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# Passivity in Cairene Egyptian Arabic

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### 1. Introduction

In this study the writer wishes to give a description of passivity in the dialect of Arabic characterized as that of educated Cairene Arabic, i.e. Cairene Egyptian Arabic (CEA). Even though this description will basically be in the light of the framework of generative grammar, yet we will be making use of the description of passivity by other modern linguists wherever necessary.

Passivity in Arabic has been dealt with along the framework of modern linguistics by J.A. Snow (1965), N.K. Lewkowicz (1967) and G.N. Saad (1982). In 1965, Snow dealt with passivity in two optional transformations, one for the derivation of ordinary passives and the other for the derivation of impersonal passives. Both transformations operate on deep structures identical to the structure underlying the active construction. Snow's analysis, however, does not say anything about the verbs that may passivize except that they are transitive without really explaining transitivity. Lewkowicz (1967), on the other hand, tries to account for the fact that some transitive verbs such as /šabaha/ "to resemble" do not passivize; therefore she assigns the passive voice feature at the level of the deep structure by phrase structure rules. That is, only transitive and intransitive verbs that are assigned the feature [ $\pm$  active] passivize whereas those that do not have the feature [+ active].

Saad (1982) also tries to account for the non-passivizable verbs in Arabic but in a slightly different way. He says that the non passivizable verbs are one place verbs of a specific type. He wishes to discard "the traditional classification of Arabic verbs into transitive and passive... in favor of a classification of Arabic verbs in the light of transitivity and ergativity relationships." (Saad, 1982: 91). The term "ergative" was first used to refer to the subject of the transitive verb in ergative languages such as Eskimo, Georgian, etc. Then John Lyons (1968) and M.A.K. Halliday (1967-68) came to equate the transitive verb with the ergative verb in the sense that they both require a causer and an affected.<sup>1</sup> In following John Lyons' (1968) and M.A.K. Halliday's (1967-68) incorporation of ergativity in their verb classification, Saad (1982) assumes that the Arabic verb may be classified into ergative and non-ergative verbs. The ergative verbs are the verbs that have a causer whether they are transitive or intransitive. As for the non ergative verbs, these are the verbs that do not have a causer regardless whether they are traditionally classified as transitive or intransitive. It is in this respect that he regards the passive verbs as ergative verbs i.e. since they have an implicit causer, they are ergative verbs. This is illustrated by the following sentences, in which the transitive verb and the passive intransitive verb are ergatives whereas the other intransitive verb is a non ergative verb:

#### 1.1:

- a) /Kasara zaydun alzujaaja/  
Zayd broke the bottle.
- b) /kusira alzujaaja/  
The bottle was broken.

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<sup>1</sup>The term "affected" and "causer" are borrowed from John Lyons (1968) and M.A.K. Halliday (1967-68).

- c) /ʔinkasara alzujaaja/  
The bottle broke.

Saad (1982) differentiates between 1.1. (b) + (c) even though they are both one phrase predicates on the basis of the fact that the verb in (c) "does not embody the notion of a causer grammatically." (1982:92). On the other hand, both (a) + (b) have a grammatical causer; the fact which allows him to group them into the class of ergative verbs. Accordingly, the non passivizable verbs in Classical Arabic for Saad (1982) are the [+ middle] verbs, a term he also borrowed from Halliday (1968). That is, the [+ middle] verbs are the inchoative and reflexive verbs, both verbs of which are non-passivizable according to Saad (1982).

It is to be noted that Saad (1982) does not define what he means by an inchoative verb but he does explain that there are two kinds of reflexive verbs (ie overt and covert reflexive) by the following sentences:

1.2:

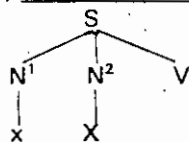
- a) /ḡatala zaydun nafsahu/  
Zayd killed himself  
b) \* /ʔinḡatala zaydun/  
c) /ʔinkasara alzujaaju/  
The bottle broke  
d) \* /kasura al-zujaaju nafsahu/

Saad (1982) calls 1.2.(a) as an overt reflexive whereas 1.2.(b) as a covert reflexive. He says that covert reflexives in classical Arabic are only permissible with inanimate subjects, as shown by the ill-formedness of 1.2.(b). On the other hand, overt reflexives are not permissible with inanimate subjects, as shown by the ill-formedness of 1.2.(d). Therefore, for Saad (1982) the non-passivizable verbs in Classical Arabic are the non ergative verbs which he regards as comprising covert reflexives as a subsection of the [+ middle] verbs.

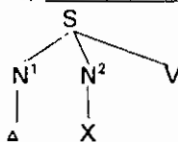
It is interesting to note that the class of verbs that qualify as ergative verbs for Saad (1982) are not the same as those that are regarded as ergative verbs by other linguists, as will be shown in the foregoing discussion. Similarly, R.W. Langacker and P. Munero (1975) hold a different point of view from that held by Saad (1982) as regards reflexive constructions. Rather than regard reflexive constructions as being non passivizable verbs, they claim that "reflexive constructions commonly assume passive function, because both involve non-distinct arguments; of which co-referential and unspecified arguments are special cases." (1975:789). They define the notion of unspecified arguments as being semantically implied by the predicate but happens not to be elaborated by lexical or referential content. This similarity between reflexives and passives may be diagrammed as follows:

1.3.:

a) Reflexive clause



b) Passive clause



The nondistinctness in 1.3.(a) is by virtue of coreference; while in 1.3.(b). it is by virtue of the unspecified character of the subject of the passive. It is this similarity that allows for the extension of the morpheme of reflexive to both reflexive and passive use and this "can be viewed as a generalization in function in the sense that the morpheme comes to mark, not just a special case of nondistinctness but the general cases". (Langacker and Munero, 1975:801). They say that it is a phenomenon that is found in many languages of the world and a natural explanation for such a phenomenon is in terms of the unspecified subject hypothesis. Accordingly, Langacker and Munero (1975) describe passivity as a predicate that "does not so much describe the action, but rather states the existence of a relationship between an action and the patient of the action." (1975:802).

In the foregoing discussion, we will be seeing how Langacker and Munero's (1975) definition of passivity squares with the linguistic facts of CEA. It is to be noted that the use of the term "the predicate" to describe passivity in Langacker and Munero's definition is of importance in this study as passivity in CEA is not restricted to verbal structures.

Generative grammar has dealt with passivity differently at different times. A transformational model was proposed by Chomsky (1957) but gradually the transformation changed from object preposing to simply NP-movement. But as there are also impersonal passives and passive verbs that take sentential complements, it came to be believed that passivity does not necessarily have to involve "promotion" of any kind; ie a movement rule in the syntax. In Chomsky (1970) the Lexicalist Hypothesis claimed that word formation is handled in the lexicon by means of lexical rules. Lexical rules are preferred to transformational rules because they allow the presence of exceptions, the change of nodes, and apply at the word or the category level. It has also generally been assumed that there is a passive rule for the formation of the verbal passive distinct from the rule that forms adjectives that are formally identical to participles (cf. Wasow (1981). Williams (1981a) differentiates between the adjectival passive rule and the verbal passive rule on the basis of the fact that the former is a rule that externalizes the THEME argument whereas the latter merely dethematizes the syntactic subject by internalizing the external argument. Chomsky (1982) differentiates between adjectival passives and verbal passives by regarding the former as lexical passives and the latter as syntactic passives. He says that "lexical passives are sharply restricted thematically... and may be morphologically complex." (Chomsky, 1982:118) and that "syntactic passives" involve "a base-generated direct object," (Chomsky, 1982:120) that is not found in the lexical passives. Accordingly, Chomsky (1982) says that "What is usually called 'passive' seems to have two crucial properties:

I [NP, S] does not receive  $\theta$  role.

II [NP, VP] does not receive case within VP, for some choice of NP in VP". (Chomsky, 1982:124).

In describing passivity in Classical Arabic as shown by McCarthy (1976), Chomsky (1982) says that "quite a different arrangement of data from English syntactic or lexical passives" (1982:120) is found in Classical Arabic. According to Chomsky (1982) "Classical Arabic has a lexical passive combined with a case assignment rule that assigns nominative case to the first NP following the verb and objective case to the NP following it." (Chomsky, 1982:120). Its "passive construction is (also) not copular and passive involves no movement." (Chomsky, 1982:133). Chomsky goes on to say that this difference between Classical Arabic and English is because "languages have different ways to avoid focusing the logical subject, or to avoid expressing one at all, while still observing the syntactic requirement that a subject NP be present. Such considerations

hold of the Arabic example... or the 'passive' of nominals, such as 'Rome's destruction'." (Chomsky, 1982:121). It is in this respect that Chomsky regards passivity as basically indicated in the lexicon by the absorption of the  $\theta$  role of the external argument. This is because the  $\theta$ -grid associated with a particular head is a matter that must be lexically encoded and as D-structure is projected from the lexicon, it must be concluded that only lexical rules are capable of manipulating the  $\theta$ -grid and the association of  $\theta$  role and grammatical function. This is especially so as "it is not obvious that the notion of 'passive' refers to a unitary phenomenon, still less one that can serve as a foundation stone or even guiding intuition for a theory of syntax." (Chomsky, 1982:121).

In the foregoing discussion, we will be seeing how passivity as described by the generative grammarians squares with the linguistic fact of CEA. In general, however, we will be maintaining Chomsky's assumption that passivity involves the absorption of the external  $\theta$  role from the syntactic subject. We will also be seeing if passives in CEA are similar to Classical Arabic as described by McCarthy (1976) and Chomsky (1982). It will be shown that they are nevertheless different from Classical Arabic even though they share with the latter the fact that they are morphologically complex and have no copular.

Another generative grammarian who linked  $\theta$  marking with case assignment is L. Burzio (1981), who formulated what came to be known as Burzio's generalization. This generalization states that "If and only if a verb assigns a  $\theta$  role to its subject position will it be able to assign Case to its object." (Burzio, 1981:170). By this generalization Burzio linked the dethematization of the syntactic subject to Case absorption. For example, in English, the passive participle loses its verbal property; ie it becomes neutralized; consequently, it becomes incapable of assigning Case. This is due to the fact that it loses its [-N] feature and only keeps its [+V]<sup>1</sup> feature, which it shares with adjectives. This neutralization of the case capacity of the passive participle brings out a similarity between adjectival passives and verbal passives in English because both the adjectival form and the passive participial form are not Case assigners, unlike the active verbal form. Moreover, Burzio's generalization makes way for a more comprehensive verb class which he calls the "ergative verb" and may "be defined as a verb that does not assign a  $\theta$  role to its subject." (Everart, 1986:77).

It is to be noted that the ergative verb as conceived by Burzio (1981) is different from that of Saad (1982) in the sense that the ergative verb for the former linguist does not assign a  $\theta$  role to its subject; and in turn does not assign Case to its object. On the other hand, ergativity for Saad (1982) comprises of transitive and passive verbs in Classical Arabic. It is in this respect that non-passivizable verbs for Saad (1982) are the reflexive verbs, which he regards as the non ergative verbs.

This belief that the non-passivizable verbs are the non ergative verbs is in direct opposition with the view held by a generative grammarian such as T. Hoekstra. Hoekstra (1984) says that "the term ergativity is used in recent generative grammar to refer to structures in which the verb does not assign a  $\theta$  role to its subject, although it may select a complement. The hypothesis that such structures exist is originally due to Perlmutter (1978)." (Hoekstra., 1984:96). Hoekstra (1984), following Perlmutter's (1978) tripartite division of the verbs into transitives, unergatives and unaccusatives, describes the

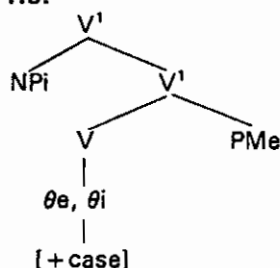
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<sup>1</sup>According to Chomsky (1982) adjectives are [+V] and [-N] categories; nouns are [+N] and [-V] categories; prepositions are [-N] and [-V] categories; and verbs are [+V] and [-N] categories. It is only the [-N] categories that are case assigners in English ie both V + P categories.

"unaccusatives" of Perlmutter (1978) and which later became known as "ergatives" as including "participles that can be used as adjectivals to predicate over nouns... and predicates that will not undergo passivization or impersonal passives." (Hoekstra, 1984:182). Hoekstra (1984) goes on to say that there are "two classes of verbs, those that assign an external  $\theta$  role, which we have called transitives, and those that do not assign an external  $\theta$  role, which we have called intransitives." (Hoekstra, 1984:265). It is the class that he calls "transitive verbs" that do passivize because they assign an external  $\theta$  role regardless of whether they are one or two place predicates. On the other hand, the class that he calls "intransitive verbs" are one place predicates that do not assign an external  $\theta$  role to their subjects; and in turn do not passivize. It is the latter class of verbs (ie the non-passivizable ones) that are regarded as the ergative verbs by Hoekstra (1984).

However, the fact that ergative verbs are not passivizable does not prevent Hoekstra (1984) from seeing the "resemblance between passives and unaccusatives" (Hoekstra, 1984:211), and he says that it is because "the D-structure of passive constructions is identical to unaccusative constructions." (Hoekstra, 1984:225). Nevertheless, he differentiates between the passive construction and the unaccusative construction (ie the ergative) on the basis of the fact that the former construction is "rule created" whereas the latter construction's lack of an external argument is dependent on an "unpredictable basis" since it is an inherent property of these constructions. Moreover, Hoekstra (1986) points out a further distinction between these two types of constructions. He says that the passive construction, unlike the ergative one, does have an external  $\theta$  role; but this external  $\theta$  role has been internalized by passive morphology. That is, the passive construction does have an external argument and that argument has been projected in the VP internal subject position by passive morphology. Therefore, the external argument is grammatically represented in passives; ie "the external role and the internal case are not absorbed" (Hoekstra, 1986:96) because "the internal case is assigned to the external argument. The argument expression, ie the expression that bears the external role and is assigned the case is the participial morphology." (Hoekstra, 1986:96). It is participial morphology that is "an argument, and, as such, visible to the thematic criterion because it is assigned the case of the verb." (Hoekstra, 1986:97). This may be illustrated from the following diagram:

1.5:



He believes that the passive morphology ie PM licenses the generation of an empty category in the VP internal subject position ie PM<sub>e</sub>. Being an argument, it is assigned the external  $\theta$  role since NP<sub>i</sub> in the passive construction is assigned the internal  $\theta$  role. But for the visibility of PM<sub>e</sub> for  $\theta$  marking, it is Case marked the internal case of the verb. It is in this respect that the passive construction is regarded as having two  $\theta$  roles just as

its active counterpart. Accordingly, the passive construction is shown to be completely different from the ergative construction which is regarded as completely lacking an external argument.

This analysis of passivity by Hoekstra (1984) and (1986) differs from that held by O. Jaeggli (1986), another generative grammarian. Jaeggli (1986) regards this process of dethematization of the passive construction in the form of the "absorption" of the external  $\theta$  role by the passive construction:

"Basically, I claim that this suffix (ie the passive marker) functions as the recipient of the external  $\theta$  role of the predicate. Once it is assigned to this suffix, it can no longer be assigned to [NP, S] position. Hence [NP, S] position is not assigned a  $\theta$  role in the passive construction." (Jaeggli, 1986:590).

That is, both generative grammarians ie Jaeggli (1986) and Hoekstra (1986) believe in the process of dethematization of the passive construction but the former feels that it is in the form of  $\theta$  "absorption" whereas the latter believes that the external  $\theta$  role is assigned to the empty category licensed by passive morphology after having been made visible by Case marking.

Another major difference between the analysis of Jaeggli (1986) and Hoekstra (1986) is that the latter analysis allows the process of passivization to be in the domain of the syntax. This is because the passive rule does not manipulate the  $\theta$ -grid of the lexical head ie it does not "absorb" the external  $\theta$  role; and therefore it is there in the passive construction. It will be shown that it is Hoekstra's (1986) point of view that will be held in the analysis of passives in CEA and the reasons for such a choice will be unfolded in the foregoing discussions. It is also to be noted that we will be following Hoekstra (1984) and (1986) in differentiating between ergative and passive constructions and that it is the ergative construction that is non-passivizable in some cases.

Another generative grammarian who believes in the existence of ergative verbs and that these verbs do not passivize is Tor A. Aferli (1989) in his study of Norwegian. He says that "English patterns with Norwegian in excluding passive formation on 'ergative' or 'unaccusative' type verbs, ie verbs that do not assign an external role as an inherent property." (Aferli, 1989:102). He goes on to say that passivity in Norwegian is very much like in English except that in Norwegian the subject of a passive construction may be filled by an expletive since the subject position is " $\theta$ -free". That is, Aferli (1989), like the rest of the above mentioned generative grammarians, believes that passivization involves a process of dethematization of the syntactic subject and that this is verified by the fact that in Norwegian it is even possible to have an expletive. This differentiates again between passive constructions and ergative constructions. This difference between the passive construction and that of the ergative is also reminiscent of Bresnan (1981) since it is only the latter construction that has THEME SUBJECTS whereas the former construction simply has a non-thematic subject.

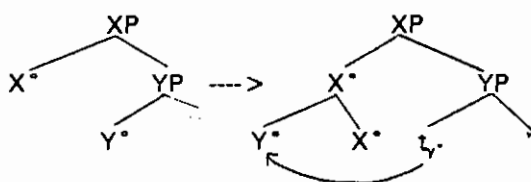
Having reviewed some of theoretical background of relevance to this study as regards passivity by some of the modern linguists, let us now have a look at some of the general theoretical framework to be applied in the analysis of CEA. This general theoretical framework is that of Chomsky (1989); Pollock (1989); Koopman and Sporticle (1988); and Maracz (1991). In Chomsky (1989), there is "concentration on the topic of X<sup>0</sup>-movement, a matter of particular interest because of its implications for the study of word formation." (Chomsky, 1989:4). Chomsky (1989) prefers to restrict his discussion to inflectional morphology as he regards it as the proper realm of syntax, contrary to derivational morphology such as causatives, noun incorporation etc. One of the aspects



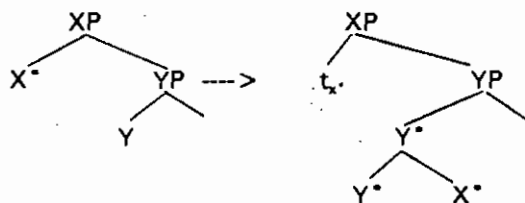
of inflectional morphology is V-raising to INFL and INFL-lowering to V. That is, if INFL is strong (ie [+finite]), it allows V-raising to I (ie INFL) but if it is weak (ie [-finite]), it does not. Accordingly, we have V-raising in French and V-lowering in English since "AGR is strong in French, weak in English". (Chomsky, 1989:8). This means that verbs in English are lowered (ie affix hopping) because AGR is weak and it is only the verbs to be and to have that may raise to I since they have strong AGR but, as all verbs in French have strong AGR, they involve V-raising. And depending on whether the language in question involves V-raising or V-lowering the type of X<sup>\*</sup> movement is determined. There are two types of X<sup>\*</sup> movement rules: Head to Head Adjunction and Head to Head Lowering. This may be illustrated by the following diagrams:

### 1.6.:

#### a) Head to Head Adjunction



#### b) Head to Head Lowering



Head to Head Adjunction, as shown by 1.6(a), involves V-raising whereas Head to Head Lowering, as shown by 1.6(b), involves V-lowering.

Chomsky (1989) has also discussed tense saying that "Tense and agreement morphemes (are) 'separate syntactic entities at an abstract level of representation', namely D-structure". (Chomsky, 1989:8). In this, he is following Pollack (1989) and Chomsky (1986) in convincingly arguing that Functional Projections are located in the field above the lexical projection VP. This analysis, furthermore, provides support for the "rigid X-bar theoretic condition for single headedness and the consequent distinction between AGR and I and on the distinction between D- and S-structure". (Chomsky, 1989:8). This is because at "S-structure, the verb must be combined with its various affixes, to yield the proper forms at PF." (Chomsky, 1989:8).

Chomsky (1989) also transcends Pollock's (1989) bipartite division of I consisting of a separate position for Tense and AGR by assuming an even more radical split of AGR. Heavily relying on Kayne (1987), Chomsky (1989) proposes to split even AGR into AGRs and AGRo. To do so, he introduces a separate subject agreement projection, which he labels AGRsP; and a separate object agreement projection, which he labels AGRoP. The underlying assumption of this bipartite division of AGR is that object agreement is contingent upon government relation between AGR and NP exactly as in the case of subject agreement. Therefore, for Chomsky (1989) "there are actually two kinds of verb

NP agreement: with subject and object... two AGR elements: the subject agreement AGRs and the object agreement AGRo. On general assumptions, AGRo should be close to V and AGRs close to the subject: therefore more remote from V." (Chomsky, 1989:5).

Maracz (1991) says that "an advantage of Chomsky's system over Pollock's is the possibility to generalize over all grammatical features: all grammatical features, like nominative or accusative Case, are a reflection of a separate SPEC-HEAD relation. For example, nominative Case is licensed by the SPEC-HEAD relation within AGRsP- and accusative Case is licensed by SPEC-HEAD relation within AGRoP." (Maracz, 1991:5).

Having given a concise account of the general theoretical framework by which passivity in CEA is to be analyzed, we would like to point out that the process of passivization in CEA involves Head to Head Adjunction since it displays strong AGR. However, despite the fact that we will be making use of Chomsky's (1989) split of AGR and the assumption that functional categories are projected as single headed projections above the lexical projection VP at the level of D structure, yet we are differing in that the D structures of the CEA passive constructions do not have a Tense projection. This is because they have an Aspect projection instead. That is, Arabic in general and CEA in particular do not have a Tense and only have aspect.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in accordance with Maracz (1991) in his assumption that whenever a language includes both Tense and Aspect verbal inflections each is base-generated in different positions above VP, we are assuming a separate projection for Aspect, especially as CEA does not have Tense altogether.

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<sup>1</sup>For a defense of the non presence of Tense in Arabic and that Arabic, as exemplified by D.A.D., only has Aspect as verbal inflections, see H. GHALY (1988). Time is indicated in the Arabic sentence by means of Temporals, which have the categorial status of Nominals, and not by verbal inflections carried by the verb form. Aspect denotation, on the other hand, is conveyed by verbal inflections. See also Mitchell (1956) for a discussion of Egyptian Arabic and Cowan (1982) for a discussion of Modern Literary Arabic.

## 2. Description of Passivity in CEA

Having discussed the general theoretical framework in which passivity will be studied in this paper, let us expound the different types of passives that the investigator has encountered. It is also important to note here that this study is dependent on a corpus that the investigator composed from the transcription of several tapes of TV series conducted in educated middle classed Cairene Egyptian Arabic. It is also dependent on the intuitions of the investigator as well as those of her family's, being representatives of native speakers of the above mentioned dialect of Arabic. It is also to be noted that passivity in CEA (ie Cairene Egyptian Arabic) is not simply a quality that is associated with verbal constructions ie it is also associated with nominal constructions. We will, accordingly, first discuss passivity in verbal constructions and then in nominal constructions.

### 2.1. Passivity in Verbal Sentences

Passivity is indicated in verbal constructions by means of two basic operations: vocalic alterations or affixation. It is to be noted, however, that the indication of passivity by means of affixation is more productive in CEA than by means of vocalic alterations. As the examples below will be showing, passivity in verbal constructions by means of vocalic alteration is restricted to a more formal register, such as the legal proceedings.

#### 2.1.1. Passivity by means of Vocalic alterations

By vocalic alterations is meant the indication of passivity in the verbal forms of CEA by a change in their internal vowel quality in accordance with the following phonological rule:

##### 2.1.1.1.

$$V^1 \text{ -----} > V \quad / \quad \# \quad [C - C_0 \cdot \{\Sigma'\}]$$

x

-high	+high	$V^2$
-round	+round	
		[+passive]

Where  $V^1$  is the symbol of vowel and  $V^2$  is the category verb with the feature [+passive]; C for consonants;  $\Sigma'$  is a syllable of the form  $C_0VC_0$ ; and X does not contain # boundary internally.

Vocalic alteration indicating passivity is found in both aspectual forms of the CEA verbal forms ie Perfective and Imperfective Forms. It has been mentioned earlier that CEA verbal constructions are said to have an Aspect projection, rather than a Tense projection. This is because the verbal form in CEA has either an imperfective form or a perfective form. The latter form denotes the completion of the action whereas the former form denotes the incompleteness of the action. As for the indication of time, this is basically indicated by means of the adverbials.<sup>1</sup> The following sentences are examples

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<sup>1</sup>Time is basically indicated by means of adverbials. For more evidence in this respect as regards a dialect of Arabic see H. GHALY (1988).

of passivity indicated in CEA by means of vocalic alterations in the perfective and imperfective verb forms:

### 2.1.1.1.1.: Perfective Verbal Forms

In order to see these internal vocalic alterations for the indication of passivity at work, it is important to compare the passive forms with the active forms. Accordingly, we will be listing examples of both the active and the passive verbal forms.

#### 2.1.1.1.1.1.: The Active Verbal Forms

- i) / ʔafal ʔilbaab / He closed the door.
- ii) / laahiz ʔittayyir / He noticed the change.
- iii) / saʔal ʔittalaba / He asked the students.
- iv) / katab kitaab / He wrote a book.
- v) / fihim ʔiddars / He understood the lesson.

#### 2.1.1.1.1.2.: The Passive Verbal Forms

- i) / ʔuǧfal ʔilmahdar / The investigation has been closed.
- ii) / luuhaz ʔittayyir / The change has been noticed.
- iii) / suʔala ʔittalaba / The students have been questioned.
- iv)\* a) / kuutaba kitaab /  
b) / ʔitkatab kitaab / A book has been written.
- v)\* a) / fuuhima ʔiddars /  
b) / ʔitfaham ʔiddars / The lesson has been understood.

### 2.1.1.1.2.: Imperfective Verbal Forms

#### 2.2.2.2.1.: The Active Verbal Forms

- i) / yeeʔrid soowaru /<sup>1</sup> He exhibits or may exhibit his pictures.
- ii) / yeefaagiʔ ha bilxabar / He should or may surprise her with the news.
- iii) / yeeʔfil ʔilmahdar / He may or should close the investigation.
- iv) / yagid halaat nadra / He may, can or will find some rare cases.
- v) / yeelaahiz ʔittayyir / He notices or may notice the change.

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<sup>1</sup>It is because the verb in CEA does not convey time and only conveys aspect that we have such a variety for its translation. The main thing is that with imperfective form we have an aspect of incompleteness.

6 vi) /yees<sup>1</sup> al ʔ ittalaba/ He questions or may question the students.

#### 2.1.1.1.2.2.: Passive Verbal Forms

- i) /yu<sup>2</sup>rad fissuʔ / It (mas. sing.) is exhibited in the market place and will continue to be so.
- ii) /yufaaga<sup>2</sup> bilxbar/ He is to be surprised by the news and will continue to be so.
- iii) /tuugad \*<sup>1</sup> halaat nadra/ Rare cases are found.
- iv) /dih hagaat la tulaahaz /\*<sup>2</sup> These are things that are not noticed.
- v) /ha tus<sup>2</sup> al ʔ ala sabiil ʔ it<sup>2</sup> istidlaal/ You (masc. sing.) will be questioned for the sake of the investigation.

As can be seen from the above examples of verbal passives, passivity in CEA may be indicated by means of a vocalic alteration which involves the heightening and rounding of the vowel in the above mentioned context. It is, however, to be noted that even though any verbal form may undergo the above mentioned phonological rule for passive indication, yet not all verbal forms are acceptable in CEA in this form of passivity. For example, whereas the verbal forms of the sentences of 2.1.1.1.2.(i) - (iii) are acceptable those of sentences (iv) and (v)(a) are not. This is because many, or more specifically, most of the verbal forms in CEA do not passivize by means of vocalic alteration. Instead, they passivize by means of affixation as shown by the acceptability of sentences (iv) and (v)(b). This means that this phonological rule of vocalic alteration for the indication of passivity in verbal forms is heavily restricted to specific lexical items in CEA. In this respect, CEA is different from Classical Arabic, as described by both Saad (1982) and Cowan (1982).

#### 2.1.2. Passivity by means of Affixation

There are several affixes that indicate passivity in verbal construction in CEA. These may be described as follows:

##### 2.1.2.1.: ʔ it / Affix

<sup>1</sup>This is the feminine singular, third person imperfective form because the syntactic subject has a feminine singular NP/halaat nadra/. The masculine, singular and third person form is /yuugad/.

<sup>2</sup>This is also the feminine singular 3rd person form of the verb. The masc. sing. 3rd person form is /yuulaahaz/.

This affix is composed of a vowelless /-t-/ but it requires a glottal stop prior to it because of a phonological rule in CEA that does not allow a vowelless consonant in initial position.\*<sup>1</sup> This affix /ʔit/ may be prefixed to the third person singular masculine perfective form of the simple form of the verb (ie form I); to form II; or to form III. It is to be noted that there is no infinitive in the Arabic language in general and that "we find a root idea and its derivatives arranged in the dictionary under the heading of the 3rd person masculine singular of a simple verb" (Cowan, 1982:54) of the perfective form.

#### 2.1.2.1.1.: /ʔit/ affix with the Simple Form of the Verb ie Form I

It is customary in the study of Arabic to define the verb forms in accordance with specific patterns. In Cowan (1982), the simple form of the verb (ie form I) is said that it "may consist of three or four radicals, their simple pattern being /faʕala/, /faʕula/ or /faʕila/ and /faʕlala/. The vast majority of Arabic verbs have three radicals." (Cowan, 1982:54).

Applying this definition of form I to CEA, we find that verbs of these forms in CEA have the pattern /faʕal/ only as the investigator has not encountered verbs with the other patterns, as described by Cowan (1982). Therefore, verbal passives of this type are composed of the /ʔit/ affix and the pattern /faʕal/ for form I for the indication of the third person, masculine and singular passive perfective form. This may be illustrated by the following sentences:

#### 2.1.2.1.1.1.: Perfective Forms

- i) /ʔirwagad/ It (masc.sing.) or He has been found.
- ii) /ʔirfaham/ It or He has been understood.
- iii) /ʔirtasaʕ/ It (mas. sig.) has been widened.
- iv) /ʔirtʔalab/ It or He has been overturned or changed.
- v) /ʔirtsaraʔ/ He has been robbed or It (masc. sing.) has been stolen.
- vi) /ʔirdarab/ He has been beaten.
- vii) /ʔirkaʕaf/ It or He has been uncovered or discovered.
- viii) /ʔirdabas/ It (masc. sing.) has been worn.
- ix) /ʔirʕarab/ It (masc. sing.) has been drunk.
- x) /ʔirkatab/ It (masc. sing.) has been written.
- xi) /ʔirʕamal/ It (masc. sing.) has been made.
- xii) /ʔirkasar/ It (masc. sing.) has been broken.

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<sup>1</sup>This rule is also found in Classical Arabic but with a slightly different distribution. See D. Cowan (1982).

### 2.1.2.1.1.2.: Imperfective Forms

- i) /yirwigid/ It (masc. sing.) or He can or may be found.
- ii) /yirfihim/ It or He can or may be understood.
- iii) /yirtisi/ It or He can or may be widened.
- iv) /yir<sup>2</sup>ilib/ It or He can or may be overturned.
- v) /yirsir<sup>2</sup>/ It or He can or may be stolen or robbed.
- vi) /yirdirib/ It or He can or may be beaten.
- vii) /yirkišif/ It or He can or may be uncovered or discovered.
- viii) /yirlibis/ It can or may be worn.
- ix) /yirširib/ It can or may be drunk.
- x) /yirkitib/ It can or may be written.
- xi) /yir<sup>2</sup>imil/ It can or may be done.
- xii) /yirkisir/ It can or may be broken.

Sentences 2.1.2.1.1.1. demonstrate this type of verbal passive in the perfective form; and those of 2.1.2.1.1.2. demonstrate them in the imperfective form. That is, for the indication of imperfectivity the addition of the prefix /yi-/ after the deletion of the /ʔi-/ prefix takes place along with internal vocalic changes indicating imperfectivity, as described by T.F. Mitchell (1956).<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that the deletion of the /ʔi-/ prefix is because the affix /-t-/ for the indication of passivity is no longer in initial position since the imperfective prefix /yi-/ is added to the passive affix.

Apart from inflecting for imperfectivity, this verbal passive form also inflects for progressiveness and futurity. This indicates that it is a fully-fledged verbal form. This is illustrated by the following sentences, in which progressiveness is indicated by the prefix /bi-/ and futurity is indicated by the prefix /ha/. Both prefixes are annexed to the imperfective verb form.

### 2.1.2.1.1.3.: Progressive Forms

- i) /biyitkitib/ It (masc. sing.) is being written.
- ii) /biyit<sup>2</sup>imil/ It (masc. sing.) is being made.
- iii) /biyitdirib/ He is being beaten.
- iv) /biyitlibis/ It (masc. sing.) is being worn.

### 2.1.2.1.1.4.: Future Forms

- i) /hayitkitib/ It (masc. sing.) will be written.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the vocalic alterations between the perfective and the imperfective verb forms in Egyptian Arabic see T.F. Mitchell (1956)..

- ii) /*hayitʕimil*/ It (masc. sing.) will be done.
- iii) /*hayitdirib*/ It (masc. sing.) will be beaten.
- iv) /*hayitlibis*/ It (masc. sing.) will be worn.

Apart from inflecting for perfectivity, imperfectivity, progressiveness and futurity, \*<sup>1</sup> this passive form also inflects for person, number and gender just as any fully fledged verbal form does. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

#### 2.1.2.1.1.5.: Number, person and gender Inflections of the Perfective Form

- i) /*ʔitkatab*/ It (masc. sing.) or He has been written.
- ii) /*ʔitkatabit*/ It (fem. sing.) or She has been written.
- iii) /*ʔitkatabt*/ I have been written.
- iv) /*ʔitkatabna*/ We have been written.
- v) /*ʔitkatabu*/ They have been written.
- vi) /*ʔitkatabt*/ You (masc. sing.) have been written.
- vii) /*ʔitkatabti*/ You (fem. sing.) have been written.
- viii) /*ʔitkatabtu*/ You (plur.) have been written.

#### 2.1.2.1.2. /ʔit/ Affix with Form II

Cowan (1982) describes form II as involving the doubling of the second radical ie /*faʕʕala*/. This description of form II does apply to CEA if we omit the final /-a/ ie /*faʕʕal*/. \*<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, this verbal passive construction is composed of the prefix /*ʔit*/ along with a verb form of the pattern /*faʕʕal*/ (ie form II) for the indication of the third person, masculine and singular passive perfective form. This may be illustrated by the following sentences:

#### 2.1.2.1.2.1.: Perfective Forms

- i) /*ʔitgawwiz ʔinnaharda*/ He has been caused to be married today.
- ii) /*ʔitmaffiz ʔinnaharda*/ It has been caused to be implemented today.
- iii) /*ʔitkassar*/ It has been caused to be broken.
- iv) /*ʔitfustaan ʔitʔassar*/ The dress has been shortened.

<sup>1</sup>It is to be noted that CEA inflects for future time indication, as shown by the prefix /*ha*/. This is the only verbal inflection that shows time, rather than aspect. The /*bi*-/ prefix is also an aspect inflection that denotes the aspect of progressiveness.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the causative verb form in CEA ie form II /*faʕʕal*/ see H. GHALY (forthcoming).



- v) /ʔitakkid/ He has been caused to be disappointed.
- vi) /ʔilmiʕaad ʔithaddid/ The time has been caused to be decided upon.
- vii) /ʔitsakkik fiih/ He has been {caused or made} to be doubted in ie they became suspicious of him.
- viii) /ʔitʕallim/ He has been {caused or made} to be learned ie he got educated.
- ix) /ʔitsarraaf biina/ He has been {caused or made} to be honoured by us.
- x) /ʔitkazzib/ He has been {caused or made} to be a liar ie He is disbelieved.

This passive verbal form also inflects for imperfectivity, progressiveness and futurity, as shown by the following sentences.

#### 2.1.2.1.2.2.: Imperfective Forms

- i) /yitgawwiz/ He may be or can be caused to be married.
- ii) /yitnaffiz/ It (masc. sing.) may be or can be caused to be implemented.
- iii) /yitkassar/ It (masc. sing.) may be or can be caused to be broken.
- iv) /yitakkid/ He may be or can be caused to be disappointed.
- v) /yitʕassar/ It (masc. sing.) may be or can be shortened.
- vi) /ʔilmiʕaad yithaddid/ The time may be caused to be determined ie decided upon.
- vii) /yitsakkik fiih/ He may be caused to be doubted in.
- viii) /yitʕallim/ He {can or may} be caused to be learned ie he {can or may} be educated.
- ix) /yitsarraaf biina/ He {may or can} be caused to be honoured by us.
- x) /yitkazzib/ He {can or may} be caused to be a liar.

The glottal stop in /ʔit/ is deleted because the /-t-/ affix is prefixed by the imperfective marker ie /yi/, as shown above.

#### 2.1.2.1.2.3.: Progressive Forms

- i) /biyitʕallim/ He is being made to be learned.
- ii) /biyitnaffiz/ It (masc. sing.) is being made to be implemented.
- iii) /biyitʕassar/ It (masc. sing.) is being shortened.
- iv) /biyitkassar/ It (masc. sing.) is being made to be broken.

As with the above passive verbal forms, progressiveness is indicated by the prefix /bi-/ annexed to the imperfective verbal form. Similarly, the future form is indicated by the imperfective verbal form prefixed by /ha/:

#### 2.1.2.1.2.4.: Future Forms

- i) /hayit<sup>h</sup>allim/ He will be made to learn.
- ii) /hayit<sup>h</sup>affiz/ It (masc. sing.) will be made to be implemented.
- iii) /hayit<sup>h</sup>assar/ It (masc. sing.) will be shortened.
- iv) /hayit<sup>h</sup>kassar/ It (masc. sing.) will be caused to be broken.

#### 2.1.2.1.2.5.: Number, person and gender inflections of the Perfective Form

- i) /ʔitgawwiz/ He has been caused to be married.
- ii) /ʔitgawwizit/ She has been caused to be married.
- iii) /ʔitgawwizt/ I have been caused to be married.
- iv) /ʔitgawwizna/ We have been caused to be married.
- v) /ʔitgawwizu/ They have been caused to be married.
- vi) /ʔitgawwizt/ You (masc. sing.) have been caused to be married.
- vii) /ʔitgawwizti/ You (fem. sing.) have been caused to be married.
- viii) /ʔitgawwiztu/ You (pl.) have been caused to be married.

The above examples have shown that the /ʔit/ and form II constructions are fully fledged verbal forms because they inflect like a verbal form in CEA. It must be noted, however, that this passive verbal form is slightly different from that of the /ʔit/ and form I constructions since the former passive form has a causative implication associated with form II.

#### 2.1.2.1.3.: /ʔit/ with Form III

Cowan (1982) describes form III as involving the lengthening of the /-a-/ after the first radical, ie /faa<sup>h</sup>ala/. This description of form III applies to CEA with a slight change ie the deletion of the final /-a/ and the vowel after the second radical is /-i/ instead of /-a-/ ie /faa<sup>h</sup>il/. It is to be noted that this pattern ie /faa<sup>h</sup>il/, which is the base form in this passive verbal form, is identical in form to the active participial form ie /faa<sup>h</sup>il/. But it is definitely different from the active participial form as the latter is a nominal and the former is a fully fledged verbal, as will be shown. That this passive construction is a fully fledged verbal form is indicated by its capacity to inflect for perfectivity, imperfectivity, progressiveness, futurity, person, gender and number. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

#### 2.1.2.1.3.1.: Perfective Forms

- i) /ʔitaaakil/ It (masc. sing.) has been eaten.

- ii) /ʔitgaawib/ It (masc. sing.) has been answered.
- iii) /ʔithaakim/ He has been trialed.
- iv) /ʔitʔaatil/ He has been at war.
- v) /ʔittaaxid/ He has been taken.
- vi) /ʔitraada/ \*<sup>1</sup> He has been reconciled.
- vii) /ʔitbaaʕ/ It (masc. sing.) has been sold.
- viii) /ʔitfaahim maʕahum/ He has been understood (by) with them  
ie He came to an agreement with them.
- ix) /ʔitʕaaliḥ maʕahum/ He has been made suitable (by) for  
them ie he has reconciled with them.
- x) /ʔitmaazil ʕan-ʔiṣṣaʔʔa/ He has been made below for the  
apartment ie The apartment has been given up by him.

#### 2.1.2.1.3.2.: Imperfective Forms

- i) /yittaakil/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be eaten ie edible.
- ii) /yithaakim/ He may or can be trialed.
- iii) /yitgaawib/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be answered.
- iv) /yitʔaatil/ He may or can be at war.
- v) /yittaaxid/ He may or can be taken.
- vi) /yitraada/ He may or can be reconciled.
- vii) /yitfaahim/ He may or can be made to understand.
- viii) /yitʕaaliḥ/ He may or can be made suitable ie to become on good terms again.
- ix) /yitmaazil ʕan ʔiṣṣaʔʔa/ He may or can be made to be down  
on the apartment ie to give up the apartment.
- x) /yitbaaʕ/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be sold.

#### 2.1.2.1.3.3.: Progressive Forms

- i) /biyittaakil/ It (masc. sing.) is being eaten.
- ii) /biyitgaawib/ It (masc. sing.) is being answered.

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the different types of verbs in Classical Arabic and the phonological processes they involve see D. Cowan (1982) and for such a discussion as regards Egyptian Arabic see T.F. Mitchell (1956).

- iii) /b̥ayirfaahim/ He is being understood ie coming to an agreement.
- iv) /b̥ayirtaaxid/ He is being taken.

#### 2.1.2.1.3.4.: Future Forms

- i) /h̥ayirtaakil/ It (masc. sing.) will be eaten.
- ii) /h̥ayirgaawib/ It (masc. sing.) will be answered.
- iii) /h̥ayirfaahim/ He will be understood ie to come to an agreement.
- iv) /h̥ayirtaaxid/ He is being taken.

As with the above verbal passive forms, this form also inflects for imperfectivity by the prefix /yi-/ and the inflection for progressiveness and futurity is by means of the prefixes /bi-/ and /ha/ respectively annexed to the imperfective form.

#### 2.1.2.1.3.5.: Number, person and gender Inflection of the Perfective Form

Again taking the Perfective form as the basic form, this form shows the following inflections for number, person and gender:

- i) /ʔittaakil/ It (masc. sing.) has been eaten.
- ii) /ʔittaaklit/ It (fem. sing.) has been eaten.
- iii) /ʔittaakilt/ I have been eaten.
- iv) /ʔittaakilna/ We have been eaten.
- v) /ʔittaaklu/ They have been eaten.
- vi) /ʔittaakilt/ You (masc. sing.) have been eaten.
- vii) /ʔittaakilti/ You (fem. sing.) have been eaten.
- viii) /ʔittaakiltu/ You (pl.) have been eaten.

The above discussion of the verbal passive constructions with the /ʔit/ prefix has shown that these constructions are fully fledged verbal forms as they inflect for perfectivity, imperfectivity, progressiveness, futurity, number, gender and person just as their active counterparts.

The above discussion has also shown that the base forms of these verbal passive constructions are forms similar to forms I, II and III of the verb forms as described by Cowan (1982). It is in this respect that they have been called with the same numerical names. As for the constructions of /ʔit/ + form II and /ʔit/ + form III, these have not retained the numerical names of form V and form VI as described by Cowan (1982). This is because they are different from the forms V and VI, as described by Cowan (1982), despite the fact that they share some similarity with these forms. The similarity between forms V and VI, on the one hand, and the /ʔit/ + form II and the /ʔit/ + form III constructions, on the other hand, is that they all have the affix /-t-/ and the same base forms ie forms II and III. The base form of form II is, as we have seen, characterized by

the gemination of the second radical; and that of form III is that there is a lengthening of the /-a-/ sound after the first radical. As for the /-t-/ affix, this affix has a glottal stop inserted before it in initial position due to a phonological rule that is active in CEA, as shown above. In Classical Arabic, this glottal stop is not inserted because the affix is not vowelless ie it is /-ta-/. This phonological rule is only inserted when a vowelless affix is inserted in initial position. Nonetheless, all the forms V and VI, on the one hand, and the /ʔit/ + form III on the other hand, have the same affix marker ie /t(a)/ inserted in initial position.

Another similarity is a semantic one between form V of Cowan (1982) and /ʔit/ and form II in this study. Cowan (1982) describes form II as conveying "intensity of action"; "causation"; and "estimation". (Cowan, 1982:139). Cowan illustrates this by showing the difference between /ʕalama/ and /ʕallama/. In the latter ie form II, we have the meaning that the "subject caused someone to learn" but this sense of causation is missing in the former example ie form I, in which the subject simply came to know. This causative implication associated with form II of Classical Arabic is also found in CEA both as a form by itself and as a base form of the verbal passive construction of /ʔit/ + form II.

As for the /ʔit/ + form III constructions, its base form ie form III differs semantically from that of form VI of Classical Arabic, as described by Cowan (1982). This is because form III itself in CEA differs semantically from that of form III in Classical Arabic even though they are phonologically similar. That is, the lengthening of the /-a-/ after the first radical in Classical Arabic forms form III, which is regarded as indicating "reciprocity". (Cowan, 1982:142). Cowan cites a word such as /ʕaatala/, and he translates it as involving someone being in a mutual state of war. In CEA, we have a similar phonological form to Cowan's form III and this may be represented by the word /ʔaatil/ but this word in CEA is an active participle with the meaning of a "murderer". Consequently, in CEA, the reciprocal implication is missing in the form similar to form III of Classical Arabic, as described by Cowan (1982). It is in this respect that reciprocal implication in the /ʔit/ + form III is also missing in CEA whereas it is there in form VI of Classical Arabic, which has form III as its base.

This basic difference between form VI of Classical Arabic and the /ʔit/ + form III of CEA also extends to that between form V and /ʔit/ + form II. That is, whereas form VI in Classical Arabic indicates reciprocity, /ʔit/ + form III does not; and in a similar respect form V indicates reflexivity but /ʔit/ + form II does not. For Cowan (1982) both forms V and VI indicate coreference as represented by reciprocity for form VI and reflexivity for form V. On the other hand, forms /ʔit/ + form II and /ʔit/ + form III in CEA do not indicate any coreference whether reciprocal or reflexive. As we have seen, they indicate passivity. This reminds us of Langacker and Munero (1975), who say that reflexive morphemes may be generalized in function to include passive use. This is also reminiscent of Mitchell (1956) describing the prefix /ʔit/ in Egyptian Arabic as usually being a passive, an intransitive or a reflexive sign. The position undertaken here is even more radical because it is assumed that the /ʔit/ verbal forms have not only assumed passive function in CEA but only assume that function. This is because reflexivity is no longer indicated in CEA by this prefix.\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of reflexivity in CEA see H. GHALY (forthcoming).

### 2.1.2.2.: /ʔ in/ affix.

This affix is actually a vowelless /-n-/, which requires the insertion of a glottal stop prior to it due to the above mentioned phonological rule that does not allow a vowelless consonant in initial position. This affix is affixed to the simple form of the verb ie form I. A similar form is found in Classical Arabic as described by Cowan (1982), who calls it form VII of the derived verbal forms. He describes this form as having a vowelless /-n-/ prefixed by a glottal stop and introducing verbs of form I.

This derived verbal form is not only phonologically similar to Cowan's (1982) form VIII in Classical Arabic but also semantically similar. This is indicated by the fact that Cowan (1982) says that it may have passive use ie this form combines "the passive or the reflexive of the first form". (Cowan, 1982:159). In other words, even in Classical Arabic the same morpheme may be used to indicate passivity or reflexivity. However, in CEA this verbal form /ʔ in-/ + form I only indicates passivity and it is in this respect that it is not called form VII as with Cowan (1982) despite their phonological identity.

As with the /ʔ it/ verbal passive constructions, this verbal passive construction is a fully fledged verb since it inflects for perfectivity, imperfectivity, progressiveness, futurity, person, gender and number. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

#### 2.1.2.2.1.: Perfective Forms:

- i) /ʔ inwagad/ He has been found.
- ii) /ʔ infaham/ He has been understood.
- iii) /ʔ inʔ alab/ He has been overturned.
- iv) /ʔ insaraʔ/ He has been robbed.
- v) /ʔ indarab/ He has been beaten.
- vi) /ʔ inkaʃaf/ He has been uncovered, discovered.
- vii) /ʔ inlabas/ It (masc. sing.) has been worn.
- viii) /ʔ inʃarab/ It (masc. sing.) has been drunk.
- ix) /ʔ inkatab/ It (masc. sing.) has been written.
- x) /ʔ inkasar/ It (masc. sing.) has been broken.

#### 2.1.2.2.2.: Imperfective Forms:

- i) /yinwigid/ He may or can be found.
- ii) /yinfihim/ He may or can be understood.
- iii) /yinʔ ilib/ He may or can be overthrown.
- iv) /yinsiriʔ/ He may or can be robbed.
- v) /yindirib/ He may or can be beaten.

- vi) /yinkišif/ He may or can be uncovered ie discovered.
- vii) /yinlibis/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be worn.
- viii) /yinširib/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be drunk.
- ix) /yinkitib/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be written.
- x) /yinkisir/ It (masc. sing.) may or can be broken.

As with the /ʔit/ verbal forms, the /ʔin/ verbal form inflects for imperfectivity by the prefix /yi-/ , allowing the deletion of the glottal in initial position in the perfective form.

#### 2.1.2.2.3.: Progressive Forms

- i) /biyindirib/ He is being beaten.
- ii) /biyinlibis/ It (masc. sing.) is being worn.
- iii) /biyinkitib/ It (masc. sing.) is being written.
- iv) /biyinkisir/ It (masc. sing.) is being broken.

As with the /ʔit/ verbal forms, this verbal form also forms the progressive form by the prefix /bi-/ to the imperfective verb forms.

#### 2.1.2.2.4.: Future Forms

- i) /hayindirib/ He will be beaten.
- ii) /hayinlibis/ It (masc. sing.) will be worn.
- iii) /hayinkitib/ It (masc. sing.) will be written.
- iv) /hayinkisir/ It (masc. sing.) will be broken.

Again the future forms are formed by the annexation of the prefix /ha/ to the imperfective verb form.

#### 2.1.2.2.5.: Number, person and gender Inflection of the Perfective Form

- i) /ʔingarab/ He has been beaten.
- ii) /ʔingarabit/ She has been beaten.
- iii) /ʔingarabt/ I have been beaten.
- iv) /ʔingarabna/ We have been beaten.
- v) /ʔingarabu/ They have been beaten.
- vi) /ʔingarabt/ You (masc. sing.) have been beaten.
- vii) /ʔingarabti/ You (fem. sing.) have been beaten.

viii) /ʔingarabtu/ You (pl.) have been beaten.

Mitchell (1956) regards the forms /ʔit/ and /ʔin-/ as "interchangeable" in Egyptian Arabic. As regards CEA in 1993, it can be said that there is free variation in many cases, as illustrated by the following examples:

#### 2.1.2.2.6.:

- i) /ʔitwagad/ ~ /ʔinwagad/ He has been found.
- ii) /ʔitʔalab/ ~ /ʔinʔalab/ He has been overthrown, overturned
- iii) /ʔitsaraʔ/ ~ /ʔinsaraʔ/ He has been robbed.
- iv) /ʔitdarab/ ~ /ʔindarab/ He has been beaten.
- v) /ʔitkaʃaf/ ~ /ʔinkaʃaf/ He has been discovered.
- vi) /ʔitlabas/ ~ /ʔinlabas/ It (masc. sing.) has been worn.
- vii) /ʔitʃarab/ ~ /ʔinʃarab/ It (masc. sing.) has been drunk.
- viii) /ʔitkatab/ ~ /ʔinkatab/ It (masc. sing.) has been written.
- ix) /ʔitʕamal/ ~ /ʔinʕamal/ It (masc. sing.) has been done.
- x) /ʔitkasar/ ~ /ʔinkasar/ It (masc. sing.) has been broken.

However, the following examples indicate that the /ʔit/ and /ʔin-/ prefixes in CEA are not always in free variation:

#### 2.1.2.2.7.:

- i) a) /ʔintaʕal/ He has been put in action ie he has been enraged  
b) \* /ʔitfaʕal/
- ii) a) /ʔinkaram ʔaxir karam/ He has been very generously treated  
b) \* /ʔitkaram/
- iii) a) /ʔindafaʕ/ He has been provoked and incited as if thrown ahead.  
b) \* /ʔitdafaʕ/  
\* /ʔiddafaʕ/
- iv) a) /ʔindamag/ He has been involved in his work.  
b) \* /ʔiddamag/

#### 2.1.2.2.8.:

- i) a) /ʔintahadu/ They have become united ie one.  
b) \* /ʔintahadu/



- ii) a) /ʔitrafaʕ/ He has been uplifted.  
b) \* /ʔinrafaʕ/
- iii) a) /ʔitriziʕ/ You (masc. sing.) are to become put ie stay put.  
b) \* /ʔinriziʕ/
- iv) a) /ʔitrama/ He has been thrown.  
b) \* /ʔinrama/

The sentences of 2.1.2.2.(7) and (8) are counterexamples to Mitchell's "interchangeability" between the prefixes /ʔit/ and /ʔin/. Despite the fact that it is not the goal of this study to probe into the history of these affixes ie /ʔit/ and /ʔin/; yet as a native speaker of this dialect of Arabic the writer can perceive that the prefix /ʔin/ is older than the /ʔit/ prefix as regards functioning as a passive marker. It is in this respect that Cowan (1982) regards the /ʔin/ affix as being both a reflexive and a passive marker whereas the /ʔit/ affix as simply a reflexive marker in Classical Arabic. It is as if a phonological rule took place in CEA allowing the /ʔit/ to be the passive marker in addition to that of /ʔin/. Then this rule soon became of a wider generalization so that words of new coinage only allowed the /ʔit/ passive markers, as shown by the ill-formedness of the (b) examples of sentences 2.1.2.2.8. For example, lexical items such as /ʔittahadu/ "they have been unified" are of relatively new coinage; it is associated with the unification of countries politically. It is also to be noted that /ʔulḡeeya/ is the Classical Arabic term for /ʔitrama/ in CEA, so that the lexical item /ʔitrama/ is still nonetheless of a relatively new coinage in relation to /ʔulḡeeya/.

As for the ill-formedness of the (b) examples of sentences 2.1.2.2.7, this is probably due to the fact that these lexical items are of such high frequency that they have become immune to this phonological rule that has allowed /ʔit/ in CEA to be a passive marker as well as the older passive marker ie /ʔin/. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that whenever interchangeability is possible between /ʔit/ and /ʔin/ in the sentences of 2.1.2.2.7., the use of the latter affix seems to be an old-fashioned kind of language of CEA ie even though a statistical study has not been undertaken, yet the /ʔin/ affix seems to be of a relatively high frequency in the speech of elderly people of moderate education. Naturally, further investigation is required in the history of these affixes for more definitive results.

However, the above assumption in general seems to be plausible because there is a tendency for all reflexive markers in Arabic to generalize into passive use as well. This has been verified by Cowan (1982), who deals with modern literary Arabic; as opposed to Saad (1982), who deals with Classical Arabic as old as the glorious Quran. That is, even though for Saad (1982) /ʔin/ is simply a reflexive marker, for Cowan (1982) it has become both a passive and a reflexive marker. For Mitchell (1956), both /ʔin/ and /ʔit/ have become both reflexive as well as passive markers. In 1993, this study has also shown that this tendency has also gone further, making both /ʔin/ and /ʔit/ only passive markers. It has also allowed some free-variation between them; and where free-variation is not possible it is assumed to be due to the above mentioned plausible assumptions. Nevertheless, this general tendency is seen to be very active in the syntax of CEA; and is to be shown to be even more active in the discussion of the other affixes

(ie /ta/ and /ʔista/) since it has never been previously shown that these affixes are also passive affixes markers as will be shown in the ensuing discussion.

### 2.1.2.3.: /-ta-/ affix

The /-ta-/ affix is inserted between the first and the second radical, making the first radical vowelless and in turn requiring a glottal stop in initial position. Classical Arabic has a similar form that Cowan (1982) calls form VIII, which inserts the /-ta-/ affix between the first and the second radical making the first vowelless and requiring a glottal stop. He says that his form may be represented by the word /ʔijtamaʕa/ (He had a meeting with) and describes this form as being "the reflexive of the first or root form". (Cowan, 1982:161).

This affix ie /-ta-/ slightly differs from the /ʔit/ and the /ʔin/ affixes in the sense that the former affix is a verbal passive form that has a derived nominal. This is illustrated by the following sentences, which also demonstrate that this passive form is also a fully fledged verbal form since it inflects for perfectivity, imperfectivity, progressiveness, futurity, person, number and gender.

#### 2.1.2.3.1.: Perfective Forms

- i) a) /ʔiftakar ʔilmiʕaad/ The appointment is remembered by him.  
b) /fikr/ thought
- ii) a) /ʔiʕtaʕad kida/ The belief has been tied in him as such.  
(He believed so) ie This belief is believed by him.  
b) /ʕuʕda/ a knot.
- iii) a) /ʔiftarad kida/ (He assumed so) ie This assumption is assumed by him.  
b) /fard/ obligation.
- iv) a) \*<sup>1</sup> /ʔibtadaʔ ʕuylu/ The beginning of his work has been begun by him.  
(He started working)\*<sup>1</sup>  
b) /bidaaya/ beginning.
- v) a) /ʔirtakab gariima/ A riding of a crime has been made by him  
ie the committing a crime is like "riding" a horse.  
b) /rikuub/ riding
- vi) a) /ʔiʕtayal kitiir/ A lot of work has been done by him.  
b) /ʕuyl/ work or occupation.
- vii) a) /ʔiʕtarak filmaʕruuʕ/ Taking part in the project has been

---

<sup>1</sup>Note that /ʔibtadaʔ/ is different from /badaʔ/. The former is passive but the latter is active, eg /badaʔ ʕuylu/ He began his work.

his share or the share by him.

b) /širk/ the non-uniqueness.

viii) a) /ʔittafaʔ maʕaana/ An agreement or a compatibility has been made with us by him.

b) /wifʔ/ compatibility.

ix) a) /ʔiʕtazar/ An apology or an excuse has been given by him.

b) /ʕuzr/ an excuse.

x) a) /ʔigtamaʕ bihum/ A meeting or collection has been made for them by him.

b) /gimaaʕ/ Collection or intercourse.

### 2.1.2.3.2.: Imperfective Forms

i) /yiftʔkir<sup>1</sup> ʔilmiʕaad/ The appointment may be or can be remembered by him.

ii) /yiʕʔaʕid kida/ This belief may be or can be believed by him.

iii) /yiftʔirid kida/ This assumption may be or can be assumed by him.

iv) /yibʔidiy ʕuylu/ The beginning of his work may be or can be begun by him.

v) /yirʔikib gariima/ A riding of crime may be or can be committed by him.

vi) /yiʕʔayal kitir/ A lot of work may be or can be done by him.

vii) /yiʕʔirik filmaʕruuʕ/ Taking part in the project may be or can be the share of him.

viii) /yittʔiʔ maʕana/ Agreement or compatibility may be or can be made with us by him.

ix) /yiʕʔʔizir/ An apology may be given by him.

x) /yigtʔimiʕ bihum/ A meeting may be made for them by him.

### 2.1.2.3.3.: Progressive Forms

i) /biyiftʔkir ʕiwayya biʕiwayya/ The thought is being remembered by him bit by bit.

ii) /biyiʕʔʔid kida/ This belief is being believed by him.

iii) /biyiʕʔayal kitir/ A lot of work is being done by him.

<sup>1</sup>The vowel is interchangeable ie either /-ta/ or /-ti-/ depending on the phonetic environment. For a discussion of the phonological rules in Egyptian Arabic see Mitchell (1956) and in Classical Arabic see Cowan (1982).

- iv) /biyittifi<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>aana/ Compatibility or agreement is being made with us by him.

As with the other verbal passive forms, imperfectivity is indicated by the prefix /yi-/; and progressiveness is indicated by the prefix /bi-/ annexed to the imperfective form.

#### 2.1.2.3.4.: Future Forms

- i) /hayiftikir šiwayya bišiwayya/ The thought will be remembered by him bit by bit.  
 ii) /hayiftağid kida/ This belief will be believed by him.  
 iii) /hayistayal kitir/ A lot of work will be done by him.  
 iv) /biyittifi<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>aana/ An agreement will be made with us by him.

Similarly, the future forms have the prefix /ha/ annexed to the imperfective forms.

#### 2.1.2.3.5.: Person, Number and Gender Inflections of the Perfective Form

- i) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağad/ The belief is believed by him, tied to him  
 ii) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadit/ The belief is believed by her, tied to her  
 iii) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadt/ The belief is believed by me, tied to me  
 iv) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadna/ The belief is believed by us, tied to us  
 v) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadu/ The belief is believed by them, tied to them  
 vi) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadt/ The belief is believed by you, tied to you (masc. sing.)  
 vii) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadti/ The belief is believed by you, tied to you (fem. sing.)  
 viii) /<sup>2</sup>i<sup>2</sup>tağadtu/ The belief is believed by you, tied to you (pl.)

The above discussion of the /-ta-/ verbal constructions has not only shown that these structures are fully fledged verbal forms but also that they are passive constructions with the passive marker /-ta-. Even though the /-ta-/ affix in CEA is phonetically similar to the /-ta-/ affix found in Cowan's (1982) form VIII of derived verbal forms in Classical Arabic, yet it has a different syntactic function in CEA. It is a passive marker, rather than a reflexive marker.

But, this passive marker ie /-ta-/ is slightly different from those of /<sup>2</sup>it/ and /<sup>2</sup>in/. It can be said that it is a passive marker that derives passive sentences with agentive phrases. It is not unique in this respect in CEA as the /<sup>2</sup>ista/, to be discussed, is also a passive marker that derives passive sentences with agentive phrases. Therefore, it can be said that CEA has four passive affixes; two of which ie /<sup>2</sup>it/ and /<sup>2</sup>in/ may be agentless passive markers and the two others ie /-ta-/ and /<sup>2</sup>ista-/ are agentive passive markers. This is naturally counter to what is traditionally known about passivity in the Arabic language as it is believed that passive sentences in Arabic are agentless. The arguments against such a belief will be discussed after our discussion of the second affix ie /<sup>2</sup>ista/.

This passive affix ie /-ta-/ is also different from the other two affixes ie /ʔit/ and /ʔin/ in that it actually does have a derived nominal form that still has the notion of passivity. This is illustrated by the following charts.

**2.1.2.3.6.:**

<u>Derived Forms</u>		<u>Simple Forms</u>	
a) <u>Verbal</u>	b) <u>Nominal</u>	a) <u>Verbal</u>	b) <u>Nominal</u>
i) /ʔiʕtaʕad/	/ʔiʕtiʕaad/	/ʕaʕad/	/ʕuʕda/
It was believed by him	That which is believed	He tied	A knot ie a tie
ii) /ʔiftaraḍ/	/ʔiftiraad/	/faraḍ/	/fard/
It was assumed by him	That which is assumed	He made obligatory	An obligation (eg. prayers)
iii) /ʔibtadaʔ/	/ʔibtidaaʔ/	/badaʔ/	/bidaya/
It was begun by him	That which is begun	He began	a beginning
iv) /ʔirtakab/	/ʔirtikaab/	/rikib/	/rikuub/
It was ridden by him	That which is ridden	He rode	riding
v) /ʔištaya/	/ʔištiyaal/	/šaya/	/šuy/
It was worked by him	That which is occupied	He occupied.	Work or occupation
vi) /ʔištarak/	/ʔištiraak/	/šarik/	/širk/
It was shared by him	That which is shared	He participated or took part in	non-unique- ness belief
vii) /ʔttafaʔ/	/ʔittifaaʔ/	/waffaʔ/	/witʔ/
It was agreed by him	That which is agreed upon	He caused to have agree- ment	agreement or compatibility
viii) /ʔiʕtazar/	/ʔiʕtizaar/	/ʕazaar/	/ʕuzr/
it was excused apologized by him	that which is excused	He excused or understood	an excuse
ix) /ʔigtamaʕ/	/ʔigtimaaʕ/	/gamaʕ/	/gamʕ/

It was convened that which is      He collected      addition  
by him      convened

### 2.1.2.3.7.:

- i) /ʔitwagad/      \* /ʔitwiguud/      /wagad/      /wiguud/  
/ʔinwagad/      \* /ʔinwiguud/      He has found      existence  
He has been found
- ii) /ʔitsaraʔ/      \* /ʔitsiraaʔ/      /saraʔ/      /sirʔa/  
/ʔinsaraʔ/      \* /ʔinsiraaʔ/      He stole      a theft  
It has been stolen
- iii) /ʔitʕamal/      \* /ʔitʕimaal/      /ʕamal/      /ʕamal/  
/ʔinʕamal/      \* /ʔinʕimaal/      He did      work  
It has been done
- iv) /ʔitʕarab/      \* /ʔitʕiraab/      /ʕirib/      /ʕurba/  
/ʔinʕarab/      \* /ʔinʕiraab/      He drank      soup  
It has been drunk

As can be seen from chart 2.1.2.3.6., the /-ta-/ verbal forms have related derived nominal forms that also have this affix ie /-ta-/ and also convey the notion of passivity. As for the /ʔit/ and /ʔin/ verbal forms, these do not have related derived nominal forms that have these affixes and also convey passivity, as shown by the ill-formedness of these forms in 2.1.2.3.7. There are, however, a few exceptions as shown by the following:

### 2.1.2.3.8.:

- i) /ʔitkasar/      \* /ʔitkisaar/      /kasar/      /kasra/  
/ʔinkasar/      /ʔinkisaar/      He broke      a break  
It has been      That which is a  
broken      broken state
- ii) /ʔitdarab/      \* /ʔindiraab/      /darab/      /darba/  
/ʔindarab/      /ʔiddiraab/      He beat      a beat  
He was beaten      That which is  
beaten ie a strike

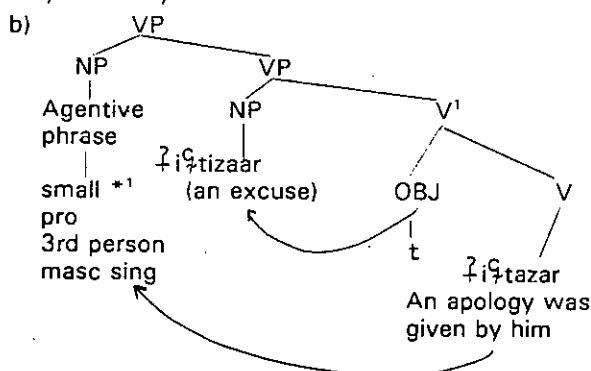
As can be seen from chart 2.1.2.3.8., the derivation of these related nominal forms from the verbal affixes /ʔit/ and /ʔin/ is highly irregular and depends on idiosyncratic properties of different lexical items ie /ʔinkisaar/ is acceptable, but not \* /ʔitkisaar/. Similarly, /ʔiddiraab/ is acceptable but not \* /ʔindiraab/.

This is not the case, as can be seen by chart 2.1.2.3.(6) and (7), as regards the derivation of related nominal forms from the verbal affix /ta-. Each and every example of the /-ta-/ verbal forms cited above, has a derived related nominal form that also has this affix and conveys passivity. The only exception has been /iftakar/, which does not have \*iftikaar/. It is accordingly assumed that the /ta-/ affix, along with /ista/, represents the marked passive markers in CEA; whereas the /it/ and the /in/ affixes represent the unmarked passive markers. The markedness of the /ta-/ affix is exemplified by the fact that it not only has derived related nominal forms with the same affix but also that some of these verbal forms do not even have a simple verb form. This is represented by the example in 2.1.2.3.6(viii), which does not have the simple verb form \*/wafaʔ/ but has the derived verbal form ie form II /waffaʔ/ ie be caused to have an agreement".

This distinctiveness of /ta-/ from the /it/ and /in/ affixes is also in its capacity to derive agentive passive sentences in which the agentive NP is not introduced by a preposition. In turn, this agentive NP is preposed by an adjunction rule, as will be shown in section III. It is to be noted that the passive predicate is viewed as a two argument predicate with the related derived nominal embodied in the verbal predicate of this type becoming the syntactic subject of the predicate if there is not already an external and argument. This may be illustrated by the following diagrams, setting aside all the minute details to be discussed in section III.

#### 2.1.2.3.9.:

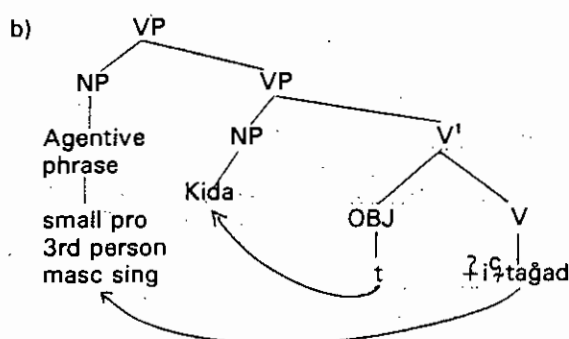
a) /ʔiʔtazar/ An excuse has been given or apologized by him.



#### 2.1.2.3.10:

a) /ʔiʔtaʒad kida/ This belief has been believed by him.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of such tree-structures see section III. It is to be noted here that small pro is a partially empty pronominal, along the lines of Chomsky (1982(a), 82(b)).



Both predicates are two argument predicates but OBJ in 2.1.2.3.10 (b) is /kida/ raised to the subject position. In 2.1.2.3.9.(b), as there is no overt lexical OBJ, it is assumed that it is the related nominal with the same affix that is the OBJ, which again has been raised to the subject position. In both cases, the predicate has both an external argument (ie the agentive NP) and an internal argument ie that base-generated in OBJ and moved to the subject position. For further discussion of the internal make of the passive predicates in CEA see section III. In the meantime, it is sufficient to say here that both the affix /-ta-/ and that of /ʔista/ represent the marked passive affixes.

#### 2.1.2.4.: /ʔista/ affix

As can be seen from this affix, it is composed of the /ta-/ affix preceded by a vowelless /s/, requiring the insertion of a glottal stop in initial position in accordance with the above mentioned phonological rule that does not allow a vowelless consonant in initial position. A similar form exists in Classical Arabic and is called form X by Cowan (1982), who describes it as "the reflexive of the IVth form." (Cowan, 1982:169). Despite the phonological identity between this affix in CEA and that of Cowan's (1982) form X of Classical Arabic, yet they are different because they have different functions, i.e. in the former case it is a passive marker but in the latter case it is a reflexive marker. This is illustrated by the following sentences, by which it is also shown that this construction, with the /ʔista/ affix, is a fully fledged verb form since it inflects for perfectivity, imperfectivity, progressiveness, futurity, gender, number and person as a verb does.

##### 2.1.2.4.1.: Perfective Forms

- i) /ʔistaʔmil/ ʔissikiina / The knife has been of use to him.
- ii) /ʔistaʔgil/ bintu / His daughter's hurriedness has been by him.
- iii) /ʔistaxdim/ ʔissikiina / The knife has been of service to him.
- iv) /ʔistaxrag/ nusxa / The extraction has been made of a copy for him.
- v) /ʔistangid/ biina / Help has been sought from us by him.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the phonological rule that changes the definite article /ʔil/ ---> /ʔis/ see Mitchell (1956).



- vi) //ʔistagwib/ ʔilmuttaham/ An answer has been wrought from the suspect by him.
- vii) //ʔistashil/ ʔilkitaab/ The book has been found to be easy by him.
- viii) //ʔistasʕab/ ʔilkitaab/ The book has been found to be difficult by him.
- ix) //ʔistafaad/ min ʔiddars/ The profit from the lesson has been gotten by him.
- x) //ʔistaradd/ ʔikkitaab/ The book has been returned by him.

#### 2.1.2.4.2.: Imperfective Forms

- i) //yistaʕmil/ ʔissikiina/ The knife may be or can be of use to him.
- ii) //yistaʕgil/ bintu/ His daughter's hurriedness may or can be by him.
- iii) //yistaxdim/ ʔissikiina/ The knife may or can be of service to him.
- iv) //yistaxrag/ nusxa/ The extraction may or can be made of a copy for him.
- v) //yistangid/ biina/ Help may or can be sought from us by him.
- vi) //yistagwib/ ʔilmuttaham/ An answer can or may be wrought out of the suspect by him.
- vii) //yistashil/ ʔilkitaab/ The books may or can be found to be easy by him.
- viii) //yistasʕab/ ʔilkitaab/ The book may or can be found to be difficult by him.
- ix) //yistafiid/ min ʔiddars/ Profit may or can be wrought out of the lesson by him.
- x) //yistaridd/ ʔilkitaab/ The book may or can be returned to him.

#### 2.1.2.4.3.: Progressive Forms

- i) //biyistaʕmil/ ʔissikina/ The knife is being of use by him.
- ii) //biyistaʕgil/ bintu/ His daughter is being in a hurry by him.
- iii) //biyistaxrag/ nusxa/ An extraction is being made of a copy for him.
- iv) //biyistangid/ biina/ Help is being sought from us by him.

#### 2.1.2.4.4.: Future Forms

- i) //hayistaʕmil/ ʔissikiina/ The knife will be of use to him.
- ii) //hayistaʕgil/ bintu/ His daughter will be made to hurry by him.
- iii) //hayistaxrag/ nusxa/ The extraction will be made of a copy for him.
- iv) //hayistangid/ biina/ Help will be sought from us by him.

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<sup>1</sup> There is free variation between ʔilkitaab and ʔikkitaab/. See Cowan (1982) and Mitchell (1956) for further discussion on the matter.

#### 2.1.2.4.5.: Number, Gender and Person Inflection in the Perfective Form

- i) /ʔistaʔmil/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to him.
- ii) /ʔistaʔmilt/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to her.
- iii) /ʔistaʔmilt/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to me.
- iv) /ʔistaʔmilna/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to us.
- v) /ʔistaʔmilu/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to them.
- vi) /ʔistaʔmilt/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to you (masc. sing.)
- vii) /ʔistaʔmilti/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to you (fem. sing.)
- viii) /ʔistaʔmiltu/ ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of use to you (pl.)

As with the /-ta-/ verbal affixes forms, the /ʔista/ verbal affix forms have related derived nominal forms that also have the notion of passivity. This is illustrated by the following chart.

#### 2.1.2.4.6.:

Derived Forms		Simple Forms	
a) Verbal	b) Nominal	c) verbal	b) nominal
1) /ʔistaʔmil ʔissikiina/ (The knife has been of use to him)	/ʔistʔmaal/ (The use of something)	/ʔamal/ (He did)	/ʔamal/ work
2) /ʔistaʔgil bintu/ His daughter has been hurried by him	/ʔistʔgaal/ The act of being made to hurry up	*1	/ʔagala/ rush or a wheel
3) /ʔistaxdim ʔissikiina/ The knife has been of service to him	/ʔistixdaam/ The act of being of service	/xadam/ He served	/xadam/ maids or men servants
4) /ʔistaxrag nusxa An extraction has been made of a copy for him	/ʔistixraag/ The extraction or the act of being copied	/xarag/ He left	/xiruug/ The burial or the going out
5) /ʔistangid biina/ Help has been sought from us by him	/ʔistingaad/ The act of being called to help	/nagad/ He rescued	/nagda/ A rescue

<sup>1</sup>There is no simple form ie \*/ʔagal/. There is only the derived form of form II /ʔaggil/ ie "He caused to hurry up".

- |  |  |                                |                          |
|--|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6) /ʔistagwib<br>ʔilmuttaham/<br>An answer has been<br>wrought out from the<br>suspect by him. | /ʔistigwaab/<br>The act of being<br>interrogated         | *1                             | /gawaab/<br>an answer    |
| 7) /ʔistashil ʔilkitaab/<br>The book has been found<br>easy by him                             | /ʔistishaal/<br>The act of being<br>for what is easy     | *2                             | /ʔshaal/<br>diarrhoe     |
| 8) /ʔistaʕab ʔilkitaab/<br>The book has been found<br>difficult by him                         | /ʔistiʕaab/<br>The act of being<br>for what is difficult | *3                             | /ʕiʕaab/<br>difficulties |
| 9) /ʔistafaad min ʔiddars/<br>The lesson has been of<br>profit for him                         | /ʔistifaada/<br>The act of being<br>of profit            | /faad/<br>He gave<br>profit to | /fayda/<br>profit        |
| 10) /ʔistaradd ʔilkitaab/<br>The book has been<br>returned to him                              | /ʔistirdaad/<br>The act of being<br>returned             | /radd/<br>He<br>returned       | /radd/<br>a reply        |

As can be seen from chart 2.1.2.4.6., the /ʔista/ verbal form has a related derived nominal form that has the affix /ʔisti/ and that also denotes the notion of passivity. Moreover, some of the /ʔista/ verbal forms do not even have a related simple verb form. Instead, they may have a related derived verbal form of forms II or III, as in the cases of /gaawib/ and /sahhil/ etc. Therefore, the derivation of a related nominal with the concept of passivity is a productive rule for verbals with the affixes /-ta-/ and /ʔista/, classifying them together as distinct from those of /ʔit/ and /ʔin/.

These two affixes are also classified together because they derive passive sentences with agentive phrases that are preposed or topicalized. It has traditionally been well-known that passivity in the Arabic language in general does not allow for the presence of the Agent; for example, Cowan (1982) says that "If the Agent is mentioned in the sentence, one cannot use the passive." (Cowan, 1982:59). The passive sentences with verbal forms showing passivity by means of vocalic alterations cohere to this well-known rule in Arabic, i.e. the passive sentences with verbal forms of this type do not allow the presence of the Agent of the action. It is to be noted that Classical Arabic indicates passivity by vocalic alterations and not by affixation, as shown by Cowan

<sup>1</sup>This form does not have a simple verb form i.e. \*/gawab/. It only has /gaawib/ i.e. form III. "He answered".

<sup>2</sup>This form also does not have the simple verb form \*/sahal/. It only has form II i.e. /sahhil/ "He caused to make easy."

<sup>3</sup>This form also does not have the simple verb form i.e. \*/saʕab/. It only has form II i.e. /saʕʕab/ "He caused to be difficult."

(1982). Rather, verbal affixation for Cowan (1982) has been shown to indicate reflexivity.

As for the passive sentences with passivity indicated by affixation on the verbal forms as in CEA, these do not cohere to the rule above stated by Cowan (1982). Such sentences range from allowing the optional occurrence of the Agentive phrase to requiring the obligatory occurrence of the Agentive phrase. The passive sentences with the affixes /ʔit/ or /ʔin/ allow for the presence of an optional agentive phrase, whereas those with the passive verbs with the affixes /-ta-/ or /ʔista-/ require an agentive phrase. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

2.1.2.4.7.:

2.1.2.4.7.1.:

- i) /ʔissuura ʔuradat fissuuʔ/ The picture has been exhibited in the marketplace.
- ii) \* /ʔissuura ʔuradat fissuuʔ minnu (biih)/

The picture has been exhibited in the marketplace by him.

2.1.2.4.7.2.:

- i) / (huwwa) ʔithaama fabuuh (babuuh)/  
He has been protected in his father or by his father.
- ii) / (ʔilbaab) ʔinkasar (min ʔilxabt)/

The door has been broken from the knocking.

2.1.2.4.7.3.:

- i) / (huwwa) ʔiʔtazar (labuuh)/ An excuse has been given to his father by him.
- ii) / (huwwa) ʔirtakab gariima/ A crime has been committed by him.
- iii) \* / (huwwa) ʔirtakab/

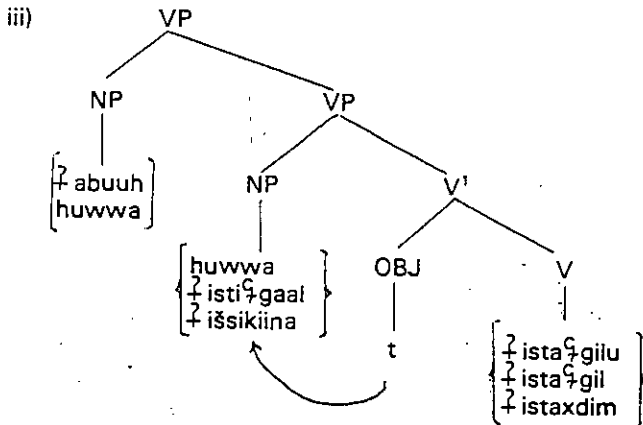
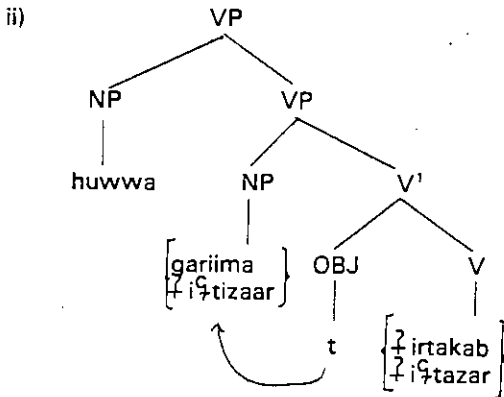
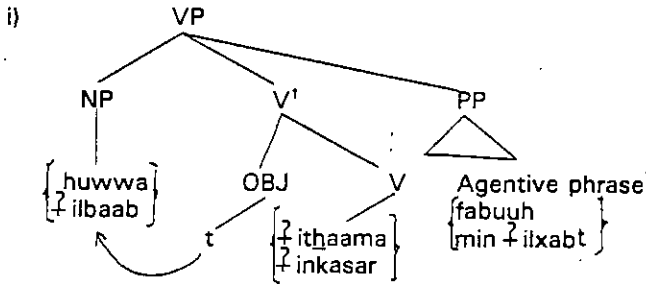
2.1.2.4.7.4.:

- i) / (huwwa) ʔistaʔgilu ʔabuuh/ He has been hurried by his father.
- ii) / (huwwa) ʔistaʔgil/ He has been hurried up.
- iii) / (huwwa) ʔistaxdim ʔissikiina/ A knife has been of service to him.
- iv) \* / (huwwa) ʔistaxdim/

Sentences 2.1.2.4.7.1. demonstrate that passive sentences with passive verbs with vocalic alterations do not allow the presence of an agentive phrase. Sentences 2.1.2.4.7.2. demonstrate that passive sentences with the affixes /ʔit/ or /ʔin/ allow the optional appearance of the agentive phrases. Sentences 2.1.2.4.7. (3) and (4) demonstrate that passive sentences with the passive verbs with the affixes /-ta-/ or /ʔista-/ require the obligatory presence of an agentive phrase. It is also to be noted that verbals with the /-ta-/ or /ʔista-/ affixes are very complex predicates that have related

derived nominal forms. This complexity is demonstrated by their internal-make up if compared with the /ʔit/ or /ʔin/ verbal forms. This is demonstrated by the following roughly assumed structures of some of the sentences in 2.1.2.4.7.:

2.1.2.4.8.:



As can be seen from the tree-structures of 2.1.2.4.8, passive verbs that allow the optional presence of an agentive phrase that is introduced by a preposition have that phrase a sister node of V'. But passive verbs that require an obligatory agentive phrase that is not introduced by a preposition have that agentive phrase topicalized by adjunction to VP, as in 2.1.2.4.8.(ii) and (iii). It is to be noted that the /ta/ or /ista/ affixed verbal predicates are two argument predicates even when both arguments are not lexicalized, such as in 2.1.2.4.7.3.(i) and 2.1.2.4.7.4.(ii). Both /iṣṭazar/ and /istaṣgil/ may be generated with only one argument lexicalized; but these predicates are nonetheless two argument predicates. This is because the related derived nominal embodied in the predicate is nonetheless one of its arguments. This has been demonstrated by nominals /iṣṭizaar/ in 2.1.2.4.8.(ii) and /istiṣgaal/ in 2.1.2.4.8.(iii) ie they are base generated as OBJ, raised to be the syntactic subject and /huwwa/ or /abuuh/ as the preposed agentive phrases. Accordingly, all four predicates ie /irtakab/, /iṣṭazar/, /istaṣgil(u)/ and /istaxdam/ are two argument predicates<sup>1</sup>, and as they are also passive predicates, they are said to have obligatory agentive phrases.

Therefore, the /-ta/ and /ista/ verbal affixes are indeed different in structure from those of /it/ and /in/; but they are all nevertheless passive predicates. In section III, we will be seeing the full D-structures of these predicates and their respective S-structures. Our main interest here is demonstrating the distinctiveness of these predicates from those with the /it/ and /in/ affixes and from those that do not have these affixes, justifying the passivity of the former predicates.

As we have already seen the difference between the passive verbals with the affixes /it/ or /in/ and those of /ta/ or /ista/, let us now compare the passive predicates with active predicates, which do not have the afore affixes, and see the difference semantic between the two types of predicates.

#### 2.1.2.4.9.:

##### 2.1.2.4.9.1.:

- i) /ṣamal/ iṣṣuyt/ He did his work.
- ii) /nagad/ innaas/ He rescued the people.
- iii) /faad/ innaas/ He gave profit to the people.

##### 2.1.2.4.9.2.:

- i) /xarag/ He left.

<sup>1</sup>The above sentences of 2.1.2.4.7. have also demonstrated that the pronominal ie /huwwa/ may be fully lexicalized or partially lexicalized; in the latter case of which we have a small pro along the lines of Chomsky (1982). Small pro must be locally determined for its generation; and as the verbal form in Arabic has inflections heavy enough for its local determination as its syntactic subject, small pro is in free variation with the overt pronominal /huwwa/. This is why /huwwa/ has been shown to be an optional element since we may have a small pro instead

For a more detailed discussion of the syntactic distribution of small pro in Arabic see H. GHALY (1988).

- ii) //xadam/ filbeet kitiir/ He served a lot in the house.

### 2.1.2.4.9.3.:

- i) //gaawib/ ʔalal ʔimtihaan / He answered the exam  
kiwayyis or well
- ii) //sahhil/ ʔilʔimtihaan/ He facilitated the exam.
- iii) //saʔʔab/ ʔilʔimtihaan/ He made the exam difficult.

As can be seen from all of the sentences of 2.1.2.4.9., the syntactic subject has the external argument ie these predicates  $\theta$  mark their syntactic subject. It is also clear that these predicates do not have any of the affixes of /ʔit/, /ʔin/, /-ta-/ or /ʔista/. The verb forms of sentences 2.1.2.4.9.1. are of the simple form ie form I, with "he" the external argument and /ʔiššuy/ and /ʔinnaas/ as the internal arguments. The verb forms of sentences 2.1.2.4.9.2. differ from those of 2.1.2.4.9.1. in that they are one argument predicates, yet they both share the fact that their syntactic subjects are  $\theta$  marked by their predicates and that they are nonetheless verbs of form I. The verb forms of sentences 2.1.2.4.9.3. are derived verbal forms that still  $\theta$  mark their syntactic subjects. Sentence 2.1.2.4.9.3.(1) has a verb of form III and this verb may be a one argument or two argument predicate so long as it  $\theta$  marks its syntactic subject. Sentences 2.1.2.4.9.3.(ii) and (iii) have verbs of form II of two argument predicates; again  $\theta$  marking their syntactic subjects. Comparing the sentences of 2.1.2.9. to the passive sentences above, we find that in the passive sentences the syntactic subject is not the external argument while in the active sentences, it is the external argument. This is because passivization in CEA involves the deagentivization of the syntactic subject.

As mentioned earlier, the assumption that the Arabic language may have an agentive phrase in the passive sentence has been refuted by Arabic grammarians such as Cowan (1982). Saad (1982) also disregards such a possibility even though he cites verses from the Glorious Quran, showing that there is an agentive passive in Classical Arabic and that it is not an innovation handed over from the European languages. His reasons for this disregard is his belief that they are not real passives in the sense that as English agentive phrases cannot occur in active sentences, agentive phrases that can occur in active as well as passive sentences cannot be real agentive phrases. The writer is definitely not in agreement with Saad's (1982) disregard especially as Saad (1982) himself cannot deny that these phrases are agentive phrases with the particle /min/.

### 2.1.2.4.10.:

"The following verses from the Holy Quran, where the preposition /min/ plays the role of the agentive passive particle... /ʔunzila ʔalayhi ʔaayatun [min rabbihi] /" (xxx.27). Verses of the Quran have been descended on him from his Lord (Saad,

1982:36). In this passive sentence cited by Saad (1982) from the Glorious Quran, we have a passive verb *ie /ʔunzila/*, showing passivity by means of vocalic alterations. We also have */ʔaayatun/* as the syntactic subject, as indicated by the nominative Case inflection */un/*. Despite the fact that it is the PATENT of the action, it is the syntactic subject because we have a passive predicate. The AGENT of the action is in the PP */min rabbihi/* ie the agentive phrase; ie the syntactic subject is deagentivized. */ʔalayhi/* is a PP that is the indirect object. Therefore, even Classical Arabic may have passive sentences with agentive phrases.

This line of thought is opposed to that held by Cowan (1982) and for that matter even Saad (1982) despite the fact that he cites the above example from the Glorious Quran. However, this line of thought is not unique as there have been linguists that have shown that literary Arabic does have agentive passive sentences. Abdel Hamid (1972) says that the Agent in these agentive passive sentences can be inserted by any of the following constructions: *"/min ʕibali/* on the part of; */ʕalaayadi/* at the hands of; */biwaasitati/* by means of; */bi/* by; */min jaanibi/* from the side of" (Ahmed Kamal El-Din Abdel Hamid 1972:150). It is accordingly not strange to find that CEA does have agentive passive sentences in addition to agentless passive sentences. It is only that the passive marker in CEA differs from that of Classical Arabic, as would be expected. In CEA, the passive marker has broadened its sphere to include not only vocalic alterations in the verb form but also the affixes */ʔit/*, */ʔin/*, */-ta/* and */ʔista/*. In this respect, it has restricted the verbal forms of I, II and III to the active denotation and specified the */ʔit/*, */ʔin/*, */-ta/* and */ʔista/* derived verbal forms with these affixes to the denotation of passivity with */ʔit/* and */ʔin/* for the optional agentive passive sentences and */ta/* and */ʔista/* for the agentive passive sentences.

It is to be noted that forms I, II and III in CEA have been called by their numerical names in accordance with Cowan (1982) because they are phonologically and syntactically similar to those forms described by Cowan (1982). Furthermore, these forms denote the active voice in both Classical Arabic and CEA. Form II also denotes causativization\*<sup>1</sup> in both dialects of Arabic. As for the derived verbal forms with */ʔit/*, */ʔin/*, */-ta/* and */ʔista/* in CEA, these have not been given the same numerical names given by Cowan (1982) to similar verbal forms in Classical Arabic, ie of V, VI, VII, VIII and X. This is because they differ phonologically and syntactically from Cowan's forms. Cowan's (1982) form V has a */-ta/* affix prefixed to form II, form VI has a */-ta/* affix prefixed to form III; form VII has an */ʔin/* prefixed to form I; form VIII has a */ta/* affix inserted between the first and the second radical; and form X has the prefix */ʔista/*. That is, forms V and VI of Cowan (1982) are phonologically similar to the */ʔit/* forms in CEA; and forms VII, VIII and X are phonologically similar to the */ʔin/*, */-ta/* and */ʔista/* forms in CEA. But all these forms in CEA differ in their syntactic function from those of Cowan (1982) as the latter forms are said to convey reflexivity whereas the former forms convey passivity, as shown earlier.

It has been mentioned earlier that the process of passivization in CEA involves a process of deagentivization of the syntactic subject. That is, passivization is not only a dethematization of the syntactic subject but also a deagentivization that takes place in the domain of the syntax, rather than in the lexicon. It is assumed to take place in the domain of the syntax, instead of the lexicon since it does not manipulate the  $\theta$ -grid of a lexical head and displays very regular syntactic patternings ie either vocalic alterations

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of form II in CEA see H. GHALY (forthcoming).



or the affixation of /ʔit/, /ʔin/, /-ta/ or /ʔista/.

In this respect, we are differing from Chomsky (1982, 86 and 89) since he believes that the passive operation takes place in the domain of the lexicon, rather than in the syntax. However, we will be following Chomsky in our maintaining that part of the process of passivization in CEA takes place in the lexicon; that is, it is only the predicate that undergoes a specific marked lexical rule making it capable of undergoing the process of passivization in the domain of the syntax.

The marked lexical rule transforms THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. This is reminiscent of Bresnan (1981) who says that adjectival passives take THEME SUBJECTS whereas verbal passives take non-thematic subjects. However, it differs from Bresnan (1981) in that it is not only adjectival predicates but also nominal predicates that takes THEME SUBJECTS. Moreover, this requirement for THEME SUBJECTS in CEA is not related to passivity at all. As a matter of fact such predicates, ie with head A or N and with THEME SUBJECTS, are not passive sentences at all. Instead, they represent the unmarked sentential configurations in the syntax of CEA. Furthermore, such predicates, (ie with A or N heads) may even passivize, depending on idiosyncratic properties of the lexical head in question. But before such predicates can passivize they must undergo the above mentioned marked lexical rule, which transforms their THEMES SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. That is, this rule allows these predicates to have AGENT SUBJECTS so that when they undergo the process of passivization in the domain of the syntax, they become deagentivized in the sense that their syntactic subjects are not only non-thematic but also non-agentive. That such predicates may indeed passivize will be the subject of the discussion in the next section ie nominal passives. But, of course, this marked lexical rule applies to these predicates only optionally in accordance with the idiosyncratic properties of the lexical head ie A or N.

This marked lexical rule, on the other hand, obligatorily applies to predicates with verbal or participial heads. This is because such predicates not only can passivize but can only surface as active verbal predicates or active participial predicates ie they must have AGENT SUBJECTS, rather than THEME SUBJECTS. In other words, predicates with a verbal or participial head must subsume to this marked lexical rule that allows them to have AGENT SUBJECTS, instead of THEME SUBJECTS. Then, if they do not undergo the process of passivization in the syntax, they remain active verbal predicates or active participial predicates. And if they do undergo the process of passivization, they become passive verbal predicates or participial predicates, which require deagentivized syntactic subjects. Therefore, the process of passivization in CEA involves dethematization and deagentivization; the former takes place in the lexicon since it involves the manipulation of the  $\theta$  grid of a lexical head and the latter takes place in the syntax since it is assumed that passive predicates have the same  $\theta$  grid as their active counterparts. The intricate details of this process of passivization will be dealt with in detail in section III after the description of passivity in nominal sentences as well.

## 2.2.: Passivity in Nominal Sentences

In this section, we will be discussing passivity in nominal sentences in CEA. A nominal sentence\*<sup>1</sup> may be described as a sentential configuration that has a predicate that has a participial, an adjectival or a nominal head. As participles\*<sup>2</sup> and adjectivals in CEA are nominals in structure, these sentential configurations are called nominal sentences. These types of sentences may be illustrated by the following examples:

### 2.2.0.1.:

- i) /ʔilwalad hiliw/ The boy is handsome.
- ii) /ʔilwalad diktoor/ The boy is a doctor.

### 2.2.0.2.:

/ʔilwalad šaatiir/ The boy is clever.

The predicates in 2.2.0.1.(i) and (ii) have adjectival and nominal heads respectively. In 2.2.0.2., the predicate has a participial head. In the ensuing discussion of each predicate type, the nominal characteristics of adjectivals and participles will be demonstrated. What needs to be pointed out here, however, is the fact that the sentential configurations of 2.2.0.1. in CEA represent the unmarked sentential configurations and can be called sentences with "ergative predicates" in the sense that they do not assign an external argument to their subjects as an inherent property and that they cannot passivize as such. That is, they can only passivize if they subsume to the above mentioned marked lexical rule that manipulates their  $\theta$  grid; i.e. this marked lexical is an optional rule for them. This is not the case with the sentential configuration of the type in 2.2.0.2. even though they both represent nominal sentences in CEA. This is because this nominal sentence type has a predicate with a participial head, which must obligatorily subsume to the above mentioned marked lexical rule since it can only surface as an active predicate structure. That is, a nominal sentence with a participial head only surfaces as an active sentence and therefore obligatorily subsumes to the above mentioned marked lexical rule. It is in this respect similar to the verbal sentences, as shown earlier. Accordingly, they both represent the marked sentential configurations in the sense that they both obligatorily undergo the marked lexical rule that transforms THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. Therefore, they differ from the unmarked sentential configurations that surface with THEME SUBJECTS, rather than AGENT SUBJECTS and these have been called the sentences with ergative predicates.

Despite the fact that nominal sentences with participial heads belong to the marked sentential configurations along with verbal sentences, yet they have been classified with the nominal sentences since the participial form is indeed a nominal in the syntax of CEA, as will be demonstrated. And that such sentential configurations (i.e. the nominal sentences) do passivize is illustrated by the following sentences:

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<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion of nominal sentences in Arabic see H. GHALY (1988), in which it was shown that these structures do not have a deleted VP.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the nominal characteristics of participles also see H. GHALY (1988).

### 2.2.0.3.:

- i) /ʔilwalad /mihluw/ ʔinnaharda/ The boy is made to be handsome today.
- ii) /ʔilwalad /middaktar/ ʕaleena/ The boy is made to be a doctor on us.
- iii) /ʔilwalad /mitsattar/ ʕaleena/ The boy is made to be clever on us.

As shown by sentences 2.2.0.3., the syntactic subject /ʔilwalad/ is not the THEME, rather it is the PATIENT of the action. It is in this respect that passive sentences are different from ergative sentences. Moreover, passive sentences have an implied AGENT; the fact which is missing in ergative sentences. This means that the passive sentences must have had an AGENT SUBJECT at one stage of their derivation. It is in this respect that it is assumed that passivizable sentences subsume to the above mentioned marked lexical rule that transforms their THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. Accordingly, the boy in (i) is made to be handsome by an unspecified AGENT; in (ii) he is made to be a doctor on us by an unspecified AGENT; and in (iii) he is made to be clever by an unspecified AGENT. Therefore, passive predicates are two argument predicates that are "rule created" by the deagentivization of the syntactic subject whereas ergative predicates are one argument predicates with an internal argument as an inherent property. It is in this respect that the D-structures of sentences 2.2.0.1. are not identical to those of 2.2.0.3.(i) and (ii), ie those of 2.2.0.1. have THEME SUBJECTS whereas those of 2.2.0.3.(i), (ii) and (iii) have AGENT SUBJECTS after they have undergone the above mentioned marked lexical rule, allowing them to subsume to the syntactic rule of passivization. This marked lexical rule transforming THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS is an obligatory rule for nominal sentences with predicates with participle heads, but is an optional rule for nominal sentences with predicates with noun or adjective heads, depending on idiosyncratic properties of the lexical head in question. On the other hand, the syntactic rule of passivization is an obligatory rule for nominal sentences that have predicates with noun or adjective heads after they have undergone the marked lexical rule. This is because they cannot surface with AGENT SUBJECTS. This is not the case with nominal sentences with predicates with participial heads since they can surface with AGENT SUBJECTS. Accordingly, the syntactic rule for passivization for these is an optional rule even though the marked lexical rule for them is an obligatory one.

Having given a very brief description of the three different types of nominal sentences in CEA, let us now have a more detailed look at passivity in each of these types of sentences.

#### 2.2.1.: Participial Passive Sentences

We have chosen to discuss passivity in participial headed predicates first because it is traditionally acknowledged; ie participles in Arabic are divided into active and passive participles\*<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the assumption that even nouns and adjectives may also passivize in Arabic, as represented by CEA, is not to the knowledge of the writer well-acknowledged in the literature of Arabic grammar. However, we still need to have

<sup>1</sup>See D. Cowan (1982) (for Classical Arabic) and H. GHALY (1988) (for Dariyya Arabic) as regards a discussion of participles, which are divided into active and passive participles.

a look at the active participles before we discuss the passive participles so as to show the activeness of these predicates as opposed to the passiveness of the passive participles.

### 2.2.1.1.: The Active Participial Sentence

In attempting to define the active participle in CEA, we will be making use of part of Cowan's (1982) definition for Classical Arabic. Cowan (1982) says that the active participle in Classical Arabic has the pattern /faaʕilun/ for the three radical verbs and /mufaʕilun/ for the simple four-radical verbs. (Cowan, 1982:78). It is Cowan's definition for the three radical verbs that is applicable to CEA with a slight adjustment; ie the deletion of the final nunation. As for the second part of Cowan's definition, this does not apply to CEA. This is because the prefix /Mv-/ is to be shown as a passive marker that is associated with nominals in the syntax of CEA.

It is interesting to note here that even though Arabic grammarians like Cowan (1982) do divide participles into active and passive participles, yet they do not really show the activeness or the passiveness of these constructions; ie they simply state that participles are divided into active and passive forms without defining what they mean by passivity or activity. On the other hand, the writer wishes to define exactly what is meant by an active participle, as distinct from a passive participle in the syntax of CEA. Accordingly, we could say that an active participle in CEA is a nominal that has the pattern /faaʕil/ and assigns an external  $\theta$  role to its syntactic subject. The activeness of these structures along with their nominal characteristics will be demonstrated by the following sentences:

#### 2.2.1.1.1.:

- i) /huwwa ʔil/ ʔaatil / He is the killer.
- ii) /huwwa ʔil/ ʕaaf il / He is the sensible one.
- iii) /huwwa ʔil/ kaatib / He is the writer.
- iv) /huwwa ʔis/ ʕaatir /<sup>\*1</sup> He is the clever one.
- v) /huwwa ʔil/ naakim / He is the ruler.
- vi) /huwwa ʔis/ ʕaakir / He is the thankful one.
- vii) /huwwa ʔil/ faahim / He is the one who understands.
- viii) /huwwa ʔiz/ zaalim / He is the unjust one.
- ix) /huwwa ʔin/ naagih / He is the successful one.
- x) /huwwa ʔis/ saalih / He is the God-fearing one.

#### 2.2.1.1.2.:

- i) /hiyya ʔil/ ʔatl/a / She is the killer.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of this phonological rule in Classical Arabic ie /ʔil/ --> /ʔis/ see Cowan (1982) and Mitchell (1956) for Egyptian Arabic.

- ii) /hiyya ʔii/ ʕaʔl /a/ She is the sensible one.
- iii) /hiyya ʔii/ kaatib /a/ \*'66 She is the writer.
- iv) /hiyya ʔiʕ/ ʕatr /a/ She is the clever one.
- v) /hiyya ʔii/ hakm /a/ She is the ruler.
- vi) /hiyya ʔiʕ/ ʕakr /a/ She is the thankful one.
- vii) /hiyya ʔii/ fahm /a/ She is the one who understands.
- viii) /hiyya ʔiz/ zalm /a/ She is the unjust one.
- ix) /hiyya ʔin/ nagh /a/ She is the successful one.
- x) /hiyya ʔiʕ/ ʕalh /a/ She is the God-fearing one.

### 2.2.1.1.3.:

- i) /humma ʔii/ ʔatala / They are the killers.
- ii) /humma ʔii/ ʕuʔala / They are the sensible ones.  
ʔii/ ʕaʔliin
- iii) /humma ʔii/ kutaab / \*<sup>2</sup> They are the writers.
- iv) /humma ʔiʕ/ ʕuttaar / They are the clever ones.
- v) /humma ʔii/ hukkaam / They are the rulers.
- vi) /humma ʔiʕ/ ʕakriin / They are the thankful ones.
- vii) /humma ʔii/ fahmiin / They are the ones who understand.
- viii) /humma ʔiz/ zalama / They are the unjust ones.  
ʔiz/ zalimiin
- ix) /humma ʔin/ naghiin / They are the successful ones.
- x) /humma ʔiʕ/ ʕalhiin / They are the God-fearing people.

The above sentences with active participial predicate heads demonstrate the nominal characteristics of these forms. They inflect for definiteness as a noun does by

<sup>1</sup> In some feminine forms, the epenthetic vowel is retained ie we have /kaatiba/ and not /kaatba/ for the meaning of feminine writer in CEA. The latter form has the meaning of "she has written something eg her name; but not she is a writer". For a more detailed discussion of the phonological rules at work in Egyptian Arabic see Mitchell (1956).

<sup>2</sup> We can also say /humma ʔkatbiin or ʔiikataba / The former means that they are the ones who wrote but the latter means that they are the clerks. The former has the plural marker of the sound masculine plural form; while the latter has the feminine singular form but denotes plurality as well. As for /kutaab/, this has the broken plural form.

markers; ie the broken plural marker or the sound masculine plural marker. The former involves intervocalic alterations and the latter involves the suffix /-iin/. These sentences also demonstrate the activeness of the active participle in the sense that when it heads a predicate it causes the predicate to assign an external  $\theta$  role to its subject. It is in this respect that we have regarded the active participial headed predicate, along with the active verbal headed predicate, as obligatorily subsuming to the marked lexical rule that transforms their THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS, ie transforming them from unmarked sentential configurations to marked sentential configuration that can be passivized.

### 2.2.1.2.: The Passive Participial Sentence

Cowan (1982) says that the passive participle in Classical Arabic may have any of the forms: /maf<sup>u</sup>ulun/ or /mufa<sup>u</sup>ulun/. It is to be noted that Cowan says "may have" because the passive participle is a multi-form part of speech in Classical Arabic. This is also the case with CEA. It is in this respect that the writer has assumed the following hypothetical criteria, on the basis of which the passive participial form(s) in CEA will be determined.

#### 2.2.1.2.1.:

- i) The presence of the prefix /Mv-/.
- ii) Nominal in form.
- iii) The concept of passivity, ie 0 marking of passivity.

All three criteria are found in the heads of the predicates of the following sentences.

#### 2.2.1.2.2.:

##### 2.2.1.2.2.1.:

- i) /huwwa /maktuub/ / He is written down (ie enlisted) a written one.
- ii) /huwwa /maf<sup>u</sup>ul/ / He is a reasonable one.
- iii) /huwwa /maškuur/ / He is to be a thanked one.
- iv) /huwwa /mahkuum/ / He is a controlled one.
- v) /huwwa /mafhuum/ / He is an understood one.
- vi) /huwwa /mazluum/ / He is an innocent suspect.
- vii) /huwwa /maf<sup>u</sup>tuul/ / He is a killed one.
- viii) /huwwa /maf<sup>u</sup>buud/ / He is an idolized one.
- ix) /dah /maf<sup>u</sup>kuul/<sup>1</sup> / This one (masc. sing.) is an eaten one.
- x) /dah /maşruub/ / This one (masc. sing.) is a drunk one or a drink.

<sup>1</sup>The full predicate would be /maf<sup>u</sup>kuul minnu/ ie eaten from it"; ie it has the partitive PP /minnu/. Similarly, /maşruub minnu/ "drunk from it".

2.2.1.2.2.2.:

- i) /huwwa ʔ//maktuub/ He is the one written.
- ii) /huwwa ʔ//maʕʔ uul/ He is the moderate or reasonable one.
- iii) /huwwa ʔ//maškuur/ He is the thanked one.
- iv) /huwwa ʔ//mahkuum/ He is the controlled one.
- v) /huwwa ʔ//mafhuum/ He is the understood one.
- vi) /huwwa ʔ//mazluum/ He is the innocent suspect.
- vii) /huwwa ʔ//maʔ tuul/ He is the killed one.
- viii) /huwwa ʔ//maʕ buud/ He is the idolized one.
- ix) /dah ʔ//maʔ kuul/ This one (sing. masc.) is the one eaten.
- x) /dah ʔ//mašruub/ This one (sing. masc.) is the one drunk or the drink.

2.2.1.2.2.3.:

- i) /hiyya /maktuub/ a/ She is written down ie a written one.
- ii) /hiyya /maʕʔ uul/ a/ She is a reasonable one.
- iii) /hiyya /maškuur/ a/ She is a thanked one.
- iv) /hiyya /mahkuum/ a/ She is a controlled one.
- v) /hiyya /mafhuum/ a/ She is an understood one.
- vi) /hiyya /mazluum/ a/ She is an innocently suspected one.
- vii) /hiyya /maʔ tuul/ a/ She is a killed one.
- viii) /hiyya /maʕ buud/ a/ She is an idolized one.
- ix) /dih /maʔ kuul/ a/ This one (fem. sing.) is an eaten one.
- x) /dih /mašruub/ a/ This one (fem. sing.) is a drunk one.

2.2.1.2.2.4.:

- i) /humma /maktub/ iin/ They are written down ones.
- ii) /humma /maʕʔ ul/ iin/ They are reasonable ones.
- iii) /humma /maškur/ iin/ They are thanked ones.
- iv) /humma /mahkum/ iin/ They are controlled ones.
- v) /humma /mafhum/ iin/ They are the understood ones.
- vi) /humma /mazlum/ in/ They are innocently suspected one.
- vii) /humma /maʔ tul/ in/ They are killed ones.
- viii) /humma /maʕ bud/ iin/ They are idolized ones.

- ix) /dool maʔ kul iin/ These are eaten ones.  
 x) /dool maʃrub iin/¹ These are drunk ones.

That the above sentences have passive participial heads of predicate is indicated by the prefix /Mv-/, their nominal forms and the fact that they have non-thematic syntactic subjects. Their nominal form is indicated by their capacity to inflect for definiteness by means of the nominal definite prefix /ʔ il-/ to inflect for feminine gender by means of the nominal feminine suffix /-a/, and to inflect for number by means of two of the plural markers for nominals² in CEA ie the broken plural marker, involving intervocalic alterations, and the sound plural marker, with the suffix /-iin/. It is also to be noted that these predicates do not θ mark their syntactic subjects because they are headed by passive participles, and not active participles. It can accordingly be said that one of the forms of the passive participial forms in CEA has the pattern /maʔ uul/.

However, /maʔ uul/ is not the only pattern exemplified in CEA for the passive participial form. The other forms are demonstrated by the following sentences.

### 2.2.1.2.3.:

#### 2.2.1.2.3.1.:

- i) /huwwa mitʃattar/ He is being made in a state of cleverness.  
 ii) /huwwa mitwaddah luh/ It (masc. sing.) is being made in a state of clarity for him.  
 iii) /huwwa mitkabbar ʕaleena/ He is being made in a state of bigness on us ie arrogant.  
 iv) /huwwa mitsawwar/ He is being made in a state of copying ie photographed.  
 v) /huwwa mitnawwar/ He is being made in an illuminated state ie educated and cultured.  
 vi) /huwwa mitʔ ammaʕ/ He is being made in a peeled state ie all dressed up.  
 vii) /dah mitnaʕ ʕam/ This one (masc. sing.) is in a softened state.

¹There are also partitive constructions related to these passive participial forms. These are /maʔ kul minhum/ "is eaten from them". /maʃrub minhum/ "is drunk from them". It would be interesting to conduct a separate study for the partitives in CEA since they behave differently from nominals.

²There are three plural markers in Classical Arabic as well as in CEA. These are the broken plural; the sound masculine plural; and the feminine plural. The first type involves intervocalic alterations; the second involves the suffix /-iin/; and the third involves the suffix /-aat/. See Mitchell (1956) and Cowan (1982) for further details in this respect.



### 2.2.1.2.3.2.:

- i) /dah mittaakil/ This one (masc. sing.) is in a state of being eaten up ie worn out.
- ii) /huwwa mitnaazil ʕan ʔiʕʕaʔʔa/ He is in a state of being down for the apartment ie He gave it up.
- iii) /huwwa mitsaahil fil ʔimtihaan/ He is being easy in the exam ie He has made the exam easy.
- iv) /huwwa mitsaamih fi haʔʔu/ He is being forgiving on his rights.
- v) /huwwa mitraaʔib/ He is in a state of being watched.
- vi) /huwwa mittaaxid/ He is in state of being taken.
- vii) /huwwa mitgaawib/ He is in a state of being receptive or It (masc. sing.) is in a state of being answered.
- viii) /huwwa mithaakim/ He is in a state of being governed or trialed.
- ix) /huwwa mitʕaayʔ/ He is in a state of being ornamented.

### 2.2.1.2.3.3.:

- i) /huwwa migtimiʕ bihihum/ He is being in a state of meeting or convening with them.
- ii) /huwwa mibtisim dayman/ He is always being in a state of smiling.
- iii) /huwwa muʕtaʕid kida/ This belief is being believed by him.
- iv) /huwwa muftirid kida/ This assumption is being assumed by him.
- v) /huwwa muʕtibir dihaana/ This expression or incident (masc. sing.) is regarded as an insult by him ie for him.
- vi) /huwwa murtakib gariima/ A riding of a crime is committed by him.
- vii) /huwwa muʕtirik fil maʕruuʕ/ Participating in the project is the share for him.
- viii) /huwwa mubtadiʔ/ He is in the beginning stages of work i.e. He is in state of being a beginner.
- ix) /huwwa mittifiʔ maʕaahum/ He is in a state of being in agreement with them.

### 2.2.1.2.3.4.:

- i) /huwwa mustaʕid/ He is in a state of being ready.

- ii) /huwwa mista<sup>ɕ</sup>gil/ He is in a state of being in a hurry.
- iii) /huwwa mistaxdim <sup>ɕ</sup>issikiina/ He is in a state of having used the knife.
- iv) /huwwa mistangid biina/ He is in a state of having sought help from us.
- v) /huwwa mistaxrig nusxa/ He is in a state of having extracted a copy.

Apart from the /maf<sup>ɕ</sup>uul/ pattern above demonstrated, the passive participial form in CEA also has other patterns, as shown by sentences 2.2.1.2.3. These various forms represent either intervocalic alterations or affixation, apart from the nominal passive prefix /Mv-/ as is to be shown in the discussion of passivity in nouns and adjectives. This definitely also reminds us of passivity in verbal forms for the very same affixes used to passivize verbal forms are also used to passivize participial forms. We have the /-t-/ affix that is prefixed to the verb forms II and III, demonstrated by sentences 2.2.1.2.3.1. and 2.2.1.2.3.2. respectively. Consequently, in sentences 2.2.1.2.3.1. we have the gemination of the second radical of the base form (ie a verbal of form II); and in sentences 2.2.1.2.3.2. we have the lengthening of the /-a/ vowel after the first radical of the base form (ie a verbal of form III). But as the participial is a nominal in form, it is also prefixed by the nominal passive marker ie the prefix /Mv-/. It is in this respect that an initial glottal stop is not inserted since the affix /-t-/ is no longer vowelless. As for sentences 2.2.1.2.3.3., they have the affix /tv-/, which is affixed between the second and third radical. And sentences 2.2.1.2.3.4. have the affix /sta/.

Therefore, the passive participle form makes use of the affixes which we have seen to indicate passivity in the passive verbal forms earlier. These are the /-t-/, /-tv-/ and /sta/ affixes. It is only the /<sup>ɕ</sup>in/ affix that is not made use of by the passive participial form. It is in this respect that we can say that the passive participial form in CEA has been shown to have the following patterns: /maf<sup>ɕ</sup>uul/, /Mvtf<sup>ɕ</sup>al/, /Mvtf<sup>ɕ</sup>il/, /Mvftv<sup>ɕ</sup>il/, or /Mvstaf<sup>ɕ</sup>il/.

The fact that the passive participial form makes use of three out of the four passive affixes associated with the verbal forms in CEA and the fact that it also makes use of the passive prefix associated with the passive nominal forms is indicative of its categorial states. That is, as it shares some characteristics with the nominal and other characteristics with the verbal, it can be said to have both the features of [+N] and [+V]. However, the passive participial form is regarded as a nominal in the syntax of CEA because it shares with nouns or nominals in general their capacity to inflect for number by the nominal plural marker; for gender by the feminine marker, and for definiteness by the nominal definite marker ie /<sup>ɕ</sup>il/ definite article. Moreover, the passive participial form, unlike the verbal form, does not inflect for person, aspect and case. This is demonstrated further by the following sentences.

#### 2.2.1.2.4.:

##### 2.2.1.2.4.1.:

- i) /<sup>ɕ</sup>/ ilmit<sup>ɕ</sup>attar gih/ The one who is made to be in a state of

<sup>1</sup>It is to be noted that /Mv-/ indicates that we have the /M/ phoneme followed any quality of vowel ie /v/.

cleverness has come.

- ii) /ʔi/mitkabbar raah/ The one who is made to be in a state of bigness has gone.
- iii) /ʔi/mittaakil šilnaah/ That which is in a state of being eaten up or worn out we have removed it (masc. sing.).
- iv) /ʔi/mitnaazil raah/ The one who is in a state of being down has gone ie The given up man is gone.
- v) /ʔi/mitraaʔib daxal/ The one who is in a state of being watched has gone in.
- vi) /ʔi/mibt/sim miši/ The one who is in a state of smiling has left.
- vii) /ʔi/mištirik miši/ The one who is in a state of sharing or participating has left.
- viii) /ʔi/mistaʕid yigi/ The one who is in a state of being ready may come.
- ix) /ʔi/mistaʕgil yimši/ The one who is in a state of being in a hurry may leave.
- x) /ʔi/mittifiʔ yuʕʕud/ The ones who are in a state of compatibility may stay or sit down.

#### 2.2.1.2.4.2.:

- i) /huwwa mitšattar/ He is in a state of being clever.
- ii) /hiyya mitšattar a/ She is in a state of being clever.
- iii) /humma mitšattaar iin/ They are in a state of being clever.
- iv) /ʔana mitšattar/ I (masc. sing.) am in a state of being clever.
- v) /ʔana mitšattar a/ I (fem. sing.) am in a state of being clever.
- vi) /ʔihna mitšattar iin/ We are in a state of being clever.
- vii) /ʔinta mitšattar/ You (masc. sing.) are in a state of being clever.
- viii) /ʔinti mitšattar a/ You (fem. sing.) are in a state of being clever.
- ix) /ʔintum mitšattaar iin/ You (pl.) are in a state of being clever.

The verbal forms, on the other hand, not only inflect for gender and number but also for aspect, person and case. This is illustrated by the following sentences, repeated here for clarity of exposition.

#### 2.2.1.2.5.:

- i) /ʔana ʔitraaʔib/ I (masc. sing.) have been watched.
- ii) /huwwa ʔitraaʔib/ He has been watched.
- iii) /hiyya ʔitraaʔib/ She has been watched.

- iv) /{humma} ʔ itraaʔ bu/ They have been watched.
- v) /{ʔ ihna} ʔ itraaʔ ibna/ We have been watched.
- vi) /{ʔ inta} ʔ itraaʔ ibt/ You (masc. sing.) have been watched.
- vii) /{ʔ inti} ʔ itraaʔ ibti/ You (fem. sing.) " " "
- viii) /{ʔ intum} ʔ itraaʔ ibtu/ You (pl.) have been watched.

2.2.1.2.6.:

2.2.1.2.6.1.:

- i) /ʔ issaamak dah mittaakil/ This fish is in state of having been eaten.
- ii) /ʔ irraagil dah mitraaʔ ib/ This man is in a state of being watched.

2.2.1.2.6.2.:

- i) /{ʔ issaamak dah} ʔ ittaakil/ This fish has been eaten.
- ii) /{ʔ irraagil dah} ʔ itraaʔ ib/ This man has been watched.

2.2.1.2.6.3.:

- i) /{ʔ issaamak dah} yittaakil/ This fish may be eaten.
- ii) /{ʔ irraagil dah} yitraaʔ ib/ This man may be or should be watched.

As can be seen from sentences 2.2.1.2.5., the verbal form inflects for person in addition to gender and number. And as it inflects for person, it can be said that it also shows definiteness by means of pronominal inflection. This pronominal inflection also allows it to show Case distinction. This is because there are pronominal forms for nominative Case distinct from those for accusative Case. This is illustrated by the following sentences, in which the verb form shows subjective pronominal forms as well as objective ones.

2.2.1.2.7.:

- i) /raʔ bu/ He (has) watched him.  

x
y
- ii) /raʔ biṯṯa/ She (has) watched her.  

x
y
- iii) /raʔ buuḥum/ They (have) watched them.  

x
y
- iv) /raʔ buuna/ They (have) watched us.

The former inflections in 2.2.1.2.7. represent the subject pronominal forms whereas the latter inflections represent the object pronominal forms. In 2.2.1.2.7.(i) the unmarked form represents the form for a subject with third person, masculine and singular pronominal features. As for the suffix /-u/, it represents the same pronominal features but as an object ie the subject pronominal forms are different from the object pronominal forms..

Moreover, it is Case distinction that allows verbal forms non-lexical subjects as well as lexical subjects. That is, as the verbal form inflects for gender, number and person, indicating Case distinction, it may have lexical subjects or the partially empty pronominal "small pro." This is because "small pro" requires local determination for its generation and this is provided by the heavy inflection of the verbal form ie the inflection for number, gender, person, Case and aspect. It is in this respect that the lexical subjects in sentences 2.2.1.2.6.(2) and (3) have been indicated to be optional ie verbal sentences may have a lexical subject or a partially empty pronominal form called "small pro" that is locally determined by the heavy inflection on the verb form.<sup>1</sup> This capacity of the verbal form distinguishes it not only from the participial forms but also from all the other nominal forms ie nouns or adjectives. That is, it is only the sentential configuration with a predicate with a verbal head that can have a partially empty pronominal as its subject but sentential configurations with predicates with participial, nominal or adjectival heads must have lexical categories as subject. This is because the verbal form has heavier inflection than nominal forms do in CEA; and this is basically the result of the fact that verbal forms also inflect for person, Case and aspect in addition to those of gender and number. It is in this respect that participles have been regarded as nominals since they behave syntactically as nominals.

Another major difference between nominals, on the one hand, and verbals, on the other hand, is that it is only the latter that inflect for aspect. This is illustrated by sentences 2.2.1.2.6. In sentences 2.2.1.2.6.(2), there is an aspect of completion associated with the notion of passivity ie we have a description of the state of the subject after the completion of the action. This sense of aspect of completion is missing from sentences 2.2.1.2.6.(1) since we have passive participial forms, and not passive verbal forms as in 2.2.1.2.6.(2) and (3). In sentences 2.2.1.2.6.(3), we have the aspect of incompleteness, indicating the incompleteness of the action. That is, the imperfective aspect does not really refer to the present time.<sup>2</sup> It only conveys the incompleteness of the action; for example, in 2.2.1.2.6.3.(i) and (ii) the fish is not yet consumed by eating nor is the man watched yet. The fact that the imperfective aspect does not refer to any specific time reference allows the translator the freedom to use different modals in the translation of the verb with an imperfective form. The main point in the imperfective verb is that there is an indication of an action and one that is still incomplete. This is not the case with sentences 2.2.1.2.6.(1) because they have predicates with participial heads. They simply denote a description of a particular state whose subject is non-thematic.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of "small pro" see Chomsky (1982(a), 82(b) and 86). For a detailed discussion of "small pro" in Arabic see H. GHALLY (1988), in which it was shown that small pro may be generated not only as subject but also as object and object of preposition.

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of time indication in a dialect of Arabic such as Dariyya Arabic see H. GHALLY (1988).

And as there is no reference to aspect whether completion or incompleteness, it is generally assumed to refer to the present state unless otherwise specified in the sentence.

However, despite the above mentioned differences between passive participial forms and passive verbal forms, they nonetheless share the same passive markers; ie passivity is indicated either by intervocalic alterations or by means of affixation, which are the /-t-/, /-ta-/ and /-sta-/ affixes, as shown earlier. Likewise, passive sentences with participial predicates indicating passivity by means of intervocalic alterations are agentless passive sentences. On the other hand, passive sentences with participial predicates indicating passivity by means of affixation range from allowing the optional occurrence of the agentive phrase to requiring the obligatory occurrence of the agentive phrase. This may be illustrated by the following sentences.

### 2.2.1.2.8.:

#### 2.2.1.2.8.1.:

- i) /huwwa mitšattar (bisabab ʔ abuuħ) /  
He is being made to be clever (due to his father).
- ii) /dah mitaakil (min ʔ ilfiraan) /  
This (masc. sing.) is eaten up (by the rats).

#### 2.2.1.2.8.2.:

- i) /huwwa migtimiʔ biħum / He is in a convened state by them.
- ii) \* /huwwa migtimiʔ /
- iii) /huwwa mistaxdim ʔ issikiina / The knife is in a state of use for him.
- iv) \* /huwwa mistaxdim /

#### 2.2.1.2.8.3.:

- i) /dah maktuub billuya ʔ iħ ingiliziyya / This written in the English language.
- ii) \* /dah maktuub biħ minnu / This is written by him.
- iii) \* /ʔ ilwalad maʔ tuul biħum / The boy is killed by them.
- iv) \* /huwwa maxduum bissikiina / He is served by a knife.

Sentences 2.2.1.2.8.3. show that passive participial forms with intervocalic alterations derive agentless passive sentences, as indicated by the ill-formedness of sentences 2.2.1.2.8.3.(ii)-(iv) and the well-formedness of (i).

Sentences 2.2.1.2.8.1. show that passive participial forms with the affix /Mvt-/ allow the optional generation of an agentive phrase in these passive sentences.

Sentences 2.2.1.2.8.2. show that passive participial forms with the affixes /-tv-/ and /Mvsta/ require the obligatory generation of an agentive phrase in these passive sentences.

The passive participial predicates here have similar internal structures to those diagrammed in 2.2.2.4.8., except that instead of a VP we have a Part P (participial phrase). Moreover, the passive participial predicate, like the passive verbal predicate, has

the  $\theta$  marking property of requiring a non-thematic syntactic subject. In this respect they both differ from their active counterparts, which  $\theta$  mark their syntactic subjects.

Another major syntactic difference between active predicates and passive predicates whether with verbal or participial heads is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which we have agentive passive sentences as well as transitive active sentences.

2.2.1.2.9.:

2.2.1.2.9.1.:

- i) /huwwa-lli /ʔirtakab/ha/ He is the one who has been ridden by it (ie committed it).
- ii) /huwwa-lli /murtakib/ha/ He is the one who is ridden by it.
- iii) \*/huwwa-lli /ʔirtakab/ He is the one who has been ridden.
- iv) \*/huwwa-lli /murtakib// He is the one who is ridden.

2.2.1.2.9.2.:

- i) /huwwa-lli /rikib/ha/ He is the one who has ridden it.
- ii) /huwwa-lli /rikib// He is the one who has ridden.

In the relative clauses of sentences 2.2.1.2.9., sentences 2.2.1.2.9.1.(iii) and (iv) are ill-formed because of the deletion of the pronominal inflection /-ha/ from the verbal predicate in (iii) and the participial predicate in (iv). This is not the case in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.2.; ie both sentences 2.2.1.2.9.2.(i) and (ii) are well-formed despite the deletion of the pronominal inflection /-ha/ from the verbal predicate in sentence (ii).

It is believed that this difference in the syntactic behavior of the predicates in 2.2.1.2.9.1. from those in 2.2.1.2.9.2. is because the former have passive predicates whereas the latter have active predicates. To prove this we have intentionally used the same verb; ie /rikib/ is the simple form and is shown in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.2.(i) and (ii) and its derivatives /ʔirtakab/ and /murtakib/ are in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.1. With the simple form of the verb ie /rikib/ the deletion of the pronominal inflection /-ha/ is possible from the relative clause because it represents the pronominal inflection for the generation of a small pro as the syntactic object<sup>1</sup> in this relative clause. On the other hand, the deletion of the pronominal inflection /-ha/ is not possible from the relative clause with the derived verbal form /ʔirtakab/ and the derived participial form /murtakib/ because it represents heavy inflection for the generation of a subject small pro in this relative clause. Accordingly, the /-ha/ inflection is non-deletable due to the constraints imposed on the deletion of subjects, as distinct from the deletion of objects<sup>2</sup>. If /-ha/ in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.1. had been the local determiner for an objective small

<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion that the Arabic language allows the generation of a small pro as syntactic subject; as syntactic object, and object of preposition see H. GHALY (1988). In all three cases the small pro is locally determined by heavy inflection in accordance with Chomsky (1982(a) and 1982(b)).

<sup>2</sup>See Chomsky (1982(a)) for a discussion of these constraints.

pro, it would have been deletable, and accordingly sentences 2.2.1.2.9.1.(iii) and (iv) would have been well formed, as is the case with sentences 2.2.1.2.9.2. But /-ha/ in 2.2.1.2.9.1. is the local determiner for the generation of a subject small pro because it is a pro-form for the syntactic subject. This points to the fact that /huwwa/ in these sentences (ie 2.2.1.2.9.1.) is not the syntactic subject. Rather, it is the agentive phrase. But it is an agentive phrase in these types of passive sentences that is topicalized, as will be shown in section III. On the other hand, /huwwa/ in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.2. is the syntactic subject and as the predicate is an active one, it is the syntactic subject that is assigned an external argument. As for the /ha/ inflection in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.2., it local determines for the generation of an object small pro, and is accordingly deletable.

It is such differences in syntactic behaviour between active and passive predicates that differentiates between them even though they may both be two argument predicates in the sense that even the passive predicate may obligatorily require the presence of the agentive phrase (ie the external argument) as well as the internal argument, which is its syntactic subject. It is to be noted that the /-ha/ inflection carried by both the verbal as well as the participial form, as shown by sentences 2.2.1.2.9.(1) and (2), is different from the regular inflections carried by both of these forms. As we have seen, the participial form only inflects for number, gender and definiteness, but the /-ha/ inflection shows number, gender, definiteness and person distinction, ie the /-ha/ inflection represents heavy inflections that are heavy enough to allow the generation of the partially empty pronominal "small pro" as its syntactic subject. In other words, as the passive participial form does not have inflections heavy enough for the local determination and generation of a subject small pro, it has to make use of additional inflection, represented by the suffix /-ha/; and as /-ha/ represents the syntactic subject, it is not deletable.

It is also to be noted that the agentive phrase is /huwwa/ in sentences 2.2.1.2.9.1., but it has a coreferential small pro that is both locally determined by itself and the inflections carried by the predicate head; ie the participial form. As we have seen, the participial form does not have inflections heavy enough for the generation of a small pro because it only inflects for number, gender and sometimes definiteness. But in this case this small pro is both locally determined by its antecedent /huwwa/ as well as the inflection carried by the participial form. Therefore, the participial form nonetheless does not have inflections heavy enough for the generation of a small pro except in cases where the small pro receives additional local determination by heavy inflection found in its syntactic environment, as shown by sentences 2.2.1.2.9.(1). It is in this respect that the participial form indeed differs from the verbal form, along with those differences previously mentioned.

It is such differences between the verbal form and the participial form that have led us to classify the latter as a nominal in the syntax of CEA. However, there are major differences between the participial form, on the one hand, and the other nominals (ie adjectives and nouns), on the other hand. Predicates with adjectives or nouns as heads are regarded as the unmarked predicates if they do not subsume to the marked lexical rule that transforms their THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. In such a case these predicates have been called ergative predicates, generating the unmarked sentential configurations in CEA, as mentioned earlier. Whether or not the ergative predicate may subsume to this marked lexical rule depends on idiosyncratic properties of the lexical item in question. In other words, this lexical rule is an optional rule for such predicates, depending on whether or not they may passivize. But once they have subsumed to this lexical rule, they must obligatorily subsume to the syntactic passive rule because they



cannot be generated as active predicates. But the predicate with a participial head or, for that matter, a verbal head, has to subsume to this marked lexical rule as an obligatory rule because it can only be generated as an active predicate, and not an ergative predicate. On the other hand, the syntactic passive rule for the participial or verbal headed predicate is only an optional rule.

The above discussion of the passive participial predicates has not only differentiated between the participial forms and the verbal forms but also between the participial forms and the rest of the nominal forms. It has also differentiated between the passive predicate in general and the ergative predicate in the sense that the former predicate has an AGENT SUBJECT at its D-structure level, whereas the latter predicate does not. Moreover, the ergative predicate requires its subject to have an internal argument as an inherent property (ie THEME SUBJECTS that are not rule created). But the passive predicate is dethematized by means of the marked lexical rule and deagentivized by means of the syntactic rule, afore mentioned. It is in this respect that the passive predicate is regarded as a marked predicate whereas the ergative predicate is regarded as an unmarked predicate.

In the next section, we will be looking at the passive predicate with a noun or an adjective head. We will be showing how it shares in passivity with the other passive predicates whether with verbal or participial heads. We will also be showing how it differs in form from the other passive predicates; and finally how it also differs from the ergative predicate despite the fact that they are both predicates with noun or adjective heads.

### 2.2.2.: Noun Passive Sentences

Cowan (1982) says that Classical Arabic has got derivatives of verbs which he calls nouns of Place and/or Time, as well as nouns of Instrument. The former nouns are said to have the patterns /mafʕaalun/, /mafʕaalatun/ and /mifʕilun/ whereas the latter nouns are said to have the patterns /mifʕalatun/ and /mifʕaalun/. (Cowan, 1982:81 and 82).

There are nouns in CEA that have similar patterns, apart from the nunational inflection ie /-un/ which is not found in CEA. That is, they all share the fact that they are derivatives of verbs with the prefix /Mv-/. These may be illustrated from the following sentences.

#### 2.2.2.1.:

- i) /dah maʕruub/ This is something to be drunk ie beverage.
- ii) /dah muftaah/ This is something that allows things to be unlocked ie a key.
- iii) /dah masgid/ This is a place to be prayed in ie a mosque.
- iv) /dah mudarris/ This is a man who makes you to be learned ie a teacher.
- v) /dih madaaris/ This (fem. sing.) is a place in which you are to be learned ie schools.
- vi) /dah muraatib/ This is a man who gets you to be controlled or watched ie an inspector..

- vii) /dah maktab/ This is a place on which is written ie a desk
- viii) /dih mahkama/ This is a place in which people are governed  
ie trialed, ie a court.
- ix) /dih ma<sup>9</sup>laa<sup>2</sup>a/ This is a tool on which food is held, ie a spoon.
- x) /dih malaahi/ This is a place in which you are lured ie a fair.

The writer wishes to differ from Cowan (1982) and to regard these nouns as passivized nouns. They all denote the same concept as the verb forms from which they are derived, and apply to an object that is subservient to the concept. In other words, it can be said that each of the above predicates with heads of passivized nouns embodies the object and has a syntactic subject coreferential with the predicate noun. That is, they have PATIENT SUBJECTS, rather than THEME SUBJECTS, differentiating them from the unmarked sentential configurations with ergative predicates. It is in this respect that they may be regarded as passive sentences. To demonstrate this difference between sentences with ergative predicates and the above mentioned sentences with passive predicates with noun heads, let us compare the following pairs of sentences.

### 2.2.2.2.:

- i) a) /huwwa diktoor/ He is a doctor.  
b) /huwwa middaktar <sup>9</sup>aleena/ He is made to be a doctor on us.
- ii) a) /huwwa kahrabaa<sup>2</sup>i/ He is an electrician.  
b) /huwwa mikahrab/ He is made to be a source of electricity  
by being electrified.
- iii) a) /huwwa na<sup>2</sup>aaš/ He is a printer ie a painter.  
b) /huwwa man<sup>2</sup>uuš/ He or it (masc. sing.) is printed.

Sentences (a) may be described as the unmarked sentential configurations in CEA with ergative predicates; whereas sentences (b) may be described as one of the marked sentential configurations in CEA and these have passive predicates with noun heads. The former type of sentences have THEME SUBJECTS while the latter type of sentences have PATIENT SUBJECTS. This is because the (b) sentences have D-structures that have AGENT SUBJECTS after having subsumed to the marked lexical rule that transforms THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. Then they subsume to the syntactic rule of passivization, which deagentivizes them. It is in this respect that the (b) sentences have implicit AGENTS, which are missing from the (a) sentences. That is, in (i) the man is made to be a doctor even though the speaker obviously does not think so; in (ii) the man is made to be a source of electricity; and in (iii) the man or thing is made to be printed by someone or something. And as this AGENCY is missing in the (a) sentences, it is assumed that the (a) sentences have different D-structures from the (b) sentences ie the former have THEME SUBJECTS whereas the latter have AGENT SUBJECTS at the D-structure level of representation. Accordingly, they are truly different sentential

configurations even though they are similar in the sense that they both have nominal predicates with noun heads.

This concept of passivity applicable to nouns is why almost all nouns of occupation in CEA have the prefix *Mv* in addition to intervocalic alterations. This may be illustrated by the following sentences:

### 2.2.2.3.:

- i) /huwwa /muhandis/ He is an engineer ie the one who is an expert in geometry.
- ii) /huwwa /muhaami/ He is a lawyer ie the one who is a protector (of you).
- iii) /huwwa /muhaasib/ He is an accountant ie the one who is an expert counter and is cautious about money matters.
- iv) /huwwa /mudarris/ He is a teacher ie the one who makes the lesson to be learned (by you).

That is, the sentences of 2.2.2.3. have PATIENT SUBJECTS because their predicates have passivized nouns as heads, as shown by the nominal passive prefix /*Mv*/ in addition to intervocalic alterations. Moreover, the engineer is regarded as being subservient to the science of geometry; the lawyer is subservient to the laws of protection; the accountant is subservient to the rules of arithmetic, and the teacher is subservient to the lesson in question.

A comparison between sentences 2.2.2.3. with the following sentences will further demonstrate that the former sentences have PATIENT SUBJECTS whereas the latter have AGENT SUBJECTS.

### 2.2.2.4.:

- i) a) /huwwa biyi /handis/ He is engineering in the sense of contriving.  
b) /siib rabbina yi /handis/ Leave God to plot and work out fate.
- ii) /huwwa biyi /haami/ ʕannu He protects him by fighting for him.
- iii) /huwwa biyi /haasib/ ʕala kulli haaga He is careful and counts everything.
- iv) /huwwa biyi /darris/ binafsu He (actually) teaches himself.

The syntactic subject in the sentences of 2.2.2.4. is an AGENT SUBJECT ie in (i)(a) he is the contriver and in (1)(b) it is God who plots fate; in (ii) he does the protecting; in (iii) he does the counting; and in (iv) he does the teaching. This indicates that the sentences of 2.2.2.4. have subsumed to the marked lexical rule that transforms THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS, but they have not subsumed to the syntactic rule of passivization. In this respect that they differ from sentences 2.2.2.3., which have related noun forms that have been passivized; and this has been structurally indicated by the prefix /*Mv*/ and intervocalic alterations. That is, the predicate in sentences 2.2.2.4. is a verbal predicate that  $\theta$  marks its syntactic subject allowing an external argument (ie an AGENT SUBJECT) but in sentences 2.2.2.3. the nominal predicate does not  $\theta$  mark the syntactic subject, in turn, allowing an internal argument (ie PATIENT SUBJECTS).

Therefore, the sentences of 2.2.2.4. have an explicit AGENT of the action because the syntactic subject is assigned the external argument; but in sentences 2.2.2.3. there is an implicit AGENT of the action because the syntactic subject is not assigned an external argument. But in either case there is the notion of AGENCY at the D-structure level. This is brought up clearly if we depassivize the sentences of 2.2.2.3., as shown in the following.

### 2.2.2.5.:

- i) /dih handasa/ This (fem. sing.) is geometry.
- ii) /dih himaaya liik / This (fem. sing.) is protection for you (masc. sing.)
- iii) /dah hisaab/ This (masc. sing.) is arithmetics.
- iv) /dah dars/ This (masc. sing.) is a lesson.

Sentences 2.2.2.5., unlike those of 2.2.2.3. and 2.2.2.4., do not have an AGENT whether an implicit or an explicit one ie they do not have an AGENT of the action whether at the D-structure level or the S-structure level. This is because they have ergative predicates, which require THEME SUBJECTS. In turn, they do not subsume to any rule whether lexical or syntactic ie they do not subsume to the marked lexical rule that dethematizes the syntactic subject, nor do they subsume to the syntactic rule of passivization that deagentivizes the syntactic subject. It is in this respect that they have been regarded as the unmarked sentential configurations in CEA and are to be distinguished from the marked sentential configuration with passive predicates in 2.2.2.4.

Such predicates, as we have seen, have been shown to indicate passivity by intervocalic alterations as well as the nominal passive prefix /Mv-/. There are, however, a few cases of passive nouns that only make use of intervocalic alterations. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

### 2.2.2.6.:

- i) /huwwa ʔaatil/ He is a killer.
- ii) /huwwa ʔatiil/ He is a killed one.
- iii) /huwwa ʕaamil/ He is a worker.
- iv) /huwwa ʕamiil/ He is an Agent.

As can be seen from sentences 2.2.2.6., sentences (ii) and (iv) are passive predicates in the sense that they do not  $\theta$  mark their syntactic subjects ie their syntactic subjects do not have external arguments. Instead, they have internal arguments in the sense that we have PATIENT SUBJECTS. Sentences (i) and (iii), on the other hand, have active predicates in the sense that they do  $\theta$  mark their syntactic subjects, giving them external arguments ie AGENT SUBJECTS. This difference in predicate type is indicated by the intervocalic alterations carried by the head of the predicates in sentences (ii) and (iv). It is also to be noted that sentences (i) and (iii) have the pattern /faaʕil/ (ie for the active participial form) and therefore have AGENT SUBJECTS. This provides further verification of the nominal status of the participle in CEA; ie by means of intervocalic alterations it

has become a passivized noun predicate with the form /faʕiil/, with a PATIENT SUBJECT.

The above discussion has shown that even the predicate with a noun head can be passivized by means of intervocalic alterations or the prefix /Mv/ in addition to intervocalic alterations. This indicates that the process of passivization in CEA is a very general principle that applies to both verbal and nominal predicates. It displays such regularity and generality that it has been regarded as partially a syntactic rule in the sense of deagentivization of the syntactic subject. Even if it involves a lexical rule that dethematizes the syntactic subject, such a rule is not restricted to passive predicates; it is also applicable to active predicates, as shown above.

### 2.2.3.: Adjective Passive Sentences

Having seen that the process of passivization in CEA is a very general one that applies to both verbal and nominal predicates, let us see if it also applies to adjectival predicates since they too represent nominals in the syntax of CEA. The nominality of the adjective is not only in CEA but also in Classical Arabic as Cowan (1982) says that "Arabic makes no grammatical distinction between noun and adjective and any adjective may be used as a noun." (Cowan, 1982:39). That they do passivize may be illustrated by the following sentences:

#### 2.2.3.1.:

- i) /ʔ ilwalad /miḥluw/ ʔ innaharda/ The boy is made to be handsome today.
- ii) /ʔ ilbeet /minawwar/ / The house is lit up.
- iii) /ʔ ilwalad /mismir/ / The boy is sun tanned.
- iv) /ʔ ilwalad /mibyid/ / The boy is whitened.
- v) /ʔ ilwalad /makṣuuf/ / The boy is uncovered.
- vi) /ʔ ilwallad /miʔ aššif/ / The boy is chapped (in skin).
- vii) /ʔ ilwalad /minaʕniš/ / The boy is refreshed.
- viii) /ʔ ilwalad /miḥaššiš/ / The boy is a neurotic (of hashish).
- ix) /ʔ ilwalad /mattuur/ / The boy is flightly like the birds.
- x) /ʔ ilwalad /minayyil/ / The boy is dirty ie good for nothing.

Sentences 2.2.3.1. have passivized predicates with adjectival heads. This is indicated by the passive nominal prefix /Mv/ and the fact that the syntactic subjects of these sentences have PATIENT SUBJECTS, rather than THEME SUBJECTS. To see this difference, let us compare them with the following sentences.

#### 2.2.3.2.:

- i) /ʔ ilwalad /ḥilw/ / The boy is handsome ie by nature and not by some exterior AGENT.

- ii) /dih naar/ / This is fire.
- iii) /dah ʔaʃmar/ / This is dark.
- iv) /dah ʔabyad/ / This is white.
- v) /dah ʔaʃaf/ / This is a state of being chapped.
- vi) /dih naʃnaʃa/ / This is refreshment.
- vii) /dah haʃiʃ/ / This is grass or hashish.
- viii) /dah teer/ / This is a bird.
- ix) /dah niila/ / This one is filth ie no good.
- x) /dih kaʃfa/ / This is an uncover or discovery.

Sentences 2.2.3.2., unlike those of 2.2.3.1., have THEME SUBJECTS, and therefore represent the unmarked sentential configuration with ergative predicates. It is to be noted that the sense of deagentivization of the syntactic subject is missing in sentences 2.2.3.2. but not in those of 2.2.3.1. since in the latter sentences there actually is an implicit AGENT. And this sense of deagentivization in sentences 2.2.3.1. is syntactically manifested by the prefix /Mv-/, allowing them to have PATIENT SUBJECTS instead of THEME SUBJECTS. Therefore, predicates with adjective heads behave like those with noun heads in their capacity to passivize, and should accordingly be distinguished from ergative predicates.

Apart from showing that passivization in CEA takes place in both verbal and nominal sentences, the above discussion has also demonstrated that all nominal passivized predicates nonetheless can be distinguished from verbal passivized predicates; and furthermore that the different nominal passivized predicate can be distinguished from one another. The adjectival passivized predicate shows more similarity to the noun passivized predicate than the participial passivized predicate because it makes use of the prefix /Mv-/ and intervocalic alterations. The participial passivized predicate, on the other hand, makes use of the nominal passive marker ie /MV-/ prefix as well as the verbal passive markers ie /ʔit/, /-ta/ and /ʔista/ affixes. It is in this respect that the participle has been regarded as carrying some verbal characteristics in addition to its nominal characteristics. Nevertheless, all nominal passivized predicates can be distinguished from verbal passivized predicates as it is only the former predicates that may take the nominal passive prefix ie /Mv-/.

Moreover, such syntactic differences between each of the various passive predicate types in CEA reflect a semantic difference as well. This may be demonstrated by the following sentences.

### 2.2.3.3.:

- i) a) /ʔilbeet minawwar/ / The house is radiant.
- b) /ʔilbeet mʔnawwar/ / The house is lit up.
- c) /ʔilbeet ʔimawwar/ / The house has been lit up.
- ii) a) /huwwa mudarris/ / He is a teacher.

- b) /ʔiddars mitdarris/ The lesson is taught.  
 c) /ʔiddars ʔitdarris/ The lesson has been taught.
- iii) a) /huwwa muhaami/ He is a lawyer.  
 b) /huwwa mithaami babuuh/ He is in a state of protection by his father.  
 c) /huwwa ʔithaama fabuuh/ He has been protected by his father.
- iv) a) /dah maktab/ This is a desk.  
 b) /dah maktuub/ This is written.  
 c) /dah ʔitkatab/ This has been written.

As can be seen from sentences 2.2.2.3., sentences (a) not only have different syntactic structures from those of sentences (b) and (c) but also different semantic structures. And the same thing can be said with regards to sentences (b) and (c). The passive markers in the sentences of (a) whether the adjectival in a(i) or the noun in (a)(ii)-(iv) are the prefix /Mv-/ as well as any intervocalic alterations deemed necessary.<sup>1</sup> The passive markers in sentences (b) are the prefix /Mv-/ and the verbal passive affix /-t-/, whereas the passive marker in the (c) sentences is the verbal passive affix /ʔit/. This is because in the (b) sentences we have participles as heads of predicates in these passive sentences; while in the (c) sentences we have verbals as heads of predicates.

As indicated by the translations given to the sentences of 2.2.2.3., these syntactic differences between the various types of passive predicates in CEA inflect a semantic differences as well. That is, the (a) sentences denote objects in the sense that, for example, (i)(a) sentence describes the object that has been lit up as being radiant; (ii)(a) describes the object that has been well-versed in the lessons as a teacher; (iii)(a) describes the object that has been made a protector of people's rights as a lawyer; and (iv)(a) describes the object that has been made for writing as a desk. It is to be noted here that the term "object" does not refer to the grammatical term of the grammatical direct or indirect object but it does refer to the PATIENT of the action that has been made the syntactic subject in these sentences. This in turn differentiates them from sentences with ergative predicates, as shown earlier.

The (c) sentences, on the other hand, describe, for example, the completion of the lightening up of the object by an unknown AGENT in (i)(c); the completion of the undertaking of the lesson by an unknown AGENT in (ii)(c); the completion of the act of protection by the father ie the AGENT in (iii)(c); and the completion of the act of writing by an unknown AGENT in (iv)(c).

In sentences (b), we have a description of the state after the completion of the lightening of the object in (i)(b); the state after the completion of being given the lesson in (ii)(b); the state after the completion of being given protection in (iii)(b); and the state after the completion of being written in (iv)(b). Therefore, despite the fact that all of the sentences of 2.2.3.3. denote passivity, yet they convey different semantic shades of passivity since they have different syntactic structures ie nominal passivized predicates

<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion of some of the phonological changes in Egyptian Arabic see Mitchell (1956).

in the (a) sentences; participial passivized predicates in the (b) sentences; and verbal passivized predicates in the (c) sentences.

Apart from indicating different semantic shades of passivity, sentences 2.2.3.3. also display a hierarchy of passivity in CEA with the greatest degree of passivity displayed in the (c) sentences gradually becoming of a lesser degree in the (b) sentences and even lesser in the (a) sentences. For example, in the 2.2.3.3.(i) sentences, the (c) sentence displays the greatest degree of passivity as it also indicates the completion aspect of the passive action as well. In the (b) sentence, the degree of passivity is lesser since the passive action is devoid of any aspect denotation, making this type of passive predicate a description of the passive state only. Furthermore, the (a) sentence is also lesser in passivity since it makes no reference to the passive action or the passive state but simply describes the object ie the PATIENT of the action which is the syntactic subject.

Similarly, the (c) sentence in sentences 2.2.3.3.(ii) denotes the greatest degree of passivity since it is also colored with the aspectual denotation of the passive action. Sentence (b), on the other hand, does not have this aspectual denotation and, therefore, is a description of the passive state only. In the (a) sentence, we only have a description of the object with no reference to the passive state of the passivized action. Accordingly, it shows the least degree of passivity.

In the (c) sentence of the (iii) sentences, we again have aspectual denotation of the passivized action, indicating the completion of the passivized action. This not only indicates the singleness of the action but also shows the greatest degree of passivization in the different types of passive predicates in CEA. This degree decreases in the (b) sentence because it is devoid of actual denotation, referring only to the passive state. In sentence (a) this degree decreases even further because it simply describes the object ie he is constantly protecting people ie he is a lawyer. It is to be noted that the (a) and (b) sentences denote a permanent condition since they do not inflect for aspect denotation as the verbal forms do; therefore the verbal forms refer to one event ie one action that has been completed.

In sentence (c) of the (iv) sentences, we also have the greatest degree of passivity with a lesser degree in the (b) sentence and the least degree in the (a) sentence due to the above mentioned reasons.

This hierarchy found in the passive predicates of CEA may also be further demonstrated by the following sentences with the lexical item dealing with the notion of "divorce", which is colored with a lot of traditional and religious beliefs.

#### 2.2.3.4.:

- i) a) /huwwa talii(8)  
(P)  
(+) / He is free ie set loose.  
b) /huwwa talla<sup>2</sup> miraatu / He divorced his wife.
- ii) a) /hiyya talii(8) a  
(P)  
(+) / She is free ie set loose.  
b) /hiyya talla<sup>2</sup> it guuzha / She divorced her husband.

#### 2.2.3.5.:

- i) a) /huwwa mitalla<sup>2</sup> (miraatu) / He is a divorcee (from his



wife) ie His wife is divorced from him, making him divorcee.

b) /hiyya /mittallaʔ a/ (guuzha) / She is a divorcee (from her husband).

Her husband is divorced from her making her a divorcee.

ii) a) /huwwa /mittallaʔ/ (min miraatu) / He is divorced (from his wife).

b) /hiyya /mittallaʔ a/ (min guuzha) / She is divorced (from her husband).

iii) a) /huwwa /ittallaʔ/ (min miraatu) / He has been divorced (from his wife).

b) /hiyya /ittallaʔ it/ (min guuzha) / She has been divorced from (her husband).

Sentences 2.2.3.4.(a) represent the unmarked sentential configurations in CEA ie the sentences with ergative predicates, requiring THEME SUBJECTS. It is to be noted that this predicate nominal ie /talliʔ(a)/ does not mean divorce even though it is a derived nominal. It just means being loose.

Sentences 2.2.3.4.(b) represent one of the marked sentential configurations in CEA ie after having undergone the marked lexical rule that transforms THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. In both cases, the syntactic subject is the AGENT of the action ie both /huwwa/ and /hiyya/ are the AGENT of the action and the syntactic subjects. And as the verb /tallaʔ(a)/ is an active transitive verb, the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ are the object NPs.

In sentences 2.2.3.5., on the other hand, the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ as well as the PPs /min miraatu/ and /min guuzha/ may be deleted. This is because in sentences 2.2.3.5. we have passivized predicates with optional agentive phrases.

It is to be noted that the predicate associated with this concept (ie divorce) is unique in many respects. This is because it is heavily engraved in traditional and religious beliefs. For example, it is customary that it is the husband that has the religious and, in turn, the legal authority to divorce his wife, and not vice versa. The divorce procedures are also of two stages: the first stage is composed of the husband's desire to divorce his wife and to verbalize this desire. The second stage is the legalization of this divorce ie making it authentic by documentation. Any divorce is finalized only after the completion of both stages. Accordingly, sentence 2.2.3.4.(i)(b) implies the verbal stage of the divorce only, rather than the legal stage as well. It mainly emphasizes that the divorce is due to his wish and desire ie it is not due to mutual agreement in this respect. Similarly, sentence 2.2.3.4.(ii)(b) implies the verbal stage of the divorce mainly, rather than the legal one as well. But it also indicates that this wife has the religious authority to divorce her husband. This is a very marked situation as most wives do not have this authority. It is an authority that may be given to the wife if she insists on having it and her would be husband agrees to it before the marriage takes place. Accordingly, to emphasize that this wife has this special religious capacity sentence 2.2.3.4.(ii)(b) may be used, where the wife is the AGENT of the verbal act of divorcing.

With sentences 2.2.3.5.(ii) and (iii), it is not clear who is the AGENT of the verbal act of divorcing. This is because in (ii) we just have a description of the state of the wife or the husband after the divorce has been finalized ie both the verbal and the legal parts have taken place. Similarly, in (iii), we have a description of the completion of the act of divorce after both the verbal and the legal procedures have taken place. That is, the emphasis in sentences (ii) and (iii) is on the situation itself ie the divorce imposed on the PATIENT SUBJECT, and not on the AGENT of the action. In other words, the syntactic

subject is the PATIENT of the action and the NP in the optional PPs represent the agentive phrases.

To describe the finalization of the divorce in both stages ie the verbal and the legal stages and at the same time make some reference to the AGENT, we have sentences 2.2.3.5.(i). But as the finalization of the divorce is a legal process that is not in the hands of either the wife or the husband, many informants of CEA have felt that it is the court that is the real AGENT. Accordingly, even these sentences (ie 2.2.3.5.(i)) also assume passivity but obviously a lesser degree of passivity than that found in sentences 2.2.3.5.(ii) and (iii). The passivity in sentences 2.2.3.5.(i) is that of the description of how the wife or the husband may be identified or classified after the finalization of the divorce. It is in this respect that sentences 2.2.3.5.(i) differ from the (b) sentences of 2.2.3.4. ie whereas the latter sentences definitely have AGENT SUBJECTS represented by the pronominals /huwwa/ and /hiyya/ respectively, the former sentences (ie those of 2.2.3.5.(i)) do not have AGENT SUBJECTS. Rather, the NPs /huwwa/ and /hiyya/ may be preposed agentive phrases with the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ as the syntactic subjects, which have the  $\theta$  role of PATIENT. And if the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ are deleted, then the NPs /huwwa/ and /hiyya/ become the syntactic subjects, again with the  $\theta$  role PATIENT. This is because these sentences then come to be a description or the classification of this wife or husband in a state of divorce. Therefore, in either case ie with the deletion of the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ or without, we have PATIENT SUBJECTS. And there is always this sense of vagueness of the real AGENT to the extent that in many cases the informants have felt it is the court's decision that is the AGENT. This is because we have passive predicates that allow the optional appearance of the agentive phrase. Accordingly, the syntactic behaviour of sentences 2.2.3.5.(i) is very much like that of sentences 2.2.3.5.(ii) and (iii) in that they allow the deletion of the PPs /min miraatu/ and /min guuzha/; ie both passive predicates allow the optional presence of the agentive phrases. This impossibility to delete the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ in sentences 2.2.3.4., on the other hand, is because of the difference in predicate type ie in these sentences we have active and not passive predicates.

That the predicates in sentences 2.2.3.4.(b) are definitely different from those in sentences 2.2.3.5. can be demonstrated by the following sentences, in which it is shown that it is only sentences 2.2.3.4.(b) that do have AGENT SUBJECTS.

### 2.2.3.6.:

- i) a) /huwwa talla<sup>2</sup> miraatu bi nafsu/ He divorced his wife  
by himself ie no one else made him do it.  
b) /hiyya talla<sup>2</sup> it guuzha bi nafsaha/ She divorced her  
husband by herself ie no one else made her do it.
- ii) a) \* /huwwa mitalla<sup>2</sup> (miraatu) bi nafsu/ He is a divorcee  
from his wife by himself.  
b) \* /hiyya mitalla<sup>2</sup> a (guuzha) binafsaha/ She is a divorcee  
from her husband by herself.
- iii) a) \* /huwwa mittalla<sup>2</sup> (miraatu) binafsu/ He is divorced his  
wife by himself.

b)\* /hiyya mittalla<sup>1</sup> a (guuzha) bi nafsaha/

She is divorced her husband by herself.

iv) a)\* /huwwa ittalla<sup>1</sup> (miraatu) binafsu/

He has been divorced his wife by himself.

b)\* /hiyya ittalla<sup>1</sup> it (guuzha) binafsaha/

She has been divorced her husband by herself.

It is only sentences 2.2.3.6.(i) that are well-formed. This is because they have active predicates in the sense that their syntactic subjects have external arguments ie they have AGENT SUBJECTS. Accordingly, the PPs /min nafsu/ or /min nafsaha/ are semantically well-formed since they are coreferential with the syntactic subjects. This is not the case with sentences 2.2.3.6.(ii) and (iii) because they have PATIENT SUBJECTS, and not AGENT SUBJECTS. Consequently, the PPs /min nafsu/ or /min nafsaha/ cannot be coreferential<sup>1</sup> with the syntactic subject. The ill-formedness of sentences 2.2.3.6.(ii) and (iii) is with or without the deletion of the NPs /miraatu/ or /guuzha/. This is because in either case the syntactic subject has the  $\theta$  role PATIENT. That is, when they are not deleted, they become the syntactic subjects and they nonetheless have the  $\theta$  role PATIENT, and the agentive phrases are the NPs /huwwa/ and /hiyya/. On the other hand, when the NPs /miraatu/ and /guuzha/ are deleted, the NPs /huwwa/ and /hiyya/ become the syntactic subjects with the  $\theta$  role PATIENTS; and accordingly, the coreferential NPs are not semantically well-formed. Therefore, with the insertion of the coreferential NPs in sentences 2.2.3.6., any ambiguity disappears, leaving only the active predicates as well-formed sentences since their syntactic subjects have an external argument ie an AGENT SUBJECT.

However, despite the fact that all of the sentences of 2.2.3.5. are passive sentences, they nevertheless represent different types of passive predicates, representing a hierarchy in passivity. That is, in sentences 2.2.3.5.(iii), we have the greatest degree of passivity, followed by sentences (ii), and then sentences (i). This is because with sentences (iii) there is associated an aspect denotation, making the action somehow of greater intensity and in turn intensifying its passivity. Sentences (ii) are devoid of this aspect denotation and there is only an emphasis on the state after the completion of the action, leading to a diminished degree of passivity if compared with sentences (iii). With sentences (i), we have an even lesser degree of passivity than that found in sentences (ii) and (iii). This is because in sentences (i) we have a description not of the state of that man or woman but of them as people and how they may be described and classified ie as divorcees.

### 3. The Derivation of Passivity in CEA

Having given a description of the different types of passive predicates in CEA, let us now consider how the passive sentence in CEA may be derived in the light of the theory of generative grammar, as expounded earlier. To do so, let us have a look at the

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of reflexivity in CEA see H. GHALY (forthcoming).

D-structures of the following sentences, which represent examples of each of the passive predicate types above mentioned and repeated here for clarity of exposition.

### 3.1.:

#### 3.1.1.: Passive with Verbal Predicates

- i) /ʔ issuura ʔuradat fissuuʔ / The picture has been exhibited in the marketplace.
- ii) /ʔ ithaama babuuh / He has been protected by his father.
- iii) /ʔ ilbaab ʔinkasar min ʔ ilxabt / The door has been broken from the pounding.
- iv) /huwwa ʔirtakab gariima / The riding of a crime has been committed by him.
- v) /huwwa ʔistaxdim ʔ issikiina / The use of the knife has been made by him.

#### 3.1.2.: Passives with Nominal Predicates

##### 3.1.2.1.: Passives with Participial Predicates

- i) /dah maktuub / This is written.
- ii) /huwwa mitʃattar / He is being made to be clever.
- iii) /dah mittaakil / This (masc. sing.) is eaten up.
- iv) /huwwa migtimiʔ bihum / He is in a convened state by them.
- v) /huwwa mistaxdim ʔ issikiina / The knife is in a state of use by him.

##### 3.1.2.2.: Passives with Noun Predicates

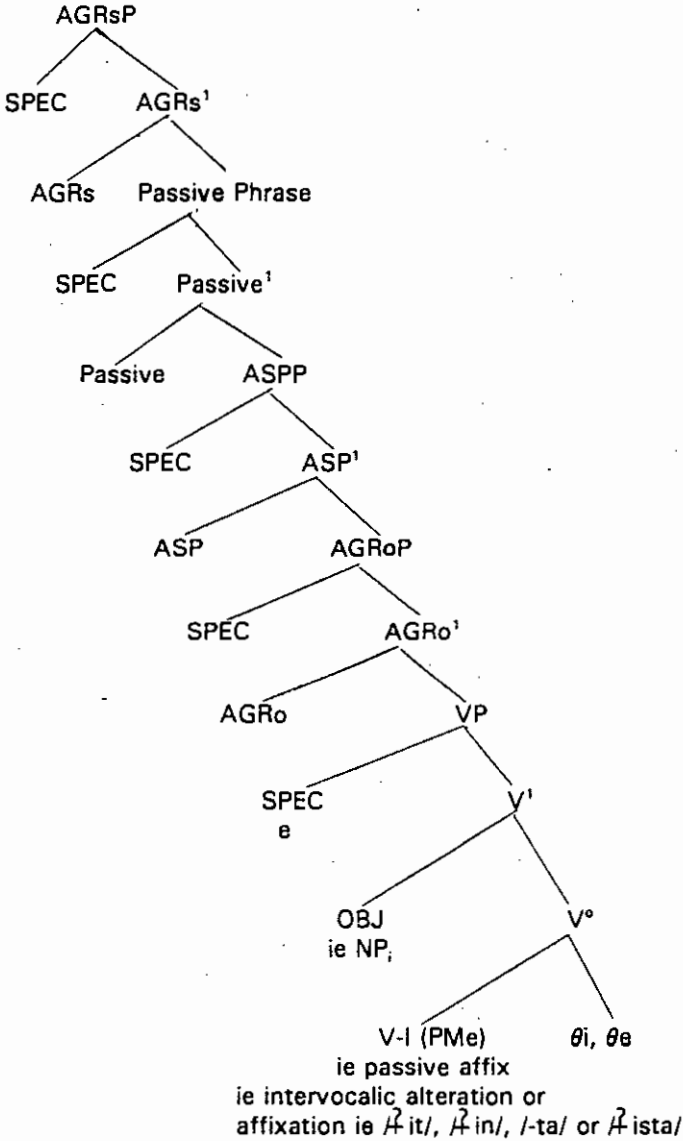
- i) /ʔ ilwalad middaktariinu ʔ aleena / The boy is made to be a doctor on us by them.
- ii) /ʔ ilwalad middaktar ʔ aleena / The boy is made to be a doctor on us.
- iii) /ʔ ilwalad ʔ atii / The boy is a killed one.

##### 3.1.2.3.: Passives with Adjective Predicates

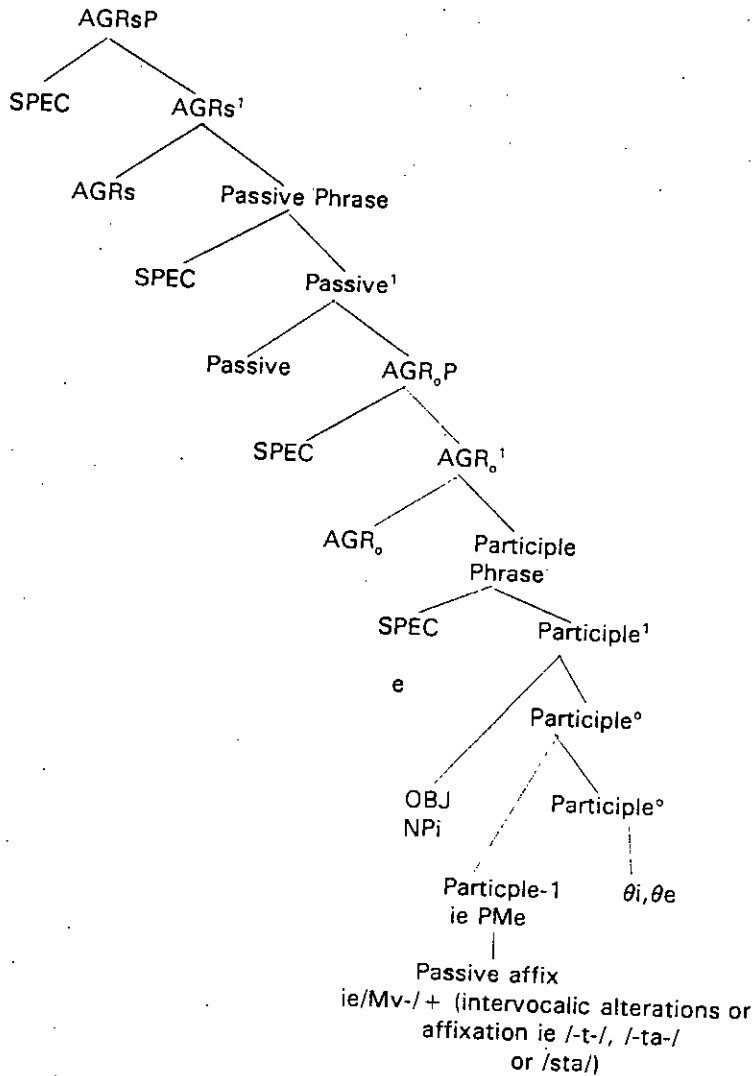
- i) /ʔ ilwalad miħalliyyinu ʔ awi ʔ innaharda /  
The boy is made to be very handsome by them today.
- ii) /ʔ ilwalad miħluw ʔ innaharda / The boy is made to be handsome today.

### 3.2.: The D-structures of the above mentioned Passive sentences

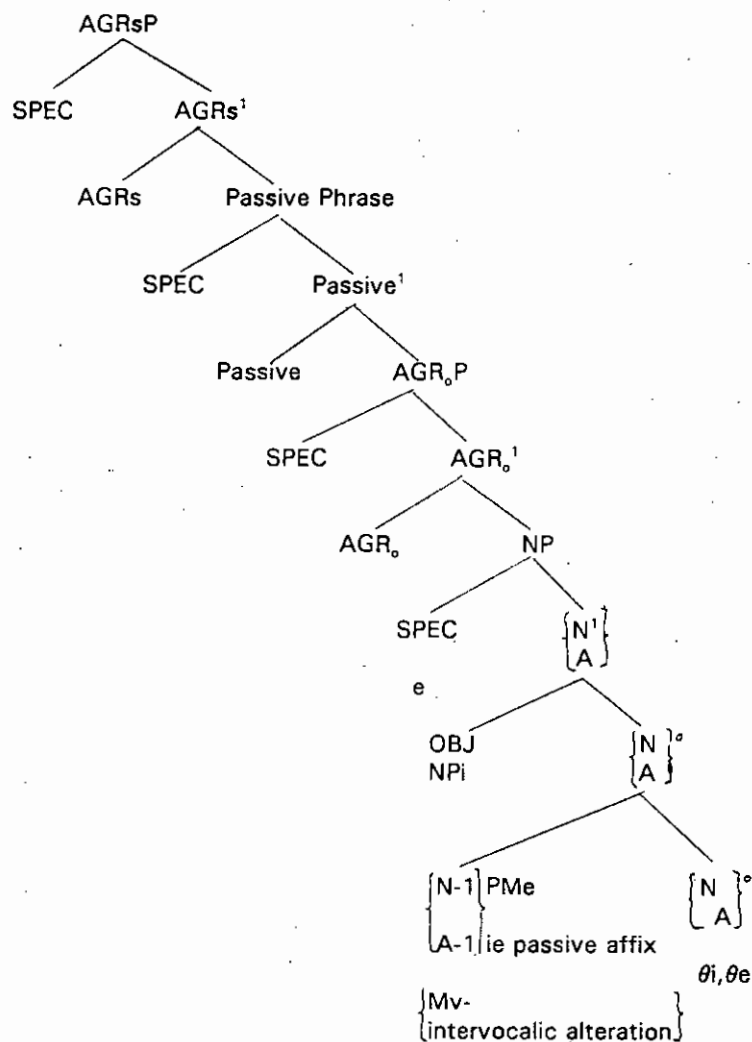
#### 3.2.1.: The D-structure of Passives with Verbal Predicates:



### 3.2.2.: The D-structure for Passives with participial Predicates



### 3.2.3.: D-structure for Passives with Noun or Adjective Predicates



The above D-structures demonstrate the following:

- i) It is only at the D-structure level that the various affixes are treated as various separate syntactic entities in accordance with Chomsky (1989). It is in this respect that we have the affixes /ʔ it/, /ʔ in/, /-ta-/ and /ʔ ista/ as well as intervocalic alterations as separate syntactic entities in D-structure 3.2.1. In D-structure 3.2.2., we have the prefix /Mv/ along with either intervocalic alterations or the affixes /-t-/, /-ta-/ or /-sta-/. And in D-structure 3.2.3., we have the prefix /Mv-/ along with intervocalic alterations.
- ii) Despite the fact that participles in CEA have been regarded as nominals, yet passive sentences with participial predicate heads have been regarded as having a separate D-structure configuration distinct from that of the other passive nominal sentences, which have either noun or adjective heads. This is because predicates with participial heads have been shown to require the obligatory application of the above mentioned marked lexical rule that transforms THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS. On the other hand, predicates with noun or adjective heads undergo this marked lexical rule only optionally, depending on whether or not that predicate is capable of passivization. And its capacity to passivize depends on idiosyncratic properties of the lexical item in question.  
It is in this respect that such predicates (ie predicates with noun or adjective heads) and that do allow passivization to take place have a different structural configuration at the D-structure level from predicates that have participial heads even though they all represent nominal predicates.
- iii) Neither verbal nor nominal predicates in CEA have Tense. This is understandable as regards nominal predicates since nominals do not inflect for Tense in English nor in Arabic. As regards verbal predicates, the Arabic language<sup>1</sup> in general and CEA in particular differs from English in that they also do not inflect for Tense. Rather, they display aspect inflection in the sense that such inflections as carried by the verbal form do not refer to time but only refer to aspect. As shown earlier, the CEA verb form has a perfective verb form as well as an imperfective verb form. The perfective verb form denotes the aspect of completion whereas the imperfective verb form denotes the aspect of incompleteness. And in accordance with Chomsky (1986), Pollack (1989) and Maracz (1991) that functional projections are located above the lexical projection VP, we have projected the aspect maximal projection above that of VP in D-structure 3.2.1. This is because aspect, like Tense, is a functional category and as such is projected above VP.
- iv) As with aspect, passivity has been regarded as a functional category. And as passive verbal predicates must have aspect and not vice versa, the passive category has been inserted higher up in the tree above VP and the aspect phrase ie (ASPP). And again in accordance with Chomsky (1986)(1989), Pollack (1989) and Maracz (1991), the passive category is projected as a maximal projection with a head and a SPEC. And as passivity is also found in nominal predicates in CEA, a passive category is also inserted in the D-structures of 3.2.2. and 3.2.3. But as such predicates do not have an aspect category, the passive category in D-structures 3.2.2. and 3.2.3. has been inserted immediately above AGRoP.

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<sup>1</sup>For further discussion on the matter see D. Cowan (1982) for Classical Arabic and H. Ghaly (1988) for Dariyya Arabic.



- v) D-structure 3.2.1. also has it that "the subject is base-generated VP internally, that is in the [SPEC-VP] position". (Maracz, 1991:6). This is not only in keeping with the recent trends in generative grammar as proposed by T. Hoekstra (1986); Koopman and Sportiche (1988) and Maracz (1991) but also with the nature of the Arabic verb form, which inflects for both subject and object pronominals. For example, the Arabic verb form as represented by the CEA verb form /šafuuhum/ "They saw them," has the subject pronominal inflection /-uu-/ ie "they" and the object pronominal inflection /-hum/ ie them. In other words, in Arabic it is not only the object that is VP internally base-generated but also the subject. As a matter of fact, both the subject and the object are V<sup>i</sup> internally base-generated. In a similar respect, the subject is base-generated predicate phrase internally in D-structures 3.2.2. and 3.2.3.; ie in the analogy of the D-structure 3.2.1., we have also made the subject base generated participle phrase internally in D-structure 3.2.2. and NP internally in D-structure 3.2.3. Moreover, subjects of NPs are indeed base generated NP internally as shown by the fact that the possessive NP is regarded as the subject of the higher NP.
- vi) Apart from treating the various affixes as separate syntactic entities in accordance with Chomsky (1989), these D-structures also treat these various affixes as base generated at the level of X-I in accordance with Gausti (1991). Accordingly, the passive affixes in D-structure 3.2.1. are base-generated at V-I; and they are the intervocalic alterations carried by the verb form or the affixes /ʔit/, /ʔin/, /-ta/, or /ʔista/, which are also carried by the verb form. The passive affixes in D-structure 3.2.2. are base generated at participle -I ie (P-I); and they are the prefix /Mv-/ in addition to intervocalic alterations or the affixes /t/, /-tv/, or /sta/, both of which are carried by the passive participial form. The passive affixes in D-structure 3.2.3. are base-generated at N-I or A-I (ie noun-I or adjective -I); and these are the prefix /Mv-/ in addition to intervocalic alterations or simply intervocalic alterations.
- vii) The above D-structures have also maintained Chomsky's (1982a) first crucial property for passive constructions ie [NP,S] is a non- $\theta$  position. This is because "D-structure is directly associated with the lexicon"; and accordingly, it is a "pure representation of  $\theta$  structure". (Chomsky, 1989:2). It is in this respect that the [SPEC.AGRsP] position in all these D-structure is non-thematic since it is equivalent to [NP,S] of Chomsky (1982a).
- This  $\theta$  property of the passive construction is not at odds with the assumption that there is a uniformity of  $\theta$  marking properties between active and passive predicates; the fact which is assumed in this study. This is because the external argument that is assigned by the passive predicate is not assigned to [NP,S] of Chomsky (1982a) nor to [SPEC.AGRsP] of Chomsky (1989). Instead, the passive predicate assigns an external  $\theta$  role to its passive morphology, which in turn licenses the generation of an empty category in the VP internal subject position, along the lines proposed by Hoekstra (1986). As for the [NP,S] or the [SPEC.AGRsP] position of the passive sentence, it may only have an argument with an internal  $\theta$  role. It is in this respect that OBJ, which is associated with an internal  $\theta$  role, is to be moved to the [SPEC.AGRsP] position. That is, OBJ has to be moved to the [SPEC.AGRsP] position, where it is assigned Nominative Case; and accordingly made visible for  $\theta$  marking. And despite the fact that Case assignment is at S-structure and D-structure is a pure representation of  $\theta$  structure, the " $\theta$  criterion is satisfied in essentially the same way at S-structure and LF" (Chomsky,

1982a:335) due to the projection principle. Therefore, it is the internal argument ie OBJ that is moved to [SPEC-AGRsP] at S-structure that is assigned Nominative Case for its visibility to  $\theta$  marking, allowing the [SPEC-AGRsP] nevertheless to be a non-thematic position. As for the external argument of the passive predicate, it is associated with the internal case, along the lines of Hoekstra (1986).

- viii) The above D-structures also distinguish between passive predicates and ergative predicates since it is only the latter type of predicate that does not assign an external  $\theta$  role to its subject (as an inherent property). It is this distinction between the passive predicate and the ergative predicate that accounts for the fact that some passive predicates have obligatory agentive phrases. In other words, the D-structures of active and passive predicates are similar in the sense that they are both two argument predicates; and it is the syntactic rule of deagentivization that differentiates between these two predicate types. Moreover, as this rule does not manipulate the  $\theta$  grid of the lexical head or its categorial status, it is simply a rule in the domain of the syntax. It differs in this respect from the lexical rule, which has manipulated the  $\theta$  grid of the lexical head from an ergative to an active or passive predicate.

Consequently, the D-structures of 3.2.1. and 3.2.2. may generate sentences with active predicates if they do not subsume to the syntactic rule of deagentivization, which is an optional rule for such sentential configurations. But the D-structure of 3.2.3. may not generate sentences with active predicates because such predicates in CEA (ie with A or N heads) can only become passive predicates once they have subsumed to the marked lexical rule above mentioned.

- ix) Despite the fact that the above D-structures have been shown to be similar to those that underlie sentences with active predicates, it is nonetheless the syntactic distribution of the external argument that differentiates between sentences with passive or active predicates. Accordingly, the movement rules involved in the derivation of a sentence with a passive predicate are different from those involved in the active predicate. Focusing our attention on the derivation of sentences with passive predicates, the following movement rules are required. The first two movement rules are NP movement rules; and the second one is a verb or a predicate incorporation rule. The first of the NP movement rule involves the movement of OBJ to the syntactic subject position. The second involves the topicalization of the agentive phrase when it is not introduced by a preposition. However, the second NP movement involves slightly different D-structures, which will be discussed before we discuss such a movement rule.

#### i) OBJ movement:

This movement rule raises OBJ in D-structure 3.2.1. from  $V^1$  to [SPEC-AGRoP]; and then from [SPEC-AGRoP] to [SPEC-AGRsP]. In D-structure 3.2.2., it raises OBJ from participle<sup>1</sup> ie Part<sup>1</sup> to [SPEC-AGRoP]; and then to [SPEC-AGRsP]. Similarly, in D-structure 3.2.3., it moves from  $N^1$  or  $A^1$  to the [SPEC-AGRoP], and then to the [SPEC-AGRsP]. That is, this movement rule involves two cycles, the second cycle of which places OBJ in the [SPEC-AGRsP] position where it is assigned Nominative Case by its governor AGRs<sup>1</sup> at S-structure.

It is to be noted that the movement of OBJ to the [SPEC-AGRsP] position prevents the external argument from being the syntactic subject. It is also to be noted that this analysis is in keeping with Chomsky's (1982a) second crucial property for passives ie

[NP,VP] does not receive Case within VP. Sentences with active predicates, on the other hand, allow the external argument to be moved to the [SPEC-AGRsP] position, and not the internal argument ie OBJ.

It is also to be noted that this movement of OBJ is the only NP movement required in agentless passive sentences. By an agentless passive we meant that the agent is not lexicalized; and accordingly the external  $\theta$  role is assigned to the passive morphology carried by the head of the passive predicate and licensing the generation of an empty category in the SPEC-predicate positions be that [SPEC-VP], [SPEC-Part P] or [SPEC-NP]. Therefore, only one NP movement rule is required for sentences 3.1.1.(i); 3.1.2.1.(i),(ii), and (iii); 3.1.2.2. (ii) and (iii); 3.1.2.3.(ii).

This movement rule does not violate the locality conditions proposed by Rizzi (1990). Chomsky (1986) regards movement rules as local operations and locality is defined as antecedent government in the sense that the trace of the moved element is governed by the moved element itself. It is in this respect that a head cannot skip a head because an intervening head can block antecedent government; and Chomsky (1986) calls this the Minimality Condition. In (1990), Rizzi retains Chomsky's notion of minimality but he assumes that antecedent government is a property relevant only to chain formation; ie the class of elements that can block antecedent government is dependent on the type of chain which is being formed. The term "relativized minimality" by Rizzi (1990) reflects the fact that the class of elements inducing minimality effects (ie block antecedent government) is made relative to the type of movement involved.

Accordingly, the trace of OBJ in D-structure 3.2.1. is antecedent governed by its antecedent in [SPEC-AGRoP] in the first cyclic movement. It is to be noted that the movement of OBJ to the [SPEC-VP] position is blocked because this position is filled by the empty category, which is licensed by the passive morphology in the VP. Had not such a position been filled by an empty category, it would have been a possible landing site for OBJ, thereby complicating the first movement cycle. The second movement cycle is straight to [SPEC-AGRsP] because the positions of [SPEC-Passive Phrase] and [SPEC-Aspect Phrase] cannot be landing sites since they are the home-slots of functional and not lexical categories, belonging to different movement chains. Consequently, the trace in [SPEC-AGRoP] is antecedent governed by its antecedent in [SPEC-AGRsP].

In D-structure 3.2.2., the trace of OBJ is antecedent governed by its antecedent in [SPEC-AGRoP] in the first movement cycle. The empty category in the [SPEC-participle phrase] also blocks [SPEC-participle phrase] from being a landing site for OBJ in the first movement cycle. The second movement cycle is from [SPEC-AGRoP] to [SPEC-AGRsP], allowing the trace in [SPEC-AGRoP] to be antecedent governed by its antecedent in [SPEC-AGRsP].

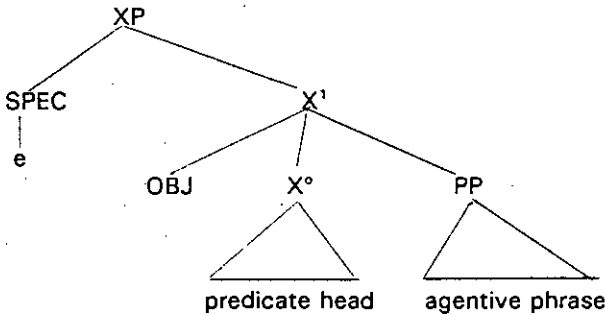
In D-structure 3.2.3., the trace of OBJ is antecedent governed by its antecedent in [SPEC-AGRoP] in the first movement cycle, and the empty category in [SPEC-NP] blocks [SPEC-NP] from being a landing site for OBJ. The second movement cycle is from [SPEC-AGRoP] to [SPEC-AGRsP], allowing the trace in the former position to be antecedent governed by its antecedent in the latter position.

## **ii) Movement of the Agentive Phrase**

Before we go into the details of this movement rule, it is necessary to point out that this rule is restricted in its application to sentences 3.1.1.(iv) and (v); 3.1.2.1.(v); 3.1.2.2.(i); and 3.1.2.3.(i). As for the other passive sentences ie 3.1.1.(i), (ii) and (iii); 3.1.2.1.(i), (ii), (iii) and (iv); 3.1.2.2.(ii) and (iii); and 3.1.2.3.(ii), this movement rule does

not apply. This is because sentences 3.1.1.(i); 3.1.2.1.(i), (ii) and (iii); 3.1.2.2.(ii) and (iii); and 3.1.2.3.(ii) are agentless passive sentences ie they are agentless in the sense that their external arguments are not lexicalized. Accordingly, they cohere to the D-structures of 3.2.; ie sentence 3.1.1.(i) to D-structure 3.2.1.; sentences 3.1.2.1.(i), (ii) and (iii) to D-structure 3.2.2.; and sentences 3.1.2.2.(ii) and (iii); and 3.1.2.3.(ii) to D-structure 3.2.3. Sentences 3.1.1.(ii) and (iii); and 3.1.2.1.(iv) do have lexicalized agentive phrases, and are accordingly generated from D-structures that have a PP as sister of  $X^0$  and dominated by  $X^1$ , as shown by the following and may be incorporated in any of the D-structures of 3.2.

### 3.3.:



In sentences 3.1.1.(ii) and (iii)  $X^1$  is a  $V^1$  and PP is an optional agentive phrase. In sentence 3.1.2.1.(iv)  $X^1$  is a participle<sup>1</sup> and PP is an obligatory agentive phrase.

That even passive predicates with nominal or adjectival heads may have lexicalized agentive phrase introduced by a preposition, and in turn may have the structure of 3.3. is illustrated by the following sentences:

### 3.4.:

- i) /huwwa /middaktar/ /bi/ bihum/ He is made to be a doctor by them.
- ii) /huwwa /miḥluw/ /bi/ bihum/ He is made to be handsome by them.
- iii) \*/huwwa /midaktariinu/ /bi/ bihum/
- iv) \*/huwwa /miḥalliyyiinu/ /bi/ bihum/

Sentences 3.4.(i) and (ii) are well-formed sentences that have lexicalized agentive phrases that are introduced by the preposition /bi/. Sentence 3.4.(i) has a noun head of predicate; and 3.4.(ii) has an adjective head of predicate. Sentences 3.4.(iii) and (iv) are ill-formed sentences because each sentence has two agentive phrases: one introduced by the preposition /bi/ and the other is locally determined by the head of the passive predicate by the heavy inflections indicated above.

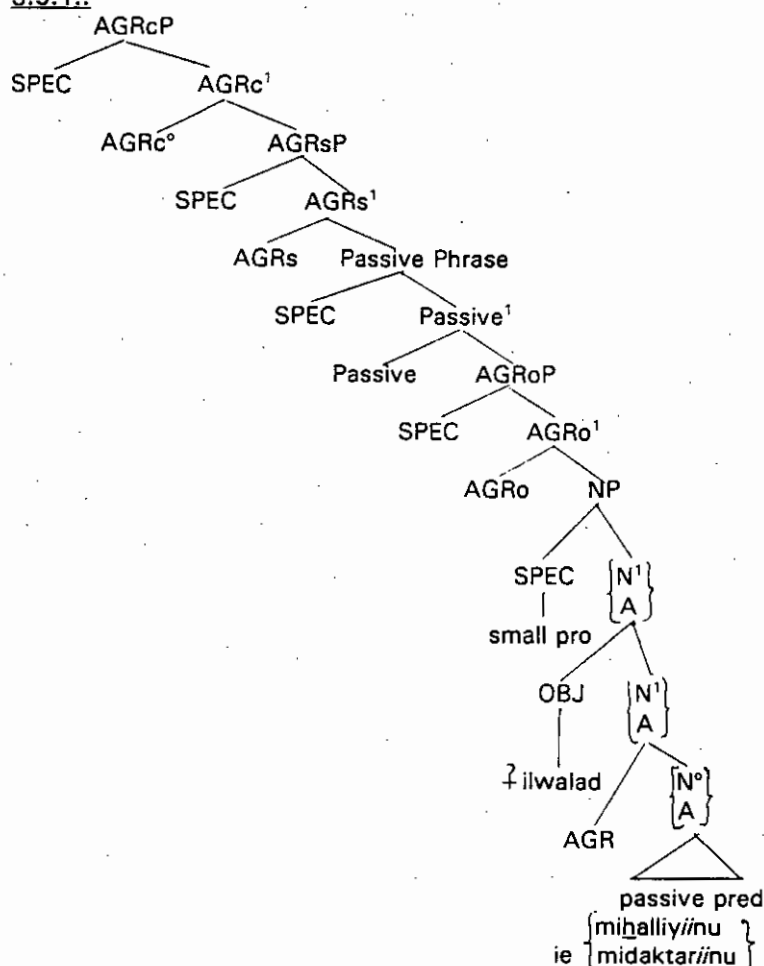
If we compare sentences 3.4. with those of 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i), we find that there is a complementary distribution between the lexicalization of agentive phrases by means of having them introduced by prepositions or having them locally determined by heavy inflections carried by the predicate head. Sentences 3.4.(i) and (ii) are well-formed because the agentive phrases are introduced by a preposition. Sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and

3.1.2.3.(i) are also well formed because the agentive phrases are locally determined by the heavy inflections carried by the predicate head. Sentences 3.4.(iii) and (iv), on the other hand, are ill-formed because the agentive phrases are both introduced by a preposition and locally determined by heavy inflections carried by the predicate head.

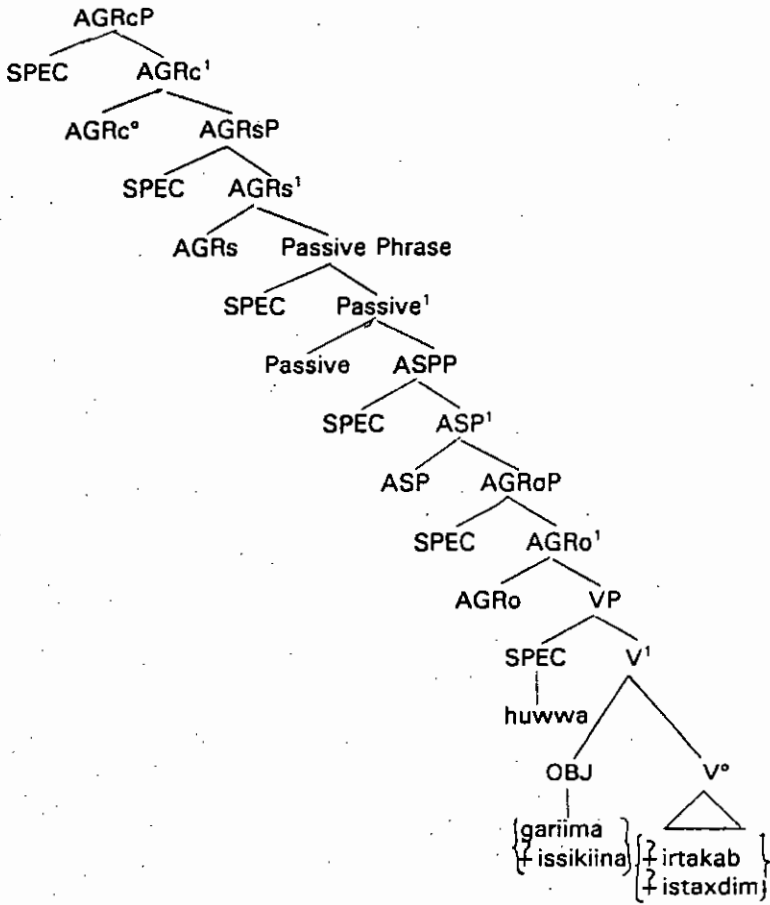
Therefore, the syntax of CEA not only allows the lexicalization of the agentive phrases but also requires these agentive phrases to be introduced by prepositions or to be locally determined by heavy inflections carried by the predicate head. If it is introduced by a preposition, then we have the D-structures 3.2. with that of 3.3. incorporated; but if it is locally determined by heavy inflections carried by the predicate head, then we have slightly different D-structures. This movement rule applies to passive sentences with such D-structures as to be shown; and not to those of 3.2. and 3.3. Such D-structures are the underlying configurations for sentences 3.1.1.(iv) and (v); 3.1.2.1.(v); 3.1.2.2.(i); and 3.1.2.3.(i), to which this movement rule applies.

### 3.5.:

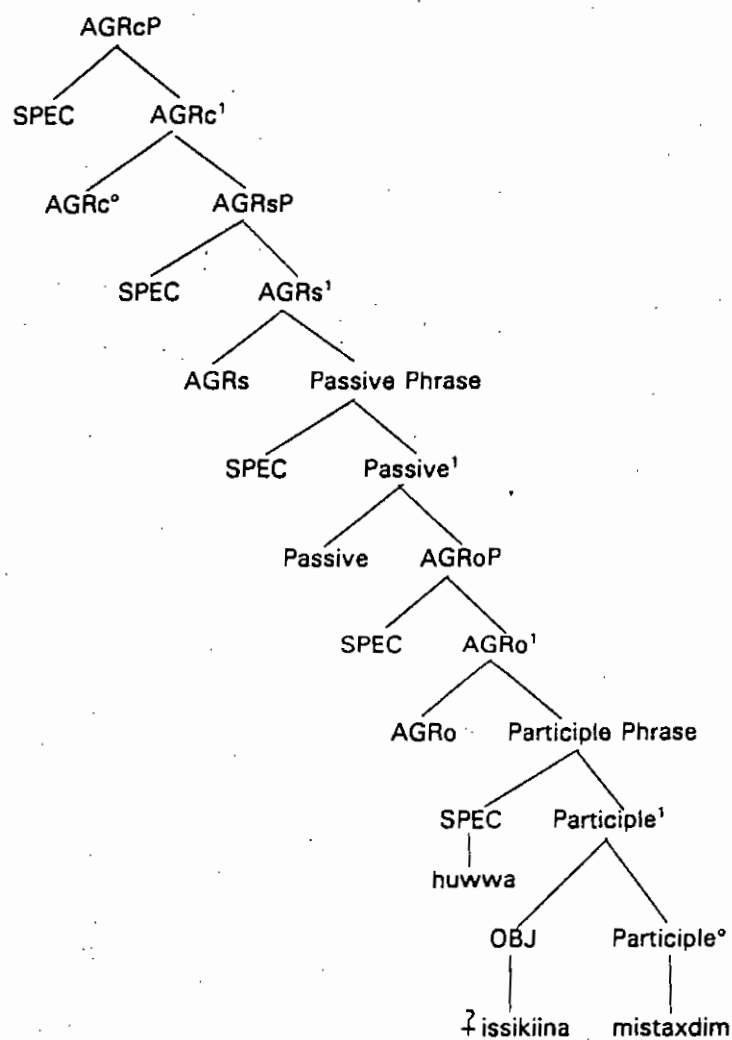
#### 3.5.1.:



3.5.2.:



3.5.3.:



D-structure 3.5.(i) differs from those of 3.2. in that both  $N^1$  and  $A^1$ , as represented by sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i), carry heavy inflections for the generation of an agentive phrase that is a small pro. Small pro is a partially empty pronominal in the sense that it is not one of the set of the overt pronominal forms ie / $\int$  ana/ "I"; /huwwa/ "he"; /hiyya/ "she"; /humma/ "they"; / $\int$  inta/ "you" (masc. sing.); / $\int$  inti/ "you" (fem. sing.); and / $\int$  intum/ "you" (pl.). These pronominal forms are only restricted to the subject position; and it is in this respect that there are other pronominal forms that can be generated in the object position whether that governed by V or P. Another set of pronominal forms is generated in the possessive position of the NP ie its subject position.<sup>1</sup> The latter two sets of pronominal forms (ie to the object and the possessive positions) are partially empty pronominal forms in the sense that they represent heavy inflections carried by the head of the category be that a VP, an NP or a Part P. It is such pronominal forms (ie that are partially indicated by such heavy inflections) that have been regarded as small pro in accordance with Chomsky (1982a and 1982b). It is in this respect that they have been regarded as locally determined by heavy inflections in the head form be that an  $N^1$ , an  $A^1$ , a  $V^1$  or a Part<sup>1</sup>.

The affixes that locally determine for the generation of the agentive phrase of the small pro type are different from those affixes of the passive morphology that license for the generation of an empty category in the SPEC- position of the predicate phrase along the lines of Hoekstra (1986) and demonstrated by D-structures 3.2. This is because this empty category licensed by passive morphology is only found in passive sentences that are agentless in the sense above stated. But the agentive phrases in sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) are lexicalized in the sense that there is a partially empty pronominal ie small pro, which is shown to be lexicalized by the heavy inflection optionally carried by the head of the predicate. And as we have seen these heavy inflections, ie affixes, are in complementary distribution with the agentive phrases that are introduced by a preposition. Therefore, these affixes for the generation of a small pro in sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) with the D-structures 3.5.(i) form a separable and an optional unit from the head of the passive predicate, whereas the empty category licensed by the passive morphology on that head is inseparable from that head and is an obligatory unit in the passive predicate.

However, it is to be noted that this empty category that is licensed by the passive morphology in the passive predicate is also in complementary distribution with the small pro generated as the agentive phrase in sentences as 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) with the D-structure 3.5.(i). This reinforces the possibility of the assumption that even agentless passive sentences do have an external argument licensed by the passive morphology in their predicates, along the lines proposed by Hoekstra (1986). In CEA, it is proposed that agentless passive sentences in the sense of not having lexicalized agentive phrases do have this empty category licensed by passive morphology and that it is of an argument nature. But in agentive passive sentences in the sense of having lexicalized agentive phrases by means of heavy inflections on the predicate head and in turn generating a small pro in the SPEC of that predicate, this empty category loses its argument nature, and is accordingly deleted allowing for the generation of this small pro instead. It is deletable because it has become semantically empty because of the heavy inflections carried by the predicate head and generating a small pro; and in accordance with

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<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the pronominal forms in Arabic see H. GHALY (1988).



Chomsky (1989) semantically null empty categories are deletable. It is in this respect that D-structure 3.5.(1) differs from those for 3.2. and 3.3.

It is also to be noted that in the D-structure of 3.3., the empty category is not deleted. This is because the agentive phrase is introduced by a preposition; in turn generated as a complement of XP and not its SPEC. However, despite the fact that this empty category is not deleted, yet it cannot be an argument. Rather, it must be a trace that is coreferential with the postposed agentive phrase. This reinforces the belief that agentive phrases in passive sentences are always generated in the SPEC of the predicate phrase of these sentences and that if they are introduced by a preposition, they are postposed, leaving the predicate head to agree with the OBJ NP that is raised to the [SPEC-AGRsP]. On the other hand, if the lexicalized agentive phrase is not introduced by a preposition, it is not postposed. This brings us to the fact that if the lexicalized agentive phrase is not introduced by a preposition, then it must be preposed so that there is agreement between it and the predicate head of that passive sentence. Such is the case with the sentences of 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) and those of 3.1.1.(iv), and (v), and 3.1.2.1.(v).

However, there is a basic difference between sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i), on the one hand, and sentences 3.1.1.(iv) and (v) and 3.1.2.1.(v), on the other hand, even though they both have preposed agentive phrases. In the former sentences the agentive phrase is lexicalized by means of heavy inflection carried by the head of the predicate generating a small *pro*, as shown by D-structure 3.5.(i). In the latter sentences, the agentive phrase is lexicalized by means of an overt category. In these cases, it is an overt pronominal ie /huwwa/ ie he, as shown by D-structures 3.5.(ii) and (iii). Representing an NP, /huwwa/ is assumed to be base-generated as the SPEC of the [Predicate Phrase] position just as small *pro*. This is demonstrated by D-structures 3.5.(i), (ii) and (iii). Furthermore, /huwwa/ (as with small *pro*) is base generated in this position for the sake of Case-assignment and  $\theta$  marking; ie it is in this position that the agentive NP is assigned the internal case and the external  $\theta$  role due to the passive morphology in the passive predicate, along the lines of Hoekstra (1986). In a similar respect, on the analogy of small *pro*, it is assumed that the overt pronominal /huwwa/ is also preposed. That the small *pro* of D-structure 3.5.(i) is preposed is indicated by the fact that the head of the predicate carries additional heavy inflections with which it agrees and locally determines its presence. Similarly, the head of the predicate in D-structures 3.5.(ii) and (iii) agrees with the pronominal /huwwa/, indicating that it has also been preposed.

Turning now to the details of this movement rule that applies to the above mentioned sentences, we can say that in D-structure 3.5.(i) small *pro* moves from the [SPEC-NP] to that of [SPEC AGRcP]. It is to be noted that OBJ has also been moved to the [SPEC-AGRsP]; therefore, [SPEC-AGRsP] cannot be a landing site for small *pro*. This is why this NP movement rule takes small *pro* straight to [SPEC-AGRcP]. This additional NP movement ie (of the Agentive NP movement) triggers an additional predicate movement (to be discussed) from AGRRs to AGRc. In AGRc, the head of the predicate head governs both NPs ie the NP in [SPEC-AGRsP] and that in [SPEC-AGRcP]. It is necessary that the head of the predicate head governs both NPs because it shows agreement with both NPs. But as it shows greater agreement or heavier inflection with the NP in [SPEC-AGRcP], it is more local to it. Such a locality is necessary for the generation of small *pro* because it requires local determination, as we have seen. In other words, the agreement between the topicalized agentive NP and its predicate head is stronger and heavier than that between the head of the predicate and its syntactic subject ie OBJ.

On the analogy of the small *pro* that has been raised to the SPEC-AGRCp as indicated by the heavy inflections carried by the predicate head in sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) in agreement with it, the overt pronominal /*huwwa*/ in sentences 3.1.1.(iv) + (v), and 3.1.2.1.(v) is accordingly assumed to be likewise raised to the SPEC-AGRCp as it is the agentive NP. This NP movement of /*huwwa*/ is again preceded by OBJ movement to the SPEC-AGRsP, blocking that position as a landing site. This NP movement rule also triggers predicate incorporation so that it moves further up; ie from AGRs to AGRc, where it shows agreement with [SPEC-AGRCp] (ie the agentive NP). In other words, the agreement between a preposed or a topicalized agentive NP and its predicate head is at the level of AGRcP, and not at AGRsP. It is in this respect that this agreement differs from that between the syntactic subject ie [SPEC-AGRsP] and its predicate head. The latter agreement is at AGRsP, and not at AGRcP. Therefore, in an active sentence the agreement between the external argument, which is at [SPEC-AGRsP], and its predicate head is at AGRsP; but in a passive sentence with a preposed or topicalized agentive phrase the agreement is at AGRcP.

As a result of this movement rule, the Agentive NP in sentences 3.1.1.(iv) and (v) and 3.1.2.1.(v) is the most emphatic NP since it has been topicalized and is an overt category. It is in this respect that the predicate head agrees with it, as we have seen. As for the agentive NP in sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i), it has also been topicalized; but as it is not an overt category it cannot be the most emphatic NP. Accordingly, the subject NP ie in [SPEC-AGRsP] has to be topicalized as well since it is an overt category. This topicalization of /*ilwalad*/ in sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) involves the adjunction to AGRcP, as will be shown in their S-structures. It is the fact that the predicate head in these sentences agrees with both the Agentive NP (ie small *pro*) and the syntactic subject (ie /*ilwalad*/) that indicates that both NPs have been raised to the level of AGRcP.

The above discussion of the Agent topicalization has also shown that this NP movement rule has to be ordered after the OBJ NP movement rule so that the [SPEC-AGRsP] may be blocked as a landing site for the agentive movement. It has also shown that sentences 3.1.1.(iv) and (v) and 3.1.2.1.(v) involve one topicalization rule, which is the Agentive preposing. But sentences 3.1.2.2.(i) and 3.1.2.3.(i) involve two topicalization rules; the preposing of the Agentive NP and the preposing of the syntactic subject. It is in this respect that in the former sentences we have the order A(gent) P(redicate) S(ubject), whereas in the latter sentences we have the order S(ubject) A(gent) P(redicate).

Having had a look at the internal structures of passive sentences such as those exemplified by sentences 3.1.1.(iv) and (v); 3.1.2.1.(v); 3.1.2.2.(i), and 3.1.2.3.(i), their preposed D-structures and the movement rules they involve, we would like to see now if such rules abide to the above mentioned locality conditions. In the movement of the Agentive NP from [SPEC-NP], [SPEC- Part P] or [SPEC- VP] to [SPEC-AGRCp], there is no skipping of a head; accordingly, Relativized Minimality of Rizzi (1990) is maintained. It is in this respect that the traces left in [SPEC-NP], [SPEC- Part P] and [SPEC-VP] are properly governed since they are both head governed and antecedent governed.

### iii) Verb Incorporation or Predicate Head Incorporation Rule

According to Chomsky (1989) "at S-structure, the verb must typically be combined with the various affixes, to yield the proper forms at PF", therefore, "items lexically identified as affixes be properly 'attached at S-structure'." (Chomsky, 1989:8). In a

similar respect, all the affixes related to the head of the predicate be that a verbal form, as in D-structures 3.2.1. and 3.5.2., a participial form, as in D-structures 3.2.2. and 3.5.3.; a nominal or an adjectival form, as in D-structures 3.2.3. and 3.5.1., must be properly attached to that head form at S-structure. And as "affixes, both inflectional affixes (tense and agreement) as well as lexical affixes (causative) are incorporation triggers." (Gausti, 1991:216), the lexical affixes indicating passivity in these predicates are also incorporation triggers.

Accordingly, we have the following movement rule that incorporates the various affixes, which have been treated as separate syntactic entities at D-structures 3.2.1., 3.2.2., 3.2.3., 3.5.1., 3.5.2. and 3.5.3. because these inflections cannot remain stranded at S-structure (Chomsky, 1989). It is also to be noted that in a language with heavy inflections such as the Arabic dialect of CEA, this movement rule is one of verb-raising, and not verb lowering.<sup>1</sup> In a similar respect, it is also one of predicate-raising, and not predicate lowering.

Looking at the movement cycle of this rule, as regards D-structures 3.2.1. and 3.5.2., V° raises to AGRo° in the first cycle. Then it moves from AGRo° to ASP° in the second cycle. In the third cycle, it moves from ASP° to Passive°; and in the fourth cycle it moves from Passive° to AGRs°. As regards D-structure 3.2.1., the fourth cycle is the last cycle since this D-structure is of agentless passive sentences in the above indicated sense. This D-structure (ie 3.2.1.) may also be of passive sentences with agentive phrases lexicalized and introduced by a preposition if it incorporates D-structure 3.3. In either case, we have the same movement rule of verb incorporation, involving four cycles that raise V° up to AGRs°. As for D-structure 3.5.2., this involves a further movement from AGRs° to AGRc°, as mentioned earlier. This is because the latter D-structure (ie 3.5.2.) is that of agentive passive sentences that have lexicalized agentive phrases that are not introduced by a preposition. Accordingly, they subsumed to the rule of Agentive preposing or topicalizing.

Turning now to D-structures 3.2.2. and 3.5.3., participle° ie (Part°) raises to AGRo° in the first cycle. It then moves from AGRo° to Passive° ie (Pass°) in the second cycle; and then moves from Pass° to AGRs° in the third cycle, ie this movement as regards D-structure 3.2.2. involves one cycle less than that of D-structure 3.2.1. This is because the participle phrase ie [Part P] does not have a maximal projection for Aspect ie ASP, as shown earlier. Again, if we incorporate D-structure 3.3. to that of 3.2.2., we generate agentive passive sentences with lexicalized agentive phrases that are introduced by a preposition. This incorporation of D-structure 3.3. does affect the rule of predicate-head incorporation, raising Part° to AGRs°. As for D-structure 3.5.3., this involves a further movement from AGRs° to AGRc° because this D-structure is of agentive passive sentences that have lexicalized agentive phrases that are not introduced by a preposition. That is, as these passive sentences involves the preposing or the topicalization of the agentive phrase, their heads of predicate must also be preposed to AGRc°.

Finally in D-structures 3.2.3. and that of 3.5.1., N° or A° raises to AGRo° in the first cycle. Then it moves from AGRo° to Passive° (ie Pass°) in the second cycle. In the third cycle, it moves from Pass° to AGRs°. This D-structure ie 3.2.3. is similar to that of 3.2.2. in that it involves only three cycles for the movement of N° or A° to AGRs°. It differs in this respect from D-structure 3.2.1. because the latter involves four cycles due

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<sup>1</sup>In this respect CEA is similar to French, as described by Pollack (1989) ie it involves verb raising.

to the fact that it has a maximal projection for ASP°. As with the other D-structures ie 3.2.1. and 3.2.2., D-structure 3.2.3. may incorporate D-structure 3.3. when its agentive phrase is lexicalized and introduced by a preposition. But this incorporation does not alter the movement of predicate raising of N° or A° to AGRs°. As for D-structure 3.5.1., this involves the further movement of N° or A° from AGRs° too AGRc°. This is again because this D-structure (ie 3.5.1.) is of agentive passive sentences that have lexicalized agentive phrases that are not introduced by a preposition; in turn they require the preposing or the topicalization of the agentive phrase.

Having discussed the movement rule of verb or predicate incorporation, let us now see if it also abides to the locality conditions. This movement rule differs from the previously discussed movement rules in that it is a head movement rule of X°. Before looking at the locality conditions in relation to this rule in CEA, let us look at a similar rule found in Hungarian, as described by Maracz (1991) in his Long Verb Movement Rule. Maracz (1991) says that the trace in V° is properly governed because it is both head and antecedent governed. This is why this trace is [+r] marked at LF in accordance with Lasnik and Saito (1984). As for the trace in AGRo, it does violate the locality conditions of Rizzi (1990) as well as the ECP of Chomsky (1982a). This is because this movement skips an intervening head ie ASP; and the trace in AGRo is accordingly neither head or antecedent governed. To solve this problem, Maracz assumes that the trace in AGRo is [-r] marked since it is not properly governed, where proper government is both head and antecedent government. Accordingly, the trace in AGRo does not violate the locality conditions of Rizzi (1990) since "locality theories on movement would only hold for a certain class of traces, namely, those trace that are [+r] marked." (Maracz, 1991:30). As for the violation of the ECP at LF, Maracz assumes that the trace in AGRo is deleted at LF in accordance with Chomsky (1989), who assumes that traces of elements that do not play a role in the semantic interpretation of the sentence may be deleted. It is in this respect that Maracz (1991) says that there is no violation of the ECP; and the trace in V° is both head and antecedent governed despite the fact that this movement rule does skip a head ie ASP.

To assume that only the class of traces that are [+r] marked subsume to the locality conditions seems to the writer to be a rather circular argument because the class of traces that are [+r] marked are those that are properly governed, where proper government involves both head and antecedent government. But such an assumption has been necessary since the trace in AGRo would be violating the locality conditions since there is an intervening head that is skipped in this movement rule ie ASP. It is in this respect that the writer has assumed different D-structures for verbal predicates, as distinct from nominal predicates be they participials or nominals. With the assumption that nominal predicates do not have an ASPP, we have avoided the problem encountered by Maracz (1991) afore mentioned. Moreover, it is assumed that nominal sentences are not derived from the same D-structures as verbal sentences after the deletion of the VP at S-structure. This assumption has been verified by the fact that time is indicated in Arabic in general by temporals<sup>1</sup> rather than time-indicating verbal affixes carried by the verb form. Furthermore, the verbal affixes have been shown to indicate aspectuality,

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<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion of time indication in an Arabic dialect (ie D. A.D.) see H. GHALY (1988). It has been shown that time indication in Arabic is by means of temporals, which are nominals that are not affixed to the verb form. Accordingly, it has been assumed that nominal sentences do not have deleted VPs.

rather than time<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly, there is no logical necessity to assume that every nominal sentence has a VP at LF or D structure and that that VP has been deleted at S-structure, especially as that assumption would complicate the predicate incorporation rule, as shown earlier. It is in this respect that each sentence type has a distinct D-structure even though they have all undergone the marked lexical rule that transforms their THEME SUBJECTS to AGENT SUBJECTS, as mentioned earlier.

Looking now at the locality conditions pertaining to this movement, we find that the trace in V°, in the D-structure type of 3.2.1. is head governed by AGRo°, the trace of which is in turn head governed by ASP°. The trace in ASP° is also head-governed by Pass°, the trace of which is in turn head governed by AGRs°. In other words, this movement rule involves four cycles, none of which violates the Locality conditions of Rizzi (1990) nor the ECP of Chomsky (1982a) since all the traces are both head and antecedent governed. As for the trace in AGRs after the additional movement of verb incorporation to AGRc in D-structure types of 3.5.2., it also does not violate any of the above mentioned locality conditions.

Similarly, the traces in Part° of D-structure type 3.2.2. and N° or A° of D-structure 3.2.3. are head-governed by AGRo°; and the traces in AGRo in these D-structure types are also head governed by Pass° because there is no intervening head that has been skipped. Then the traces in Pass° are head governed by AGRs°. And lastly even the additional movement from AGRs° to AGRc° in D-structure types of 3.5.1. and 3.5.3. does not violate the above mentioned locality conditions.

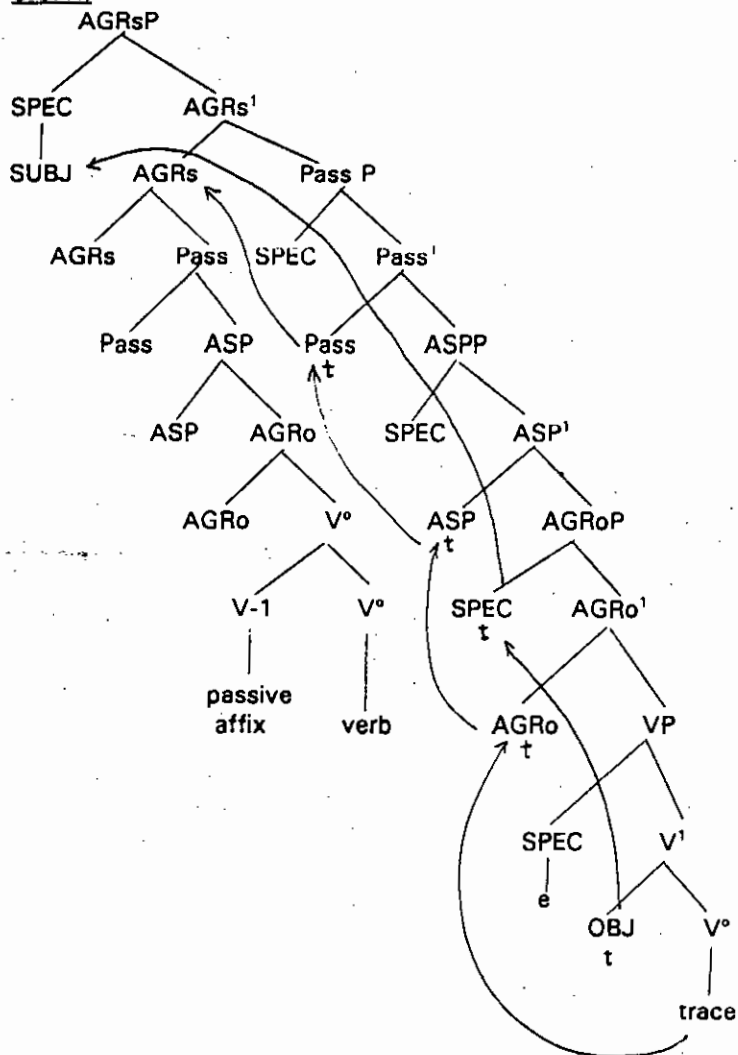
Finally, after the application of all of the above mentioned movement rules to the above D-structures, we derive the following S-structures.

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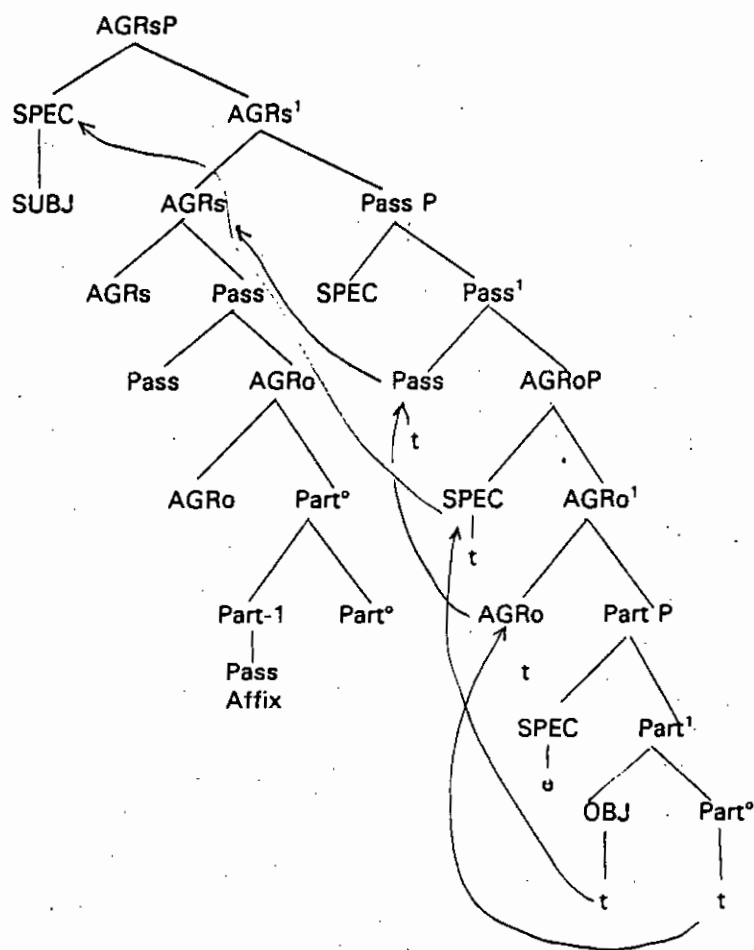
<sup>1</sup>It has been shown in this study that the CEA inflects for aspectuality ie perfectivity, imperfectivity, and progressiveness. The only time inflection it has in futurity ie /ha/ prefix.

3.6.

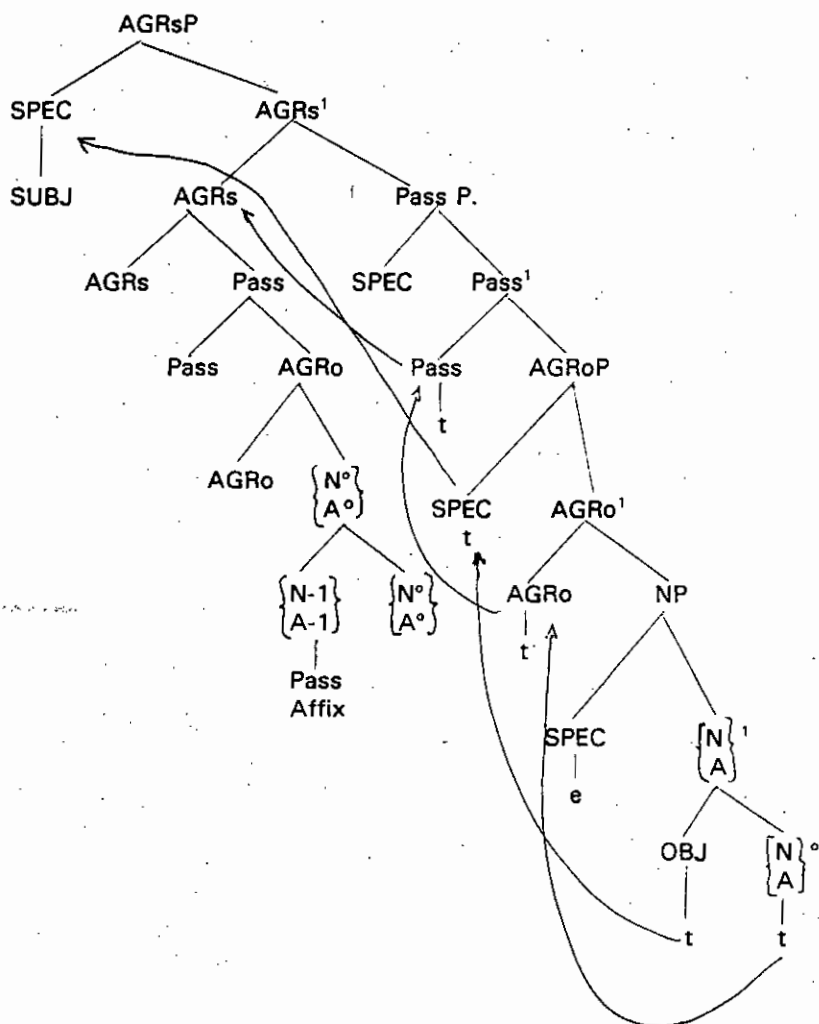
3.6.1.:



3.6.2.:

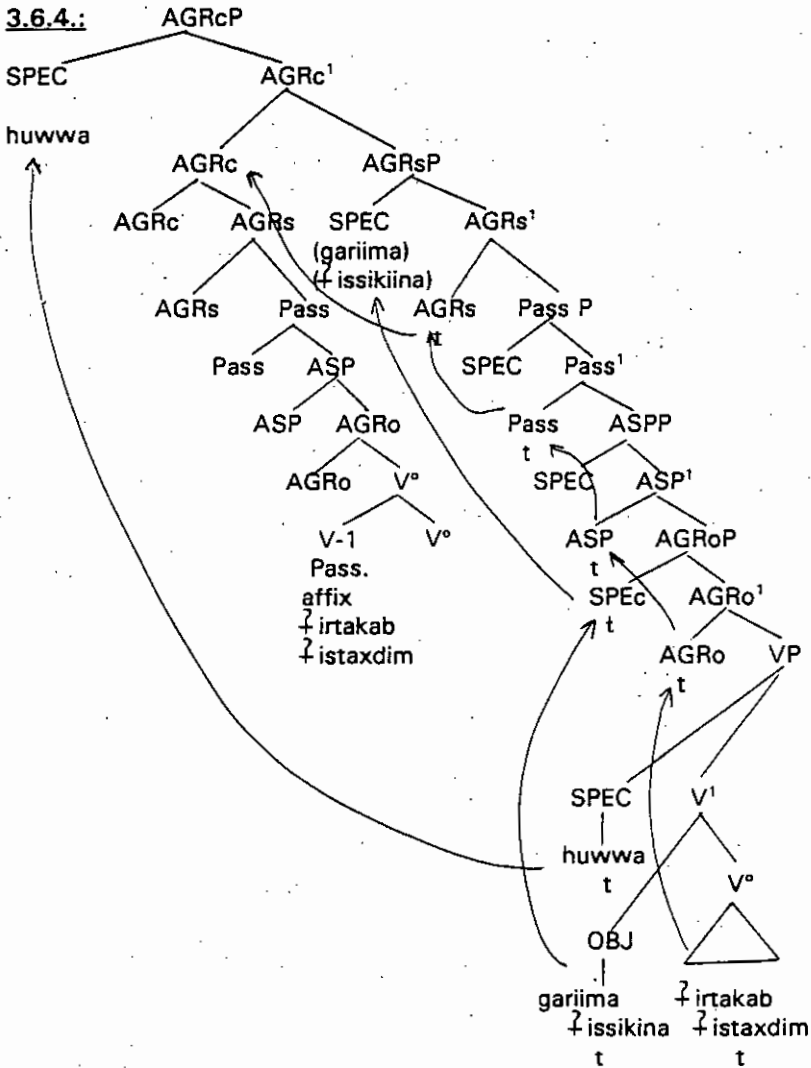


3.6.3.:

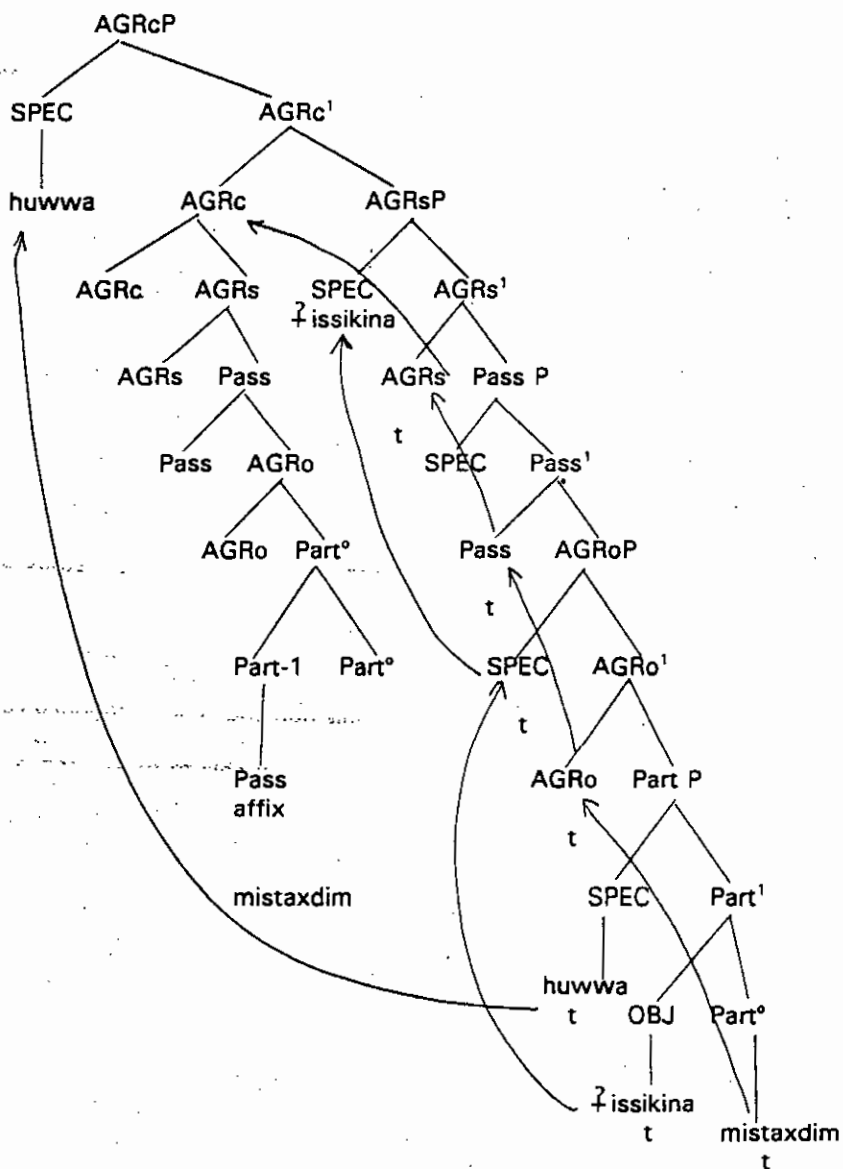




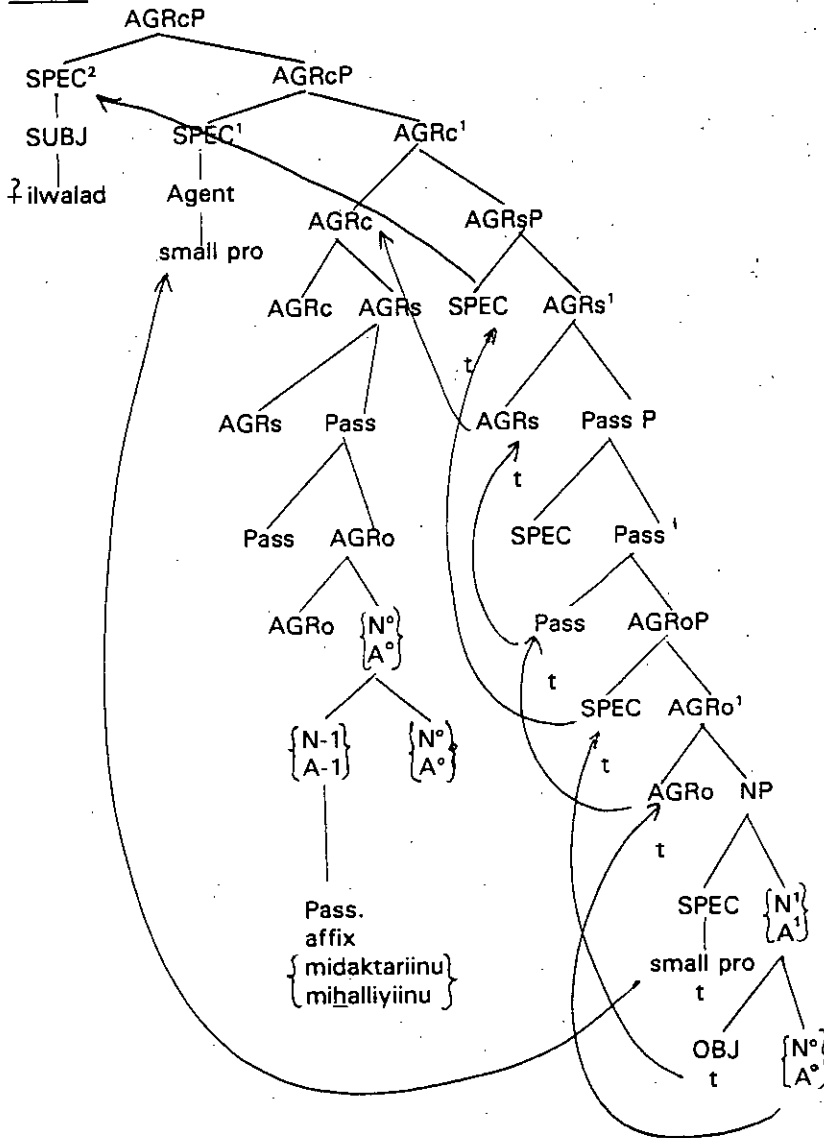
### 3.6.4.:



**3.6.5.:**



3.6.6.:



S-structures 3.6.(1), (2) and (3) are of agentless passive sentences in CEA in the sense that their external arguments are not lexicalized. Accordingly, the external arguments in these passive sentences, as shown by their respective S-structures, are represented by an empty category that is generated in the SPEC-predicate position and that is licensed by the passive morphology carried by the predicate head. The internal argument ie OBJ is raised to the SPEC-AGRsP, becoming the syntactic subject and is accordingly assigned the external Case by AGRs at S-structure. It (ie OBJ) has been assigned the internal  $\theta$  in accordance with the  $\theta$  criterion at LE by means of the projection principle.

S-structures 3.6.(4) and (5) are of agentive passive sentences that have lexicalized agentive phrases that are not introduced by a preposition and that have an overt category for their topicalized agentive NP. OBJ likewise is raised to be the syntactic subject ie [SPEC-AGRsP], where it is assigned the external case by AGRs and this in turn enables it to be assigned the internal  $\theta$  role. As we have a topicalized Agentive NP, the rule of predicate incorporation has raised the predicate head further to AGRc°. The Agentive NP ie /huwwa/ has been topicalized to [SPEC-AGRcP]. It is assigned an internal Case and an external  $\theta$  role by the predicate head in its base generated position just as the empty category in S-structures 3.6.(1), (2) and (3) has.

S-structure 3.6.6. is also of an agentive passive sentences that have lexicalized agentive phrases that are not introduced by a preposition but this topicalized Agentive NP is a small pro, and not an overt NP category. This S-structure demonstrates that it is not only the Agentive NP that has been topicalized but also the OBJ NP because it is only the latter that is an overt NP. But as small pro is a partially empty category, it requires local determination from its predicate; accordingly, it is moved to [SPEC<sup>1</sup>-AGRcP], where it is closer to its predicate which shows greater agreement with it. As for OBJ (ie /ilwalad/, this is an overt lexical category that has been adjoined to AGRcP ie [SPEC<sup>2</sup>-AGRcP]. In that position, it is not as local as small pro is to its predicate. This is natural as it does not show as much agreement with its predicate as small pro does. The  $\theta$  marking and Case marking properties proceed in the usual way. OBJ is assigned internal  $\theta$  role and external Case but small pro is assigned external  $\theta$  role and internal Case.

#### 4. Conclusions

We can deduce the following conclusions from the above study of passivity in CEA:

- 1) Passivity in CEA is not restricted to verbal predicates only. It is also found in nominal predicates, which have participial, adjectival or nominal heads. Despite the fact that participials in CEA have some verbal features such as marking use of the very same passive affixes that the verbal predicates make use of, yet they are regarded as nominals because they do not have as heavy inflections as the verbal forms do. The adjectival in CEA is also regarded as a nominal because it behaves syntactically as a nominal as regards its inflections and the fact that it does not make use of any of the verbal passive affixes; therefore, it is more of a nominal than the participial forms.

The verbal passive predicate in CEA is not restricted to intervocalic alterations in the verb form brought about by the above mentioned phonological rule. Rather, it also makes use of the affixes /ʔ it/, /ʔ in/, /-ta-/ and /ʔ ista/. The participial passive predicate likewise makes use of intervocalic alterations or the

affixes /ʔit/, /-ta/ and /ʔista/; but the glottal stop is deleted because it also makes use of the nominal passive prefix /Mv-/ with both passive markers. The nominal predicate makes use of intervocalic alterations with the prefix /Mv-/ and in very rare cases without this prefix. Therefore, this is the first study of passivity in Arabic which has shown that passivity is a general rule that prevails across categories

- 2) This study has also shown that the passive marker in CEA has broadened its sphere to incorporate other syntactic markers, making them assume passive function ie the generalization of the syntactic marker to assume other functions. The passive marker in CEA has not been restricted to intervocalic alterations but has also incorporated affixation as well. That this is a general tendency is demonstrated by the fact that the /ʔin/ prefix for Saad (1982) in Classical Arabic as old as the Glorious Quran is a covert reflexive marker whereas it may be a reflexive or a passive marker for Cowan (1982) in his study of Modern Standard Arabic. Moreover, for Mitchell's (1956) study of Egyptian Arabic, both /ʔin/ and /ʔit/ verbal affixes are interchangeable and may either be reflexive or passive signs. It only seems to be a natural development to see that CEA in 1993 has incorporated more of these affixes into having passive function. This general tendency is definitely in agreement with Langacker and Munero (1975) as being a general phenomenon in the languages of the world that allows syntactic markers to assume other functions.

However, we are being even more radical in saying that these affixes have ceased to assume reflexive function because reflexivity in CEA is indicated by another syntactic marker.<sup>1</sup> It is as though CEA specified the verbal forms I, II and III for active indication, and the forms affixed with /ʔit/, /ʔin/, /-ta/ and /ʔista/ for passive indication. It is in this respect that some of the non-passivizable verbals such as /šabaha/ "He resembled" (Lewkowicz, 1967) have come to be passivizable in CEA as /ʔitšabah/ "He has been recognized as a criminal" or /ʔištābah fiih/ "He has been recognizable in him" ie He has been found to be recognizable.

- 3) This study has also shown that the process of passivization in CEA involves two rules: a lexical rule and a syntactic rule. The first rule is a lexical rule because it manipulates the  $\theta$  grid of the lexical head; but it is not a rule that is uniquely for the derivation of passive predicates. Rather, it is a rule that brings about ie derives both active and passive predicates. The implication here is that the unmarked predicate in the lexicon of CEA is one that takes THEME SUBJECTS ie they do not assign an external  $\theta$  role to their subjects. It is in this respect that these predicates have been called ergative predicates. This unmarked predicate, which is a one argument predicate with an internal argument as its subject, may undergo this lexical rule that transforms them into two argument predicates with AGENT SUBJECTS. Whether or not these predicates undergo this lexical rule depends on their categorial status and idiosyncratic properties of the lexical head. If the head of that predicate is a verbal or a participial form, then it must obligatorily subsume to this lexical rule so as to derive active verbal and participial predicates. But if the head of this predicate is an adjective or a noun, then whether or not it subsumes

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of reflexivity in CEA see H. GHALY (forthcoming).

to this lexical rule depends on its idiosyncratic properties; therefore it is only an optional rule for such predicates.

The second rule is in the domain of the syntax since it is a very general rule that does not manipulate the  $\theta$ -grid of the lexical head nor does it change its categorial status. Accordingly, it applies to all four categories ie verbals, participials, adjectivals and nominals without changing their categorial status. This syntactic rule deagentivizes the syntactic subject of the passive sentence in the sense that it internalizes the external argument (ie the AGENT) into the passive predicate due to the passive morphology in that predicate. Accordingly, it allows the internal argument (ie PATIENT of the action) to become the syntactic subject of the passive sentence. It is an obligatory rule for predicates with noun or adjective heads that have undergone the above mentioned lexical rule because such predicates cannot be generated as active predicates. On the other hand, it is an optional rule for predicates with verbal or participial heads because such predicates may be generated as active predicates.

The fact that we are making all passive predicates undergo the same rules (ie a lexical one and a syntactic one) indicates that we are differing from Chomsky (1982a) and (1989). This is because Chomsky (1982a) assumes that adjectival passives involve a lexical rule, whereas verbal passives involve a transformational rule. Following Hoekstra (1986) the arguments to distinguish between a lexical and a transformational analysis for the different passive predicates are "untenable and insufficient" (1986:97). We are also differing from Chomsky (1989) in his regarding lexical morphology as pertaining to the lexicon. We feel that a complete lexical treatment of lexical morphology is "inherently non explanatory" (Hoekstra, 1993; personal communication).

On the other hand, we are following Langacker and Munero (1975) in our description of passivity in CEA because passivity in CEA pertains to predicates in general and not simply to verbal predicates, involves the making of the Patient of the action as the subject of the clause, and also involves morphology. And as we have seen, the passive predicate in CEA is indeed morphologically complex and has a base-generated direct object after it has undergone the above mentioned lexical rule that becomes the syntactic subject of the passive sentence by means of the rule of deagentivization. It is to be noted that we are also differing from Chomsky (1982a), Saad (1982) and Hoekstra (1984) in that we are not assuming that there is a range of permissible  $\theta$  roles for the syntactic subject of the passive predicate.

- 4) This study has also demonstrated that there is a grave difference between ergative predicates and passive predicates despite the fact that both predicates have an internal argument for their syntactic subject. The former has it as an "inherent property", whereas the latter is "rule created" (Hoekstra, 1984). It is in this respect that we have regarded the ergative predicate as the unmarked predicate in CEA, whereas the passive predicate as the marked predicate since it is a morphologically complex predicate that has involved the above mentioned lexical and syntactic rules.

Another major difference between the passive predicate and the ergative one is that it is only the latter predicate that is a one argument predicate. The passive predicate, on the other hand, is a two argument predicate whose external argument has been internalized in the predicate due to the passive morphology in that predicate. The internalization of the external argument in the predicate has involved the assumption that there is a base-generated subject position predicate

phrase internally, in which there is an empty category licensed by the passive morphology along the lines of Hockstra (1986). Moreover, we have actually found in CEA agentive passive sentences which have a small *pro* or an overt pronominal (ie an NP) in that base generated subject position predicate phrase internally. This has not only reinforced the fact that there is a base generated subject position predicate phrase internally but also that the passive predicate is indeed distinguishable from the ergative predicate in its being a two argument predicate.

Moreover, it is the distinction between the passive predicate and the ergative predicate and the assumption that one of the crucial properties of passives is the dethematization of its syntactic subject in accordance with Chomsky (1982a), Williams (1981a), Bresnan (1981), Hoekstra (1984 + 86), Jaeggli (1986) and Afarli (1989) that requires the dichotomy between the syntactic subject position of the passive sentence and the base generated subject position predicate phrase internally. It allows the syntactic subject position ie [NP,S] of Chomsky (1982a) and [SPEC-AGRP] of Chomsky (1989) to remain a non-theta position despite the fact that the passive predicate does have an external argument. It is also the vacancy of this position that allows the OBJ (ie the PATIENT internal argument) to be moved into that position, leaving the external argument predicate phrase internally.

It is to be noted that the assumption that passive verbs are two argument predicates has also been implied by Saad (1982) in his distinction between this verb type and the covert reflexive verb. He says that it is only the passive verb that has an implicit causer of the action, and not the covert reflexive verbs. It is in this respect that we are in agreement with him even though our passive markers have broadened in scope to include his so-called covert reflexive verbs. We are also in agreement with Saad (1982) in that the ergatives are passivizable despite the fact we are differing from him in our definition of ergativity.

On the other hand, despite the fact that we are following the generative grammarians definition of ergativity, we are differing from them in their assumption that the ergatives are not passivizable. Furthermore, we are dealing with ergative predicates, and not simply ergative verbs.

- 5) The analysis of passivity in CEA assumed in this study has also implied that the process of passivization is not that of intransitivization. In this respect we are differing from Mitchell (1956), who believes that it is a process of intransitivization. Such an assumption has been refuted in this study as we have shown the passive predicate to be a two argument predicate.

This assumption bears grave consequences; ie all predicates in their unmarked state are one argument predicates that do not assign an external argument to their subjects (ie ergative predicates). In other words, the ergative predicates are the one argument predicates in CEA ie the unmarked intransitive predicates. This implies that the so-called traditionally classified intransitive verbs that are one argument predicates that do assign an external argument to their subjects are not the unmarked predicates in CEA. Rather, these predicates are marked predicates in the sense that they have not only undergone the above mentioned lexical rule that transforms them from ergative predicates to two argument predicates with AGENT SUBJECTS but also another lexical rule that allows these predicates to internalize the internal argument. For example, the predicate phrase in /miši/ "He left" or "He walked" has not only undergone the marked lexical rule that transformed it from having a THEME SUBJECT to an

AGENT SUBJECT but also another lexical rule that has internalized its internal argument, allowing such a predicate to surface as a one argument predicate with an AGENT SUBJECT. In other words, the predicate ie /miši/ has the translation "He walked the road or He left the house" at the D-structure level before it has undergone the other lexical rule that has internalized the internal argument in its predicate. This has been the intuitive assumption throughout this study, but naturally, further investigation is required as regards intransitive verbs with AGENT SUBJECTS.

It is to be noted that this analysis is similar to that adopted by Hoekstra (1984) in his classifying verbs into transitive and intransitive. For him, the intransitive verb is the verb that does not assign an external  $\theta$  role to its subject. As for the transitive verb, it is the verb that does assign an external  $\theta$  role to its subject regardless whether it is a one or two argument predicate. In other words, his intransitive verbs are the ergative verbs, which he regards as non-passivizable, but his transitive verbs are the passivizable verbs whether they are one or two argument predicates. Despite the fact that we do agree with this verb classification, yet we disagree with the fact that it is only the non ergative verbs that are passivizable, apart from the fact that we are dealing with passive predicates in general and not passive verbs in particular.

- 6) This study has also shown that CEA has an unmarked passive sentence and a marked passive sentence. The unmarked passive sentence is the agentless passive sentence. Such a passive sentence has been shown to have a passive predicate that indicates passivity by means of intervocalic alterations carried by the predicate head. The marked passive sentence is the agentive passive sentence. Such a passive sentence ranges from having an optional agentive phrase to having an obligatory agentive phrase. The optional agentive phrase co-occurs with verbal passive predicates that have the affixes / $\bar{r}$  it/ or / $\bar{r}$  in/; and with participial passive predicates with /Mvt-/ affix. The obligatory agentive phrase co-occurs with the verbal or the participial passive predicates with the affixes /-ta-/ or /-sta/. The marked passive sentence with a passive predicate with a noun or an adjective head only allows agentive phrases on an optional basis.

This points to the fact that passive affixes may also be classified into unmarked passive affixes and marked passive affixes. The unmarked passive affixes are those with intervocalic alterations because these derive agentless passive sentences. The fully marked passive affixes are those of /-ta-/ and /-sta/ since they derive agentive passive sentences with obligatory agentive phrases. At an intermediate level, we have the affixes / $\bar{r}$  it/, / $\bar{r}$  in/, along with the nominal affix /Mv-/. This is because they do derive agentive passive sentences but such agentive phrases are optional.

- 7) This study has also differentiated between the passive and the active predicate in assuming another split in AGR [ie AGRo, AGRs and AGRc] for agentive passive sentences despite the fact that there is uniformity of  $\theta$  marking properties. With active predicate, it is the external argument that is moved to the syntactic subject position; but with the passive predicate, it is the internal argument that is moved to the syntactic subject position, and if there is agreement between the topicalized agentive phrase and its predicate, this argument is at AGRcP, but the agreement between the syntactic subject and its predicate it is at AGRsP. Therefore, agentive passive sentences, being marked passive sentences in CEA, have a marked senten-



tial configuration that not only has AGR split into two ie AGRs and AGRo but into three ie AGRc, AGRs and AGRo.

- 8) This study has also shown that the derivation of the above described agentless passive sentences involves two movement rules: OBJ raising and predicate incorporation. The derivation of an agentive passive sentence with an agentive phrase that is not introduced by a preposition and in turn topicalized involves three movement rules: OBJ raising; predicate incorporation, and Agent topicalization. It has also been shown that all these movement rules subsume to the locality conditions of Rizzi (1990) and the ECP, especially as we have maintained that the nominal passive sentence is not derived from D-structures in which there was a VP that has been deleted.
- 9) This study has also shown that CEA displays a hierarchy of passivity, ranging from passive predicates with the highest degree of passivity to those with the lowest degree of passivity. The verbal passive predicate displays the highest degree of passivity, while the nominal passive predicate displays the lowest degree of passivity. As for the participial passive predicate, it displays an intermediate degree of passivity. This may be demonstrated by the following.

### 9.1. Passive Predicates:

9.1.1.     /ʔilbeet ʔitnawwar/ The house has been lit up.

9.1.2.     /ʔilbeet mitnawwar/ The house is lit up.

9.1.3.     /ʔilbeet minawwar/ The house is lit up ie radiant.

Despite the varying degrees of passivity in the different types of passive predicates, yet they all denote passivity if compared with the other predicate types in CEA.

### 9.2.

#### 9.2.1. Ergative Predicates

/huwwa nuur/ He is light ie the embodiment (or source) of light.

#### 9.2.2. Active Predicates

/huwwa nawwar ʔilbeet/ He lit up the house.

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Continuation of the footnote on page 9. "6)

## I Vocalic Phenomenes

/i/ and /i:/ high front, unrounded short and long vowels respectively

/u/ and /u:/ high back, rounded short and long vowels respectively

/e/ and /e:/ mid front, unrounded short and long vowels respectively

/o/ and /o:/ mid back, rounded short and long vowels respectively

/ə/ and /ə:/ low central unrounded short and long vowels respectively

There are a great variety of allophonic realizations of each phoneme but they are not our concern in this study.

## II Consonantal Phenomenes

### i) Stops

/b/ voiced bilabial stop

/t/ and /d/ voiceless and voiced apical dental stops.

/k/ and /g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops

/ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop

/ʁ/ voiceless alveolar stop

### ii) Fricatives

/f/ voiceless labiodental Fricative

/s/ and /z/ voiceless and voiced dental grooved Fricative

/ʃ/ and /h/ voiceless palatal and glottal fricatives.

/x/ and /ɣ/ voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives.

/ħ/ and /ʕ/ voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives.

#### iii) Emphatics

/t̤/ and /d̤/ voiceless and voiced dental, apical emphatic stops

/s̤/ dental emphatic fricative.

#### iv) Resonants

/r/ and /l/ trilled and lateral resonants

#### v) Nasals

/m/ and /n/ bilabial and dental nasals.

#### vi) Semi Vowels

/w/ and /y/ velar and palatal semi vowels

It is to be noted that /j/ has been regarded as a phoneme in CFA because there are some words in CFA that can only have /j/ and not /ʔ/; for example /gabira/ "Cairo" and /gurfan/ "Quran".

