

REFLEXIVE PRONOMINALS IN CAIRENE ARABIC

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This study is a description and analysis of reflexivity in educated Middle Class Cairene Arabic (i.e. CA) based on the framework of the Binding Theory of Generative Grammar (cf Chomsky, 1982a, 1982b, and 1986). The Classical Binding Theory of Chomsky (1982a:188) may be stated as in (1).

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(A) An anaphor must be bound in its governing category..

(B) A pronominal is free in its governing category.

(C) An R-expression must be free.

The notion of 'bound' is defined in terms of being c-commanded by a coreferential element. The notion 'governing category' imposes a form of locality on the anaphor, as distinct from the pronominal. The notion of locality of the anaphor is defined differently in Chomsky (1986a) from that of (1982a) as well as in much of the recent literature pertaining to long distance anaphora.

In general, as A. Zribi-Hertz (1989) says, research on syntactic anaphora has led Chomskyan Generative Grammarians to a structural typology of pronouns that has been assumed to be universal. However, this research has brought to light a large set of marginal occurrences of pronouns not predicted by the Binding Theory. In dealing with the marginal occurrences, there have been two opposite responses. The first has been to amend or complete the structural typology so that all marked cases can be accounted for within this syntactic theory. The second response has been that these

marked occurrences are outside the scope of syntax and involve principles pertaining to discourse analysis. She herself believes that the "distribution of reflexive pronouns in 'real life' is far from being restricted as the Binding Theory predicts" (1989 : 706) and that the "grammatical theory of English reflexive pronouns cannot be complete without a discourse component" (1989 : 703). She is not for a solely syntactic solution to the long distance binding of reflexive forms because she feels that these forms are not manifested by the same forms in all languages. Accordingly, she maintains that the clausal category, which is composed of a subject (whether lexical or null and its predicate) may be an opaque domain for an anaphor if it has an independent point of view; i.e. it is a portion of discourse that involves one and only one narrative point of view. Otherwise, it is transparent, in which case it falls under the Subject of Consciousness within the same discourse. After providing plenty of evidence of these marginal occurrences in English, she concludes that the basic difference between anaphors and pronominals is essentially the fact that it is only the latter that may be used deictically, as shown by the ill-formedness of sentence (2).

***(2) Please look at himself, not Mary.**

Accordingly, she defines the logophoric anaphor as an "element that behave(s) like anaphors (i.e. locally bound) in some contexts (but) may in other contexts be syntactically free." (Zribi-Hertz, 1992 : 585). Her "Subject of Consciousness" in (1989) is meant to show that the anaphor even in long distance anaphora must have an explicit antecedent but at the level of discourse. The only exception to her generalization is the "arbitrary

(indefinite) reflexive, such as English oneself", which seems "to stand, throughout languages, as the one exception to Zribi-Hertz (1989)". Zribi-Hertz (1992 : 586), as shown by "Books about oneself never read poorly". Incorporating this new class of data into a general characterization of reflexive anaphora, she assumes that when an anaphor is neither bound syntactically nor in discourse, it behaves like a universal quantified expression and that this is in keeping with Chomsky's (1981 : 218) intuition that an anaphor crucially lacks intrinsic reference.

The analysis of reflexivity in CA does verify Zribi-Hertz' (1989) assumption that the basic difference between anaphors and pronominals is that the latter assumes a deictic function. But as the reflexive anaphor in CA is a pronominal in structure, this alleviates the need to resort to principles pertaining to discourse. It is only the domain in which these pronominals are free that must be determined syntactically; i.e. we shall try to amend the structural typology so that the reflexive pronominals of CA may be accounted for within a syntactic theory. This is similar to attempts that have been made in the literature; for example, Chomsky (1982a) assumes that what actually surfaces as a pronominal in "John loves his mother" is actually an anaphor for the lack of a possessive anaphor in English. Another attempt has been to try to re-interpret the anaphor/pronominal distinction

1. This also accounts for the fact that the arbitrary indefinite form in CA is actually an existential quantifier, as shown by /Kutub ʔala-l waahid sahl ʔirayitha / noun + PI pl + preposition + definite article + numeral "one" + Adj predicate with adjective head + PI masc sing + noun + PI fem. sing + PI 3rd per fem. sing.
 Books about oneself are easy reading.
 For the notation used in this study see Appendix

of Chomsky (1982b), as having the four classes in (3):

(3)

- i) [-P], [+A] reflexive "himself" in English
- ii) [+P], [+A] Korean saki
- iii) [-P], [-A] R-expressions
- iv) [+P], [-A] English pronouns "he", "she"

This view of the features [\pm A] and [\pm P] allows the combination of [+A] and [+P] as an expression that is an anaphor in some contexts and a pronominal in some other contexts. However, the analysis undertaken here is different from these two syntactic solutions in that the reflexive forms in CA are actually pronominal forms that are free to have antecedents outside their governing categories, but their governing categories are defined a bit differently from that with an ACCESSIBLE SUBJECT, as proposed by Chomsky (1982a).

This notion of a "pronominal anaphor" or "a marked anaphor" is also maintained by Reineke - Bok - Bennema (1985) in his analysis of Eskimo languages. These languages have an empty category that is a pure pronominal in accordance with Chomsky (1982b) and it does assume this status when it is generated as the subject of S or NP. It only assumes an anaphoric function when generated as the object. Not wishing to regard this empty category as an NP trace, Bennema (1985) says that the Binding Conditions are "too poor ... too idealized to account for ... the pro drop pronominal anaphor that occurs in Eskimo languages (1985 : 15). He is actually justifiable as the "homonymy solution is a "desperate strategy", as

stated by Zribi-Hertz (1989). Moreover, the assumption that clause bound reflexives are [+A], [-P] whereas long distance reflexives are [+A], [+P] is disatisfactory, unless it can be shown that these are all pronominals in form, which must be free only in a specific domain and may be coreferential elsewhere.

Everaert (1986) says that "the Binding Theory can be formulated in the simplest way: lexical items can be divided into anaphors and non anaphors" (1986 : 316) and that "the phonologically unmarked pronominals" are "the pronominals whose phonological shape does not tell us anything about its anaphoric status" (1986 : 316). Accordingly, he says that "zichzelf", in Dutch, is an anaphor because its phonological shape determines its status; but "zich" is a variable at S-structure in long reflexivization. As for clause bound "zich", it is a phonologically unmarked pronominal in a non- θ position; i.e., it is a clitic in the sense that "a phonologically unmarked pronominal in a non- θ position is bound" (1986 : 39). Therefore, zich only has the anaphoric status at NP - structure in long Reflexivization and triggers movement of the object to the subject position when it is clause bound. And "since all anaphors are at least bound at one level, the Binding Conditions are satisfied" (Everaert, 1986: 293).

It is to be noted that this movement rule of zich is a relation between an A' - position and an A position. This notion that pronominals are related to the A' position has also been shown to be the case in CA as its full pronominal forms are shown to be generated in an A' position in the AGRcP. Despite the fact that the full pronominals in CA cohere to Chomsky's (1982a) expectations; i.e. "full pronouns in languages with the

clitic option should be regarded as somehow emphatic" (Chomsky, 1982a : 289), yet they are not "immune to Principle (B) of the Binding Theory" of Chomsky (1982a : 289) as assumed to be the case by Chomsky (1982a). In CA, they only differ from the non-full pronominals in that they are generated in A' position, as to be shown.

Another formal solution for long distance anaphora is discussed by P. Cole, G. Hermon and Li May Sung (1990), in which it is assumed that "the same Binding Conditions apply in Chinese and English" as proposed by "recent innovations in the Extended Standard Theory of Chomsky (1986b; and 1988) and Pollock (1989) "(Cole, Herman, and Sung, 1990:5) because "long distance reflexives will only occur in languages in which INFL is lexical and hence in which VP is not a barrier (1990 : 17). Therefore, in Chinese the anaphor is coindexed with a c-commanding antecedent in its governing category, which is the minimal Complete Functional Complex (CFC). On the other hand, F. Katada (1991), attempts a syntactic solution "for antecedents of anaphors that are not c-commanding" (1991 : 307) in Japanese. He says that long distance anaphors as represented by zibun are raised to INFL, becoming a verbal operator at LF and adjoining to VP.

Various other arguments have been offered by the authors of the book on Long Distance Anaphora edited by Koster and Reuland (1991) to account for empirical facts from different languages in an attempt at maintaining the universality of the Binding Conditions . For example, L. Hellen (1991), in studying Norwegian and Icelandic, says that long distance anaphors are subject to Containment Condition, which allows the anaphora A to be bound to B if it is contained in C. For Thrainsson (1991), it is the subjunctive

mood that allows for logophoric contexts in Icelandic. Everaert (1991) regards zich as forming intrinsically reflexive verbs. Alessandria Giorgi (1991), in studying Italian, says that the anaphors in the small clause of the structure NP - NP or NP - AP are bound to their subjects, but those of the structure NP - PP are not, because the NP and the AP predicates of small clauses allow their subject to be thematically pronominal, in turn serving as binders for their anaphors.

In a final paper of their book on long distance anaphora, Koster and Reuland (1991) differentiate between three anaphoric domains : local domains, medium distance domain, and logophoric domain, the last of which they maintain does not pertain to syntax. It is this implicit extension of Koster and Reuland (1991) of the "Binding relation, whose definition originally, aims at isolating a purely syntactic core of cases among anaphoric expressions," (Zribi-Hertz, 1992 : 11) to discourse that allows Zribi - Hertz (1992) in her review of their book to say "that any understanding of logophoric anaphora is dependent on semantic, and not on a syntactic analysis" (1992 : 10), especially as the authors of this book talk only about medium distance Binding, which is said to be "structural Binding beyond the minimal SUBJECT and pertains to syntax" (Zribi - Hertz, 1992 : 10).

Koster and Reuland (1991) also distinguish three morphologically different anaphors in the languages of the world : 1) clitic anaphors, which they do not discuss 2) non-clitic anaphors that are mono-morphemic reflexives, as the French se. These allow medium distant Binding, are subject - oriented; generated in non argument positions and adjoined to I because they are not arguments. 3) Complex reflexives, such as English

himself. These are locally bound; do not manifest subject orientation; are generated as complex DPs because they are arguments, and may sometimes be used logophorically in which case it is assumed that they are restricted to non argument positions and involve adjunction to V* creating a semantically reflexive predicate.

Zribi - Hertz (1992), on the other hand, in her review of their book, says that the "self" anaphors "all happen to be, at least, morphologically focalized pronouns, formed of a simplex pronominal or anaphor and a focalized adjunct" (Zribi - Hertz, 1992 : 11), and that any adequate analysis of anaphora must consider both emphasis and focalization. Such is the attitude undertaken in this study as regards reflexivity in CA. The so-called reflexive anaphor in CA is definitely morphologically a pronominal that is sometimes focalized by a modifier; and any discussion of reflexivity in CA cannot exclude emphasis for some of these reflexive forms are also emphatic pronominal forms. Therefore, the mere fact that the authors of this book try to reconcile empirical facts from different languages to Principle A of the Binding theory suggests, as Zribi - Hertz (1992) says, that it is not truly universal. It is in this respect, that the analysis of reflexivity in CA dispenses with Principle A of the Classical Binding theory altogether and attempts to show that the reflexive anaphors in CA are actually pronominals that are nonetheless free in their governing category and in turn do not violate Principle (B) of the Classical Binding Theory.

Similarly, Zribi-Hertz and C Adopo (1992) in their analysis of Attie pronominals, say that "an analysis that would reduce the O/KE distinction of Attie to the familiar anaphor/pronominal contrast would be descriptively

inadequate" (1992 : 106). They also demonstrate that both O and KE "stand as pronominals with respect to Principle (B) of the Binding Theory" (1992 : 106). They adopt the view that anaphors are locally bound to an argument, whereas pronominals are locally bound by a non-argument; i.e. the Composition whether in the clause structure or in the NP structure plays a central role for the licensing and indexing of pronouns. Therefore, for them the distinction between anaphors and pronominals is not that the former requires obligatory or local Binding, but rather the contrast is between A-Binding and A'-Binding.

Likewise, this study of reflexivity in CA shows that its reflexive anaphors stand as pronominals with respect to Principle (B) of the Binding Theory and that Comp plays a crucial role in the interpretation of some of the pronominals in CA, i.e. the full pronouns as distinct from the bound pronominal forms. The latter pronominals are generated in A positions whereas the former are generated in A' positions; but both pronominal forms may be A-bound. Similarly, the contrast in CA between anaphors and pronominals is not that the former is obligatory or local. Instead, it is simply that pronominals are free in their minimal domain and may have an antecedent outside that domain. The anaphor/pronominal distinction in CA is in determining the domains in which pronominals are indexed and those domains in which they are licensed, in terms of Zribi-Hertz and Adopo (1992).

As a matter of fact, the term "anaphor" is one of the conceptual difficulties in the Classical Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981 : 188, 220; 1986a : 166), as shown by L. Burzio (1991); i.e. he says that "the absence of explicit

definitions for each of the three categories of anaphors, pronouns and R-expressions" (Burzio, 1991 : 82) is a conceptual difficulty in the Classical Binding Theory, apart from the empirical difficulties of these Binding Conditions, which are indicated by the fact that "in many languages one finds locally bound pronouns - an apparent falsification" of Principle (B) of the Binding Conditions and "in some languages one finds bound - R - expressions - an apparent falsification" (Burzio, 1991 : 82) of principle (C) of the Binding Conditions. He proposes "replacing principles A, B and C with a hierarchy by which anaphors, pronouns and R-expressions are selected" (1991 : 104) with "the unavailability of the anaphors licens(ing) locally bound pronouns, (and) the unavailability of pronouns licens(ing) R-expressions" (1991 : 93). He also defines the anaphor as having "a single principle of 'morphological' or perhaps 'referential' economy". (1991 : 104).

It is in accordance with Burzio's (1991) definition of an anaphor and Chomsky's (1982a) intuitions of it that the reflexive in CA cannot be regarded as an anaphor by form. It neither has morphological nor referential economy; i.e. it is a pronominal in form that functions as a reflexive due to the unavailability of anaphors by form in CA. However, these pronominals in CA are not locally bound; i.e. they do not violate Principle (B) of the Binding Conditions because they are nonetheless free in their governing category which has been redefined to account for such pronominals. Therefore, they are "pronominal form(s) in the wider sense of the term and" can appear with an adjunct or modifier that has the meaning of 'self' or 'same' or for possessive 'own'. (Burzio, 1991 : 99) but their modifier is a nominal head. It is in this respect that even the internal structure of this

complex reflexive anaphor in CA is different from its English counterpart; i.e. "himself", in which the element "self" coheres to Burzio's definition of an anaphor and "whence the anaphor character of the whole" (Burzio, 1991 : 97).

Along the same lines proposed by Burzio (1991) as regards Italian, A. Zribi - Hertz (1993) points out the anaphor - like properties of "own" in English in the sense that it cannot be used exophorically, (i.e. ostensively) as regular pronouns, as shown by sentences (4) and (5):

(4)

a) * *Take his own coat !*

b) *Take him, not her.*

(5)

a) *Now that he is retired, John's time is his own.*

? b) *Now that he is retired, John's time is his.*

She describes "own", in sentence 5 (a), as an adjoined predicate that is thematically selective and structurally optional. It is adjoined to a genitive DP whenever a possessive θ role is focalized. These sentences demonstrate that "some expressions intuitively perceived as emphatic turn out to exhibit anaphor - like properties" (Zribi-Hertz, 1993 : 5). However, she goes on to say that these "emphatic possessive pronouns of the form "y's own" (in English) are not directly constrained by the structural restrictions such as Principle (A): they are not anaphors, as meant by the Binding theory, but focalized pronominals". (Zribi-Hertz, 1993:48). Similarly, the string "lui-même", in French, is a "focalized pronoun, i.e. made emphatic by the adjunction of the element *même* ('same', 'even') to the non-clitic pronoun

lui" (1993 : 13) and that both "lui" and "lui-même" are in free variation in sentence 6 (b):

(6)

a) *Pierre_x est jaloux de lui_y * (même_x)*

*Pierre is jealous of him_y * himself_x*

b) *Pierre_x a honte de lui_y (même_x)*

Pierre is ashamed of him/himself.

Whereas sentence (6 (a) does not violate the Binding Conditions, sentence (6 (b) does. But Zribi Hertz (1993) says that the coreference in 6 (b) does not follow from the Binding Conditions, which is meant as a structural, meaning - independent constraint. Rather, it is dependent on argument structure, i.e. depending on the semantic content of the predicate. The semantic content of the expression "être jaloux" imposes that two arguments be disjoint in reference; whereas that of "avoir honte de" does not. This is because of a semantic constraint found in French that states that "two arguments within a theta domain may be requested to be disjoint in reference, if unmarked". (Zribi-Hertz, 1993 : 22).

Zribi-Hertz (1993) goes on to say that this "raises a few questions regarding Principle (A) itself and the definition of 'anaphors'. Various expressions commonly treated as anaphors, among which English self pronouns which first motivated principle (A), are morphologically focalized pronominals". (1993 : 48). Furthermore, she goes on to claim that "the fact that English self pronouns may violate locality when used logophorically (cf. Zribi-Hertz, 1989) could very well originate in that they are primarily focalized pronominals, whose anaphor - like properties are but

grammaticalized effects of their focalized character" (1993 : 48).

This study of CA has not only verified Zribi-Hertz' (1993) speculations as regards Principle (A) of the Binding Conditions but has also shown that indeed some of the reflexive anaphors in CA are focalized pronominals in a sense and that these pronominals are also emphatic reflexives. But naturally the type of focalization demonstrated in CA is different from those shown above. However, CA is different in that there are also some other reflexive forms that are full pronominal forms with no focalization and that the disjoint reference constraint of its pronominals is a structural, meaning - independent one.

Due to such empirical and conceptual difficulties in the Classical Binding Theory of Chomsky (1982a) and (1986a), T. Reinhart and E. Reuland (1993) propose to reformulate Principles (A) and (B) of the Binding Theory, as in (7):

(7)

(A) A Reflexive - marked syntactic predicate is reflexive.

(B) A Reflexive semantic predicate is reflexive marked:

Their Binding Conditions are dependent on the distinction between syntactic and semantic predicates. They say that in the languages of the world there are intrinsic and extrinsic reflexive markings. Intrinsic reflexive markings take place in the lexicon and pertain to the θ grid of the predicate, absorbing one of the θ roles. When a transitive predicate is not intrinsically reflexive, it may be extrinsically reflexive marked if one of its arguments is reflexive marked. If the predicate is a syntactic predicate in the sense of a Complete Functional Complex (CFC) of Chomsky (1986a), which is a

projection at which all grammatical functions with the head of the predicate and an external argument are syntactically realized, then it subsumes to Principle (A) of the Reinhart and Reuland (1993). In English, the syntactic predicate is one with aV head since it obligatorily requires a subject. As for the P and N predicate heads in English, these simply form semantic predicates since they may not have subjects. This predicate distinction accounts for sentences (8) (a) + (b):

(8)

a) *Max saw a snake near him:*

b) *Max spoke to him*

As both "Max" and "him" in sentences 8 (b) are coarguments, there must be disjoint reference. But as "Max" and "him" in sentence 8 (a) are not coarguments, they may be coreferential, with "near him" forming a semantic predicate. As both pronominals and SE anaphors "fail to reflexive mark a predicate" (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993 : 692), they subsume to Principle (B) of their Binding Conditions, with pronominals requiring additional account from Chain Theory. Principle (B) is actually a condition on semantic reflexivization, allowing the anaphor to choose any potential antecedent regardless of c-command and governing category since there is no syntactic category. Accordingly, it also helps to account for the SELF anaphors used logophorically (cf Zribi - Hertz, 1989).

On the other hand, Principle (A) is the checking of syntactic markings of reflexivization where only SELF anaphors function as reflexivizers and where SE pronominal anaphors and pronominals are excluded. In general, their "Binding theory is sensitive only to the reflexive function ... all aspects

of local anaphora, which have to do with R-property, fall under Chain Theory". (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993 : 715). Accordingly, it does not "make use of hierarchical relations of c-command or hierarchies of thematic or grammatical functions". (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993; 681). The c-command hierarchy is dealt with by the Chain Condition since the A-chain is a "subset of the Binding domain of the NP" and "an A-chain domain of a given NP is a sequence of coindexation that is headed by an A position and satisfies antecedent government, i.e. each coindexed link, except for the head, is c-commanded (i.e. m-commanded) by another link, and there is no barrier between any of the two links" (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993 : 693).

In terms of the internal structure of both SE anaphors and pronominals, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) classify them together as they are determiners; as shown in (9).

(9)

$$\begin{array}{cc} [pro/SE \ [self]] & \\ NP & N' \end{array}$$

However, they differ in that the former is not an argument whereas the latter is. The former also lacks the full specification of ϕ features that pronominals have. On the other hand, both SELF and SE are similar in that they are both referentially defective NPs, requiring binding as a procedure of assigning content for their referential interpretation. But they differ in that it is only SELF that is an argument and that is the only reflexivizer.

The predicate distinction proposed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993) has been made use of in the analysis of CA reflexives. The governing category in which the reflexive pronominals are free is similar to their "semantic

predicate" with some modifications. However, in order to account for the syntactic behaviour of the CA reflexive pronominals, Principles (A) and (B) of the Binding Theory have had to be reformulated, with the latter principle accounting for the disjoint reference of these pronominals and the former principle accounting for their coreference. These two Principles naturally alleviate the need for Chain Theory to account for the syntactic behaviour of pronominals in CA; but the configurational superiority of the antecedent is maintained throughout. It is in this respect that the Binding Conditions assumed here for CA reflexives also differ from the reformulation of Principle A proposed by C-Pollard and Ivan A. Sag (1992), which is dependent on relational rather than configurational superiority. In terms of the internal structure of the reflexives in CA, they are pronominals with the full specification of ϕ features and with an argument structure despite the fact that they function as reflexivizers. Accordingly, they have their own Binding Conditions since they differ from both the SELF and the SE anaphors, as described by Reinhart and Reuland (1993).

1.2. Description of the Data:

Assuming that the construction /nafs + PI/ is the reflexive anaphor in CA, sentence (10) (i) would subsume to Principle (A) of the Classical Binding Conditions of Chomsky (1982a); sentence 10 (ii) would subsume to Principle (B) and sentence (10) (iii) would subsume to Principle (C):-

(10)

i) /huwwa ? aal ? inn - i - l walad šaaf nafs u /

FP¹ 3rd per. masc. sing. + PI² 3rd per masc. sing + Perfective verb form + complementizer / ? inn/ + epenthetic vowel + Definite article + noun + PI 3rd per masc. sing + Perfective verb + nafs + PI 3rd per mas. sing.

He said that the boy saw himself

ii) /huwwa ? aal ? inn - i - l walad šaaf u /

FP 3rd per masc. sing. + PI 3rd per masc. sing + Perfective verb form + complementizer / ? inn/ + epenthetic vowel + definite article + noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. Perf. verb + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He said that the boy saw him.

iii) /huwwa ? aal ? inn - i - l walad šaaf irraagil /

FP 3rd per. masc. sing + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Comp/, ? inn/ + epenthetic vowel + Def. art. + noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Def. art. + noun.

He said that the boy saw the man.

Sentence (10) (i) demonstrates that the anaphor /nafs + PI / is bound in its governing category, which is the embedded clause; and that it has the nominal /?ilwalad/ as its antecedent. Sentence (10) (ii) demonstrates that the pronominal which is the object of the verb /šaaf/ is free in its governing category, which is the embedded clause. Being a pronominal, it may have an

1. A free pronominal or full pronoun.

2. Bound pronominal forms or pronominal inflections.

antecedent outside its governing category, i.e. the pronominal /huwwa/, the subject of the matrix clause. Sentence 10 (iii) demonstrates that the R-expression /ʔirraagil/ is free; i.e. it is not bound to the subject of the embedded clause or to that of the matrix clause.

This analysis is built on the assumption that the reflexive anaphor in CA is /nafs + PI/. On the analogy of the English reflexive pronominal "himself", it could be said that the reflexive anaphor in CA is composed of the specifier /nafs/, which has the meaning of "self" or "same", and a pronominal suffix. The anaphoric structure of /nafs + PI/ may be assumed if /nafs/ coheres with Burzio's (1991) definition of an anaphor just as "self" in "himself" does, i.e. the anaphoric status of the whole complex structure would be, because /nafs/ coheres with his definition of an anaphor as involving morphological and referential economy. Therefore, according to this analysis, Principle (A) of the Classical Binding Theory would be maintained, as shown by sentence 10 (i). Principle (B) of the Binding Theory would also be maintained as shown by sentence 10 (ii); and Principle (C), as shown by sentence 10 (iii).

That indeed the forms carried by /nafs/ in the construction /nafs + PI/ are pronominal forms may be demonstrated by looking at the syntactic behaviour of these forms. Apart from being free in their governing category when they are not introduced by /nafs/, as in sentence (10) (ii), these forms also show the following syntactic behaviour, as shown in sentences (11).

(11)

i) ʔahmad gih ---> raahu yi?abl (u)

Ahmad + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perfective verb. P1 3rd per. pl. + Perfective verb + P1 3rd per. pl. + Imperfective verb + P1 3rd per. masc. sing.

Ahmad came. They went to meet him.

ii) ʔahmad biyaʔtagid ?inn-i-xaalid biyikrah (u) /

Ahmad + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + Progressive aspect + Imperfective verb + Comp. + epenthetic vowel + Khalid + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + Progressive aspect + Imperfective verb + P1 3rd per. masc. sing.

Ahmad believes that Khalid hates him.

iii) ʔaxu ?ahmad biyikrah (u) /

Noun + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + noun + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + Progressive aspect + Imperfective verb + P1 3rd per. masc. sing.

Ahmad's brother hates him.

iv) /ʔahmad_x biyikrah_y /

Noun + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + Progressive aspect + Imperfective verb + P1 3rd per. masc. sing.

Ahmad hates him.

v) /ʔaxu ?ahmad_x biyikrah_y /

Noun + P1 3rd per. masc. sing. + Progressive aspect + Imperfective verb + nafs + P1 3rd per. masc. sing.

brother
Ahmad's hates himself

Sentence (11) (i) demonstrates that such forms may have antecedents across sentences. They may also have antecedents outside their governing category, as shown by (11) (ii) and (10) (ii). They may also have non-commanding antecedents, as shown by sentence 11 (iii). Sentences 11 (iv) and (v) show that the object pronominals of these sentences must be of disjoint reference to their subjects. Therefore, these forms do demonstrate the syntactic behaviour of pronominals.

On the other hand, if we would replace the pronominals of sentences 11 (iv) and (v) with the /nafs + PI/ construction, we would lose this disjoint reference, as shown by sentences (12).

(12)

i) / ʔaxu ʔahmad biyikrah nafs (u) /

Noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. +
Progressive aspect + Imperfective verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc.
sing.

Ahmad's brother hates himself.



ii) / ʔahmad biyikrah nafs (u) /

Noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Progressive aspect + Imperfective
verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.
Ahmad hates himself.

In sentences (12) the pronominals carried by /nafs/ are coreferential with their c-commanding antecedents. Accordingly, it would seem to be the case that /nafs + PI/ is the reflexive anaphor in CA.



However, this conclusion faces several difficulties. The first difficulty is that there is reflexive coreference in sentences in which there is no /nafs/. The second difficulty is that the construction /nafs + PI/ may be generated as the subject of matrix clauses, i.e. /nafs + PI/ may be generated a nominal in either the subject or the object positions of the sentence. This is demonstrated by sentences (13), (14), (15) and (16).

(13)

i) /Katab  i - bint  fillista/



PI 1st per sing. + Perfective verb + epenthetic vowel + noun + PI 1st per sing. + Prep/fii/ "in" + definite article + noun + PI fem. sing.

I wrote my daughter on the list.

ii) Katab  binti  /



PI 1st pl + Perf. verb. + noun + PI 1st per pl + in the list.

We wrote our daughter .

iii) /  bint  /

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb. + noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He wrote his daughter.

iv) /Katab  binta  /

PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI.

PI 3rd per. fem. sing.

She wrote her daughter.

v) /katab (u) bintu (hum) /

PI 3rd per pl. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 3rd per. pl.

They wrote their daughter

vi) /katab (t) bint (ik) /

PI 2nd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 2nd per. masc. sing.

You (masc. sing.) wrote your daughter

vii) /katab (ti) bint (ik) /

PI 2nd per. fem. sing. + Perf. + noun + PI 2nd per. fem. sing.

You (fem. sing.) wrote your daughter

viii) /katab (tu) bintu (ku(m)) /

PI 2nd per. pl. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 2nd per. pl.

You (pl.) wrote your daughter .

14)

i) /katab (t) -i- nafs (i) /

PI 1st per. sing. + Perf. verb + epenthetic vowel + nafs + PI 1st per. sing.

I wrote myself

ii) katab (na) nafs (na) /

PI 1st per. pl. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 1st per. pl.

We wrote ourselves.

iii) / katab nafs u /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He wrote himself

iv) katab it nafsa ha /

PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. fem. sing.

She wrote herself

v) /katab u nafsu hum /

PI 3rd per pl. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. pl.

They wrote themselves

vi) katab i - i - nafs ak /

PI 2nd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + epenthetic vowel + nafs + PI
2nd per. masc. sing.

You (masc. sing.) wrote yourself.

vii) katab i nafs ik /

PI 2nd per. fem. sing. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 2nd per. fem. sing.

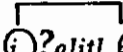
You (fem. sing.) wrote yourself

viii) /katab tu nafsu ku(m) /

PI 2nd per. pl. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 2nd per. pl.

You (pl.) wrote yourselves.


(15)

i) /nafs  i?alitl i kida/

nafs + PI 1st per sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + Prep.

/li/ + PI 1st per sing. + demonstrative pronominal.


Myself told me so.

ii) /nafsi  na?alitli na kida/

nafs + PI 1st per. pl. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb +

Prep /li/ + PI 1st per pl + Dem. pronominal.

Ourselves told us so.

iii) /nafs  u?alitl u kida/

nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb +

Prep / li/ + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Dem. pronominal.

His self told him so.

iv) /nafsa  ha?alitla ha kida/

nafs + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + PI 3rd per. fem. sig. + Perf. verb +

Prep/li/ + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Dem. pronominal.

Herself told her so.

v) /nafsu  hum?alitlu hum kida/

nafs + PI 3rd per. pl. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + Prep/li/ +

PI 3rd per. pl. + Dem. pronominal.

Theirselves told them so.

vi) nafs (nk)? alitl (nk) kida/

nafs + PI 2nd per. masc. sing. + PI 3rd. fem. sing. + Perf. verb +
Prep/li/ + PI 2nd per. masc. sing. + Dem. Pron.

Yourself told you so.

vii) nafs (ik)? alitl (ik) kida/

nafs + PI 2nd per. fem. sing. + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Perf. verb +
/Prep/li/ + PI 2nd per fem. sing. + Dem. Pron.

Yourself told you so.

viii) /nafs (ku(m)) ? alitlu (ku(m)) kida/

nafs + PI 2nd per pl. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf verb + Prep/li/ + PI
2nd per. pl. + Dem. Pron.

Yourselves told you so.

16)

i) / bint (i)? alitl (i) kida/

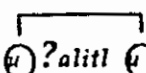
Noun + PI 1st per. sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf verb + Prep/li/
+ PI 1st per. sing. + Dem. Pron.

My daughter told me so.

ii) /binti (na)? alitli (na) kida/

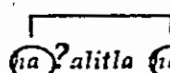
Noun + PI 1st per pl. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf verb + Prep
/li/ + PI 1st per + Dem. Pron.

Our daughter told us so.

iii) bint  *u*?alitl *u* kida/

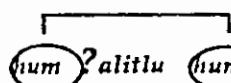
Noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb
+ /Prep/li/ + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Dem. Pron.

His daughter told him so.

iv) /binta  *ia*?alitla *ia* kida/


Noun + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb
+ /Prep/li/ + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Dem. Pron.

Her daughter told her so.

v) /bintu  *ium*?alitlu *ium* kida/

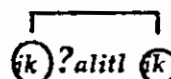
Noun + PI 3rd per. pl + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + /Prep/li/ +
PI 3rd per. pl + Dem. Pron.

Their daughter told them so.

vi) /bint  *ak*?alitl *ak* kida/

Noun + PI 2nd per. masc. sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb
+ /Prep/li/ + PI 2nd per. masc. sing. + Dem. Pron.

Your daughter told you so.

vii) /bint  *ik*?alitl *ik* kida/

Noun + PI 2nd per. fem. sing. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb
+ /Prep/li/ + PI 2nd per. fem. sing. + Dem. Pron.

Your daughter told you so.

viii) bintu ku(m) alitlu ku(m) kida/

Noun + PI 2nd per. pl. + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + /Prep/li/
+ i.e. "for" + PI 2nd per. pl. + Dem. Pron.

Your daughter told you so.

Sentences (13) demonstrate that the nominal construct /bint + PI/ may be generated as the object and its pronominal inflection being coreferential with the subject pronominal of the sentence. The same can be said of /nafs + PI/ in sentences (14). It is to be noted that in sentences (13) (iii) - (v), we may have accidental disjoint reference between the pronominal inflection carried by the noun and its subject. We are, however, not dealing with this interpretation here. We are only dealing with the interpretation with coreference so as to demonstrate the syntactic similarity between the two nominal constructs /bint + PI/ and /nafs + PI/.

These very same nominal constructs are generated as the subjects of the sentences in (15) and (16). If we maintain that /nafs + PI/ is the reflexive anaphor in CA, then we have to assume that sentences (15) are a violation of Principle (A) of the Binding Conditions, since we have an anaphor with a non-c-commanding antecedent. This antecedent is the pronominal inflection carried by the preposition /li/. Moreover, this assumption would face difficulty in accounting for the reflexivity found in sentence (13) and (16), in which we do not have /nafs/. And as we wish to avoid the "homonymy solution", we wish to maintain that we have the same pronominal forms in both nominal constructs i.e. /bint + PI/ and nafs + PI/. That these indeed are pronominal forms in CA syntax may be demonstrated

by looking at its pronominal system and then we will look at the nominal characteristics of /nafs/, verifying the fact that these two constructs are indeed similar in structure.

There are basically two different sets of pronominal forms in CA. The first set is that of free or full pronominal forms and these are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the subject position of nominal predicates,¹ where they are obligatorily required. They may also be optionally generated as the subject or object of verbal predicates but in such cases they assume an emphatic function, in accordance with Chomsky's (1982a) assumption. The second set is subdivided into several subsets of bound pronominal forms : a set carried by the verb forms to designate subject pronominals and they differ in form with the perfective and the imperfective verb forms; a set carried by the verb forms to designate object pronominal forms, and a set carried by nominal forms in general to designate possessive pronominal forms. This very same set carried by the nominal forms is also carried by prepositions in CA for the designation of complement pronominals.

The pronominal forms associated with the verbal, nominal and prepositional forms in general for the designation of complement pronominals, may be demonstrated by the sentences (17) - (19), in which it is shown that the two sets of pronominal forms only differ in the form of the first person singular pronominal. The set carried by the verbal forms takes

1. For a discussion of the distinction between verbal and nominal predicates in Arabic see H. GHALY (1988) and (1994a). It is assumed that a nominal predicate is one with a noun, an adjective, an active participle, or a passive participle head; all categories of which are nominals in the syntax of Arabic whether CA or Dariġeyya. Arabic Nominal predicates form nominal sentences in which there is no VP category at any of their syntactic representations.

the form of /ni/suffix; whereas the set carried by the nominal and prepositional forms takes the /i/ suffix.

(17)

i) /katab (ii) fillista/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 1st per sing + prep/fi/ + nominal + PI fem. sing.

He wrote me(in) the list

ii) /katab (ia) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 1st per pl.

He wrote us.

ii) /katab (u) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 1st per masc. sing.

He wrote him.

iv) /katab (ia) /

PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per fem. sing.

He wrote her.

v) /katab (hum) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per pl.

He wrote them

vi) /katab (k) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 2nd per masc. sing.

He wrote you (masc. sing.)

vii) /katab (k) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 2nd per fem. sing.

He wrote you (fem. sing.)

viii) /katab (k u m) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 2nd per pl.

He wrote you (pl.)

18)

i) /ʔaaf kitaab (i) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 1st per sing.

He saw my book

ii) /ʔaaf kitaab (i a) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 1st per. pl.

He saw our book

iii) /ʔaaf kitaab (u) /

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Noun + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He saw his book

iv) /ʃaaf kitaːb (ha) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 3rd per fem. sing.

He saw her book.

v) /ʃaaf kitaːb (hum) /

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Noun + PI 3rd per. pl.

He saw their book

vi) /ʃaaf kitaab (ak) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 2nd per masc. sing.

He saw your book.

vii) /ʃaaf kitaab (ik) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 2nd per fem sing.

He saw your book

viii) /ʃaaf kitaːb (u(m)) /

PI 2nd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + noun + PI 2nd per pl.

He saw your book

19)

i) /rah ʔandilfeyyal /

PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + Prep/ ʔand/ + PI 1st per sing. +
prep./fi/ + PI 1st per sing.

It went to my place or in me.

ii) /rah ʔandinal/fiinal/

PI 3rd per masc sing. + Perf. verb + Prep./ʔand/or/fii/+PI 1st per pl.

It went to our place/to/in us.

iii) /rah ʔandu /fiih/

PI 3rd per masc sing. + Perf. verb + Prep./ʔand/or/fii/+PI 3rd per masc. sing.

It went to his place/in him.

iv) /rah ʔandahal/fiihal/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep/ʔand/or/fii/+PI 3rd per fem sing.

It went to her place/in her.

v) /rah ʔand^uhum/fiihum/

PI 3rd per masc. sing.+Perf. verb + prep/ʔand/or/fii/ + PI 3rd per pl.

It went to their place/in them.

vi) /rah ʔandak/fiik/

Pi 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep/ʔand/or/fii/+ PI 3rd per masc. sing.

It went to your place/in you

vii) /rah ʔandik/fiiki/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep/ʔand/or/fii/+ PI 2nd per
fem. sing.

It went to your place/in you.

viii) /rah ʔand^ukum/ fiiku(m)/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep/ʔand/or/fii/+ PI 2nd per pl.

It went to your place/in you.

As can be seen from sentences (17) - (19), these two sets are identical in form except for the form of the first person singular pronominal. It is in this respect that the pronominal forms associated with the verbal forms, i.e. with the (ni) suffix, have object pronominals with Accusative case. As for the pronominals associated with the nominals and the preposition forms, these have the /i/ suffix and have complement pronominals that have Genitive case.

It is also to be noted that the preposition/fii/has the form/feyya/for first person singular pronominal inflection, whereas the preposition/ʔand/has the /i/suffix. This difference in the form of the

former preposition is due to the gemination of the /i/ vowel, i.e. /fii + /i/ producing /feyya/.¹

1. It is also to be noted that the association of the prepositions with the set of pronominal suffixes associated with the nominal forms in general is not found in all dialects of Arabic. For example, in Darʿeyya Arabic, the preposition /fii/ is associated with the verbal pronominal suffixes as indicated by the /-ni/ suffix. This Arabic dialect is spoken by very old people living in the original hometown of the Saudi Royal Family. It is very near Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia. For a detailed discussion of the temporals of this dialect, See H. Ghaly (1988). This is demonstrated by the following sentences

i) /raah fiini/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep /fii/ + PI 1st per sing.

It went in me.

ii) /raah fiinal/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep /fii/ + PI 1st per pl.

It went in us.

iii) /raah fihi/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep + PI 3rd per masc. sing.

It went in him.

iv) /raah fiihal/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep + PI 3rd per fem. sing.

It went in her.

v) /raah fiikum/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep + PI 3rd per pl.

It went in them

vi) /raah fiik/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep + PI 2nd per masc. sing.

It went in you

vii) /raah fiic/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep + PI 2nd per fem. sing.

It went in you

viii) /raah fiiku(m)/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep + PI 2nd per pl.

It went in you

As can be seen from the above sentences the preposition /fii/ in Darʿeyya Arabic is associated with the set of pronominal suffixes carried by the verbal forms, as indicated by the /ni/ suffix for first person singular pronominal.

Also in Darʿeyya Arabic, a very active phonological rule is the palatalization of the /k/ when followed by a high front vowel, i.e. the /ki/ suffix in CA and Classical Arabic in /fiiki/ 'in you (2nd pers. fem. sing.) becomes /fiic/ in Darʿeyya Arabic. /c/ is a voiceless palatal affricate.

Therefore, in CA we have two different sets of bound pronominal forms or suffixes: a set characterized by the /i/ suffix for first person singular and that is carried by all nominals and prepositions; and a set characterized by the /ni/ suffix for first person singular and that is only carried by verbal forms for the generation of object pronominals.

The other set of bound pronominal forms or affixes can also be further subdivided into two other subsets for the generation of subject pronominals of verbal predicates. They are two different sets, as there are different pronominal inflections for the generation of subject pronominals, depending on whether the verb form is either perfective or imperfective. In addition to these subject pronominal inflections carried by the perfective and the imperfective verb form, CA also has the set of full or free pronominal forms that may be optionally generated with verbal predicates, emphasizing the subject pronominals. These sets of pronominals associated with the verbal predicate and generating subject pronominals may be demonstrated by sentences (20) and (21):

(20) Sentences with Perfective verbs:

i) /*(huwwa) katab /*

FP 3rd per masc. sing. + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb.

He has written

ii) /*(heyya) katabit/*

(FP 3rd per. form sing.) + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb.

She has written

iii) /(*humma*) *katabu* /

(FP 3rd per pl) + PI 3rd per pl + Perf. verb.

They have written

iv) /(*?ana*) *katabt* /

(FP 1st per sing) + PI 1st per sing. + Perf. verb.

I have written

v) /(*?ihna*) *katabna* /

(FP 1st per pl) + PI 1st per pl. + Perf. verb.

We have written

vi) /(*?inta*) *katabt* /

(FP 2nd per masc. sing) + PI 2nd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb.

You (masc. sing.) have written

vii) /(*?inti*) *katabti* /

(FP 2nd per fem. sing) + PI 2nd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb.

You (fem.. sing.) have written

viii) /(*?intu*) *katabtu* /

(FP 2nd per pl.) + PI 2nd per pl. + Perf. verb.

You (pl.) have written

21) Sentences with Imperfective Verbs

i) / (huwwa) yiktib/

(FP 3rd per masc. sing.) + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Imperfective verb.

He writes.

ii) / (heyya) tiktib/

(FP 3rd per fem. sing.) + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Imperfective verb.

She writes.

iii) / (humma) yiktibu/

(FP 3rd per pl.) + PI 3rd per pl. + Imperfective verb.

They write.

iv) / (?ana) ?aktib/

(FP 1st per sing.) + PI 1st per sing. + Imperfective verb.

I write.

v) / (?ihna) niktib /

(FP 1st per pl.) + PI 1st per pl. + Imperfective verb.

We write.

vi) / (?inta) tiktib/

(FP 2nd per masc. sing.) + PI 2nd per masc. sing. + Imperfective verb.

You (masc. sing.) write.

vii) /(?inti) tiktibil/

(FP 2nd per fem. sing.) + PI 2nd per fem. sing. + Imperfective verb.

You (fem. sing.) write .

viii) / (?intu) tiktibu(m)/

(FP 2nd per pl.) + PI 2nd per pl. + Imperfective verb.

You (pl.) write .

As shown by sentences (20), the subject pronominal inflections for the perfective verb forms are suffixes; but those for the imperfective verb forms are both suffixes and prefixes, as shown by sentences (21). It is the presence of these subject pronominal inflections on the head of the verbal predicate (i.e. the verb form) that allows the full pronominal forms to be optional, as indicated in sentences (20) and (21). This is not the case with the nominal predicates, which are predicates with noun, adjective, active participle, or passive participle heads.¹ Being nominal categories, they only inflect for gender and number; i.e. they do not have subject pronominal inflections, as the verbal predicate does. This is demonstrated by sentences (22) - (25).

(22)

i) /huwwa duktoor /

FP 3rd per masc. sing. + nominal + PI masc. sing.

He is a doctor

1. For a discussion of the nominal characteristics of the adjectives, active participles and passive participles in two of the Arabic dialects see H. Ghaly (1988 and 1994a).

ii) /*heyya duktoora* /

FP 3rd per fem. sing. + nominal + PI fem. sing.

She is a doctor

iii) /*humma dakatra* /

FP 3rd per pl. + nominal + PI pl.

They are doctors

iv) / *?ana duktoor* /

FP 1st per sing. + nominal + PI masc. sing.

I am a doctor

(23)

i) / *huwwa gamiil* /

FP 3rd per masc. sing. + adjective + PI masc. sing.

He is handsome

ii) / *heyya gamiila* /

FP 3rd per fem. sing. + adjective + PI fem. sing.

She is beautiful

iii) / *humma gumaal* /

FP 3rd per pl + adjective + PI pl

They are handsome

iv) /?ana gamiil/

FP 1st per sing. + adj + PI masc. sing.

I am handsome

24)

i) /huwwa Yaatiir/

FP 3rd per masc. sing + active participle + PI masc. sing.

He is clever

ii) /heyya Yaatr/

FP 3rd per fem. sing + active participle + PI fem. sing.

She is clever

iii) /humma { Yaatriin¹ } /
 { suttaar }

FP 3rd per pl + active participle + PI pl.

They are clever

iv) /?ana Yaatiir /

FP 1st per sing. + active participle + PI masc. sing.

I am clever

25)

i) /huwwa maktuub fillista/

FP 3rd per masc. sing. + passive participle + PI masc. sing. + Prep.

/fi/ + Def. art. + nominal + PI fem. sing.

He is written on the list.

1. It has two plural forms: the masculine plural form, which takes the suffix /iin/; or the broken plural form, which involves intervocalic changes and the gemination of the second radical. For further discussion of the phonology of Egyptian Arabic, see T.F. Mitchell (1956).

ii) */heyya maktuuba /*

FP 3rd per fem. sing. + passive participle + PI fem. sing.

She is written.

iii) */humma maktubiin/*

FP 3rd per pl + passive participle + PI pl.

They are written.

iv) */?ana maktuub/*

FP 1st per sing + passive participle + PI masc sing.

I am written

Sentences (22) - (25) demonstrate that with the nominal predicate, the full pronominal forms are obligatory. This is because the head of the nominal predicate only inflects for gender and number; i.e. it does not carry pronominal inflections, as the verbal predicate does. It is in this respect that the subject full pronominal forms with the verbal predicate assume an emphatic function; and when focalizing complement pronominals, they function as emphatic reflexives also, as to be shown. As a matter of fact, any of the pronominals whether bound or full may assume reflexivity once they are free in their minimal domain. Furthermore, in accordance with Chomsky (1982b), all of the above pronominal inflections (i.e. the bound pronominal forms) are to be regarded as heavy inflections for the local determination of a small pro. Therefore, it can be said that CA has a set of full pronominal forms and a set of heavy inflections that locally determine for the generation of a small pro whether as subject or

non-subject. These heavy inflections comprise pronominal inflections with aspect and case for subject generation and pronominal inflections with case for non subject generation. The subject small pro has Nominative case, the object small pro has Accusative case, and the complement small pro of nominal or preposition heads has Genitive case.

Accordingly, the internal structure of the construction /nafs + PI/ is that of /nafs/ and pronominal inflections for the generation of a Genitive small pro. As for the structure of /nafs/ itself, it is that of a nominal. This is demonstrated by the fact that it may be generated as the subject or the object, as shown earlier. This may also be demonstrated by its capacity to be introduced by a definite article, by a preposition and to inflect for gender and number, as nominals do. This is demonstrated by sentences, (26).

26)

i) /ʔinnafs-i- ʔammaara bissuu ʔ /

Definite article + nafs + epenthetic vowel + adjective + PI fem. sing
+ prep/bi/+ definite article + nominal + PI masc. sing.

The self dictates evil.

ii) /rabbina yisaffi - nnifu (u)s/

Nominal + PI 1st per pl + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + imperfective verb
+ causative marker + definite article + nominal + PI pl.

May god reconcile people.

iii) /?inna fseyya ta⁹baana /

Def. art. + nafs + PI fem. sing. + adjective + PI fem. sing.

The self is unwell i.e. I'm unhappy

iv) /nafsi mimawwa⁹a ⁹alayya /

nafs + PI 1st per sing + passive nominal¹ + P.I. fem. sing. + prep.

/⁹ala / + PI 1st per sing.

Myself is upset i.e. upset stomach.

In sentences (26) (i) and (ii) /nafs/ has a definite article; and in (ii) it also inflects for number. In sentence (26) (iii) it is also introduced by the definite article, inflects for gender and assumes the singular form. In sentence (26) (iv) it inflects for definiteness by means of the pronominal inflections associated with the nominal forms. Therefore, its syntactic behaviour is that of a noun and in turn may be generated as the subject or the object NP. When it carries pronominal inflection, it has to have a coreferential pronominal in the same sentence, as in no. (26) (iv); i.e. there is reflexive coreference between the pronominal inflection carried by /nafs/ and that carried by the preposition /⁹ala / "on".

In summation, it can be said that the construct /nafs + PI/ cannot be regarded as the reflexive anaphor in CA as it does not have the structure of an anaphor as defined by Burzio (1991) nor as the intuitions of Chomsky (1982a). It only has the internal structure of a nominal with heavy inflection for the local determination of a complement small pro with Genitive case. Furthermore, reflexivity can sometimes be expressed by

1. For a discussion of passive nominals in CA see H. GHALY (1994a).

nominals other than the/nafs/nominal. These are nominals that are semantically related to/nafs/; and may be demonstrated by sentences (27), in which we have the nominals/rooh/"soul" and/haal/"condition":

27)

i) /ʔilibt ʔaʕaalih firoohil/

PI 1st per sing + Perf. verb + PI 1st per sing + Imperfect verb + prep

/ fii/ + rooh + PI 1st per sing

I'm tired of reconciling with myself.

ii) /ma tiʕuʔ { roohak
haalak
nafsak } /

Negator + PI 2nd per masc sing. + Imperf. verb +
nominals/rooh/or/haal/or/nafs/ + PI 2nd per masc sing.

Look at yourself!

iii) /(?ana)⁽¹⁾ ʕa ʔbaʕn ʔalayya { haali
roohi
nafsi }

(FP 1st per sing) + Adj. + PI masc sing + Prep/ʔala/ + PI 1st per
sing. + /haal/, /rooh/or/nafs/ + PI 1st per sing.

I'm sorry for myself

1. The free pronominal with this nominal predicate is optional because its pronominal features may be recovered from the pronominal features carried by the preposition /ʔala/

Sentences (27) (ii) and (iii) demonstrate that /nafs/ is in free variation with the semantically related nominals /rooh/ and /haal/¹ and that they all function as reflexivizers. In all cases the genitive small pro locally determined by each of these nominals is coreferential with an antecedent in the same sentence. In sentence (27) (ii), it is coreferential with its subject pronominal. In sentence (27) (iii), it is coreferential first with the complement small pro locally determined by the preposition /qala/ and then with the subject of the sentence i.e. the free pronominal or full pronoun.

Sentences (27) (i) also demonstrate that /rooh/ + PI/ functions as a reflexivizer in CA; but it is not in free variation with /nafs/ or /haal/ in this particular sentence. This is because this sentence is associated with a very popular song sung by a very popular Egyptian singer that it has become fashionable all over the Arab world.

The nominal status of /nafs/ may be also demonstrated by its similarity of syntactic behaviour to its nominal derivatives /nifs/ "desire" and /nafas/ "breath", as distinct from the syntactic behaviour of its verbal

2. The nominal status of these nominals i.e. /rooh/ and /haal/ may be demonstrated by the following sentences:

- i) /Sūti t haal illi wīgillu/
PI 2nd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + Definite article + /haal/ + relative clause. Did you see the condition that he has reached?
- ii) /biyāṭallaḡ firrooh/
PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Imperfective verb + Progressive aspect marker + passive marker + causative marker + Prep/fii/+Definite article i.e. /ʔil/ assimilated to be /ʔir/ + rooh.
He is getting his soul out. He's dying
As with all other nominals both /haal/ and /rooh/ may inflect for definiteness by means of a definite article. They may also inflect for number as shown by the following sentences:
- iii) /ʔaafit ʔarwaah/
PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Perf. verb + rooh + PI pl.
She saw souls, i.e. ghosts
- iv) /ʔahwaal innaas biṭiṭayyar/
/haal/ + PI pl + Def. art. + naas + Imperfective verb + Progressive aspect + Passive marker + causative marker.
The conditions of people are changed.

derivative /ʔitnaffis/ "He breathed". This is demonstrated by sentences (28), (29) and (30).

28)

i) /katamtinafasi/

epenthetic vowel /a/

PI 1st per sing + perf verb + nafas + PI 1st per sing.

I held my breath.

ii) /ʔinnafas - i - ttawiil matluub/

Def art + nafas + Def. art + adj + passive participle + PI masc. sing.

Long breath is required .

iii) /katam innaʔfas/

PI 3rd per sing masc + perf verb + Def art + nafas

He withheld (his) breath.

29)

i) /ʔilwaahid maluuʃ nifs - i - lilkaʔlaam/

Def art + one + negator + Prep / li/ "for" + PI 3rd per masc.

Sing. + negator + /nifs/+ epenthetic vowel + Prep /li/ +

Def. art. + noun

One does not desire to speak .

ii) /nifsi miʃ maftuuha/

nifs + PI 1st per sing + negator + passive participle + PI fem sing.

My appetite is not open .

iii) /ʔinnifs-i-mis^v maftuuh¹/

Def. art + nifs + negator + passive participle + PI fem. sing.

The appetite is not open.

30)

i) /ʔit^h naffis bisur^hʔal/

PI 3rd per masc sing. + perf verb + passive marker + causative marker + prep /bi/ + nominal + PI fem marker

He breathed quickly.

ii) /yitnaffis bisur^hʔal/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + imperfective verb + passive marker + causative marker + prep /bi/ + nominal + PI fem. marker

He breathes quickly.

The nominal derivatives /nifs/ and /nafas/ behave like /nafs/ in that they may inflect for definiteness by means of a definite article and may carry one of the pronominal inflections associated with the nominal set. On the other hand, /nafs/ does not carry perfective or imperfective inflections nor does it carry causative inflection.⁽²⁾ It is also not associated with the verbal inflection for passivity, as its verbal derivative does.

Therefore, the construction /nafs + PI / is a nominal construct with the nominal /nafs/ as its head carrying heavy inflections for the local

1. This sentence is accepted by some informants of CA.

2. The causative affix in CA is the gemination of the second radical. See H. GHALY (1994b) for further discussion of Causativization in CA.

determination of a Genitive small pro. Its syntactic behaviour is similar to any nominal in CA. However, it must be noted that the /nafs/ discussed above is different from the modifier /nafs/ in sentences (31):

31)

i) /wi?i9 min nafs-i- l9imaara/

PI 3rd per masc sing. + perf. verb + prep / min / + nafs +

epenthetic vowel + def art + nominal

He fell from the same building.

ii) /ʒuft-i- nafs-i- rraagil/

PI 1st per sing. + perf verb + epenthetic vowel + nafs + epenthetic vowel + def art + nominal.

I saw the same man.

Whereas/nafs/is the modifier in sentences (31), it is the head nominal in the above examples. Its status as a head is verified by the fact that it can carry heavy inflections for the local determination of a small pro that it properly governs in accordance with Chomsky (1982b) and as applied to Dar9eyya Arabic (see earlier). It is this head/nafs/that may be introduced by a definite article, a preposition, and inflect for gender and number, as shown above and not the modifier/nafs/in (31).

Having shown the nominal status of /nafs/ let us now look at some of the reflexive coreference in CA that is headed by a preposition that has heavy inflections for the local determination of a Genitive small pro. This not only demonstrates that reflexivity in CA is conveyed by means of

pronominals but also by means of pronominals that may be headed by categories other than nominals such as prepositions. This provides further evidence that the nominal construct/nafs + PI / is not the reflexive anaphor in CA. In sentences (32) we have accidental coreference; but in (33), we have obligatory coreference:

32)

a) i) / $\text{_xkatabu}_y \text{ ma}^{\text{a}}\text{aa}^{\text{h}}_{\text{x}} /$

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per masc.

sing. + prep / ma^a / + PI 3rd per masc sing.

He wrote him with him.

ii) / $\text{_{x}\text{ša}^{\text{a}}\text{yalu}_y \text{ biih}_x /}$

PI 3rd masc. sing + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per masc. sing. +

prep /bi:/ + PI 3rd per masc. sing.

He occupied him with himself.

iii) / $\text{_xwarratu}_y \text{ ma}^{\text{a}}\text{aa}^{\text{h}}_{\text{x}} /$

PI 3rd per masc. sing + Perf. verb + causative marker + PI 3rd per masc. sing + prep / ma^a / + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He got him into trouble with him.

33)

b) i) / $\text{_xkatabtu}_y \text{ ma}^{\text{a}}\text{aaya}_x /$

PI 1st per sing + Perf verb + PI 3rd per sing masc + prep / ma^a / +

PI/1st per sing.

I wrote him with me

ii) / $\underset{x}{\text{ʒaʔaltu}}$ $\underset{y}{\text{beyya}}$ $\underset{x}{\text{}}$ /

PI 1st per sing + perf verb + PI 3rd per masc. sing. prep. /bi/ + PI 1st per sing.

I occupied him with myself.

iii) / $\underset{x}{\text{warrattu}}$ $\underset{y}{\text{ma}^{\text{a}}\text{aaya}}$ $\underset{x}{\text{}}$ /

PI 1st per sing + Perf. verb + causative marker + PI 3rd pre masc. sing. prep. /ma^a/ + PI 1st per sing.

I got him into trouble with me.

As can be seen from sentences (32), the pronominal locally determined by the preposition may be coreferential with the subject of the sentence; but the object pronominal must be of disjoint reference with its subject. Similarly, the pronominal locally determined by the preposition in sentences 33 must be coreferential with the subject of these sentences; but the object pronominal must be of disjoint reference.

Therefore, the above CA data makes one but agree with Zribi-Hertz and Adopo (1992) that the question is not of the anaphor/pronominal distinction or that of obligatory/ accidental coreference. It is basically that of determining ^{may} when the pronominals must be of disjoint reference and when they be coreferential. That there is definitely a specific domain in which the pronominals must be of disjoint reference can be further demonstrated by sentences (34)

34)

i) /katabu^u_xh^y/

Perf verb + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + PI 3rd per masc. sing.

He wrote him.

ii) /katabu^u_xhum^y/

Perf verb + PI 3rd per pl. + PI 3rd per pl.

They wrote them.

iii) /katab^u_xif^yha^u/

PI 2nd per fem. sing + perf verb + PI 3rd per fem. sing.

She wrote her.

Sentences (34) are well formed if the subject and the object pronominals are of disjoint reference, i.e. when the verbal predicate in CA carries pronominal inflections for subject and object small pros, they must be of disjoint reference. This is in keeping with principle (B) of the Classical Binding Theory of Chomsky (1982a). Consequently, the sentences of (35) are ill-formed because we have obligatory coreference between the object and the subject pronominals:

35)

* i) /katab_xni_x/

Perf verb + PI 1st per sing. + PI 1st per sing.

I wrote me.

ii) / katab na_x na_x /

Perf verb + PI 1st per pl. + PI 1st per pl

We wrote us.

Therefore, reflexivity in CA is conveyed by pronominals and the question is; in which domain are these pronominals required to be of disjoint reference and in which other domains are they allowed to be coreferential? These very same principles are not only at work in sentences with simple structures but also in sentences with complex structures with embedded clauses. In other words, it is also found in long distance reflexivization as demonstrated in sentences (36):

36)

i) / ?iftakar ?inn (u) ?aal ?inn (u) katab bint (u) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + perf verb + complementizer + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf verb + complementizer + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + PI 3rd per masc sing. + Perf. verb + nominal + PI 3rd per masc. sing.

He remembered or thought that he said that he wrote his daughter.

ii) / ?iftakart ?inn (i) ?ult ?inn (i) katabti bint (i) /

PI 1st per sing + perf verb + Comp. + PI 1st per sing + PI 1st per sing + perf verb + Comp + PI 1st per sing + PI 1st per sing. + Perf verb + epenthetic vowel + nominal + PI 1st per sing.

I remembered or thought that I said that I wrote my daughter.

iii) /ʔiftakar ʔinn (u) ʔaaf (u) wi huwwa maʔʔil/

PI 3rd per masc sing + perf. verb + Comp + PI 3rd per masc. sing + PI
3rd per masc. sing + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per masc. sing + conjunction
+ FP 3rd per masc. sing + adj. + PI masc. sing

He remembered that he saw him and he was walking.

iv) /ʔiftakar ʔinn (u) katab (u) ʔalaʔan huwwa yistaahil/

PI 3rd per masc sing + perf verb + Comp + PI 3rd per masc sing +
PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per masc sing +
subordinator + FP 3rd per masc sing + PI 3rd per masc sing + imperf
verb.

He remembered that he wrote him because he deserves.

As shown by sentence (36) (i), the Genitive pronominal headed by the nominal/bint/is coreferential with its subject in the embedded clause, i.e. the /katab/ clause. It is also coreferential with the pronominal headed by the Comp of that embedded clause. Then it is coreferential with the subject of the next embedded clause i.e. with the /ʔaal/ clause, which in turn is coreferential with its Comp pronominal and finally there is coreference with the subject of the matrix clause. Therefore, even long distance reflexivity in CA is indicated by means of coreferential pronominals.

Similarly, we have long distance reflexivity expressed by pronominal forms in sentence (36) (ii); but whereas in sentence (36) (i) we may have an accidental disjoint reference interpretation, in sentence (36) (ii) we have obligatory coreference. This long distance reflexivity is also found in

sentences (36) (iii) and (iv) but there must also be disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominals of the predicates/šaaʔ/and/katab/. The subject of the embedded clause, with the full pronominal form, may be coreferential with either the subject or the object in sentence (36) (iii) but there must always be disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominal of the/šaaʔ/predicate. Similarly, there must always be disjoint reference between the subject and object pronominals of the/katab/predicate in sentence (36) (iv); but the full pronominal in this case is only coreferential with the object of its higher clause because of a semantic restriction imposed on the /yistaahil/predicate.

Having looked at long distance reflexivity without the/nafs/nominal, let us now look at sentences with the/nafs/nominal:

37)

i) / ʔiftakar ʔinn (u) ʔaal ʔinn (u) biyʔkallim nafs (u) /

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + perf. verb + Comp + PI 3rd per masc. sing +

PI 3rd per masc. sing + Perf. verb + Comp + PI 3rd per masc. sing +

PI 3rd per masc. sing + Imperf. verb+ progressive aspect + causative marker. + nafs + PI 3rd per masc. sing.

He remembered or thought that he said that he is talking to himself.

ii) /ʔiftakartʔinn (i) ʔult ʔinn (i) bakallim nafs (i) /

PI 1st per sing. + perf. verb + Comp + PI 1st per sing +

PI 1st per sing + Perf verb + Comp. + PI 1st per sing + PI 1st per sing +

Imperf. verb + progressive aspect + causative marker + nafs + PI 1st

per sing.

I remembered or thought that I said that I am talking to myself.

As can be seen from sentences (37) (i) and (ii), we have the same syntactic behaviour as with sentences (36); i.e. there is long distance reflexivity. The only difference is that we have obligatory coreference in (37) (i), whereas we may have accidental disjoint reference in sentence (36) (i). But in both sentences (36) (ii) and (37) (ii), we have obligatory coreference.

There are also other types of /nafs + PI/ reflexivity: those introduced by the preposition /bi/ "by", and those introduced by the preposition /min/ "from" and may be demonstrated by sentences (38).

38)

i) /ʔaal ʔinnu kallimha binafsu/

PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + Comp + PI 3rd per masc. sing + PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + causative marker + PI 3rd per fem sing + prep / bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd masc sing.

He said that he himself talked to her.

ii) /ʔaal ʔinnu kallimu binafsu /

PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf verb + Comp. + PI 3rd per masc sing + PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per masc sing + prep /bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per masc sing

He said that he himself talked to him.

iii) /ʔaʔllu ʔinnu kallimu binafsu /

PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf verb + prep /li/" for " + PI 3rd per masc sing + Comp + PI 3rd per masc sing + PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + causative marker + PI 3rd per masc sing + prep / bi/ + /nafs + PI 3rd per masc sing.

He told him that he himself talked to him .

iv) /ʔaʔllu ʔinnu miʃi min nafsul

PI 3rd per masc. sing + Perf. verb + prep/li/"for" + PI 3rd per masc sing + Comp + PI 3rd per masc. sing + PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf verb + prep /min/'from" + nafs + PI 3rd per masc. sing.

He said that he left by himself (i.e. of his own accord).

39)

i) /ʔaal ʔinnu laʔmha . heyyal

PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + Comp + PI 3rd per masc. sing + PI 3rd per masc sing + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + FP 3rd per. fem. sing.

He said that he blamed her herself.

ii) /ʔaal ʔinnu laamu ----> huwwal

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + + Perf verb + Comp. + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + PI 3rd per. masc. sing + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per masc. sing. + FP 3rd per. masc. sing.

He said that he blamed him himself.

As can be seen from sentence (39), the full pronominal form adjacent to the object pronominal with a small juncture intervening conveys emphatic reflexivity with object orientation. Again, these examples also demonstrate that there is always disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominals of the /laam/ predicate.

Before attempting to analyze the CA data in accordance with the framework of generative grammar, let us first look further at the syntactic behaviour of the /nafs + PI/ construct.

(40)

i) /ʔatal nafsul/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Pref. verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He killed himself.

ii) /laam nafsul/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He blamed himself.

iii) /hara ʔ nafsul/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He burned himself.

iv) /biy^hhibb - i - nafsul/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Imperf. verb + progressive aspect + epenthetic vowel + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He loves himself.

(41)

i) / ?atalha binafsu/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Prep /bi/
+ nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He killed her himself.

ii) /la^hmha binafsu/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd fem. sing. + Prep / bi/ +
nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He himself blamed her .

iii) /hara?^u binafsu/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.+ prep
/bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He himself burned him .

(42)

i) / ?atal min nafsul

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Prep./min/ + nafs + PI 3rd per.
masc. sing.

He himself killed, i.e. of his own accord.

ii) /rigi⁹ min nafsul

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + prep/min/ + nafs + PI 3rd per.
masc. sing.

He returned by himself, i.e. of his own accord .

As can be seen from sentences (40), the nominal construct /nafs + PI/ is the direct object of the transitive verb, and being the recipient of the action, it can be said that it has the θ role PATIENT. Whereas reflexives of the type represented by sentences (40) may be regarded as the unmarked reflexives, those of sentences (41) represent the marked reflexives. They are marked in the sense that they are emphatic reflexives; accordingly the /nafs + PI/ nominal construct in these sentences is assumed to have the θ role INSTRUMENT, rather than PATIENT. Sentences (41) also demonstrate the subject orientation of the /nafs + PI/ nominal construct; i.e. it can never be coreferential with the object pronominal of the verbal predicate. It is only coreferential with its subject. It is in this respect that it differs from sentences (39), in which we have emphatic reflexives with object orientation.

Sentences (42) also demonstrate emphatic reflexives in CA but with intransitive verbs, in which case we have the preposition /min/. Likewise, the /nafs + PI/ nominal construction in sentences (42) has the θ role INSTRUMENT and also has subject orientation.

The same syntactic behaviour is also found with derived verb forms, and not just with simple verbs, as shown in sentences (40) - (42). In sentences (43), we have derived verbal forms of the causativized form, in which we have the gemination of the second radical and which involves a process of transitivization for the productive causatives.¹ In sentences (44), we have passivized² derived verbal forms of the causative structure, which involves a process of intransitivization in the sense that the syntactic subject is no longer the external argument CAUSER.

1. For a discussion of causativization in CA see H. GHALY (1994b).

2. For a discussion of passivity in CA see H. GHALY (1994a).

(43)

i) /*kallim nafsul*/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + causative marker + nafs + PI 3rd
per. masc. sing.

He talked to himself.

ii) /*ʔallim nafsul*/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + causative marker + nafs + PI 3rd
per. masc. sing.

He taught himself.

iii) /*ʔaʃʃa nafsul*/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb. + causative marker + nafs + PI 3rd
per. masc. sing.

He dined himself.

iv) /*ʔallim^{ha} binafsul*/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb. + causative marker + PI 3rd per
fem. sing + prep /bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He himself marked or taught her.

v) /*kallimu binafsul*/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + causative marker + PI 3rd per.
masc. sing. + prep /bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He himself spoke to him.

44)

i) /ʔit 9allim min nafsul/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + causative marker + passive marker + prep/min/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He was educated on his own.

iii) /ʔitkallim min nafsul/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + causative marker + passive marker + prep. / min/ nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He has been made to talk by himself, i.e. no one forced him to.

iv) /biyitmarran min nafsul/

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Imperfective verb + progressive aspect marker + passive marker + causative marker + prep/min/nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He is causing himself to have been trained by himself.

Sentences (43) (i) - (iii) have derived verbal transitive verbs with /nafs + PI/ as the direct object; therefore, it has the θ role PATIENT. Sentences (43) (iv) + (v), have derived verbal transitive verbs with / nafs+ PI/ as the complement of the preposition /bi/; therefore, it has the θ role Instrument as they are emphatic reflexives. Sentences (44) have passivized derived verbal forms becoming intransitive verbs; therefore, the /nafs + PI/ nominal construct also has the θ role INSTRUMENT. It is an emphatic reflexive introduced by the preposition/min/. In general, the reflexivity in all of the (43) and the (44) sentences is subject - oriented because we have the nominal construct /nafs + PI/.

Finally, let us look at the reflexive logophoric anaphor in CA. In sentences (45) and (46), we have a free translation¹ of some of the texts in Zribi-Hertz (1989) which have been given as examples of logophoric anaphors in English.

(45)

/hind sim⁹it min ?ahmad ?innu fiih kitaab /

Hind + PI 3rd per fem. sing. + Perf. verb + Prep./min./ + Ahmad + Comp. + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + prep/fii/ + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + nominal + PI masc. sing.

/?itkatab minnu ---> huwwa wa xadiiga biyitwazza⁹/

PI 3rd per masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Passive markers + Prep./min./ + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + juncture + FP 3rd per. masc. sing. + Conjunction + Khadiga + PI 3rd masc. sing. + Imperfective verb + progressive aspect marker + passive markers + causative marker.

Hind heard from Ahmad that there is a book that has been written by Khadiga and himself that is being circulated.

46)

/xadiiga mis⁹arfa tifrāh walla tiz⁹al⁹ala/

Khadiga + negator + adjective + PI fem. sing. + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Imperfect verb + conjunction + negator + prep/⁹ala /

1. These are "free" translations in the sense that they are not literal translations. See Zribi-Hertz (1989 : 704 and 707)

/wiṣulhum ---> heyya la tinsagim ma⁹a wala waahid/

Nominal + PI masc. sing. + PI 3rd per. pl. + FP 3rd per. fem. sing. + negator + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Imperfective verb + passive marker + prep/ ma⁹a/ + conjunction + negator + numeral "one".

/minhum ---> walaakin w^uḡuudhum miṣ mizawwid/

Prep/min/+ PI 3rd per. pl. + conjunction + coordinator + nominal + PI masc. sing. + PI 3rd per. pl. + negator + passive nominal + causative marker.¹

/ṣu⁹uubit ? illeelah di ---> ḡala - l ? a ? a¹ su⁹u bitha/

Nominal + PI fem. sing. + Def. art + nominal + PI fem. sing. + Demonstrative pronominal + PI fem. sing. + Prep/ḡala / + def. art. + nominal + PI masc. sing. + nominal + PI fem. sing. + PI 3rd per. fem. sing.

/ miṣ⁹hatu⁹a⁹ ḡaleeha ---> heyya ---> liwahdahal/

Negator + future marker + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + Imperf. verb + prep. /ḡala/ + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. + FP 3rd per. fem. sing. + prep. /li/ + numeral "one" + PI fem. sing. + PI 3rd per. fem. sing.

Khadiga does not know whether to be happy or unhappy for their arrival. She does not get along with anyone of them. But their presence has

not increased the difficulty of this night. At least, its difficulty has not fallen on herself alone.

In the English versions, the indicated pronominals in the CA texts are the reflexive forms "himself" and "herself" respectively. In CA, on the other hand, they can only be full pronominal forms. In both texts i.e. (45) and (46), we have full pronominal forms emphatically reflexivizing non subject small pros that are locally determined by prepositions. In (45), this PP with the preposition /min/ is the Agentive phrase¹ of the passive verb /ʔitkatab/; and it has the θ role INSTRUMENT; but in (46) the preposition /qala/ forms part of a two part verbal with the verb /tuʔaʔ/ with this non-subject small pro locally determined by the preposition; in turn, it has the θ role PATIENT. In both cases, the full pronominal forms focalize the non-subject small pros in the sense of Zribi-Hertz (1993); i.e. the full pronominal form in (45) focalizes the PATIENT small pro; and in (46) it focalizes the INSTRUMENT small pro. This focalization is indicated by the adjacency requirement of these full pronominal forms to the small pro they emphatically reflexivize. But there is always a juncture intervening between the small pro and the full pronominal that emphatically reflexivizes it.

Having had a look at the syntactic behaviour of the reflexive pronominals in CA, let us now try to incorporate these data into the Binding Theories, proposed by the above mentioned generative grammarians. We shall be basically making use of the predicate distinction proposed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993); i.e., we are proposing that the

1. See H. GHALY (1994a) for a discussion of the fact that passive sentences in CA may have Agentive phrases.

reflexive pronominals in CA are free in their "semantic predicates" in the sense of Reinhart and Reuland (1993); in turn they may have antecedents outside these predicates with no violation of principle (B) of their Binding Theory or the Classical Binding Theory. The notion of a "semantic predicate" as used here is borrowed from Reinhart and Reuland (1993), but it can be further described in this study as a one argument predicate, as distinct from the two argument predicate in which pronominals in CA must be of disjoint reference. As for the notion of a two argument predicate as used here it is also similar to the "syntactic predicate" of Reinhart and Reuland (1993). Accordingly, the reflexive pronominals in CA may be accounted for by the reformulated principles (A) and (B) of the Binding Theory represented in (47):

47)

Principle (A) states that a pronominal must be free in its predicate in the sense of a "semantic predicate" which is a one argument predicate.

Principle (B) states that pronominals must be of disjoint reference in its "syntactic predicate" which is a two argument predicate.

Applying these two principles, we find that they can account for all the above data. In sentence (10) (iii), the embedded clause is a syntactic predicate because it is a two argument predicate; therefore, the object pronominal must be of disjoint reference to its subject i.e. subject small pro and the nominal /?ilwalad/. But it may have an antecedent outside its syntactic predicate, i.e. the subject of the matrix clause. In sentence 10 (i), the presence of the nominal /nafs/ which heads and locally determines for the small pro, creates a semantic predicate with a nominal head; hence the pronominal

may be free in its predicate but may have an antecedent outside that predicate i.e. the subject of the embedded clause. This demonstrates that principle (A) of (47) accounts for the reflexive function of these pronominals; whereas principle (B) accounts for their disjoint reference.

These pronominals also account for sentences (11). Having disjoint reference in the syntactic predicates of 11 (i), these pronominals may have antecedents outside their predicates. Similarly, in sentence 11 (ii) we have two syntactic predicates, in which the pronominals must have disjoint reference but may have antecedents outside their respective syntactic predicates. In sentence 11 (iii), the pronominal must be of disjoint reference to its subject in the same syntactic predicate, which is the c-commanding NP which is composed of both the nominal /?axu/ along with the nominal /?ahmad/. But it may have a non-c-commanding normal as its antecedents i.e. the nominal /?ahmad/. This is why sentences 11 (iv) and (v) are well formed only if there is disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominals.

Principle (A) also accounts for sentences (12). The nominal /nafs/ heads and locally determines for a small pro that is free in its semantic predicate; in turn it may have an antecedent outside its semantic predicate. Similarly, the nominal /bint/ in sentence (13) heads and locally determines for a small pro that is free in its semantic predicate. We also have in sentences (14) the same

syntactic behaviour; i.e. the pronominal headed and locally determined by the nominal/*nafs*/is free in its semantic predicate.

The same syntactic behaviour is also displayed by sentences (15) with a slight difference. In these sentences, we have two semantic predicates in which the pronominals are free and these are: a) one headed by the nominal/*nafs*/; and the b) other headed by the preposition/*li*/. Both heads locally determine for the generation of a small *pro* and each pronominal is free in its respective semantic predicate, allowing it to have an antecedent outside that predicate. Maintaining the c-command requirement, we could regard the pronominal headed by/*nafs*/as the antecedent; but as they are both pronominals in form, the other option is also possible. It is to be noted that sentences (15) would have been problematic had we assumed that /*nafs* + *PI*/ is the reflexive anaphor in CA because we would have had an anaphor with a non-c commanding antecedent, in violation of Principle (A) of the Classical Binding Theory of Chomsky (1982a). Moreover, the analysis maintained here brings out the symmetry between sentences (15) and (16) : in both cases we have pronominals headed by nominals forming semantic predicates in which these pronominals may be free. In both sentences, we also have semantic predicates headed by prepositions forming semantic predicates in which these pronominals may be free.

Principle (B) also accounts for the disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominals of sentences (17) since they form syntactic predicates; and Principle (A) accounts for the coreference in sentence (18) (iii) because the nominal /*kitaab*/ heads and locally determines for the generation of a small *pro* that is free in its semantic predicate. Principle (A)

also accounts for the coreference found in sentences (19) (iii) for the semantic predicates in these sentences are PPS with their prepositions not only heading these pronominals but also locally determining for their generation. So long as all these pronominals are free in their semantic predicates, they may have antecedents outside these predicates.

Both principles also account for the syntactic behaviour of sentences (27). In 27 (i), we have four semantic predicates : two semantic predicates with verbal heads; one semantic predicate with a preposition head, and one semantic predicate with the nominal /rooh/. So long as each pronominal is free in its predicate, it may have an antecedent outside that predicate and coreference is maintained throughout. The same thing is found in sentence 27 (ii). In sentence 27 (iii), we have the same syntactic behaviour with the semantic predicates with any of the nominals /nafs//rooh/ and /haal/ so that their pronominals are free to have the pronominals in the prepositional semantic predicate as their antecedent. In turn, this pronominal is free in its predicate to have the subject of this nominal sentence as its antecedent.

Sentences (32) and (33) provide further examples of semantic predicates that have preposition heads. The pronominals locally determined by these prepositions are free in their semantic predicate i.e. the PPs. Being free, they may have antecedents outside these predicates; i.e. they are coreferential with the subjects of these sentences. On the other hand, the disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominals of the syntactic predicates of these sentences is accounted for by Principle (B). The disjoint reference constraint is also at work in sentences (34) and (35). This is why the latter sentences are ill-formed.

The above discussion has shown that the semantic predicate in CA may have a verbal head, a nominal head or a preposition head. In sentences (36), it is clear that it may also have a complementizer head. For example, sentence 36 (i) has six semantic predicates, in which the pronominals are free; but again coreference is possible outside these predicates. Whereas we may have accidental coreference in sentence 36 (i), we must have obligatory coreference in 36 (ii) and the same analysis is maintained.

Sentence 36 (iii) also demonstrates that both Principles are at work i.e. (A) and (B). Principle (B) requires that the subject and the object pronominals in the only syntactic predicate (i.e. /*kaaf*/) to be of disjoint reference. But all the other pronominals in the sentence are free in their separate semantic predicates : a verbal semantic predicate, i.e. the matrix predicate, a complementizer semantic predicate and an adjectival semantic predicate. It is to be noted that the semantic predicate may also have an adjectival head but it must have a full pronoun as its subject, instead of a small *pro*. This is because nominal predicates do not have inflections that are heavy enough for the local determination of a subject small *pro*.

Both principles are also at work in sentence (36) (iv). Principle (B) accounts for the disjoint reference between the subject and the object pronominals in the syntactic predicate i.e. the /*katab*/ predicate. Principle (A) accounts for the coreference between the pronominals in the different semantic predicates in this sentence. These are four predicates : 1) the verbal matrix predicate; 2) the complementizer predicate, 3) the verbal embedded predicate, and 4) the full pronominal form and its predicate head which is a covert complementizer. In other words, all the semantic predicates have a

small *pro* locally determined by its head except for that with the full pronominal form. It has a complementizer as its head which may be either covert or overt. In this case, it is covert, i.e. it is an empty operator at Comp. This displays the distinction between full pronominal forms in CA and the bound pronominal forms, which locally determine for the generation of a small *pro* that is properly governed, as shown in H. GHALY (1988 and (1994a). The former pronominals are generated in an A' position (i.e. Comp) with an overt or covert complementizer; whereas the latter may be generated in an A- position, unless they are locally determined by an overt complementizer. Accordingly, all the pronominals in the semantic predicates in sentence 36 (iv) are free in their predicates allowing them to have antecedents outside their predicates.

Similarly, Principle (A) accounts for the obligatory coreference that we have in sentence (37) (i), with its six semantic predicates. The same thing is found in sentence (37) (ii), with its six semantic predicates. These sentences also display the subject - orientation of the pronominal headed by the /nafs/ nominal.

Both principles again account for the syntactic behaviour of the pronominals in sentences (38). Principle (B) accounts for the disjoint reference of the pronominals in their syntactic predicate i.e. the /kallim/ predicate in sentences (38) (i), (ii) and (iii) as well as the /ʔaal/ predicate in sentence (38) (iii). Principle (A) accounts for their coreference so long as they are free in their semantic predicates. These two principles apply consistently regardless whether we have marked or unmarked reflexive pronominals.

These principles also account for the syntactic behaviour of the pronominals in sentences (39), with their object oriented emphatic reflexive pronominals. Principle (B) accounts for the disjoint reference of the pronominals in their syntactic predicates; i.e. the /laam/ predicate; and Principle (A) accounts for their coreference so long as they are free in their respective semantic predicates. This also includes the full pronominal forms if we maintain that the full pronominal forms are base generated in Comp. with a complementizer head that may be either covert or overt. The full pronominal forms in sentences (39) are also assumed to have undergone a movement rule lowering them to an adjacent adjunct position to the non-subject small pros that they focalize, making them function as emphatic reflexives for these non subject small pros. In either case (i.e. before and after movement), the full pronominal forms in sentences (39) are also free in their predicates and may have an antecedent outside that predicate. Finally, these very same principles account for the syntactic behaviour of the pronominals in sentences (40) - (46).

Having distinguished between the base generation of small pros and full pronominal forms in CA, we would like to concentrate now on how these full pronominal forms are generated. It is to be noted that the juncture intervening between the full pronominal forms and the small pros they focalize in sentences (39) provides evidence that these full pronominal forms are not generated in an A- position. Moreover, the capacity of a verbal predicate in CA to have a subject small pro in addition to either a full pronominal form or a nominal as its subject indicates that the full pronominal form and the nominal must have been base-generated in a

position outside IP; i.e. they are generated in Comp and, following Chomsky's (1989) split of AGR into AGRs and AGRo, it is assumed here that the full pronouns in CA are generated in AGRcP whereas the small pro pronominals headed by verbals, nominals and prepositions are generated in either AGRsP or AGRoP. This difference in base generation is probably the reason why the full pronominal forms in CA always assume an emphatic function. This is in keeping with Chomsky's (1982a) assumption, as stated above. But it differs from his assumption in that these emphatic pronominals are immune to the Classical Binding Conditions. According to the analysis expounded here, they definitely subsume to Principle (B) of the Classical Binding Condition because they can never be bound in their governing categories, i.e. these pronominals are free in their governing categories which have been redefined or reformulated in this study to be semantic predicates which have been defined as one argument predicates.

It is also to be noted that this analysis has also differentiated between subject oriented emphatic reflexives and object-oriented emphatic reflexives. The former is base generated in A position whereas the latter in A' position. The latter involves a kind of focalization as described by Zribi-Hertz (1993). This focalization is also found in the full pronominal forms that remain in their base generated position (i.e. Comp.) and that assume an emphatic but not a reflexive function. It is also found when we have a nominal subject in addition to the subject small pro that is locally determined by the verbal predicate. In both cases, i.e. whether with a full pronominal subject or a

nominal subject¹, the emphatic roles of these NPs with regard to the subject small pro of verbal predicates can not be denied and this is reflected by the juncture that intervenes between the subject small pro and the full pronominal or nominal that focalizes it.

That we do need to assume that the full pronominal forms are generated in Comp. may be further demonstrated by sentences (48):

(48)

i) /fiih kitaab huwwa ---> katabu binafsu/

Prep /fii/ + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + nominal + PI masc. sing. + FP 3rd per. masc. sing. + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + prep /bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

There is a book he himself wrote (it.)

ii) /katabu ---> huwwa binafsu/

PI 3rd masc. sing. + Pref. verb + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + FP 3rd per. masc. sing. + prep /bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing.

He wrote it itself by himself.

Again principles (A) and (B) account for the syntactic behaviour of the pronominals in (48) (i) and (ii). All the pronominals are free in their predicates and in turn may have antecedents outside these predicates and Principle (B) accounts for the disjoint reference in the syntactic predicates i.e. /katabu/ predicate. Sentence (48) (i) has both an emphatic pronominal and

1. See sentences (10), (11) and (21) for examples of sentences with subjects with both small pro and full pronominal forms or nominals.

an emphatic reflexive. The former is the full pronominal that emphasizes the subject small *pro*. It is base generated in the Comp. of the clause with the small *pro* it emphasizes. This is again indicated by the juncture intervening between them. The emphatic reflexive in this sentence is subject oriented; in turn it is a small *pro* locally determined by the nominal /*nafs*/; and accordingly, it is generated in an A position.

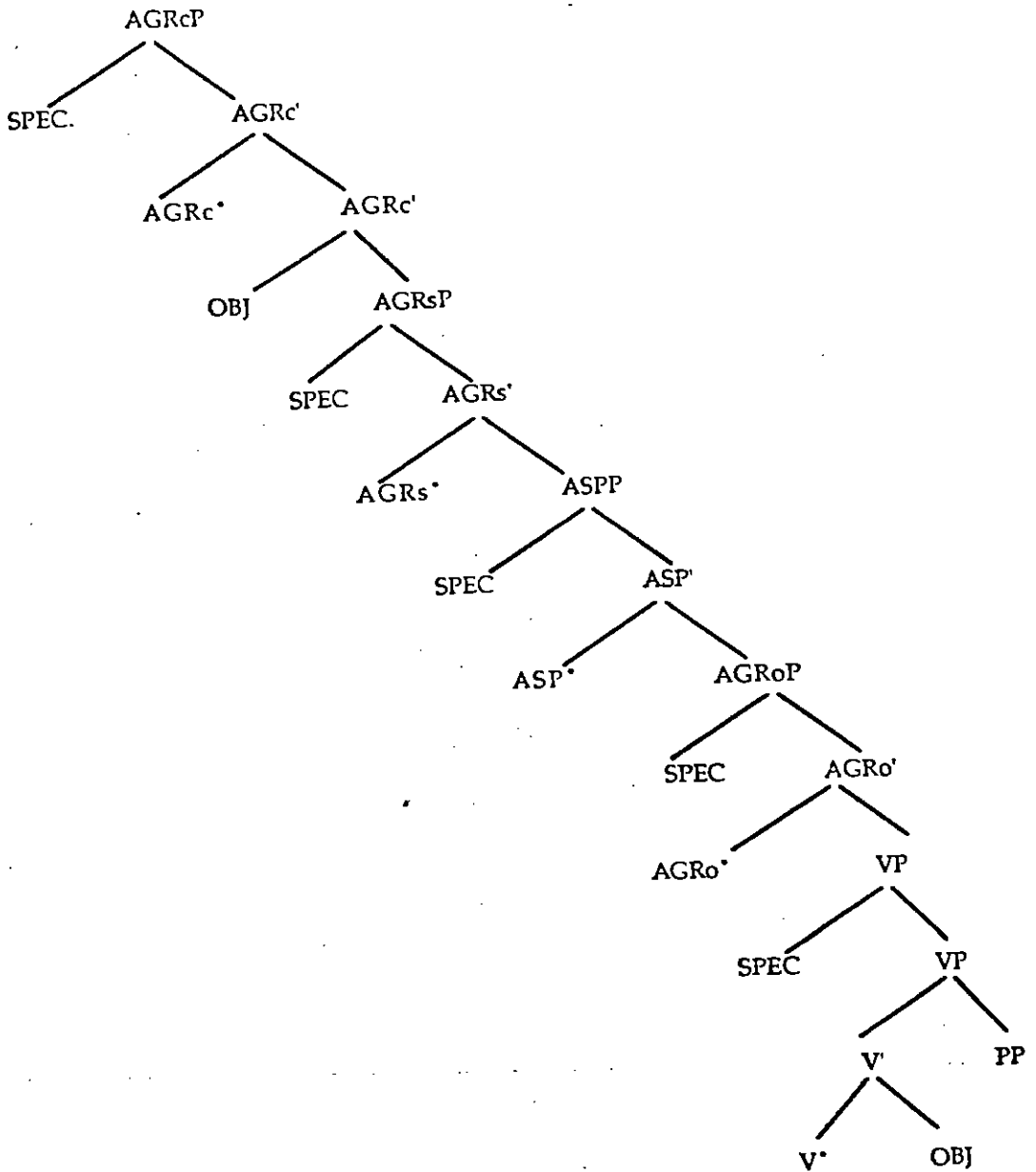
Sentence (48) (ii) also demonstrates that Principles (A) and (B) may account for the syntactic behaviour of these pronominals. It also demonstrates examples of emphatic reflexives that are subject - oriented as well as emphatic reflexives that are object-oriented. The former is generated in an A position; and it is introduced by the nominal /*nafs*/; while the latter is base generated in Comp. It is a full pronominal that focalizes the non subject small *pro*. There is a juncture intervening between both pronominal forms. This indicates that the full pronominal form has undergone a rule of lowering from Comp. to an adjunct position adjacent to the non subject small *pro* it emphatically reflexivizes. It is to be noted that when the full pronominal form is lowered, it leaves behind a variable as its trace.¹

Sentences (48), along with all of the previous sentences with or without overt complementizers, also demonstrate that the CA verbal sentence has a Comp. in which nominals or pronominals may be base generated. A verbal sentence has been defined in H. GHALY (1988) and (1994a) as one that has a

1. For a discussion of the rule of lowering from Comp. to an adjunct position in the Arabic sentence see H. GHALY (1988), in which it is shown that the lowered nominal (or pronominal in this case) leaves behind it a variable which is case marked and θ marked by Comp. i.e. AGRC^o in the terminology of Chomsky (1989). This need for a Comp. in the CA sentence has also been shown in H. GHALY (1994a).

VP category at all its levels of syntactic representations, as distinct from the nominal sentence which has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation. Accordingly, as we have only concentrated here on the reflexive pronominals in verbal sentences, it is assumed that these reflexive pronominals are generated in verbal sentential configurations as shown by D- structure (49).

(49) D - Structure of a Verbal Clause with Reflexive Pronominals in CA



D Structure (49) makes the Presup^Positions in (50)
50)

- i) The verbal sentence in CA has an aspect phrase, instead of a tense phrase. It is because the Arabic verb¹ carries inflections for aspect and only one inflection for time (i.e. the /ha/ future prefix) that the verbal sentence in CA is regarded as having an aspect phrase. As a matter of fact, the verb in Arabic is divided into a perfective form, which indicates the completive aspect, and the imperfective form, which indicates the incompleted aspect, and the time indicator /ha/ is only carried by the imperfective verb form. In accordance with Chomsky (1989), this Aspect phrase in the verbal sentence in CA has been assumed to be a bipartite projection.

- ii) In accordance with Chomsky (1989) the IP of Chomsky (1986) has been split into AGRsP and AGRoP and this is applied to CA, as shown by D-structure (49). Furthermore, it has also an AGRcP for its complementizer phrase. This AGRcP has been shown to play an essential role in the generation of the passive sentence in CA and for the generation of temporal and topical nominals in Darfeyya Arabic. In this study, AGRcP has been shown to have the complementizer /?inn/, which may head full pronominal forms

1. For further discussion of the Arabic verb and its aspect inflections see H. GHALY (1988, 1994a, and 1994b).

and small *pros*, and in the latter case it locally determines for its generation by the heavy inflections it carries. It is the presence of these heavy inflections carried by /ʔinn/ (i.e. AGR) that has enabled us to regard its phrase as a semantic predicate in which its ^{np}pronominals may be free. Accordingly, the verbal clause in CA is assumed to have an AGRcP which may have an overt or a covert complementizer.

iii) D- structure (49) also shows an adjunction of AGRc' so as to account for the generation of sentences like (39) (i), in which we have both a full pronominal form as well as a small *pro* generated in the Comp. of its embedded clause. The subject small *pro* is locally determined by /ʔinn + PI/ and therefore it is generated in the SPEC of AGRcP; but the full pronominal is generated in the OBJ of AGRcP. The disjoint reference between these pronominals is maintained by Principle (B) since we have a syntactic predicate; i.e. it is a syntactic predicate in Comp. And being free in its predicate, the full pronominal form is moved to an adjunct position adjacent to the non subject small *pro* that it emphatically reflexivizes because it is an object - oriented emphatic reflexive.

iv) D-structure (49) also accounts for the subject-oriented emphatic reflexives and the unmarked reflexive forms. When the /nafs + PI/ nominal construct is the unmarked reflexive, it is generated in OBJ of VP; but when it is generated as PP, it is the marked reflexive with subject - orientation. Both reflexives are generated in A positions.

Similarly, the pronominal reflexive simply headed by a preposition that locally determines for its generation may also be generated by this D-structure.

Accordingly, D - structure (49) may generate sentence (51), which has both types of emphatic reflexives and has S-structure (52):

51)

/ʔaal ʔinnu laʔmha - heyya binafsu/

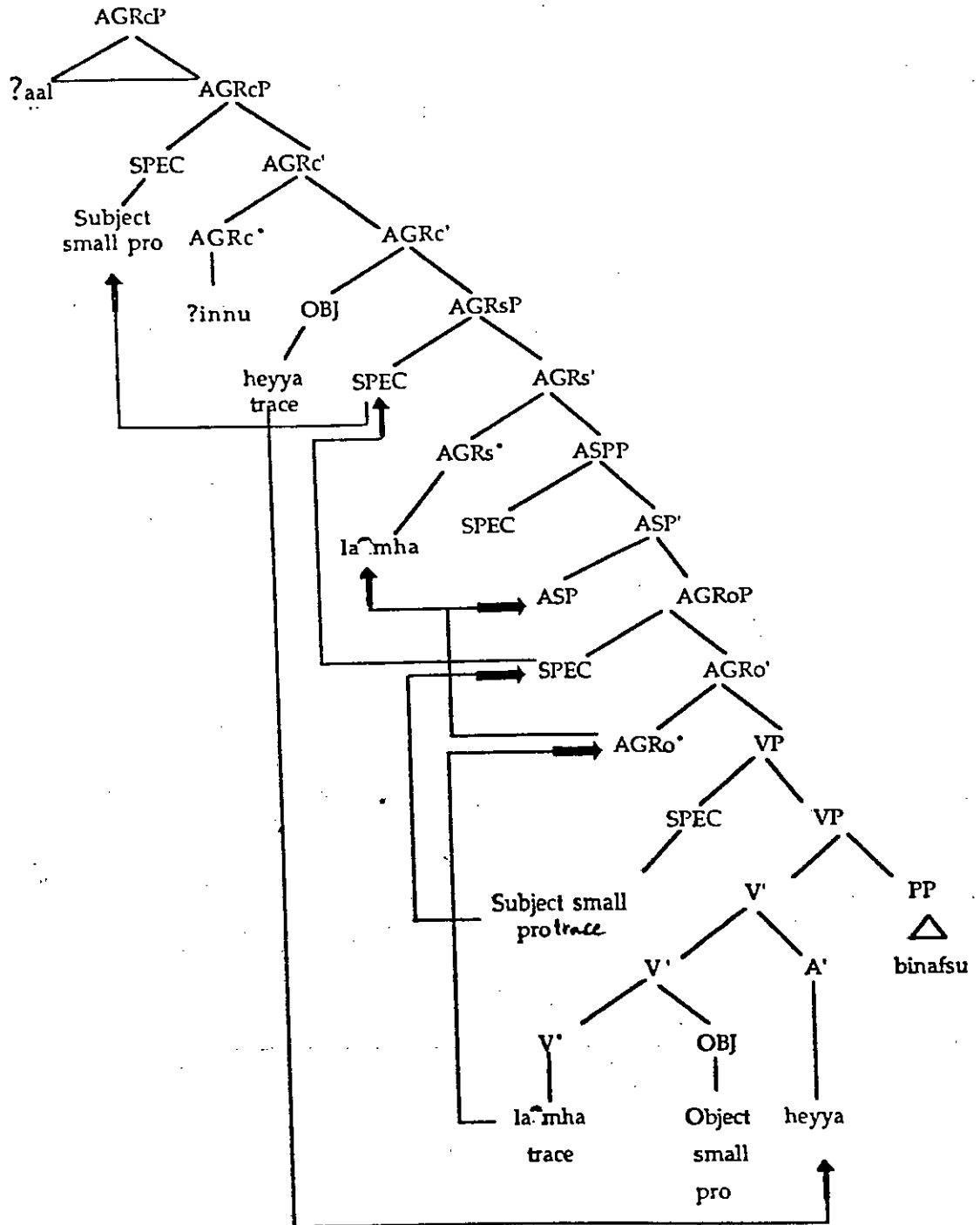
PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + Comp. + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. +

PI 3rd per. masc. sing. + Perf. verb + PI 3rd per. fem. sing. +

FP 3rd per. fem. sing. + prep /bi/ + nafs + PI 3rd per. masc. sing. +

He said that he himself blamed her herself.

(52) S - Structure of Sentence (51)



S structure (52) demonstrates the following in (53):

(53)

- i) AGRcP has both a SPEC and an OBJ. The former is for the generation of the subject small pro locally determined by the complementizer /?innu/. The latter is for the base generation of the emphatic reflexive full pronominal form with object orientation before it is moved to an adjunct position adjacent to the non-subject small pro that it focalizes.
- ii) The emphatic reflexive that is subject- oriented is generated in an A - position that is introduced by the preposition /bi/. It does not have to be adjacent to the pronominal it is coreferential with because it is headed by a lexical category. It is only the Comp. headed emphatic coreferential pronominals that must be adjacent to the pronominals they focalize. It is to be noted that this S-structure could also be for any verbal sentence with the nominal construct /nafs - PI/ as its : OBJ i.e. OBJ of VP. This would be the unmarked reflexive; as shown above. It could also have any nominal in OBJ. with a coreferential pronominal, or a coreferential pronominal generated in its PP of VP. It may also have any coreferential pronominal with a nominal head generated in the SPEC of VP, as shown in sentences (15) and (16). Therefore, an S - structure with the basic structure of (52) with D-structure (49) does seem to account for all the reflexive pronominals shown above.
- iv) S-structure (52) also demonstrates the rule of verb incorporation as the various affixes cannot remain stranded at S-structure in accordance with Chomsky (1989).¹

1. For details of this verb incorporation in CA see H. GHALY (1994a and b).

- v) S-structure (52) also demonstrates the movement of the SPEC of VP to SPEC of AGRcP. It is a movement rule of raising because CA has heavy inflection. This is in accordance with Chomsky (1989) ¹.
- vi) S-structure also demonstrates the movement of the emphatic reflexive with object-orientation from Comp. to the adjacent adjunct position of the object small pro in OBJ of VP. It leaves behind a variable that is both case-marked and θ marked by its governor AGRc'. As the emphatic reflexive with object orientation focalizes the object pronominal, it is also assigned the θ role PATIENT. Analogously, the small pro generated in the SPEC of AGRcP is assigned the θ role AGENT since it is the external argument in this AGRcP. Furthermore, as AGRcP forms a distinct phrase with both an internal and an external argument, the former may be assigned accusative case by AGRc' while the latter is assigned nominative case by AGRc'.

1. For details of this rule in CA also see H. GHALY (1994a and b).

1.3. Conclusion:

The above description of reflexivity in CA points to the fact that there are no reflexive anaphors in CA in the sense defined by Burzio (1991) and in accordance with Chomsky's (1982a) intuitions. It is accordingly proposed that the NP in CA is divided into a) R - expressions b) pronominals, and that the domains in which pronominals assume an endophoric function are different from that in which they assume an exophoric function. The domain of the former is the "semantic predicate" as defined by Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and as further specified here for CA as a "one argument predicate". The domain of the latter is the "syntactic predicate" of Reinhart and Reuland (1993) and which is further described here as a two argument predicate and in which the pronominals must be of disjoint reference. Despite the fact that the predicate distinction has been borrowed from Reinhart and Reuland (1993), yet this predicate distinction has been reversed in the reformulated Binding Conditions proposed here to account for the syntactic behaviour of the CA pronominals; for example, the principle (A) proposed here has the semantic predicate as the domain in which pronominals are free; while the Principle (B) proposed here has the syntactic predicate as the domain in which pronominals are to be of disjoint reference. Therefore, the distinction in CA is not anaphor/pronominal nor is it obligatory/ accidental binding. Rather, it is that of licensing/binding of pronominals, as proposed for Attie pronominals by Zribi-Hertz and C-Adopo (1992). It is also in determining the domains in which the pronominals are licensed and in which they are bound. The pronominals in CA are bound only when they are free in that domain; otherwise they must be of disjoint

reference. However, despite this difference from the Classical Binding theory of Chomsky (1982a) yet there is no violation of Chomsky's (1982a) Principle (B) because the CA pronominals are indeed free in their governing categories; but these governing categories have been redefined here as their "semantic predicates". Therefore, in the analysis of the reflexive pronominals in CA Principle (B) of Chomsky (1982a) is maintained whereas Principle (A) is not needed.

The Binding Conditions assumed in this study are so general that they not only account for the reflexive pronominals but also for the pronominals of disjoint reference. Accordingly, they alleviate the need for Chain Theory to account for the CA pronominals. They also overcome the difficulty of accounting for long distance reflexivity and logophoric anaphors as well as the fact that some reflexive pronominals in CA may be generated as the subject NP of matrix clauses; all of which are apparent violations of Principle (A) of the Classical Binding theory of Chomsky (1982a).

This study of CA has provided further evidence¹ to the assumption that the Arabic sentence in general has not only an AGRsP and AGRoP in accordance with Chomsky (1989) but also an AGRcP. Consequently, not only reflexivity with subject - orientation can be accounted for but also reflexivity with object orientation as well as emphatic pronominals and nominals in verbal sentences. However, further investigation is required to study the syntactic behaviour of pronominals in nominal sentences.

1. See H. GHALY (1988) for such evidence in Dar^Qeyya Arabic and H. GHALY (1994a) and (1994b) in CA.

NOTATION

I) VOCALIC PHONEMES:

- /i/* and */ii/* high front, unrounded short and long vowels respectively.
- /u/* and */uu/* high back, rounded short and long vowels respectively.
- /e/* and */ee/* mid front, unrounded short and long vowels respectively.
- /o/* and */oo/* mid back, rounded short and long vowels respectively.
- /a/* and */aa/* 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 PHONEMES:

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.
- /ʕ/* voiceless uvular stop.

ii) Fricatives :

- /f/* voiceless labiodental fricative.
- /s/* and */z/* voiceless and voiced dental grooved fricatives.
- /ʃ/* and */h/* voiceless palatal and glottal fricatives.
- /x/* and */ħ/* voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives.
- /ħ/* and */ʕ/* voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives.

iii) Emphatics

- /ḥ/* and */ḍ/* voiceless and voiced dental apical emphatic stops.
- /ṣ/* 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 */ġ/* has been regarded as a phoneme in CEA because there are some words in this dialect of Arabic that can only have */ġ/* and not */ʔ/*, for example, */ġaahira/* "Cairo" and */ġurʔaan/* "Quran".

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