the pronoun is emphasized. These facts pose a problem for the dual base position proposal.

The reviewed analyses have their share of problems. The single base position proposal faces a number of difficulties, perhaps the most important of which is the required distinction between preverbal and postverbal subjects in terms of newness/givenness of the subject. This proposal has no way to account for this fact. The dual base position proposal makes interesting observations about preverbal subjects and “left-dislocated” elements, but the main problem lies in proposing the same structural position for both. Much remains to be investigated in this area of preverbal subjects and “left-dislocated” NPs.

3 An Alternative Proposal

My main concern is to understand the nature of subjects in Gulf Arabic and to determine their position. The goals I am trying to achieve are the following: 1) To determine whether Case and agreement checking for the subject are the real reason behind overt subject raising, i.e. whether morphology motivates subject raising. 2) To examine subject position and its effect on whether the subject is given or new in the discourse. 3) Finally, to give an overlook of the results of both the current chapter and the previous chapter.

3.1 Preverbal Subjects Are Topics

Let us begin by presenting the facts about Gulf Arabic. The facts presented relate to the SV/VS word order alternation and the differences in their meaning, and the permissible readings for the sentences depending on the position and the definiteness of the subject. First, we look at sentences where the subject is definite. Recall that I use definiteness as a morphological term; hence, a definite subject could either be prefixed with the definite article *-al* or a proper noun as in (2) below, repeated from above.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------|-------------|
| (2) | a. | Hasan kitab irrisaale | Gulf Arabic |
| | | Hasan wrote the-letter | |
| | b. | kitab Hasan irrisaale | |
| | | wrote Hasan the-letter | |
| | | “Hasan wrote the letter” | |

Hasan is a definite subject. It could either appear in a preverbal or a postverbal position. In (2a), *Hasan* is selected as an individual and the VP predicate *kitab irrisaale* “wrote the letter” is a statement made about him. (2b), on the other hand, recognizes an event of writing the letter in which *Hasan* has taken part in it. This sentence deals with one thing, namely an event, and not two things, an individual and a statement about him/her.

In both cases, the subject *Hasan* has to be given information, i.e. it has to be previously mentioned in the discourse, or at least be present in the hearer’s mind.

Next, we look at sentences with indefinite subjects, *Taalib*, repeated from above.

- (3) a. Taalib kitab irrisaale Gulf Arabic
student wrote the-letter
“A student wrote the letter”
* “There was a student who wrote the letter”
- b. kitab Taalib irrisaale
wrote student the-letter
“There was a student who wrote the letter”
“A student wrote the letter”

In (3a), *Taalib* is selected as an individual about which the predicate *kitab irrisaale* “wrote the letter” is given. Whereas (3b) recognizes an event of writing a letter in which *Taalib* “a student” is involved. This sentence is not a statement about a student.

The subject in (3) is indefinite. It could appear in either preverbal or postverbal position. However, as previously mentioned, the indefinite subject in preverbal position, (3a), has to be anchored to some individual previously mentioned. When the indefinite subject is in postverbal position, (3b), it could either be given or new depending on the context.

Following traditional Arab grammarians, I name preverbal subjects in Gulf Arabic as topics; *?al-mubtada?* is the term they used. Therefore, in sentences like (2a) and (3a) the preverbal subjects *Hasan* and *Taalib* are topics. These are the characteristics of topics derived from the data above.

A topic is an entity which is selected by the speaker about which information is given. The preverbal subject has to be given information; therefore, it cannot be something that is newly introduced in the discourse. *Hasan* and *Taalib* in (2b) and (3b) are not topics. I opt to name preverbal subjects as “subjects” where they could either be new or given. Subjects are entities which take part in an event and not entities about which information is given.

Naming preverbal subjects as topics agrees with the dual base position proposal, but the point where we disagree is in the structural position assigned to the topic. The dual base position proposal chooses to adjoin the preverbal subject to IP/AGRP but I argue for [Spec,IP/AGRP] as topic position. But before I advance further into the structural issues of topics in Gulf Arabic, let us first establish the background to our discussion.

It has been hypothesized in the generative framework that a grammatical subject-VP dichotomy, c-commanded by an operator in [Spec,CP] constitutes the core of sentence structure in all languages; this is based on Aristotelian logic. But in the works done by Brassai (1860, 1863-1865), the Prague School and others, an idea emerged which posed a threat for the hypothesis above. The idea was that “the structural relation [NP,S] can be used to express not only the function ‘grammatical subject’ associated with the most prominent θ -role, but, alternatively, the (discourse)-semantic function ‘topic’ as well” (Kiss 1995).

The (discourse)-semantic function, topic, as described by Kiss (1995) backgrounds an individual that something will be predicated about. This individual does not have to be a grammatical subject. The topic is associated with a particular structural position. As argued in (2a) and (3a) above, *Hasan* and *Taalib* serve as topics where they are backgrounded and writing a letter serves as a predicate about them.

Topics very often coincide with the grammatical subject which is defined as the constituent with the most prominent θ -role, bearing nominative Case and agreeing with the verb. But topics do not necessarily have to be grammatical subjects. A distinction was made by Kuroda (1972-73) between propositions which contain a topic and propositions which do not. This distinction is based on the categorical/thetic distinction introduced by the 19th Century philosopher Brentano and his pupil Marty in the logical theory.³

The categorical judgements display a topic-predicate structure. They consist of two acts: the first is naming an entity which is what is going to be made a topic and the second is making a statement about it, which is what is expressed by the predicate about the topic. Sentences (2a) and (3a) above are examples of categorical sentences. The thetic judgements have no logical structure and they recognize the existence of an event or a situation

³ In the previous chapter, the thetic/categorical distinction is introduced to show that this distinction is reflected in Gulf Arabic through the SV/VS word order alternation. It is also introduced to draw attention to the differences in meaning between the two word orders. I concentrate in the previous chapter on the thetic sentences and the VS order. Here I turn to categorical sentences and the SV order.

without making a statement about some entity. Sentences (2b) and (3b) are examples ofthetic sentences from Gulf Arabic. In (17) I give examples from English of categorical sentences.

- (17) a. Mary is intelligent
b. The dog is man's best friend

Mary and *the dog* act as topics and *being intelligent* and *man's best friend* act as predicates making a statement about the topic. Sentences in (18) give more examples from Gulf Arabic of categorical sentences:

- (18) a. salwa tištiy il fii il-jaami9a Gulf Arabic
Salwa works at the-university
“Salwa works at the university”
b. il-yihaal yHibbuun il-maay
the-children like the-water
“Children like the water”

Salwa and *il-yahaal* are the topics and it can be seen that the word order used is SV. In these sentences we have selected an entity and we have given a property to this entity: works at the university and love the water. Note that in (18b) a generic statement is made about the topic, *il-yihaal*.

Impersonal (19a) , existential (19b), and presentational (19c) sentences are all examples ofthetic judgements.

- (19) a. It is snowing.
b. There is a thief in the house.

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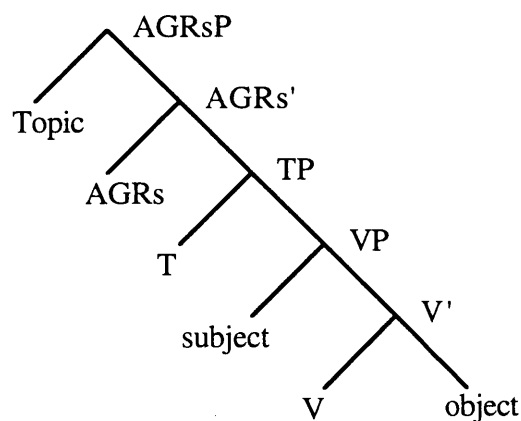
To recapitulate, a topic is the entity which is recognized in a categorical statement to which a property is assigned. A topic can include grammatical subjects and other constituents like objects. Topics appear in categorical sentences, i.e. in SV sentences in Gulf Arabic. Topics have to be given information, it cannot be newly introduced to the discourse. Inthetic statements there is only a single act of recognizing an event part of which is an entity. As a result, there is no topic inthetic sentences, i.e. in VS order sentences in Gulf Arabic. The subject could either be a given or a new piece of information.

This was a quick review of the properties of the thetic/categorical statements and of topics in Gulf Arabic. This review aimed at placing Gulf

Arabic into a bigger semantic picture and at providing evidence for using the term topic to describe preverbal subjects.

We return now to the issue of topic position. I designate [Spec,IP/AGRP] as the position for topics in Gulf Arabic. Therefore, the sentence structure of Gulf Arabic clauses is the following:

(22)



[Spec,IP/AGRP] was used in the single base position proposal as a position that only subjects raise to. My alternative proposal differs from this proposal in a rather fundamental way because it takes into consideration the fact that word order in Gulf Arabic expresses thematic/categorical distinction. My proposal departs from the structure of the single base position proposal, which is influenced by the structure proposed for English. As seen above, Gulf Arabic and English are not to be dealt with in the same manner. As a result, the constituents permitted to raise to [Spec,IP/AGRP] position are no longer limited to grammatical subjects.

Choosing an already existing position, i.e. [Spec,IP/AGRP], instead of adjoining to IP/AGRP as in the dual base position proposal, has positive consequences. It gives us a simpler structure. This is a positive result since this proposal is done within MP which argues for economy in both derivation and representation. Doing without adjunction to a specifier position and an empty pronominal, *pro*, solves the problem raised in examples (14) and (16). Since there is no empty resumptive pronoun, we no longer have the problem raised by pronouncing this empty resumptive pronoun.

Maintaining the assumptions of the previous chapter, the subject is base-generated in [Spec,VP] following the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis. The verb is in the head position of the same projection as in (22) above. The verb is fully inflected and it carries both tense and agreement features. The tense and verbal agreement features carried by T and AGR heads respectively are strong; therefore, by Spell-Out the verb has to move and adjoin to T and then to AGR to check off its features.

It was tentatively assumed in the previous chapter that the subject carries nominative Case and agreement features. T and AGR carry Case and nominal agreement features, respectively, both of which are weak. Thus the subject raises at LF to [Spec,AGRP] to check those features. I extend this proposal not only to subjects in postverbal position but to subjects in general. Therefore, regardless of the position of the subject nominative Case and nominal agreement features are weak.

How is the SV word order derived? After concluding that [Spec,AGRP] is the topic position in Gulf Arabic and that preverbal subjects are topics, then it is safe to propose that what motivates the subject to overtly raise is not morphology, i.e. Case and agreement, but semantics, i.e. topicalization. I propose that in SV sentences as in (2a) and (3a) above, the subject raises from its base-generated position to [Spec,AGRP] to be topicalized. I further assume that the subject carries the feature [topic] which is also carried by AGR. This feature is strong which entails that it has to be checked by Spell-Out. This forces the subject to raise to [Spec,AGRP] overtly to check the [topic] feature. As for Case and agreement features, they are weak features; therefore, they no longer are the main reason for subject raising. These features are checked at LF.

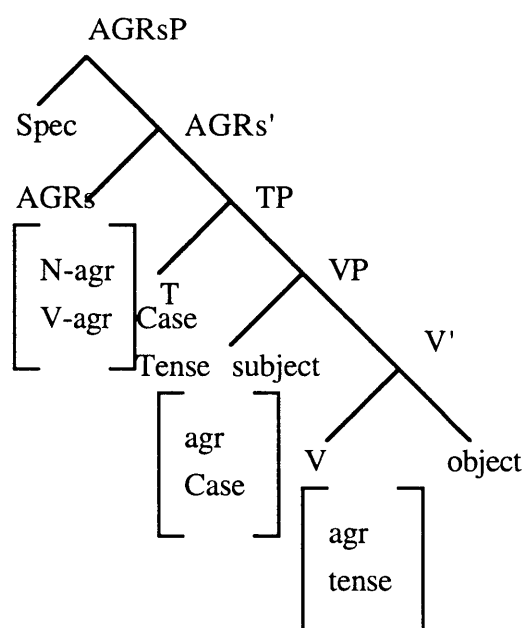
To derive the SV order, the verb overtly moves to T and then AGR for morphological reason. The subject raises to [Spec,AGRP] motivated not by morphology but by semantics. The subject moves in order to be topicalized in this word order. The VS order also involves verb raising and adjoining to T to check tense features and then the V-T complex also raises to adjoin to AGR to check off agreement features prior to Spell-Out. The subject in VS order does not overtly raise to [Spec,AGRP] and it stays in its base position [Spec,VP].

To translate the lack of subject raising in the VS order, we can assume that either i) the [topic] feature carried by the subject and by the head AGR is weak; therefore, it is checked by LF and it does not force the subject to raise overtly; or ii) there is no [topic] feature at all. The second

possibility sounds more plausible because a VS sentence displays athetic judgement where event recognition is the only judgement and topics are not present. Consequently, let us assume that in sentences like (2b) and (3b) above the subject, whether new or given, does not carry a [topic] feature. It carries, however, Case and agreement features which are weak. At LF, these feature are checked by subject raising to [Spec,AGRP].

This is the basic sentence structure with the possible features:

(23)



The verb carries both agreement and tense features. T carries strong tense features and AGR carries strong verbal agreement features; therefore, the verb raises overtly to check those features by Spell-Out. The subject carries both agreement and Case features which are also carried by AGR and T heads. They are weak features; therefore, they can be checked

at LF. Only in the case of SV sentences, the subject carries the [topic] features also carried by AGR. Since, this feature is strong it forces the subject to raise to [Spec,AGRP] by Spell-Out. The subject, therefore, raises in order to be topicalized. In the VS order, on the other hand, the postverbal subject does not carry [topic] feature because it is not a topic. Therefore, it does not raise to [Spec,AGRP].

This alternative analysis proves that differences in meaning cannot be ignored as an important factor in accounting for word order in Gulf Arabic. Although both [Spec,VP] and [Spec,AGRP] are still possible subject positions as with the single base position proposal, optionality is eliminated. Whether the subject stays within VP or raises, this has semantic consequences.

4 What are Left-Dislocated Phrases?

In the dual base position proposal, it was claimed that in Arabic the preverbal subject and the “left-dislocated” NPs are similar in a number of properties and hence they occupy the same position, adjoined to IP. In this section I shed some light on the “left-dislocated” phrases discussed in section (2) and I compare them to preverbal subjects, i.e. topics, in light of my proposal. I first look at Standard Arabic and then turn to Gulf Arabic.

In sentences with SV order, as in (24) in Standard Arabic, we can extend the alternative proposal.

- (24) al-bint-u raʔat al-Haadiθ-a Standard Arabic
the-girl-NOM saw the-accident-ACC
“The girl saw the accident”

al-bint is a definite preverbal subject and it is the topic which the VP provides information about, that she saw the accident. The topic, *al-bint*, is in [Spec,AGRP] position according to my proposal, departing from the dual base position proposal. This sentence could be an example of a categorical statement.

The sentence in (25) has a VS order; it might give us a thetic judgement. Here the subject is not topicalized and therefore stays in its base-generated position and the verb raises overtly to AGR.

- (25) raʔat al-bint-u al-Haadiθ-a Standard Arabic
saw the-girl-NOM the-accident-ACC
‘The girl saw the accident’

Recall that in our introduction to topics, it was stated that a topic, about which something is predicated, does not have to be a grammatical subject, i.e. other constituents can move into topic position. Here is an example from Standard Arabic for a topicalized object.

- (26) al-Haadiθ-a raʔat al-bint-u Standard Arabic
the-accident-ACC saw the-girl-NOM
“The accident, the girl saw”

The object *al-Haadiθ* raises to [Spec,AGRP] where it becomes the topic. In this sentence, the [topic] feature is assigned to the object, not the subject, forcing it to raise to check this feature. It is useful to note that the topic is marked for accusative Case. *raʔat al-bint* “the girl saw” is the VP predicate which provides information about the topic *al-Haadiθ*.

Let us compare the properties of sentences with topics as (24,26) and the properties of those examples labelled as “left-dislocation”. I consider sentences in (27) to be the so-called “left-dislocation”.

- (27) a. al-Haadiθ-u_i ra?at-hu_i al-bint-u Standard Arabic
the-accident-NOM saw-it the-girl-NOM
b. al-Haadiθ-u_i al-bint-u ra?at-hu_i
the-accident-NOM the-girl-NOM saw-it
“The accident, the girl saw it”

al-Haadiθ-u in (27) is “left-dislocated” and in both (a) and (b) it is coindexed with an accusative resumptive pronoun. Whereas topics, whether a grammatical subject or an object, do not have to be coindexed with resumptive pronouns, they are associated with gaps.

Both topics and “left-dislocated” NPs can be definite as in the examples above, which entails that they are known from the discourse. However, they can also be indefinite as in the examples below. However, although they are indefinite, they only permit the reading where the NP is given information.

- (28) a. bint-un raʔat al-Haadiθ-a Standard Arabic
 girl-NOM saw the-accident-ACC topic
 “A girl saw the accident”
- b. Haadiθ-an raʔat al-bint-u topic
 accident-ACC saw the-girl-NOM
 “An accident, the girl saw”
- (29) a. Haadiθ-un_i raʔat-hu_i al-bint-u left-dislocation
 accident-NOM saw-it the-girl-NOM
- b. Haadiθ-un_i al-bint-u raʔat-hu_i left-dislocation
 the-accident-NOM the-girl-NOM saw-it
 “An accident, the girl saw it”

Topics bear the Case of the position they are raised from. For example, in (26) and (28b) *Haadiθ-an* is marked for accusative Case since it is an object. “Left-dislocated” NPs in (27), on the other hand, bear nominative Case which is not the Case of the object position they are associated with.

Finally, topics observe subjacency; therefore, a topic cannot be extracted from an island, such as relative clause island in (30a) and an adjunct island (30b):

- (30) a. * [al-Haadiθ-a [faTimat-u qaraʔat 9an[al-bint-a [allati[raʔat
 e]]]]
 the-accident-ACC Fatima-NOM read about the-girl-ACC who
 saw

- b. * [al-Haadiθ-a [faTimat-u ?istaa?at [9indamaa [e ra?at al-bint-u]]]]

the-accident-ACC Fatima-NOM was-upset when saw the-girl-NOM

But “left-dislocated” NPs do not conform to island constraints. They can be extracted from relative clause and adjunct islands (31-32).

- (31) a. [al-Haadiθ-u_i [qara?at faTimat-u 9an[al-bint-a[allati[ra?at-hu_i]]]]]

the-accident-NOM read Fatima-NOM about the-girl-ACC who saw-it

- b. [al-Haadiθ-u_i [faTimat-u qara?at 9an[al-bint-a [allati[ra?at-hu_i]]]]]

the-accident-NOM Fatima-NOM read about the-girl-ACC who saw-it

“As for the accident, Fatima read about the girl who saw it”

- (32) a. [al-Haadiθ-u_i [?istaa?at faTimat-u [9indamaa [ra?at-hu_i al-bint-u]]]]

the-accident-NOM was-upset Fatima-NOM when saw-it the-girl-NOM

- b. [al-Haadiθ-u_i [faTimat-u ?istaa?at [9indamaa [ra?at-hu_i al-bint-u]]]]

the-accident-NOM Fatima-NOM was-upset when saw-it the-girl-NOM

“As for the accident, Fatima was upset when the girl saw it”

The examples suggest that topics in [Spec,AGRP] are in that position as a result of syntactic movement. The topic is related to a gap and the topic-gap relation observes subjacency. Further evidence for movement is that the topic bears the Case of the position it is associated with, which indicates that it forms a chain with the gap. This chain is subject to the condition on chains that they have one Case only.

Examples of “left-dislocation”, on the other hand, suggest base-generation not movement. They are related to resumptive pronouns and this relation with the resumptive pronouns does not observe island constraints. In addition to that, “left-dislocated” phrases can bear nominative Case which can be different from the one associated with the position they are related to.

There are two remaining questions concerning “left-dislocated” NPs. What are they semantically? Where are they base-generated? Semantically, they are similar to topics. They have to be a given piece of information as the examples above show. They occur in initial position, and the rest of the sentence gives information about them. They have a topic-predicate relation. This means that in a sentence like the one below there are two topics: *al-Haadiθ* which is base-generated and coindexed with the resumptive pronoun, and *al-bint* which raises to its position.

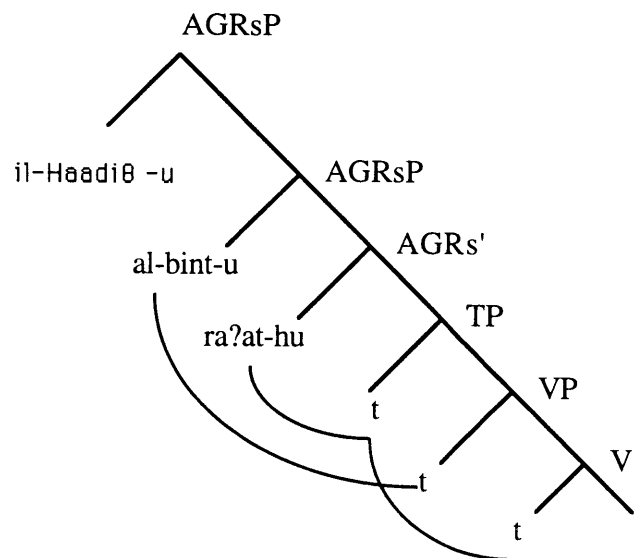
- (27) b. al-Haadiθ-u_j al-bint-u raʔat-hu_j
 the-accident-NOM the-girl-NOM saw-it
 “The accident, the girl saw it”

Multiple topics are common in many natural languages (Kiss (1995)). For example, Catalan has multiple topics:

- (33) l'Anna el cafe [el va fer ahir]
 Anna the coffee it made yesterday
 "The coffee Anna made yesterday"

As a result I conclude that the "left-dislocated" NPs are topics as well but they are base-generated as the data shows. This sets them apart from topics in [Spec,AGRP]. I assume that additional topics to the one in [Spec,AGRP] can be adjoined to AGRP/IP as shown in (34).

(34)



I turn now to Gulf Arabic. Sentences as in (27) with "left-dislocated" NPs are also available in this variety of Arabic, as seen in (35):

- (35) a. il-Haadiθ_i čaafit-eh_i il-bint Gulf Arabic
 the-accident saw-it the-girl
 b. il-Haadiθ_i il-bint čaafit-eh_i
 the-accident the-girl saw-it
 “The accident, the girl saw it”

I extend the proposal of base-generation to these sentences as well where the topicalized NP, *il-Haadiθ*, is adjoined to AGRP/IP. The difference to consider between Gulf Arabic and Standard Arabic is that examples like (27) above where the object can be topicalized to [Spec,AGRP], are not available in Gulf Arabic:

- (36) * *il-Haadiθ* čaafat il-bint Gulf Arabic
 the-accident saw the-girl

This means that the objects in Gulf Arabic cannot be topicalized to [Spec,AGRP]; they can only be in an adjoined position. The reason might be the lack of overt Case marking in Gulf Arabic and in a construction like the one in (36) *il-Haadiθ* might be misinterpreted as the subject.

5 Conclusion

The proposal argued for in this chapter is that semantics motivates overt movement and not only morphology as claimed within the MP framework. The subjects raise from VP overtly to get topicalized. Thus, I argue that the SV word order in Gulf Arabic is semantically a topic

followed by a predicate. This permits a categorical reading of these sentences. Proposing that the preverbal subjects are topics accounts for the fact that they have to be a given piece of information. This condition does not apply for the postverbal subjects which are not topics. Postverbal subjects are entities which take part in an event as inthetic statements.

Chapter Four

Wh-Questions

1 Introduction

This chapter is an investigation of Wh-questions in Gulf Arabic. Different aspects of this topic are under scrutiny in the following pages. Among the observations of this chapter is the asymmetry between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases with respect to the permissible word orders following those phrases. Another observation is that Gulf Arabic allows both Wh-in-situ and fronted Wh-questions with respect to argumental Wh-phrases only.

In this chapter, I propose that argumental Wh-phrases are focused, and they undergo focus movement in the fronted cases. In the process I investigate other focused constituents in Gulf Arabic. The adjunct Wh-phrases are proposed to be base-generated and not moved.

In section (2), I present the Gulf Arabic data. The data show the facts about simple Wh-questions, both argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. In this section I only investigate cases with fronted Wh-phrases. I also look at the permissible word orders, i.e. SV or VS, following the Wh-phrases. This reveals interesting facts about Gulf Arabic Wh-questions. It shows the asymmetry between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. It also presents the differences in meaning with respect to the changes in word order.

In section (3) I consider the proposal in Suñer (1994) to account for the facts in Gulf Arabic. This proposal has theory-internal problems, in addition to its inability to account for all the data from Gulf Arabic. Next, I look at the possibility that Gulf Arabic might be behaving like verb-second languages. This proposal fails to account for the data.

Section (4) deals with the analysis I propose for Gulf Arabic Wh-questions. I assume that argumental Wh-phrases and adjunct Wh-phrases are not to be treated the same. Based on the differences in their behavior, I present separate accounts for each one. As far as argumental Wh-phrases are concerned, they permit both fronted and in-situ Wh-phrases. Accordingly, I propose that argumental Wh-phrases are motivated to move to their initial position by focus and not by any morphological reason. Support for this proposal is derived from the differences in meaning between fronted Wh-questions and their in-situ counterparts. In addition to that there are similarities between the fronted Wh-phrases and the focused constituents in Gulf Arabic.

Adjunct Wh-phrases , on the other hand, do not raise to their initial position but they are base-generated there. Scope considerations show that this is true of Gulf Arabic adjunct Wh-phrases. I also account for the differences in meaning resulting from the SV/VS word order alternations using thethetic/categorical distinction.

2 The Data

First, let us look at basic facts about simple Wh-questions in Gulf Arabic. I examine both argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. The argumental Wh-phrases are *min* ‘who’, *šinhu* ‘what’, *čam N* ‘how many N’, and *ween* ‘where’ (*ween* is argumental if it is selected by the verb, as in *John put the book on the table*, *on the table* is a constituent which is selected by the verb *put*). Adjunct Wh-phrases are *leeš* ‘why’ and *šloon* ‘how’.

Examples (1-5) use argumental Wh-words:

- (1) *min gaal Hagg Hasan 9an il-Haadiθ ?*
 who told for Hasan about the-accident
 “Who told Hasan about the accident?”
- (2) *šinhu gaal Hasan lamma sima9 bil-Haadiθ ?*
 what said Hasan when heard about-the-accident
 “What did Hasan say when he heard about the accident?”
- (3) *ween HaTT Hasan liktaab?*
 where put Hasan the-book
 “Where did Hasan put the book?”
- (4) *min Tagg Hasan ?ams?*
 who hit Hasan yesterday
 “Who hit Hasan yesterday?”
 “Who did Hasan hit yesterday?”

- (5) čam ktaab šara Hasan min ?amriika?

how many book bought Hasan from America

“How many books did Hasan buy from America?”

As the examples above show, argumental Wh-phrases are followed by the verb and then the subject (except when the subject is a Wh-word.) The subject does not intervene between the Wh-word and the verb. Note that the question in (4) is ambiguous as *min* could either be asking about the identity of the person who hit Hasan or the person who was hit by Hasan. This order of Wh-phrase+VS is the unmarked order; in other words, when asking a question for the simple reason of getting information this is the word order most acceptable.

However, argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic can be followed by an SV order providing that the subject is stressed, i.e. focused. I follow tradition in capitalizing the focused element:

- (6) šinhu HASAN gaal lamma sima9 bil-Haadiθ ?

what Hasan said when heard about-the-accident

“What did Hasan (not anybody else) say when he heard about the accident?”

- (7) ween HASAN HaTT liktaab?

where Hasan put the-book

“Where did Hasan (not anybody else) put the book?”

- (8) min HASAN Tagg ?ams?

who Hasan hit yesterday

“Who did Hasan (not anybody else) hit yesterday?”

- (9) čam ktaab HASAN šara min ?amriika?

how many book Hasan bought from America

“How many books did Hasan (not anybody else) buy from America?”

When comparing (2) and (6) we find the following. In (2) it is presumed by both the speaker and the hearer that there was an accident and that Hasan heard about it. The question asks about what Hasan said when he heard about the accident. In (6) the same assumptions exist but the speaker emphasizes that he wants to know what Hasan said and not anybody else that the hearer might have in mind.

Turning now to adjunct Wh-phrases:

- (10) leeš Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh?

why Hasan sold his-car

“Why did Hasan sell his car?”

- (11) šloon Hasan HaSSal liktaab?

how Hasan found the-book

“How did Hasan find the book?”

The adjunct Wh-words *leeš* and *šloon* are followed by SV where the subject can intervene between the Wh-word and the verb. For these Wh-questions to be acceptable the subject does not have to be focused as in (6-9) above with argumental Wh-phrases. Focusing the subject is a way to

make the questions in (6-9) acceptable but this is not a requirement on the questions in (10-11).

The adjunct Wh-phrases are followed by VS order in the questions below which is also acceptable but it is not as unmarked an order as Wh-phrase+SV order in (10-11).

(12) leeš baa9 Hasan sayyaarteh?

why sold Hasan his-car

“Why did Hasan sell his car?”

(13) šloon HaSSal Hasan liktaab?

how found Hasan the-book

“How did Hasan find the book?”

The difference between (10-11) and (12-13) Wh-questions can be detected by the answers to these questions.

(14) Q: leeš Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh?

why Hasan sold his-car

“Why did Hasan sell his car?”

A1: Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh li?ann-ah timallal min-ha

Hasan sold his-car because-he bored from-it

“Hasan sold his car because he was bored with it.”

A2: * baa9 Hasan sayyaarteh li?ann-ah timallal min-ha

sold Hasan his-car because-he bored from-it.

(15) Q: leeš baa9 Hasan sayyaarteh?

why sold Hasan his-car

“Why did Hasan sell his car?”

A1: * Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh li?ann-ah timallal min-ha

Hasan sold his-car because-he bored from-it

“Hasan sold his car because he was bored with it.”

A2: baa9 Hasan sayyaarteh li?ann-ah timallal min-ha

sold Hasan his-car because-he bored from-it.

When the adjunct Wh-phrase is followed by SV order, the acceptable answer is when the subject is followed by the verb and not when the verb is followed by the subject, following the results of the previous chapters. When the adjunct Wh-phrase is followed by SV in a Wh-question, the acceptable answer is where the topic is followed by the predicate (i.e. categorical) and then the answer to the question is given like the reason for selling the car. It is, however, not considered acceptable with the VS order (i.e.thetic judgement) as in A2 in (14).

When the adjunct Wh-phrase is followed by VS order in (15), the acceptable answer starts with VS and not SV order. In other words, thethetic judgement and not the categorical is the one acceptable. Recall that SV order in Gulf Arabic mostly represents categorical judgement and VS order representsthetic judgement. The preliminary results seem to be that when adjunct Wh-phrases are followed by SV we have a topic-predicate

dichotomy; when they are followed by VS order, we have a recognition of an event.

These are the facts about the simple Wh-questions in Gulf Arabic. Hence, we have to account for the word order following Wh-phrases, both argumental and adjunct. We also have to explain the asymmetry between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases in this language. Argumental Wh-phrases do not allow subjects to intervene between them and the verb unless the subject is focused. This, however, is not the requirement imposed by adjunct Wh-phrases. VS order following adjunct Wh-phrases seems to indicate that the event is displayed as inthetic judgement but this is not the case with argumental Wh-phrases. SV order following adjunct Wh-phrases indicates the topic-predicate dichotomy.

3 Previous Analyses

There is an attempt in Suñer (1994) to account for the asymmetry in the licensing of argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases in Spanish. Let us review this proposal and then consider the possibility of extending it to the data from Gulf Arabic.

In Spanish, argumental Wh-phrases, whether in matrix or embedded clauses, must obligatorily be followed by the verb (16a,b) and the subject is not allowed to appear between the Wh-phrase and the verb as (16a',b'). (Note that in Gulf Arabic the subject is allowed to intervene if it is focused.)

- (16) a. Que le compro Bri a su amiga?
 “What did Bri buy for her friend?”
 a’. * Que Bri le compro a su amiga?
 “What did Bri buy for her friend?”
 b. Preguntaron (que) que le compro Bri a su amiga
 “They asked what Bri bought for her friend”
 b’. * Preguntaron (que) que Bri le compro a su amiga
 “They asked what Bri bought for her friend”

Suñer (1994:355)

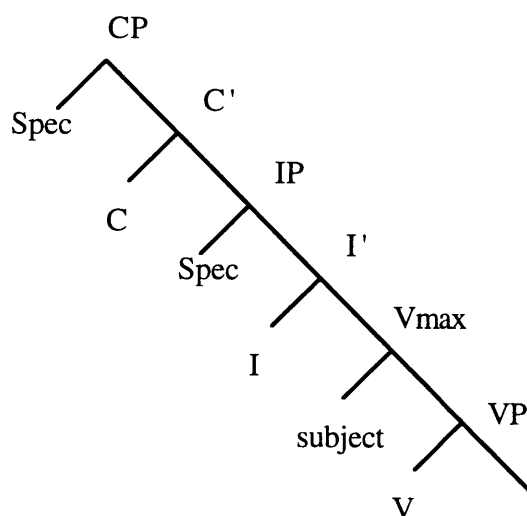
However with adjunct Wh-phrases the subject may optionally appear between the Wh-phrase and the verb as in (17a,b). The verb can also immediately follow the adjunct Wh-phrase (17a’,b’).

- (17) a. Con que fundamento ese hombre se permitia dudar de mi palabra?
 a’. Con que fundamento se permitia ese hombre dudar de mi palabra?
 “With what reason did that man allow himself to doubt my word?”
 b. No Sabia con que fundamento ese hombre se permitia dudar de su palabra
 b’. No Sabia con que fundamento se permitia ese hombre dudar de su palabra
 “She didn’t know with what reason that man allowed himself to doubt her word”

Suñer (1994:355-356)

Suñer assumes the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis. She adopts the small clause analysis of Sportiche (1988) and Koopman and Sportiche (1988) as exemplified in (18).

(18)



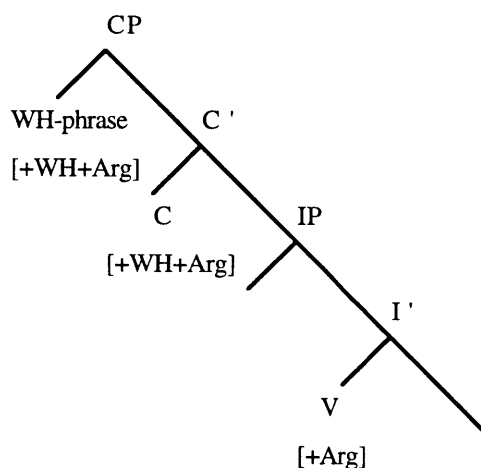
She argues for the obligatory verb movement in Spanish. The verb first moves to T to incorporate tense and then moves to AGR to join the person and number morphology (this proposal is done within the GB framework). Verb movement in Spanish to I, according to Suñer, is justified by morphology since the verb must move head-to-head in order to pick up its morphology, and also by the verb's relative position with respect to VP internal adjectival adverbials such as *jugar limpio/sucio* 'to play clean/dirty' and *hablar claro* 'to speak clearly'. She provides evidence against the proposal of the verb in C and excludes the possibility of the verb moving to C in Spanish (this alternative will also be considered for Gulf Arabic).

Suñer argues that Spanish has a uniform landing site for both argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases which is [Spec,CP]. She also concludes, following Koopman and Sportiche (1988), that [Spec,IP] in Spanish is an A-position; therefore, only subjects base-generated within VP can move to this position. The Wh-phrase moves to [Spec,CP] causing that head C to be [+WH] so that Wh-Criterion is satisfied.

The remaining question is how to account for the differences between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases in Spanish. The proposal is primarily based on the idea that argumental Wh-phrases must satisfy a locality condition. That is, they must be connected to the predicate in IP.

Suñer assumes that argumental Wh-phrases have the feature [+Arg(umental)]. By Spec-Head agreement C will also have the same feature. Both the head and its specifier will match in being [+WH,+Arg]. This feature has to be licensed by the predicate in I. Therefore, since the verbs select their arguments, they will also have [+Arg] feature. This agreement process is the matching of [+Arg] feature between the predicate in I and the element in C; i.e. an instance of Head-Head agreement. This is shown below.

(19)



This Head-Head agreement obeys a strict locality condition which prohibits any other argumental category from occurring between C and the verb in I, for example, the subject. This prohibits the subject from raising to [Spec,IP]. She names this the Argumental Agreement Licensing Condition and concludes that this is responsible for Wh-phrase+VS found with argumental Wh-phrases.

As for adjunct Wh-phrases, they do not have to comply with Argumental Agreement Licensing. These Wh-phrases are [-Arg] so there is no agreement between the two relevant elements. As a result, the subject has the option of either appearing in [Spec,IP], i.e. intervening between Wh-phrases and the verb, or staying in [Spec,VP].

The problems facing the extension of this proposal to Gulf Arabic are the following. First, this seems to be a description of the problem more than a solution for it. Second, (this has been raised before) there is an optionality of subject raising within this proposal. The subject can be

assigned nominative Case either through Spec-Head agreement or government. This point has been argued against in the previous chapters and optionality has also been eliminated from any proposal. Third, the argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic allow an intervening stressed subject between the Wh-phrase and the verb. However, there is no room for such examples within Suñer's proposal. Examples like (6-9) violate the Argumental Agreement Licensing Condition. Finally, this proposal has treated both adjunct Wh-phrases followed by SV and those followed by VS as equals. This is not true of the Gulf Arabic data and no analysis can ignore the differences in word order and the subsequent changes in pragmatics.

To summarize, Suñer's analysis proposes that [Spec,CP] is the landing site for both argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. Verb movement to I is obligatory. In order to explain the word order asymmetry, the subject is either allowed to stay in [Spec,VP] or raise to [Spec,IP] with adjunct Wh-phrases. However, the subject has to obligatorily stay in [Spec,VP] with argumental Wh-phrases in order to satisfy Argumental Agreement Licensing Condition. We now look at another proposal.

Another possible analysis in order to explain the Wh-phrase+VS order in argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic is that the Wh-phrases raise to [Spec,CP] and the verb moves to C from I. This type of verb movement is proposed for languages which exhibit verb-second phenomenon where the verb moves from its base position to the second position in the clause, immediately following the initial constituent. Many

of the Germanic languages are verb second languages. Here is the reason why the verb is proposed to move to C in these languages. In most Germanic verb-second languages, this phenomenon is seen in matrix clauses with no complementizer as in (20a). But in embedded clauses with complementizers, the verb occurs in base position as in (20b).

- (20) a. Waltraud hat wahrscheinlich das Buch gekauft
 Waltraud has probably the book bought
- b. Sigrid glaubt daß Waltraud wahrscheinlich das Buch gekauft
 hat

 Sigrid believes that Waltraud probably the book bought has

(Diesing 1990:42)

Because of the fact that verb-second is in complementary distribution with complementizers, it is concluded that the verb moves to the position occupied by the complementizer, i.e. C. (for more details refer to den Besten (1983), Haider (1985), and Platzack (1986).)

Could this be proposed for Gulf Arabic? The argumental Wh-Phrase moves to [Spec,CP] and the verb obligatory moves to C from I; thus deriving the Wh-phrase+VS in Gulf Arabic. The following evidence proves that the verb in Gulf Arabic is not pronounced in C.

Gulf Arabic differs from verb second languages because it does not show the dichotomy between matrix and embedded clauses characteristic of those languages. The verb appears in second position in both matrix and embedded clauses.

- (21) a. Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh
 Hasan sold his-car
 “Hasan sold his car”
- b. faTma gaalat [?inna [Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh]]
 Fatima said that Hasan sold his-car
 “Fatima said that Hasan sold his car”

In (21b) the verb occurs in second position although there is the complementizer *?inna*. If the verb *baa9* in (21a) moves to C then with the presence of a complementizer in (21b) we would expect that the verb changes its position but this is not the case in Gulf Arabic as it still appears after the subject.

The other reason for excluding the claim that the verb moves to C in Gulf Arabic is adjunct Wh-phrases where the subject can immediately follow the Wh-phrase, and also the possibility that the subject intervenes between the argumental Wh-phrases and the verb. If we argue that the Wh-phrase lands in [Spec,CP] and the verb moves to C from I, this will derive Wh-phrase+VS only. How can we derive Wh+SV? To maintain this analysis, we would have to claim that the movement of the verb to C is optional. This does not offer a real solution to this problem. Free word order fails to capture the semantic differences between Wh+VS and Wh+SV.

To summarize, Suñer (1994) faced the problem of proposing both weak and strong nominative Case features for the subject. Nominative Case

is weak, therefore the subject stays within VP and this derives Wh+VS for adjunct Wh-phrases. Case can also be strong which forces the subject to raise to [Spec,IP] and this derives Wh-phrase+SV for adjunct Wh-phrases. In addition to that, the Argumental Agreement Licensing Condition did not leave any room for the subject to intervene between the argumental Wh-phrase and the verb, which is possible in Gulf Arabic. Also, in this proposal no distinction was made between adjunct Wh-phrases followed by SV or VS order. The proposal of moving the verb to C was rejected on empirical basis.

4 The Analysis

The simple Wh-questions in Gulf Arabic show a clear difference between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases. The former when in initial position is followed by VS order in the unmarked cases. However, Wh-phrase+SV is considered acceptable when the subject is focused. The adjunct Wh-phrases, on the other hand, allow both SV and VS orders to follow them. Unlike argumental Wh-phrases, these phrases when followed by SV order the subject does not have to be focused. In fact, the SV/Vs order is similar to the categorical/thetic distinction discussed in the previous chapters.

Because of the clear distinction in behavior between argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic, I will assume that one analysis cannot

account for both Wh-phrases. First, I deal with argumental Wh-phrases, then I turn to the adjunct Wh-phrases.

4.1 Argumental Wh-phrases

A fact that has not been mentioned about argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic is that fronted Wh-phrases are not the only form for asking questions. Gulf Arabic also utilizes Wh-in-situ for argumental Wh-phrases. The questions in (2-5) with a fronted Wh-phrase have a Wh-in-situ counterpart, as shown below. It should be noted that the questions with Wh-in-situ are not echo questions.

- (2) a. šinhu gaal Hasan lamma sima9 bil-Haadiθ ?
 what said Hasan when heard about-the-accident
 b. Hasan gaal šinhu lamma sima9 bil-Haadiθ ?
 Hasan said what when heard about-the-accident
 “What did Hasan say when he heard about the accident?”
- (3) a. ween HaTT Hasan liktaab?
 where put Hasan the-book
 b. Hasan HaTT liktaab ween?
 Hasan put the-book where
 “Where did Hasan put the book?”
- (4) a. min Tagg Hasan ?ams?
 who hit Hasan yesterday

- b. Hasan Tagg min ?ams?
 Hasan hit who yesterday
 “Who did Hasan hit yesterday?”
- (5) a. čam ktaab šara Hasan min ?amriika ?
 how many books bought Hasan from Amrica
- b. Hasan šara čam ktaab min ?amriika ?
 Hasan bought how many books from Amrica
 “How many books did Hasan buy from America?”

As illustrated in the data above, in Gulf Arabic the argumental Wh-phrase can remain in-situ or it can be fronted to initial position. Within the MP framework, Wh-movement is explained in morphological terms. In English-type languages, overt Wh-movement is employed as in (22). *t* is the trace of *what*

- (22) a. What do you want [John to give *t* to Bill]?
 b. What do you want [John to give *t* to whom]

In (b) where there are multiple Wh-phrases only one of the phrases is fronted and the other remains in-situ. In Chinese-type languages, there is covert movement of Wh-phrases. The analogue of *what* in question (22) above is pronounced in its in-situ position. It has been proposed that this type of language has LF Wh-movement where the Wh-phrase moves for scope reasons. At first glance, Gulf Arabic seems to behave both as English-type and Chinese-type languages.

The question is: what forces Wh-phrases in English-type languages to move overtly while they remain in-situ in Chinese-type languages? Operations within MP are driven by morphological necessity. Certain features must be checked in the checking domain of a head or the derivation crashes. Therefore, it is assumed that C (head of CP) carries an operator feature which can be Q- or Wh- feature. This feature is also a morphological property of Wh-phrases. If the operator feature of C is strong the movement of Wh-phrase must be overt. Therefore, the Wh-phrase raises to [Spec,CP] to check off its feature by Spell-Out, thereby satisfying scopal properties. This accounts for English-type languages. The Q- or Wh- feature can be weak, thus by Procrastinate the movement of the Wh-phrase is conducted at LF. This accounts for Chinese-type languages where operator feature checking and the scopal properties are satisfied at LF.

If this analysis is applied to argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic, this would entail that C has both a strong and a weak Q-feature. The strong feature to force overt fronting of Wh-phrases and the weak one to account for Wh-in-situ questions. This runs into obvious problems with MP since such an alternative is not available within this program.

Looking at both forms of questions, fronted Wh-phrases (2a-4a) and Wh-in-situ (2b-4b), we arrive at the following observation. Wh-in-situ questions, as far as argumental Wh-phrases are concerned, involve no change in word order and also no change in the intonation pattern, i.e. they are the same as in declarative statements. Fronting the Wh-phrase, on the

other hand, involves emphasizing that element and it also involves a change in intonation. The argumental Wh-phrase in initial position has high fall intonation. In (2a) for example the speaker asks for information about what *Hasan* said in an emphatic way, e.g. the speaker is insisting on extracting information which the hearer is refusing to give him/her. The speaker when fronting an argumental Wh-phrase intends to focus it. Consequently, I propose that in Gulf Arabic the argumental Wh-phrases are fronted for focus.

Another reason for proposing that Wh-phrases in (2a-4a) are focused is the similarities between focused Wh-phrases and focused constituents. (23) provides examples for the latter:

- (23) a. sandeweečeen yaakil Hasan kil yoom issibH.
 two-sandwiches eats Hasan every day the-morning
 “Hasan eats two sandwiches everyday in the morning”
- b. 9ala Taawleh Hatt Hasan liktaab.
 on table put Hasan the book
 “Hasan put the book on a table”
- c. sayyaara šarat faTma ?ams
 car bought Fatima yesterday
 “Fatima bought a car yesterday”

Both focused Wh-phrases and focused constituents constitute new information, the part of the sentence that is not presupposed. In (23a) it is presupposed that *Hasan* eats in the morning but two sandwiches constitutes

the new information in the sentence. In questions like *šinhu gaal Hasan lamma sima9 9an il-Haadiθ* “What did Hasan say when he heard about the accident?” the presupposition of this question is *Hasan* said something when he heard about the accident. The only thing that is not presupposed is *šinhu*, the Wh-phrase. Hence it is the focus.

Secondly, as in the case with argumental Wh-phrases (1-5), focused constituents are followed by VS order in the unmarked cases as in the examples above. SV order is allowed to follow the focused constituents when the subject is stressed; this is similar to its focused Wh-phrases counterpart in (6-9).

- (24) a. sandeweečeen HASAN yaakil kil yoom issibH.
 two-sandwiches Hasan eats every day the-morning
 “Hasan eats two sandwiches everyday in the morning”
- b. 9ala Taawleh HASAN Hatt liktaab.
 on table Hasan put the book
 “Hasan put the book on a table”
- c. sayyaara FATMA šarat ?ams
 car Fatima bought yesterday
 “Fatima bought a car yesterday”

Both conform to subjacency; violating island constraints renders the examples below ungrammatical. Examples (25a) and (26a) violate an adjunct island and examples (25b) and (26b) violate relative clause island:

- (25) a. * šinhu_i tiZaayigat faTma lamma [Hasan gaal t_i 9indma sima9
 what upset Fatima when Hasan said when heard
 9an il-Haadiθ]
 about the-accident
- b. * šinhu_i t9arf faTma [il-mudarris [illi [širaH t_i]]]
 what knows Fatima the-teacher who explained
- (26) a. * sayyaara_i tiZaayigat faTma lamma [Hasan šara t_i ?ams]
 car upset Fatima when Hasan bought yesterday
- b. * sandeweečeen_i t9arf faTma [il-walad [illi [yaakil t_i kil
 yoom]]]
 two-sandwiches knows Fatima the boy who eats every day

The examples above, in addition to providing further support for the similarities between focused Wh-phrases and focused non-Wh-phrases, they also provide evidence for a movement analysis. Based on these examples, it can be concluded that both argumental Wh-phrases and focused constituents in Gulf Arabic move to their initial position and they are not base-generated there.

The argument presented thus far supports my proposal of a focus account for the fronted argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic. This focus account of Wh-movement has been argued for before in the literature for languages such as Hungarian by Horvath (1986) and Kiss (1987), and Basque by Ortiz de Urbina (1986). But before we indulge in focus

movement, we have to rule out the possibility that focused constituents in (23-24) are topics. (27) are examples of “left-dislocation” in Gulf Arabic.

(27) a. issandeweečeen_i kallehum_i Hasan ?ams.

the-two-sandwiches ate-them Hasan yesterday

“As for the two sandwiches, Hasan ate them yesterday”

b. issayyaara_i šaratha_i faTma ?ams

the-car bought-it Fatima yesterday

“As for the car, Fatima bought it yesterday”

Topics express given information, that is these examples talk about things which are familiar to both speaker and hearer. This is not the case with focused phrases as seen above. “Left-dislocated” NPs are linked to a resumptive pronoun whereas focused phrases are linked to gaps which cannot be replaced by resumptive pronouns. When focused constituents are coindexed with resumptive pronouns as in (28) it renders the sentences ungrammatical.

(28) a. * sandeweečeen_i yaakkilhum_i Hasan kil yoom issibH.

two-sandwiches eat-them Hasan every day the-morning

b. * sayyaara_i šarat-ha_i faTma ?ams

car bought-it Fatima yesterday

To summarize, the fact that Gulf Arabic employs both Wh-in-situ and Wh-fronting as strategies for question formation poses a problem because it would have to be stipulated that the Wh-feature, motivating Wh-

movement, is both weak and strong. A closer look at these questions reveals that fronted Wh-phrases are focused; therefore, it is possible to conclude that argumental Wh-phrases move to initial position to be focused. More support for this claim is derived from the similarities between focused Wh-phrases and other focused phrases. These similarities also reveal that in both cases the phrase undergoes focused movement.

In summary, the fronting of argumental Wh-phrases, *min*, *šinhu*, *čam N*, and *ween* in Gulf Arabic results from focus movement.

- (2) *šinhu gaal Hasan lamma sima9 bil-Haadiθ ?*

what said Hasan when heard about-the-accident

“What did Hasan say when he heard about the accident?”

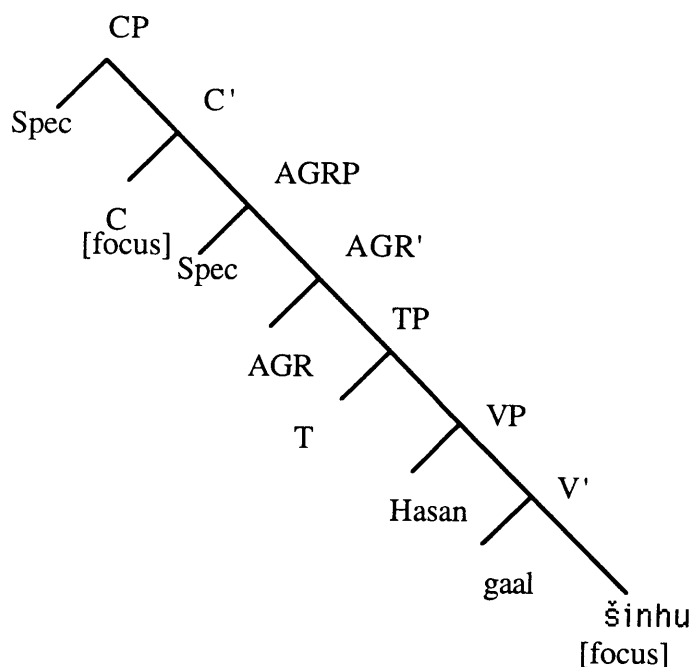
- (6) *šinhu HASAN gaal lamma sima9 bil-Haadiθ ?*

what Hasan said when heard about-the-accident

“What did Hasan (not anybody else) say when he heard about the accident?”

Therefore I posit that *šinhu* in the questions above involve focus movement. I assume that argumental Wh-phrases when focused have a Focus feature which is similar to a Wh-feature. By MP a feature has to be checked in the checking domain of a head. Therefore I assume that C also carries Focus feature which is strong. This motivates Wh-phrase movement to [Spec,CP] in order to check off focus feature in a Spec-Head configuration prior to Spell-Out. The structure in (29) illustrates this.

(29)



To derive example (2), in addition to focus movement, the verb raises overtly to adjoin to T and then to adjoin to AGR in order to check both tense and agreement features. This has been argued for in chapter 2 based on morphological necessity.

To derive (6), the same steps are carried out: verb movement and focus movement of the Wh-phrase. In this example, an additional step takes place, topicalization of the subject. It has been argued in the previous chapter that the subject raises from [Spec,VP] to [Spec,IP], i.e. the topic position, in order to be topicalized.

However, there remains one issue, why is Wh+SV is a marked word order with argumental Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic as in example (6)? A similar phenomenon has been noticed in Germanic languages, where

topicalization seems to block clause-bound Wh-movement. These are examples from both English and German from Müller and Sternefeld (1993). It can be seen from these examples that both topicalization and Wh-movement are not allowed to occur in the same structure.

- (30) a. * I wonder [CP to whom_i that book_j he gave t_i t_j]
 b. * What_i in the living room_j did Mary find t_i t_j ?
- (31) a. * Ich frage mich [CP warum_i den Fritz_j hat diese Frau t_i t_j
 I ask myself why ART_{ACC} Fritz has this_{NOM} woman
 geküßt]
 kissed
 b. * Warum_i den Fritz_j hat diese Frau t_i t_j geküßt ?
 why ART_{ACC} Fritz has this_{NOM} woman kissed

Müller and Sternefeld (1993:43)

It is proposed that topics create islands for Wh-movement in Germanic languages, as the examples from English and German (32-33) show that extraction of a Wh-phrase from a topic island is ungrammatical because it violates subjacency:

- (32) * What_i do you think [CP t_i' that [for Ben's car [IP Mary will pay t_i]]]?
- (33) * Ich weiß wen_i du sagtest [CP Ede_j habek [IP t_j t_i getroffen t_k]]
 I know who_{ACC} you said Ede has_{SUBJ} met

Müller and Sternefeld (1993:35-36)

(Refer to Müller and Sternefeld (1993) for their own account of topic islands in Germanic languages.)

The proposal above of topic islands can account for the ungrammaticality with respect to embedded clauses as in (32-33). But it is also ungrammatical within matrix clauses to have both Wh-fronting and topicalization as exemplified by this example from English:

(34) * [What_i to John_j [did Mary give t_i t_j]] ?

It can be proposed that the reason for the ungrammaticality of (34) is that Wh-fronting and topicalization are the same type of operator movement and they cannot both be applied within a single clause. This can be extended to (35) as well since two operator movements of the same type, i.e. Wh-movement, occur within the same clause:

(35) * [What_i to whom_j [did Mary give t_i t_j]] ?

This proposal can be adopted to account for the markedness of Wh+SV word order in questions like (6) in Gulf Arabic. It can be proposed that subject topicalization and Wh-movement might be of the same type and they cannot be applied within the same clause. The topicalization of *Hasan* and the movement of the argumental Wh-phrase *šinhu* cannot be applied within the same clause. This proposal is in need of more work and investigation and I will leave this for future research.

To reiterate: I propose that focus movement is what motivates argumental Wh-fronting in Gulf Arabic. When the Wh-phrase is in-situ, it

is not focused and Focus feature can be assumed to be non-existent in such structures (the feature for contrastive focus is non-existent). In focused Wh-phrases, the Focus feature is strong and it is carried by both the Wh-phrase and the head C. By positing such an analysis, I avoid the problem of assigning both weak and strong WH features to C. In addition to that, this analysis captures the difference between focused Wh-phrases and Wh-in-situ which is not possible with an analysis based only on morphology.

4.2 Adjunct Wh-phrases

In this section I deal with adjunct Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic. It has been mentioned that there is a clear distinction between these and argumental Wh-phrases. The analysis presented above will not be extended to this type of Wh-phrases. Here I repeat the data relevant to our discussion.

- (10) leeš Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh?

why Hasan sold his-car

“Why did Hasan sell his car?”

- (11) šloon Hasan HaSSal liktaab?

how Hasan found the-book

“How did Hasan find the book?”

- (12) leeš baa9 Hasan sayyaarteh?

why sold Hasan his-car

“Why did Hasan sell his car?”

(13) šloon HaSSal Hasan liktaab?

how found Hasan the-book

“How did Hasan find the book?”

The adjunct Wh-phrases are followed by SV or VS order. Unlike their argumental counterpart, the subject when immediately following these Wh-phrases is not necessarily stressed. Based on the Question-Answer pairs, it was concluded that thethetic/categorical distinction, discussed in previous chapters, also obtains with adjunct Wh-phrases. In other words, when the adjunct Wh-phrase is followed by VS, the event is expressed and with SV, the topic-predicate dichotomy is displayed. This is not noticed with argumental Wh-phrases.

Another point where adjunct and argumental Wh-phrases differ is Wh-in-situ. The former does not have Wh-in-situ counterparts to its fronted Wh-questions, as seen below.

(36) ?* Hasan baa9 sayyaarteh leeš ?

Hasan sold his-car why

(37) ?* Hasan HaSSal liktaab šloon ?

Hasan found the-book how

This difference clearly supports the conclusion that the two types cannot be treated the same. The Wh-phrases under discussion in this subsection do not undergo focus movement.

Rizzi (1990) observes a somewhat similar phenomenon in French. The Wh elements *de quoi* ‘what’ and *comment* ‘how’ can be left in-situ but *pourquoi* ‘why’ cannot.

- (38) a. Il a [parle de quoi]
 ‘He spoke about what’
 b. Il a [parle comment]
 ‘He spoke how’
 c. *? Il a [parle] pourquoi
 ‘He spoke why’

Rizzi proposes that *pourquoi* is base-generated in [Spec,CP] and that sentential adverbs have to have the clause they modify in their immediate c-domain in order to be properly interpreted.

Following this analysis, I propose that adjunct Wh-phrases in Gulf Arabic are base-generated in [Spec,CP]. These examples support this proposal.

- (39) a. leeš Hasan Zann [?inna [faTma šarat sayyaara ?]]
 why Hasan thought that Fatima bought car
 b. Hasan Zann [leeš [faTma šarat sayyaara ?]]
 Hasan thought why Fatima bought car
- (40) a. šloon Hasan yZin [?inna [faTma SallaHt issayyaara
 bruuHha?]]
 How Hasan thinks that Fatima fixed the-car herself

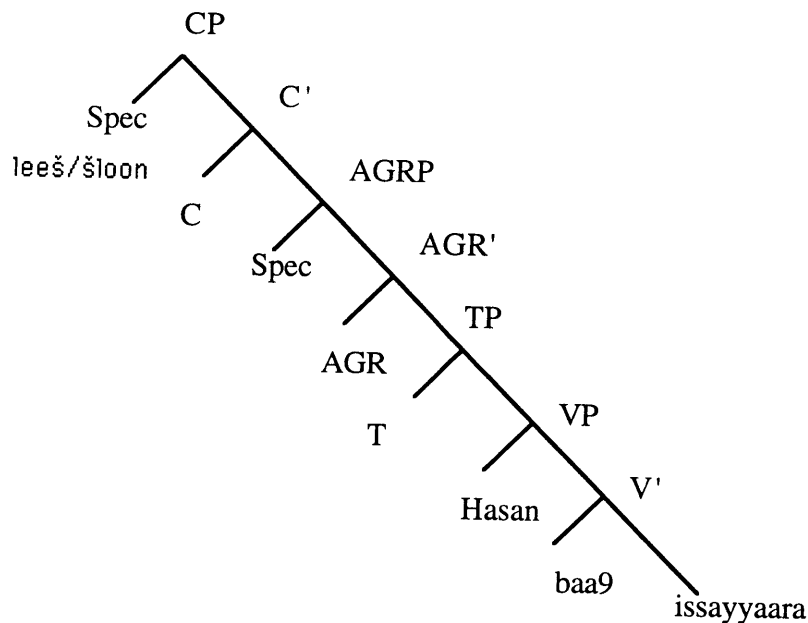
- b. Hasan yZin [šloon [faTma SallaHt issayyaara
bruuHha?]]

Hasan thinks how Fatima fixed the-car herself

In (39a) and (40a) where the adjuncts are in matrix [Spec,CP]. They have scope only over the matrix clause, i.e. the question asks about why *Hasan* thought that and how come *Hasan* thought that. In (39b) and (40b) the Wh-adjunct has scope over embedded clauses, i.e. the question asks about why *Fatima* bought a car according to *Hasan* and how did *Fatima* fix the car by herself also according to *Hasan*. The adjunct Wh-phrases modify the clause which they immediately c-command.

With the adjunct Wh-phrase base-generated in [Spec,CP], how are we to derive (10-11) and (12-13)? With SV order, the verb overtly raises to T and adjoins to it then it precedes to AGR in order to check its features. This is motivated by morphology. The subject is topicalized which entails its movement to [Spec,AGRP]. This derives Wh-phrase+SV order and it is the same derivation employed for categorical sentences. With Wh-phrase+VS, the subject remains in-situ since it is not topicalized and the verb moves to T then AGR. This provides thethetic reading. The structure in (35) illustrates this proposal concerning adjunct Wh-phrases.

(41)



The adjunct Wh-phrases are base-generated in [Spec,CP]. The verb *baa9* carries tense and agreement features which are also carried by T and AGR. These are strong features which motivates the overt verb movement. The subject *Hasan* is in [Spec,VP], it carries Case and agreement features which are also carried by T and AGR. These are weak features and they are checked at LF. If the subject carries the [topic] feature then this motivates overt subject raising to [Spec,AGRP]; thus deriving Wh+SV order. If the subject does not carry this feature then it stays in its base-generated position; this derives Wh+VS order.

It has been proposed in the previous subsection that topicalization creates an island. This accounts for the markedness of the Wh+SV order of argumental Wh-phrases. If topicalization creates an island then we will wrongly predict the ungrammaticality, or at least the markedness, of

examples (10-11). This is prevented by the proposal that adjunct Wh-phrases are base-generated in [Spec,CP] and do not raise to that position. Therefore, the adjunct Wh-phrases are not extracted from a topic island as is the case with argumental Wh-phrases.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I argue for semantically/pragmatically motivated overt movements. Morphology is not the only reason for movement as seen in argumental Wh-phrases movement. Using morphology to account for overt Wh-movement fails to show the difference in meaning between fronted and in-situ argumental Wh-phrases. Such an account runs into problems of optionality since it treats both questions with fronted Wh-phrases and those with in-situ Wh-phrases as equals, ignoring the semantic aspect of this problem. Semantically motivated movements also play a role in deriving the adjunct Wh-phrases+SV and adjunct Wh-phrases+VS orders and the subsequent changes in meaning captured by thethetic/categorical distinction. In this case, the adjunct Wh-phrase does not move, but the subject could raise in order to be topicalized. Both topicalization and focus movement in Gulf Arabic support the idea of overt movement within the MP framework for semantic reasons.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

The aims of this dissertation, as explained in Chapter (1), are both descriptive and theoretical. The description of the facts related to word order in Gulf Arabic is considered as an aim of this work because of the scarcity of such data in the literature. In addition to that, the word order facts are usually studied from a structural point of view ignoring the pragmatic or the semantic aspect of word order. Therefore, the descriptive aim in this work is not limited to listing the permissible word orders in Gulf Arabic, it also extends to documenting the pragmatic or semantic changes which result from the variations in word order.

Theoretically, I analyze those facts about word order in Gulf Arabic within the MP framework. This entails the elimination of previous analyses, which were written within the GB theory, and it also entails the introduction of new concepts. The MP concept that I support throughout this work is that of no optionality; movement has to be well-motivated. The constituents do not have the freedom to move or stay in-situ. I also adopt the idea that overt movement has to be morphologically driven.

However, I also argue that overt movement in Gulf Arabic is not only morphologically driven but pragmatically/semantically driven as well. This is not proposed in MP. I argue for such an idea on the basis of the

differences in meaning which result from the variation in word order. Accordingly, I can better account for the facts about word order in Gulf Arabic, both the structural and the pragmatic/semantic facts. And I do not have to resort to optionality to explain the variation in word order which is inevitable when using morphology alone. Thus I argue that the variation in word order in Gulf Arabic has pragmatic/semantic consequences.

Now I turn to a more detailed summary of the conclusions of this work. I look at the conclusions of the previous chapters. In Chapter (2), I investigate the permissible word orders in matrix clauses in Gulf Arabic which are primarily, SV and VS. Then, I look at the subject-verb agreement morphology facts in Gulf Arabic and the consequences SV/VS alternation might have on it. As explained above, listing the permissible word orders is not the only concern. Hence, I turn to the differences in meaning between the two word orders which are the following: the SV order chooses an entity and gives a statement about it; the VS order displays an event which has an entity involved in it.

The theoretical claims of Chapter (2) are as follows. First, the basic underlying structure for matrix clauses in this language is laid out which is assumed from the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis. This chapter deals with verb movement in Gulf Arabic which exemplifies overt movement which is morphologically driven. It is argued that the verb moves prior to Spell-Out in order to check its morphological features of tense and agreement. Another conclusion reached in this chapter is that the variation in word order in Gulf Arabic reflects thethetic/categorical distinction. This

distinction is found across languages. This reveals that the variation in word order is not without pragmatic consequences.

In this chapter previous analyses are reviewed but are excluded on the basis of a number of problems such as, optionality in subject raising.

In Chapter (3), the SV/VS word order alternation is once more investigated but with emphasis on the subject. In studying the data from Gulf Arabic, it is seen that there are differences in meaning between the SV and the VS orders. Additionally, the position of the subject, either preverbally or postverbally, imposes a restriction on the available readings. The subject in preverbal position has to be information that is previously given in the discourse while if the subject is in postverbal position, it could either be new or given.

Morphology fails short of accounting for these facts. If morphology were the only thing used to explain the appearance of the subject in both postverbal and preverbal positions, then we would have to resort to optionality. If the subject raises for Case and agreement checking alone then it has to be assumed that such features are both weak and strong at the same time. Weak features explain the lack of subject raising and strong features explain the motivation for subject raising. This, however, is not an available option within the MP framework.

Therefore, I propose that the subject raises to be topicalized. An overt movement of the subject which is not motivated by morphology. Such movement avoids optionality as the subject raises only when it is

topicalized and it stays within VP when it is not. This proposal also explains the restriction imposed on preverbal subjects only, which is that they have to be given. A preverbal subject is a topic and a topic cannot be new information, it has to be previously introduced in the discourse. The analysis I propose in this chapter exemplifies movement which is motivated by semantics. It accounts for both the variation in word order and the semantic differences between preverbal and postverbal subjects. Previous proposal, however, had a problem achieving both goals.

Chapter (4) turns to word order facts in interrogative Wh-questions in Gulf Arabic. I list the permissible word orders following argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases when such phrases are in initial position. I show that fronted argumental Wh-phrases have in-situ counterparts. Adjunct Wh-phrases, on the other hand, occur clause-initially only and they have no in-situ counterparts. The differences in meaning among those alternations in word order is accounted for in this chapter. The difference between in-situ and fronted argumental Wh-phrases is that the second puts emphasis on the Wh-phrase. The adjunct Wh-phrase permits both SV and VS orders to follow it. The differences between the two is that explained in Chapter (2), i.e. the *thetic/categorical* distinction.

Again using such morphological claims as Wh-Criterion to motivate the movement of argumental Wh-phrases faces the problem of optionality. It would have to be assumed that the WH feature is both weak and strong. When it is weak, the argumental Wh-phrase does not raise to [Spec,CP]. It raises when the feature is strong. This is the available solution under

morphology. Therefore, I propose that the argumental Wh-phrases raise in order to be focused. This is supported by the differences in meaning between the fronted and the in-situ Wh-questions. It is also supported by the similarities between the fronted Wh-phrases and the focused constituents. Under this proposal, optionality is eliminated since the Wh-phrase raises only to get focused. Focus movement is another example of pragmatically motivated overt movement.

In this chapter I resolve the asymmetry between the argumental and adjunct Wh-phrases by proposing that the former moves to [Spec,CP] but the latter is base-generated in that position. The permissible word orders that follow the adjunct Wh-phrases are explained by verb movement which is derived by morphology and by subject raising which is motivated by semantics.

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