A Path Category in educated Cairene Arabic

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Key to the Symbols used to transcribe educated Cairene Arabic(ECA)

1. Consonantal Phonemes:

(i) Stops:

1. /b/ voiced bilabial stop

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

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

4. /ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop

5. /q / voiceless uvular stop

(ii) Fricatives

1. /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative

2. /s/ and /z/ voiceless and voiced dental grooved fricatives

3. /S/ voiceless palatal fricative

4. /h/ voiceless glottal fricative

5. /x/ and / g / voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives

6. /H/ and /9/ voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives

(iii) Emphatics

1. /T/ and /D/ voiceless and voiced dental,apical emphatic stops

2. /S/ dental emphatic fricative

(iv) Resonants

1. /r/ trilled resonant

2. / l / lateral resonant

(v) Nasals

1. /m/ bilabial nasal

2. /n/ dental nasal

(vi) Semi- Vowels

1./w/ velar semi- vowel

2. /y/ palatal semi- vowel

It is to be noted that /q / has been regarded as a phoneme in CA because there are some words that can only have /q / such as / qahira' "Cairo" and / qur?aan/ "Quran"

II 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.

1. Introduction

The participle of educated Cairene Arabic(E CA) in this study has been described as a path category[1] in the sense that it shares characteristics of both nouns and verbs. Its status as a path category in the syntax of ECA may be exemplified by basically concentrating on its passive participial predicate forms in relation to those of the passive verbal predicate,on the one hand, and those of the passive nominal predicate[2],on the other. It is to be shown that the ECA passive participle has both the [+N] feature and the [+V].

In English,Burzio(1981)says that the participle loses its [-N] features and simply maintains its [+V] features. It loses its verbal property because it becomes neutralized,in turn, it becomes incapable of assigning Case. This is known as Burzio's Generalization,which states that " If and only if a verb assigns a θ-role to its subject position will it be able to assign Case to its object".(1981:170).

Similarly, Chomsky (1982a) says that adjectives are [+V] and [+N] categories;nouns are [+N] and [-V] categories;prepositions are [-N] and [-V] categories;and verbs are [+V] and [-N] categories and that it is only the [-N] categories that are case assigners in English;i.e. the V and the P categories. Chomsky(1982a) also describes "What is usually called 'passive'" as having "two crucial properties":

1.1.

" 1. [NP,S] does not receive θ-role

II [NP,VP] does not receive Case within VP,for some choice of NP in VP"(1982a:124) And in describing passivity in Classical Arabic,Chomsky(1982a) says that "quite a different arrangement of data from English syntactic or lexical passives" is found. "Classical Arabic has a lexical passive combined with a Case assignment rule that assigns nominative Case to the first NP following the verb and objective Case to the NP following it " (1982a:120). He goes on to say that its "passive construction is not copular and passive involves no movement"(1982a:133)

In keeping with Chomsky(1982a), passivity in educated Cairene Arabic has been shown in H.Ghaly (1994) to apply to both verbal and nominal constructions even though it represents "quite a different arrangement of data from English syntactic or lexical passives";one of which is that both verbal and nominal passive predicate heads are case assigners in ECA. In this study,it is to be shown that the participial passive predicate head is also a case assigner and that it also shares some of the other characteristics of the verbal and the nominal passive predicates.

The participles in English have also been discussed by T. Hoekstra (1986). He says that "Participles are used in three different types of constructions: a. as prenominal modifiers ... b. in passives ... c. in perfect constuctions."(97). These three different types he illustrates by the examples in 1.2.

1.2.

(i) a written manuscript

(ii) The manuscript was written

(iii) He has written the manuscript.

He goes on to say that the "participle is assigned to three different categories: a. an adjective (cf. Wasow 1977,1980,Bresnan 1980,Williams 1981), b. a passive participle and c. a perfective participle".(97). But Hoekstra (1986) says that Hoekstra(1984) has shown that "there is no motivation to call the participle an adjective" and that the "arguments offered by Wasow and Williams to distinguish between a lexical and a transformational analysis of passives were shown to be either untenable or insufficient or superfluous" (1986:97). Hoekstra (1986) goes on to say that the verb "write" in 1.2.(i) and (ii), has two thematic roles;i.e. θe and θi. The former is assigned to PM;while the latter is assigned to NP object. Then where NPi ends up "depends on its environment" But in 1.2.(ii) ,the "NP ultimately moves to the matrix subject position of the verb be,which takes the passive V-projection as its small clause complement"(97). In both 1.2.(i) and (ii), "PM is an argument,and ,as such,visible to the thematic criterion because it is assigned the Case of the verb."(97) This is why the verb perish differs from that of write since the former is an ergative verb;that is ,it does not have an external role nor does it have Case. The "external argument is grammatically represented in passives ,but not in e.g. middles,which just as much as passives, imply the participation of an agent".(96) It is in this respect that he believes that the difference between perish and write is lexical;but that between write in1.2. (i) and (ii) is syntactic depending on NP movement and it is not a categorial change.

. Therefore, for Hoekstra (1986) "the external argument is grammatically represented in passives" and it "remains part of the thematic grid in passives". And since "by the thematic criterion, it must be borne by a legitimate argument expression"(96),he goes on to say that "the external role and the internal Case are not absorbed as it has been called,but the internal Case is assigned to the external argument". This "argument expression,i.e.the expression which bears the external role and which is assigned Case is participial morphology" , to which he refers to as "PM."(96) Despite the different arrangement of data found in ECA from that of English,yet it is to be shown that the passive participial predicate in ECA does have two θ-roles in accordance with Hoekstra

(1986) and that internal case is assigned to the external argument,which is the passive morphology of the passive participial predicate.

It is also to be shown in this study that "reflexive constructions commonly assume passive function"(R.W. Langacker and P. Munero,1975:789). Langacker and Munero(1975) describe this general tendency in natural languages saying that this is because both reflexive constructions and passive ones "involve non-distinct arguments; of which co-referential and unspecified arguments are special cases"(789). They define the notion of an unspecified argument as being semantically implied by the predicate but happens not to be elaborated by lexical or referential content. This similarity between reflexives and passives may be diagramed as in 1.4.

1.4.
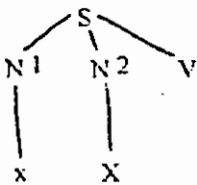
(a) Reflexive clause   (b) Passive clause
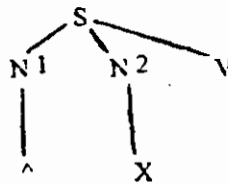
The non-distinctness in 1..4. (a) is by virtue of coreference; while in 1.4. (b) it is by virtue of the unspecified character of the subject of the passive. It is this similarity that allows for the extension of the morpheme of reflexive to both reflexive and passive use. This "can be viewed as a generalization in function in the sense that the morpheme comes to mark,not just a special case of nondistinctness but the general cases"(801). They said that it is a phenomenon that is found in many languages of the world and that a natural explanation for such a phenomenon is in terms of the unspecified subject hypothesis.

This tendency for the extension of the reflexive morpheme to both reflexive and passive use has been demonstrated in Egyptian Arabic by T. F. Mitchell (1956),and in Modern Literary Arabic by D. Cowan (1982). As regards Egyptian Arabic, Mitchell (1956) says that the prefixes /?it/ and /?in/ are both reflexive and passive markers. Cowan (1982) says that /?in/ is both a passive and a reflexive marker for Modern Literary

Arabic. On the other hand ,for Classical Arabic as described by G.Saad(1982) both /?in'/ and /?it/ prefixes are covert reflexive markers .In this study,we hope to provide further demonstration of this general language tendency in the description of the the passive participial predicate in educated Cairene Arabic ;and this in turn represents one of the characteristics of the passive participial predicate which it shares with the passive verbal predicate.

The basic corpus of this study consists of several tapes transcribed of several TV series conducted in educated Cairene Arabic along with the speech of her family's,whose members are representatives of educated Cairene Arabic.It must be noted ,however, that despite the fact that there is "a strong contrast between colloquial forms of Arabic and what is called 'Modern Literary Arabic' or 'Modern Standard Arabic'(MSA)" yet "it is not at all clear that one can make a sharp ,clear,bilinear split between just two registers of Arabic native to Cairo".(J.Gary and S.Gamal-Eldin,1981:1) This is because "there is , clearly a multi-glossic situation in Cairo where a vareity of registers of Arabic may be employed by the same speaker depending on such factors as the topic ,the situation,the listener,and the speaker himself."(J.Gary and S.Gamal-Eldin,1981:1) Nonetheless,extreme effort has been exerted to be very selective so as to include in her corpus only samples of educated Cairene Arabic-as much as possible.

2. Description of the ECA Passive Participial Predicates in relation to the Passive Nominal

Predicates and the Passive Verbal Predicates

In the description of the passive participles of ECA ,we have made use of D. Cowan's (1982) description of the passive participle in Modern Literary Arabic as it is applicable to ECA. He says that the passive participle is a multi-form part of speech that has the prefix

/Mv-/and that it differs in this respect from the active participle,which has the form /faa9ilun/. Applying this to ECA, we find that the passive participle is indeed a multi

form part of speech that has the prefix /Mv-/ and that it also differs in this respect from the active participle,which has the form /faa9il/. However, in differentiating between the passive participle and the active participle of ECA semantically,we have made use of Chomsky's(1982) definition of passives,in which [NP,S] is dethematized. Accordingly,the active participle of ECA is assumed to θ-mark its [NP,S]. This may be demonstrated by sentences 2.1.

2.1.

(i) /huwwa maktuub [fi-llista]/ He is written down on the list.

Free pronoun(FP)+passive participle predicate+Pl(masc.,sing.)

(ii) huwwa ?aatil/ He is a killer.

FP+ active participle+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iii) /huwwa kaatib fi-lmaHkama/He is a clerk in the court of justice.

FP+ active participle predicate+ Pl(masc.,sing.)+prep+noun+Pl(fem.,sing)

Despite the fact that all of the sentences in 2.1 have predicates with participial heads,yet it is only sentence 2.1. (i) whose [NP,S] is not θ-marked by its predicate.This is because its predicate has a passive participial head. As for sentences (ii) and (iii),these have predicates that do θ-mark their [NP,S] and have the form /faa9il/ ;accordingly,they are predicates with active participial heads.

Having defined the passive participial predicate of ECA,let us now look at its nominal as well as its verbal characteristics,justifying its status as a path category in the syntax of ECA. Turning first to its nominal characteristics,we can say that it has the syntactic behaviour of nouns in the sense that it is associated with the gender and number affixes associated with nouns and that it may also be prefixed by the definite article /?il/. This is demonsrtated by sentences 2.2.

2.2.

(i) /huwwa -lmaktuub [fi-llista] / He is the one written down on the list.

Free pronoun+Def.Art.+passive participle predicate+Pl(masc.,sing.)

(ii) /hiyya maktuuba [fi-llista]/ She is written down on the list.

Free pronoun.+passive participle predicate+Pl(fem.,sing.)

(iii) /humma -lmaktubiin [fi-llista] /They are the ones written down on the list.

Free pronoun+.Def.Art+passive participle predicate+Pl(pl)

This similarity of the syntactic behaviour of the passive participial predicate to that of the nominal predicate may be further demonstrated by sentences 2.3,in which we have nominal predicates. These sentences also show that this syntactic behaviour is not restricted to the passive participial predicate only but that it is also found in the active participial predicate as well. In other words ,it pertains to the category itself whether active or passive.

2.3.

. (i) / huwwa muhandis' He is an engineer.

FP+noun predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(ii) /huwwa -lmuhandis/ He is the engineer.

FP+Def.Art.+noun predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iii) /hiyya muhandisa/ She is an engineer.

FP+noun predicate+Pl(fem.,sing)

(iv) /humma muhandisiin/They are engineers.

FP+noun predicate+Pl(pl)

(v) /huwwa -l?aatil/ He is the killer.

FP+Def.Art.+active participle+Pl(masc.,sing)

(vi) /hiyya -l?atla/ She is the killer.

FP+Def.Art.+active participle+Pl(fem.,sing)

(vii) /humma -l?atala/ They are the killers.

FP+Def.Art.+active participle+Pl(pl)

Comparing the predicates of sentences 2.2. with those of 2.3.,we find that both the active and the passive predicate with participial heads display the syntactic behaviour of

nouns in the sense that they are associated with the gender and number affixes associated with nouns in ECA and that they may be introduced by a definite article.

Another similarity between the passive participial predicates and and the passive nominal predicates in general is their capacity to indicate passivity by means of internal vocalic alteration 3 and in most cases to make use of the prefix /Mv-/. This may be demonstrated by sentences 2.4. and , 2.5.,the former sentences of which have participial passive predicates and the latter sentences of which have nominal passive predicates.In the former sentences, passivity is indicated by means of internal vocalic alteration and the prefix /Mv-/;and in the latter sentences passivity is indicated by means of internal vocalic alteration ;and in some cases we also have the prefix /Mv-/.

2.4. Particpial Passive Predicates with Internal VocalicAlteration

(i)./huwwa ma?tuul/ He is killed.

Free Pronoun(i.e.FP)+Mv+ participial form with internal vocalic change =passive predicate÷PI(masc.,sing)

(ii.) /huwwa maktuub [fi-l-lista] / He is written down.(on the list).

FP+Mv+participial with internal vocalic change =passive predicate+PI(masc.,sing)

(iii) /huwwa ma9?uul [fi TaSarrufaatu]/ (Lit.)He is reasonable[in his behaviour].He is a reasonable man.

FP+Mv+participial form with internal vocalic change=passive predicate+PI(masc.,sing)

(iv) / huwwa maHkuum/ He is a controlled one.

FP+Mv+participial form with internal vocalic change=passive predicate+PI(masc.,sing)

(v) /da mafhuum [Siwayya]/ This one is understood a bit.This one is slightly easier to understand.

FP+Mv+participial form with internal vocalic change=passive predicate+PI(masc.,sing)

(vi) /huwwa mazluum/ He is an innocent suspect.

FP÷Mv+participial form with internal vocalic change=passive predicate+PI(masc.,sing)

(i)'[?il9aruusa Saklaha miS] Hilw [bassi -n-naharda 9aSaan farallha] milHuwwa /(lit)The bride is not pretty;but today because of her wedding she is beautified.

adjective [without prefix /Mv-/]+ passive adjective form [with prefix /Mv-/ and internal vocalic change]=passive predicate+Pl(fem,sing)

(ii)'?ilwalad [da miS] ?aSmarr [bass -ilyoomeen dool] mismirr [mi-S-4 Sams]/ The boy does not have a dark complexion ;but he is tanned these days from the sun.These days ,he has a slight tan.

Def.Art.+noun+adjective [without prefix /Mv-/]+passive adjective form [with prefix /Mv-/ and internal vocalic change]=passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iii) /[?eeh] ?innuur [da kullu da]-l-beet minawwar [buwgudku]/ (Lit.)What is all this light! The house is radiant due to your presence in it.

Def.Art.+nominal without prefix /Mv-/+Def.Art.+noun+nominal form with prefix /Mv-/ and internal vocalic change=passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iv) / ?inta [taaxud door] -il?aatil [wi] huwwa [yaaxud door]-il?atiil/You(masc.,sing) take the role of the killer and he the murdered one.

Free pronun+Def.Art.+ active nominal+free pronoun+Def.Art.+passive nominal (with internal vocalic alteration).

(iii) / [?ana -faddal ?akuun] 9aamil [basiiT wa-laa -kunS]9amiil [liihum]/ I'd rather be a simple worker than be a secret agent for them.

active nominal+passive nominal (with internal vocalic alteration).

. The passive participial predicates also show some similarity with the passive verbal predicates.The first similarity is that both display different verbal forms. As a matter of fact, many of the various forms of the passive participles in ECA are different because they are actually composed of different verbal forms annexed to the prefix /Mv-/. There is a form that has a verbal form of Form II annexed to the prefix /Mv-/. And there is another form that has the verbal form of Form III [5] annexed to the prefix /Mv-/. This similarity of the various forms of the passive participial predicates in ECA to those of the passive verbal predicates may be demonstrated by sentences 2.6. ,2.7. , 2.8. , and 2.9.

2.6. Participial Passive Predicates with /-t-/ Affix and Form II

(i) / huwwa miS⁶SaTTar [9aleena]/ (lit)He is being made clever on us. He is taking advantage of us)

FP+Mv+ -t- affix +participial form with the second radical geminated i.e. Form II =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing.)

(ii) /huwwa mikkabbar [9aleena]/ (lit)He is being made in a state of bigness on us. He is arrogant.

FP+Mv+ -t- affix +participial form with the second radical geminated i.e. Form II =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iii) /huwwa mitnawwar/ (lit)He is being made in an illuminated state.He is enlightened.

FP+Mv+ -t- affix +participial form with the second radical geminated i.e. Form II =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iv) /di mitgayyara [xaalis]/ This one is completely changed.

Dem.P+Pl(fem.,sing)+Mv+-t- affix+participial form with the second radical geminated i.e. Form II =passive predicate+Pl(fem.,sing)

(vi) /[?ilfustaan da] mit?aSSar/This dress is shortened.

Mv+/-t-/ affix+geminated second radical i.e. Form II =passive participial predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(vii) /dah mit9allim/This one is educated.

Dem.P+Pl(masc.,sing)+Mv+/-t-/ affix+geminated second radical i.e. Form II =passive participial predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(viii) /huwwa miSSarraf biina/He is honoured by us.

FP+Pl(masc.,sing)+Mv+/-t-/ affix+geminated second radical i.e. Form II =passive participial predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)+prep+Pl(1st per.,sing)

2.7.. Participial Passive Predicates with /-t-/ Affix and Form III

(i)./dah mittaakil/

This(masc.,sing) one is worn out.

Demonstrative pronoun(masc.,sing)+Mv+ -t- affix +participial form with a long /-a' after the first radical i.e. Form III =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(ii.) /huwwa mitraa?ib'/ He is being watched.

FP+Mv +-t- affix+ participial form with a long /-a' after first the radical i.e. Form III =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iii) / huwwa mitaaxid [Siwayya mi -l-xabar]/ He is a bit moved by the news.

FP+Mv+ -t- affix+participial form with a long /-a' after the first radical i.e. Form III =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(iv) /[?issu?aal da] miggaawib[fi Safila tanya]/ The question is answered on a different page.

Mv+ -t- affix+participial form with a long /-a/ after the first radical i.e. Form III =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(v) /[?iddulaab da] mitbaa9/ This one is sold.

+Mv+/-t-/ affix +long /-a-/ after the first radical i.e. Form III =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

(vi) /huwwa mitfaagi? [bilxabar]/ He is surprised by the news.

FP+Mv+/-t-/ affix +long /-a-/ after the first radical i.e. Form III =passive predicate+Pl(masc.,sing)

2.8 . Verbal Passive Predicates with Affix /-t-/ and Form II

A. With Perfective Verbs

(i) /?it?aSSar/ It has been shortened.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical i.e. Form II

(ii) /?it9allim/ He has been educated.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical i.e. Form II

(iii) /?iSSarraf [biina]/ He has been caused to be honoured by us.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical i.e. Form II

(iv) /[da -ya9eeni-]?ikkassar [xaaliS]/ Poor thing! He is really broken(i.e. he has really had a terrible accident.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical; i.e. Form II

B With Imperfective Verbs

(i) /yit?aSSar/ It may be shortened.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical;i.e. Form II

(ii) /yit9allim/ He may be educated.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical;i.e. Form II

(iii) /yiSSarraf biina/ He may be honoured by us.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical;i.e. Form II

(v) /yikkassar/ It may be smashed to pieces.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+geminated second radical;i.e. Form II

.2.9. Verbal Passive Predicates with Affix /-t-/ and Form III

A. With Perfective Verbs

(i) /?ittaakil/ It has been eaten up.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e. Form III

(ii) /?iggaawib/ It has been answered.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e. Form III

(iii) /?itbaa9 [fi-l-mazaad]/ It has been sold.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e. Form III

(iv) /?ittaaxid/ It has been taken.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e. Form
iII

(v) /?itHaakim/ He has been tried.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e. Form
III

B. With Imperfective Verbs

(i) /yittaakil/ It is edible.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e.
Form III

(ii) /yiggaawib/ It may be answered.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e.
Form III

(iii) /[mumkin]yitbaa9 [fi-l-mazaad]/ It may be sold.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e.
Form III

(iv) /[law sibtu mumkun]yittaaxid/ If you were to leave it behind,it might be taken.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix +lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e.
Form III

(v) /yitHaakim/ He may be tried.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf. verb+ /-t-/ affix+lengthened /-a-/ after first radical;i.e.
FormIII

Sentences 2.6. , and 2.7. show that there are different forms of participial passive
predicates.They also show that the difference in their forms is dependent on the different
verbal forms to which the prefix /Mv-/ is annexed. In sentences 2.6 ,we have verbal
forms that have the second radical geminated. In sentences 2.7,we have verbal forms that
have a lengthening of the /-a-/ after the first vowel;and as these forms are the same as

those described by Cowan (1982) as regards Modern Literary Arabic, we have called them by their numerical names;i.e. Forms II and III respectively. And comparing sentences 2.6. and 2.7. with those of 2.8. and 2.9., it can be said that there is a similarity between the forms of the participial passive predicates and those of the verbal passive predicates. The difference between the verbal predicates of the sentences of 2.8. and those of 2.9. is that the former have Form II verbs;while the latter have Form III verbs; and this difference is also found between sentences 2.6. and 2.7.

The second similarity between these two types of passive predicates may also be demonstrated by a comparison between sentences 2.6 and 2.7, on the one hand ,and those of 2.8. and 2.9 ,on the other . In both groups,the head of the predicate whether it is a participle or a verb has the affix /-t-/,which indicates passivity in both cases. This is reminiscent of Mitchell (1956),in which he says that the /?it-/ is a passive sign for the verbal predicate. It also reminds us of R.W. Langacker and P. Munero (1975) ,who say that the reflexive morpheme may be generalized in function so as to assume passive function. Such is the case in ECA as regards the verbal passive predicate ;and as the participle in ECA shares some of the characteristics of the verb ,it too has made use of this affix (i.e. /-t-/) as a passive marker. This again may be seen as a kind of generalization of the function of this affix so that it has extended to another category ;i.e. the participle. That the affix /-t-/ is a passive marker in the verbal predicate of ECA may be further demonsrtated by sentences 2.10,in which the verbs are of Form I.

2.10.Verbal Predicates with /-t-/ Affix and Form I

A. With Perfective Verb Forms

(i) /?itwagad/ It or he has been found.

Pl(3rd per., masc.,sing.)+Perf.verb with /-t-/ affix + Form I

(ii) /?issara?/ It has been stolen or he has been robbed.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf.verb with /-t-/ affix + Form I

i

(iii) /?iDDarab/ He has been beaten.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix +Form I

(iv) /?iSSirib/ It has been drunk.

PI(3rd. per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix + Form I

(v) /?ikkasar/ It has been broken.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix+ Form I

(vi) /?it9amal/ It has been made.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix + Form I

(vii) /?ikkaSaf/ It has been uncovered or discovered.

PI(3er per.,masc.,sing.)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix +Form I

(viii) /?itfaham/ It has been understood.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix + Form I

(ix) /?itlabas/ It has been worn.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. verb with /-t-/ affix + Form I

B. With. Imperfective Verb Forms

(i) /yitwigid/ It may be found.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with /-t-/ affix+Form I

(ii) /yissiri?/ It may be stolen.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with /-t-/ affix+Form I

(iii) /yiDDirib/ He may be beaten.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with /-t-/ affix+Form I

(iv) /yiSSirib/ It may be drunk.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with/-t-/ affix+Form I

(v) /yikkisir/ It may be broken.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with/-t-/ affix+ Form I

(vi)/ [laazim] yit9imil [waaHid gidiid]/ A new one must be made.

PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with /-t-/ affix+Form I

(vii) 'yikkiSif' It may be uncovered or discovered.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with'-t-/ affix+ Form 1

(viii) 'yitfihim' It may be understood.

Pl(3rd per..masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with'-t-/ affix+ Form 1

(ix) [mumkin] yitlibis' It may be worn.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with'-t-/ affix+ Form 1

The third similarity between the passive participial predicates and the passive verbal predicates is that they may have their "external arguments"(Hockstra,1986) overtly realized, in which case they have Agentive NPs. R.W. Langacker and P. Munero (1975) also say that the "unspecified argument " may be "elaborated lexically" ;and they also describe the passive predicate as a predicate that does "not so much describe the action,but rather states the existence of a relationship between an action and the patient of the action" (802). Applying this to ECA ,we could say that the syntactic subject has the Patient thematic role and if the external argument is "elaborated lexically", we have an Agentive NP ,which may have either the thematic role Agent or Instrument. This may be demonstrated by sentences 2.11 and 2.12,in the former sentences of which we have participial passive predicates which have the external argument lexically elaborated and in the latter sentences of which we have verbal passive predicates that have the external argument lexically elaborated

2.11.

(i). /[?ilbaltu da] mittaakil (min -il-9itta)/This coat is eaten up by the moth.
/Mv/+lengthened/a/ after first radical=passive participial predicate+(prep./min/+Def.Art.+ nominal

(ii)./?il?izaaz maksuur (min li9b -ik-koora)/ The glass is broken from ball playing..

Def.Art.+noun+/MV/+internal vocalic change =passive participial predicate+ (prep /min/ "from" +nominal+Def.Art.+noun)

(iii). / huwwa mitHaami fabuuh/ He is protected by his father.

FP (3rd per.,masc.,sing)+/Mv-/+/-t-/ affix+ lengthened /-a-/ after first radical=passive participial predicate + prep /fi-/ "in" +noun +Pl(3r per.,masc.,sing)

2.12.

(i). /[?ilbaltu da] ?ittaakil (min -il-9itta)/This coat has been eaten up by the moth

Perf...b with /t/ affix lengthened /a'after first radical=passive verbal predicate+ (prep/min/"from"+Def.Art.+nominal)

(ii)./?ilbaab ?ikkassar (min -kutr -l-xabT)/ The door has been broken from the pounding.on it.

Def.Art.+noun+Perf. verb with /t/affix and a geminated second radical =passive verbal predicate +(prep /min/ "from" +nominal+Def.Art.+noun)

(iii). /?itHaama fabuuh/ He has been protected by his father.

Perf.verb with /t/ affix +lengthened /a/ after first radical=passive verbal predicate + prep /fi-/ "in" +noun +PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)

The fourth similarity between the passive participial predicate and that of the (passive) verbal predicate is in their capacty to indicate aspect. This may be demonstrated by comparing the sentences of 2.13 ,2.14 and 2.15.,in which we have passive predicates with verbal or participial heads.

2.13.

(i) /?ilbeet ?itnawwar - [laazim fiih Haddi gih]/ (lit)The house has been lit up.The lights have gone on.Surely,someone must have come in.

Def.Art.+noun+Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf. passive verb with affix /-t-/ and geminated second radical (i.e. Form II stem)

(ii) /?iSSaari9 da [9aayiz]yitnawwar/This street needs to be lighted.

Def.Art.+ noun+Dem.pron.+Pl(masc.,sing)+Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf. passive verb with affix /-t-/ and geminated second radical (i.e. Form II stem)

(iii) /?irraagil da mitnawwar - [miS gaahil] This man is enlightened;he is not ignorant.

Def.Art.+noun+Dem.pron.+Pl(masc.,sing)+Pl(masc.,sing)+Participial passive predicate with prefix /Mv-/ and affix /-t-/ as well as a geminated second radical (i.e. Form II stem)

2.14.

(i) /[?axuuya]-t9allim [fi bilaad barra] /My brother has been educated abroad.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Perf.verb with affix /-t-/ and geminated second radical(i.e. Form II)

(ii) /[?illi ma yi9rafSi] yit9alliim/(lit)Who does not know should be educated.Anybody can learn.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Imperf.verb with affix /-t-/ and geminated second radical(i.e. Form II)

(iii) /[?irraagil da] mit9allim [-miS gaahil]/This man is educated;he is not illiterate.

Pl(masc.,sing)+Participial passive predicate with the prefix /Mv-/ and the affix /-t-/ as well as a geminated second radical(i.e. Form II)

2.15

(i) /?issamak -ittaakil/ The fish has been eaten up.

Def.Art.+noun+Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Perf.verb with affix /-t-/ and a lengthened /-a-/ after first radical(i.e. Form III)

(ii) /[?il?akl da] yittaakil [kullu]/All of this food should be eaten.

Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Imperf.verb with affix /-t-/ and a lengthened /-a-/ after first radical(i.e. Form III)

(iii)/[?il?akl da] mittaakil [nuSSu] /Half of this food is eaten .

Pl(masc.,sing)+Participial passive predicate with the prefix /Mv-/ and the affix /-t-/ as well as a lengthened /-a-/ after first radical(i.e. Form III)

Comparing sentences (i) to those of (ii) and (iii) of all the sentences in 2.13.,2.14. ,and 2.15., we notice that it is the participial passive predicate (i.e. sentences (iii) that conveys the incompletive aspect. Sentences (i),on the other hand, convey the completive aspect. As for sentences (ii),these simply "state the existence of a relationship between an action and the patient of the action" (R.W. Langacker and P.Munero's,1975: 802) regardless of the time element. Therefore,it is sentences (i) that convey the completive aspect and it is sentences (iii) that convey the incompletive aspect which is associated with the present state of affairs.

However, despite the above mentioned similarities between the participial passive predicate and the verbal passive predicate ,they are nonetheless different in several respects. The first is that the participial passive predicate must have the prefix /Mv-/,which is a nominal passive marker. The second difference is that the participial passive predicate can not carry the affix /-n-/,which is in many cases interchangeable with the /-t-/ affix in the verbal passive predicate. This difference between the two kinds of predicates may be demonstrated by sentences 2.16. and 2.17,in which the latter sentences are ill-formed.

.2.16. Verbal Passive Predicates with Affix /-n-/

(i) /?insara?/ [7] It has been stolen or he has been robbed.

Pl(3rd per.,masc,sing)+Perf. verb with affix /-n-/

(ii) /?inkatab/ It has been written down.

Pl(3rd per.,masc,sing)+Perf. verb with affix /-n-/

(iii) /?inDarab/ He has been beaten.

Pl Pl(3rd per.,masc,sing)+Perf. verb with affix /-n-/

(iv) /yinsiri? [- law sibtu]/ It might get stolen if you left it unattended.

Pl(3rd per.,masc,sing)+Imperf. verb with affix /-n-/

(v) /yinkitib' It may be written.

Pi(3rd per.,masc,sing)+Imperf. verb with affix /-n-/

2.17.Participial Predicates with Affix /-n-/

(i) /*(huwwa) minsiri?/ It is stolen.

[FP(3rd person,masc.,sing.)] +Pl(masc.,sing)+ Mv+/-n-/affix=participial predicate

(ii) /*(da) minkitib/ This is written;i.e. fate

[Dem.pron.(masc.,sing.)]+Pl(masc.,sing)+Mv+/-n-/affix=participial predicate

.(iii) /*(huwwa) minDirib/He is beaten.

[FP(3rd person,masc.,sing.)] +Pl(masc.,sing) +Mv+/-n-/affix=participial predicate

Sentences 2.16. and 2.17. also display another difference between the participial passive predicate and that of the verbal passive predicate. Sentences 2.17. are ill-formed in ECA not only as they have participial passive predicates with the affix /-n-/ but also as the free pronominal forms are of an optional status. Whereas the verbal predicate may have a free pronominal or pronominal inflections as its subject;the participial predicate obligatorily takes a free pronominal. This is because the verbal predicate of ECA has inflections heavy enough for the local determination of a subject small pro in the sense of Chomsky (1982 b);but the participial predicate does not. This may be further demonstrated by sentences 2.18

2.18.

(i) / (huwwa) ?itsara?/ He has been robbed.

(Free Pronoun)+Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Perf. verb with affix /-t-/

(ii) /(huwwa) ?itkatab [fi-llista]/ He has been written down.on the list.

(Free Pronoun)+Pl(3rd per.,masc.,sing.)+Perf. verb with affix /-t-/

(iii) / huwwa maktuub[fi-llista]/ He is written down on the list..

Free Pronoun+Pl(masc.,sing)+Passive Participial predicate with internal vocalic change

(iv) /?irraagil da mitraa?ib/ This man is watched.

Def.Art.+noun+Dem.P+(masc.,sing)+ Pl(masc.,sing)+Passive Participial predicate with affix

/-ı-/.

(v) / * mitraa?ib/

Despite the fact that the free pronouns in sentences 2.18. (i) and (ii) are optional ;nonetheless ,these sentences are well-formed because they have verbal predicates As the verbal predicate has inflections heavy enough for the local determination of a subject small pro,these sentences are not subjectless when there is no free pronominal form as subject. This heavy inflection is shown by the fact that the Pl of the verbal predicate has features for person, number and gender;but the Pl of the participial predicate only has features of number and gender. The fact that the participial predicate in ECA only has features of number and gender is again attributable to its sharing characteristics with the nominal categories since neither the noun predicate nor the adjective predicate may have person inflections,as shown by sentences 2.19.

2.19.

(i) (i) /huwwa muhandis/ He is an engineer.

FP(3rd person ,masc.,sing.)+Pl(masc.,sing)+noun passive predicate

(ii)/* muhandis/

(iii) /huwwa mismirr/ He is tanned.

FP(3rd person ,masc.,sing.)+Pl(masc.,sing)+adjective passive predicate
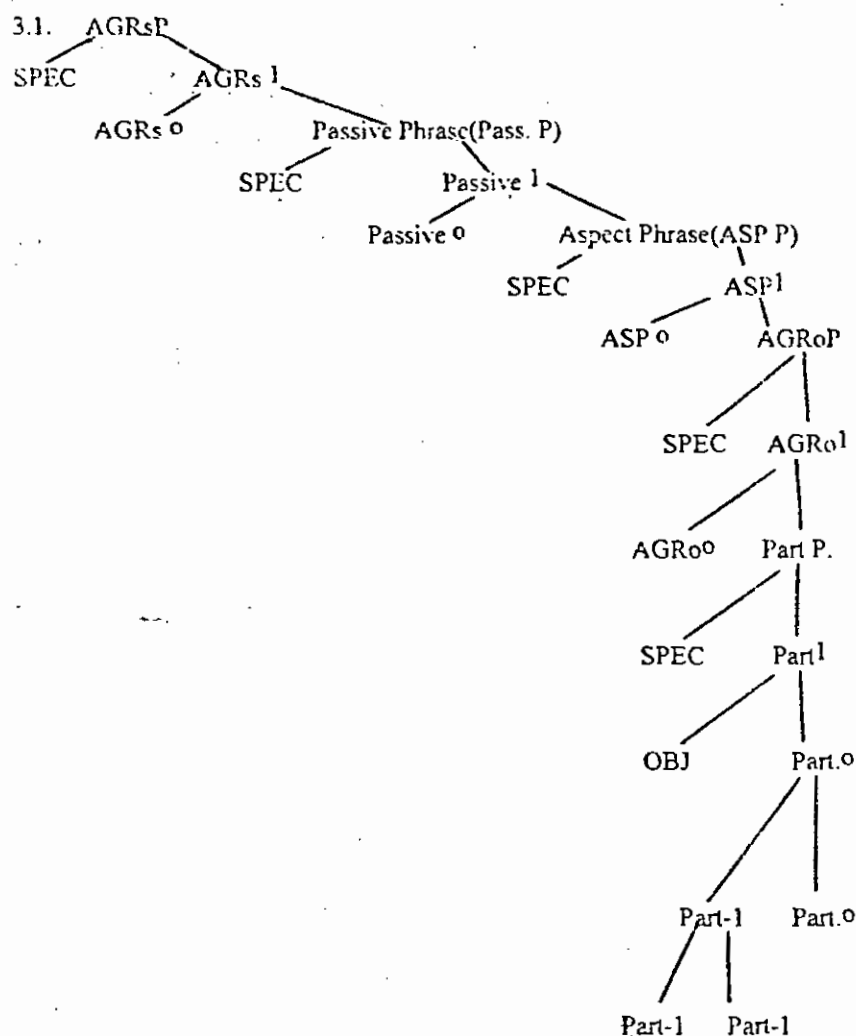
(iv) /* mismir/

Sentences 2.19. (i) and (iii) are well-formed because we have free pronouns as subjects. As for those of (ii) and (iv),they are ill-formed because the nominal predicates do not have inflections heavy enough for the generation of subject small pros,making

these sentences subjectless. They are regarded as subjectless predicates just as that of
2.18. (v). in which we also have a subjectless participial passive predicate

3. The Derivation of Sentences with Participial Passive Predicates

The ECA passive sentence with a participial passive predicate may be shown to have
the D-structure in 3.1.

3.1. AGRsP
SPEC   AGRs 1
   AGRs 0   Passive Phrase(Pass. P)
      SPEC   Passive 1
         Passive 0   Aspect Phrase(ASP P)
            SPEC   ASP1
               ASP 0   AGRoP
                  SPEC AGRo1
                     AGRo0 Part P.
                        SPEC Part1
                           OBJ Part.0
                              Part-1 Part.0
                                 Part-1 Part-1

D-structure 3.1. has the properties shown in 3.2.

3.2.

(i) D-structure 3.1.has split AGR into AGRs and AGRo,in accordance with Chomsky(1989). He says that there are actually two kinds of verb NP agreement: with subject and object. Accordingly,there are different kinds of NP agreement with the participial predicate since we have both the external argument and the internal argument.

(ii) At D-structure, the various affixes are treated as separate syntactic entities in accordance with Chomsky(1989). Therefore, the prefix /Mv/ and the affix /-t-/, both of which are passive markers for the passive participle in ECA are treated as separate syntactic entities at D-structure 3.1.

(iii) Passivity has been regarded as a Functional Category;and it has been projected as a maximal projection with a head and a specifier, in accordance with Chomsky (1986,1989),Pollock(1989) and Maracz(1991).

(iv)Aspect has also been projected as a maximal projection with a head and a specifier;and it has also been regarded as a Functional Category.

(v) The various affixes indicating passivity and associated with the participial predicate have been regarded as being on the level of X-1,in accordance with Guasti(1991).

(vi) This D-structure has also maintained that [NP,S] is a non-thematic position in accordance with Chomsky (1982a);but in the terminolgy of Chomsky(1989) this is equivalent to [SPEC-AGRsP]. Accordingly, the internal argument,which is base-generated at OBJ, is to be moved to that position (i.e. [NP,S]), where it is to be assigned nominative case.

(vii) This D-structure also demonstrates that these passive predicates also have the external argument,which is base-generated at the [SPEC-PART. P]. It is also assumed in accordance with T. Hoekstra (1986).that the external argument is internalized by the passive morphology(i.e. the affix /-t-/ or the internal vocalic alteraton in addition to the

prefix (Mv-) carried by the passive participial predicate. But when these "unspecified arguments" or "external arguments" are lexically elaborated, we have AgentiveNPs,in which case a PP is generated from the participial predicate (i.e. Part. P).

D-structure 3.1. requires the rules in 3.3. in order to derive S-stucture 3.4.

3.3.

(i) OBJ -Movement

This movement rule raises OBJ in D-structure 3.1. from Part. 1 to [SPEC-AGRoP];and then to [SPEC-AGRsP],where it is assigned nominative Case by its governor AGRs [1] at S-structure. Therefore,this internal argument is not assigned Case within the Participial Predicate,in accordance with Chomsky's(1982a) second crucial property of passives,which requires the [NP,VP] not to receive case within VP. But receiving nominative Case from AGRs [1] at S-structure,this argument(i.e. the internal argument) has become visible for the θ-criterion at LF;in turn,it is assigned an internal thematic role by its predicate head(i.e. the participle). As for the external argument found with passive predicates , it is assigned internal Case by that prdicate head,whereby it is made visible to the thematic criterion and assigned an external 0-role by its predicate(i.e.Part. P). It remains internalized by the predicate due to the presence of passive morphology in the head of that predicate.

This movement rule does not violate the locality conditions proposed by Rizzi (1990). Therefore, the trace in OBJ is antecedent governed by its antecendent in [SPEC-AGRoP] in the first cycle. In the second cycle,the trace in [SPEC-AGRoP] is antecedent governed by its antecedent in [SPEC-AGRsP].
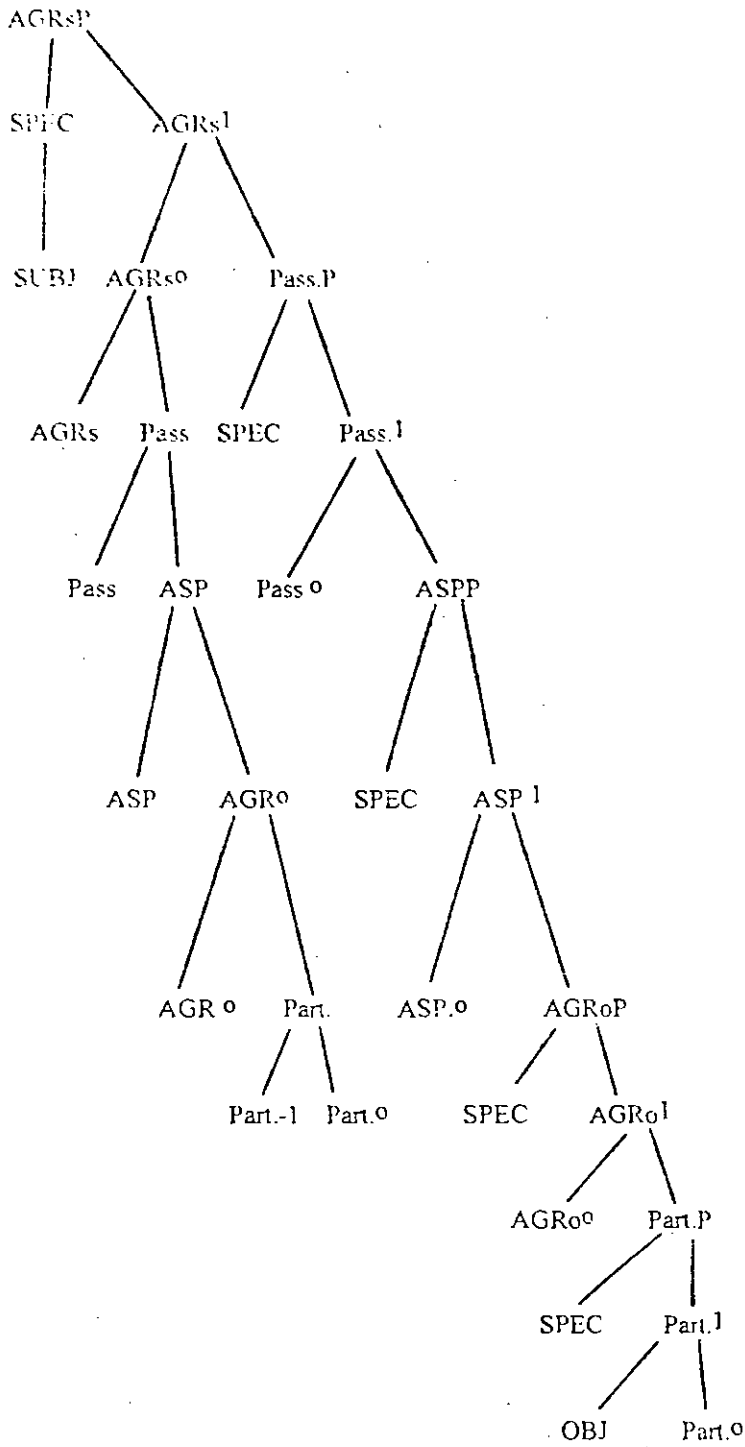
(ii) Predicate Head Incorporation Rule

As affixes related to a head of a predicate must be properly attached at S-structure(Chomsky,1989),the predicate head incorporation rule must apply since we are

regarding the passive affixes as incorporation triggers. This rule involves four cycles. The first cycle raises Part.^{0} to AGRo ^{0};the second cycle raises it to ASP. ^{0};and the third cycle is to Pass. ^{0}. Finally the fourth cycle raises it to AGRs ^{0}.

This movement rule also abides to the locality conditions of Rizzi(1990). The trace in Part.^{0} is head governed by the trace in AGRo ^{0},which in turn is head governed by the trace in ASP.^{0}. Again the trace in ASP.^{0} is head governed by the trace in Pass. ^{0},which is in turn head governed by AGRs ^{0}.

Applying the rules of OBJ movement and that of the Predicate Head Incorporation,we can derive S-stucture 3.4.

34.

```
AGRsP
├── SPEC ──────── AGRs¹
│     │         ╱       ╲
│   SUBJ    AGRso        Pass.P
│          ╱     ╲      ╱      ╲
│       AGRs    Pass  SPEC    Pass.¹
│             ╱    ╲        ╱       ╲
│          Pass    ASP   Pass⁰      ASPP
│                 ╱   ╲         ╱        ╲
│               ASP   AGRo    SPEC       ASP¹
│                    ╱    ╲         ╱         ╲
│                 AGR⁰   Part.   ASP.⁰        AGRoP
│                      ╱    ╲           ╱          ╲
│                  Part.-1  Part.⁰    SPEC        AGRo¹
│                                          ╱           ╲
│                                       AGRo⁰         Part.P
│                                              ╱          ╲
│                                           SPEC         Part.¹
│                                                       ╱      ╲
│                                                     OBJ      Part.⁰
```

Conclusion

The path categorial status of the participial category has been exemplified by the passive participial predicate ,showing that it shares characteristics with both the verb category and the nominal categories. It shares with the verb category the fact that it makes use of the verbal passive marker,which is the affix /-t-/ ; the fact that it derives different passive participial forms by making use of different verb forms such as Forms II and III ;and the fact it has the capacity to convey aspect. It also shares with the nominal categories the fact that it is associated with the affixes of gender and number associated with nouns : the fact that makes use of the nominal passive prefix /Mv-/ ; its capacity to indicate passivity by means of internal vocalic alteration; and its capacity to be introduced by the definte article:

Therefore, the ECA passive participle has the features [+N] and [+V];and according to which it is regarded as a case assigner. In turn,it is assumed that the ECA passive participial predicate has both the external and the internal case;the fact which accordingly enables it to have both the external as well as the internal θ-role. That the participial passive predicate ECA does have the external as well as the internal argument can be seen from the fact that it may have its external argument lexically elaborated,in which case we have an Agentive NP. It is in this respect that the passivization of the participial category in ECA is assumed not involve the manipulation of the θ-grid. Also as the process of passivization in ECA does not involve a categorial change since ECA has an active participial predicate as well as a passive participial predicate,we could regard it as involving a syntactic rule,rather than a lexical one.

End-notes

1. The term "Path Categori(es) " is borrowed from D. Pesetsky(1981). However,the content in which it is used here is different.

2.In H.Ghaly(1994),it was shown that there are nominal passive predicates as well as verbal passive predicates in educated Cairene Arabic.It is to noted that this is in keeping with Chomsky (1982a), in which it has been shown that both verbals constructions as well as nominals constructions may be passivized in English.

3. Even though the verbal predicate in Modern Standard Arabic designates passivity by internal vocalic alteration,yet this is not the case with ECA. For example, /kutiba kitaab/ "A book has been written "and /fuhima -d-dars/"The lesson has been understood" are regarded as pertaining to Modern Standard Arabic. In ECA, the passive forms /?itkatab kitab/ and /?itfaham -d-dars/ are preferred.

4.For a discussion of the assimilation of the definite article to the initial sound of the nominal to which it is annexed see D.Cowan (1982) as regards Modern Literary Arabic since ECA is similar to it in this respect. In ECA.,the "sun letters" of D. Cowan (1982:3) as well as the sounds /k/ and /g/ are assimilated.

5. See D. Cowan (1982) for a classification of the verbs in Modern Literary Arabic.

6. A similar assimilation transforms /mit-/ to /mi$/. This assimilation applies to "the sun letters" ,which are / t/, /θ/, /d/ ,/δ/, /r/, /z/,/ s/, /$/, /S/, /D/, /T/, /ẓ /, /l/, /n/(see D. Cowan ,1982) And in ECA ,it also applies to the /k/ and /g/ sounds..

7.It is to be noted that the /-n-/ in the prefix /?in/ has not been assimilated to the initial sound of the word to which it is annexed in order to make it clear to the reader that it is the affix /?in/, and not that of /?it/. But if the affix /?in/ is assimilated,then the pronunciation of these words is as follows : /?issara?//?ikkatab/ /?iDDarab/ /yissiri? //yikkitib/

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