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Verb-Raising in Qur'anic Arabic
as represented by Verses from
Suurat -iR-Ruum

by

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I. Introduction

The problem of “subject-verb agreement” in Classical Arabic “remains inconclusively an issue for further discussion;” (Kamel, 1991:139) even though “gender is the only form of agreement assigned to the verb “ (138) in VSO structures. In concentrating on Qurʾanic Arabic and VSO structures in particular, it has become evident that there are cases in which there is even no gender agreement. It is, accordingly, the purpose of this paper to try to account for this difference in syntactic behaviour between a verbal clause in which there is no agreement in number and in gender between its verb form and its lexical subject NP and one in which there is agreement between its verb form and its lexical subject NP in gender, in the light of Generative Grammar. The verbal sentence or clause is defined here as a clause with a verbal predicate with a VS(O) order. It is to be shown that this difference between these two types of VSO structures may be due to a difference in the kind of verb-raising involved in each case.

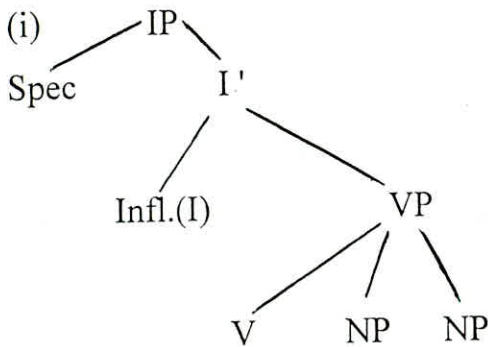
In section II, the theoretical framework in which this study is conducted is discussed. In section III, there is a description of the data from Suurat -iRRuum. In section IV, there is an analysis of these data based on the framework of Generative Grammar. In section V, there is a description of the movement rule of verb-raising in this variety of Arabic, trying to account for the difference in the syntactic behaviour of the above mentioned sentence types.

II A Brief Survey of the Theoretical Framework

Chomsky(1988) says that a language is a “set of specifications for parameters in an invariant system of principles of universal grammar(UG)”. (1) This is probably why Chomsky (1982a) says that despite the fact that “there is a category VP in the X-bar system of the base”, “ there are languages in which this does not seem to be true”;and that “Classical Arabic,with VSO structure, is a case in point.”(128)

Moreover, E.Woolford (1991) has provided evidence that VSO languages have VP-internal subjects (503). She differs in this respect from Emonds (1979;1980) ,who has held the assumption that the verb-subject-object (VSO) languages are

derived from an underlying subject-verb-object (SVO) structure by means of verb movement. She also says that the subjects are not generated in Spec of VP, rather the thematic subject is generated as a sister to the verb, as shown in structure (i) (503):



Of the three options available which are that the subject may be generated as Spec of IP, Spec of VP or, sister of V, E. Woolford (1991) chooses the last. In (i), E. Woolford (1991) has made use of Chomsky's (1986:3) nonlexical categories in (ii) with a slight modification for VSO languages.

(ii)

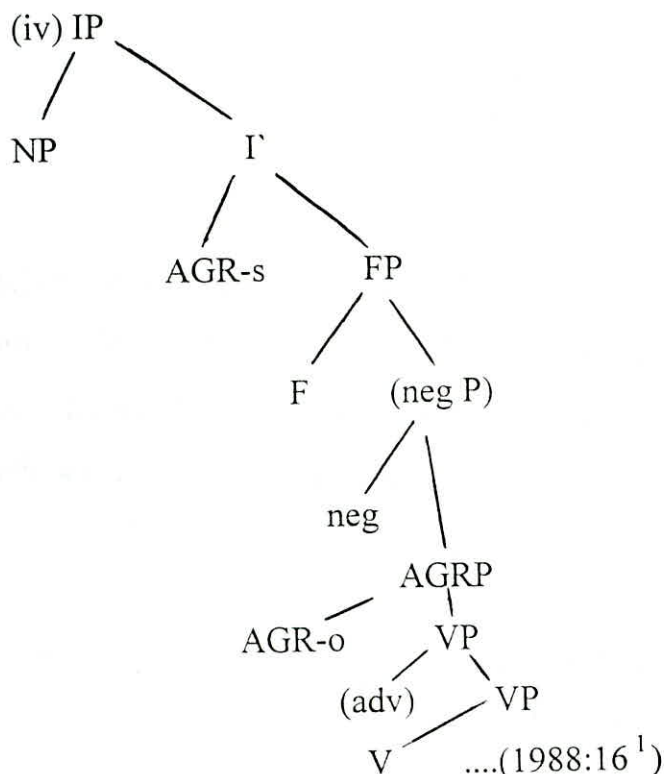
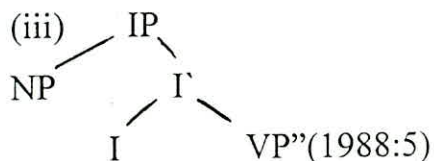
a. $S = I'' = [NP [_I [VP V \dots]]]$

b. $S' = C'' = [\dots [_C C I'']]$

c. $C'' = CP$

d. $I'' = IP$

Chomsky(1988)himself provides a modification to (ii) ,by his “fully articulated” structure of “the basic structure of the clause “,in which “AGR-s = I,the head of I’ and IP”. This difference is demonstrated by comparing (iii) with (iv):



Taking (iv) as the structure of the clause,Chomsky(1988) says that “there are actually two kinds of Verb-NP agreement:with

subject and with object.”(15) Accordingly,he says that there are two AGR elements;and these are the subject-agreement element (AGR-s) and the object -agreement element (AGR-o). He also says that AGR-o should be close to V,and that AGR-s should be close to the subject ;and ,in turn, more remote from V. That is, AGR-s = I ,the head of I' and IP . (15)

That Specifiers of functional projections are non- θ -positions is also discussed by Strang Burton and Jane Grimshaw (1992). They say that the Specifier of IP could not be the D-structure position for an argument" (305) because " only lexical categories are θ -markers,and θ -marking is strictly local. Therefore,S.Burton, and J. Grimshaw (1992:308) are also for "the VP- internal hypothesis",in which "all subjects ,even the subjects of active sentences originate in VP and are moved to their surface position.". But they have “represented the subject as occupying Specifier of VP position to the right of V' ".(1992:309)

Also adopting theVP-internal subject hypothesis , L.McNally (1992) says that it entails that Spec. of IP is a non- θ -position;and that it eliminates the θ /non- θ -conflict present in sentence (v),which involves the coordination of a passive and an active VP:

(v) "I sinned and was forgiven".(336)

In Chomsky (1988), the movement rule of X^0 is shown to be of particular interest to the study of word formation as in inflectional morphology in general and verb-raising in particular;(4) ;and "overt raising is required ,where AGR is strong"(i.e.[+finite]) (8). This movement by substitution,which is never to complement position due to the θ -Criterion and the Projection Principle and allows only X^0 to move to the head position , has been referred to by Chomsky(1986) as movement of V to I,forming inflected V_1 (5).

In the analysis of the data at hand ,it is assumed that there is a D-structure as in (i), from which both types of VSO sentences are derived by the different applications of the rule of verb-raising. As AGR is strong in this variety of Arabic,there is overt-raising in the syntax,raising the verb to I when there is gender agreement;and to C when there is no gender agreement. These data may also have the structure of (iv),in which case the verb with gender agreement is raised to AGR-s.

III.Description of the Data

Due to the religious sacredness of the Text with which we are dealing every effort has been made to leave these Verses in the

order in which they are found in the Glorious Qur'aan. The suura starts with the phrase :/bismillaahi -r-rahimaan -ir-rahiim/. It is composed of a prep+nominal+Def(inite) Art(icle)+nominal+Def.Art.+nominal+Def.Art.+nominal. It has the translation : In the name of Allah,the Merciful,the Beneficent. Then the first Verse is composed of three letters of the Arabic alphabet: a stop+ a lateral + a nasal:/?alif laam miim/

The first verbal sentence in the suura is:

1. (Verse number [2]). / CP_{IP} [gulibat [VP_{NP} [-ir-ruumu]] PP [fii NP [?adna -l- ?ardii]]]

It is composed of : A perfective passive verb+ subject pronominal inflections with the features PI(3rd per.fem.sing.)+ Def.Art.+nominal+nominative case+prep+nominal+genitive case (no overt marker)+Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case. Its translation is that "The Romans have been defeated in the nearer land."

2. (Verse number [4])/wa CP [C [NP_{Adv} [yawma ?i3 in] VP [[V [yafrhu] IP [NP [-l-mu?minuun] (Verse number [5]) PP [bi NP [nasri -l-laahi]]]

conj+nominal+accusative case+time particle+Imperfective
 verb+pronominal suffix:PI(3rdper.sing.,masc)+Def.Art+pas-sive
 participle+nominative case+PI(masc.,pl)+prep+nominal+
 genitive case+Def.Art+nominal+genitive case

On that day,the believers will rejoice in Allah's help to victory.

3. (Verse number 6) / $IP [\nu P[laa \nu[yuxlifu]] NP[-llaahu] NP[wa\textcircled{9}dahu]]$ /
 .negative particle+ Imperfect.verb+ PI(3rd per.masc.,sing)+
 Def.Art.+nominal+
 nominative case+nominal+accusative case+PI(3rd
 per.,masc.,sing)

Allah faileth not His promise,

4. (Verse number 6) / $wa_{CP} [laakinna_{NP} [?\textcircled{a}k\theta ara -nnaasi] IP [\nu P laa \nu [ya\textcircled{9}lamuun]]]$ /

conj.+negative particle+complementizer/(?)inna/+nominal+
 accusative case+Def.Art.+nominal+gen. case+negator+Imperf
 verb+PI(3rd per.,pl., masc.)

but most of mankind know not.

5. (Verse number [7]). $IP [\nu [ya\textcircled{9}lamuuna] NP[\textcircled{3}aahiran_{PP}[mina -lhayaati -ddunyaa]]]$

Imperf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc,sing)+nominal+accusative case+nunation+prep+Def.Art.+nominal+genitive case+Def.Art +nominal+genitive case[with no change of form]

They know only some appearance of the life of the world.

6.(Verse nummber [8]) / $_{CP}$ [$_C$ [?a $_{IP}$ [

$_{VP}$ [lam $_{VP}$ [yatafakkaruu] $_{PP}$ [fii ?anfusihi]]]] /

interrogative marker+conj+negative particle+ Imperf.verb+PI (3rd per.,masc.,pl)+prep+nominal+gen.case+PI(3rdper.,masc.,pl)

Have they not pondered upon themselves?

7. (Verse no.[8]) / $_{CP}$ [$_{IP}^1$ [$_{VP}$ [maa $_{VP}$ [xalaqa]] $_{NP}$ [llaahu] $_{NP}$

[$_{NP}$ [-ssamaawaati wa-l-?arda] wa $_{NP}$ [$_{IP}^2$ [$_{NP}$ [maa] $_{PP}$

[baynahumaa]]] $_{PP}$ [?illa $_{PP}$ [bilhaqqi wa?ajalin musammaa]]]

negative particle+Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+Def.Art.

+nominal+nominativecase+Def.Art.+nominal+accusative case

(pl.fem.)+conj+Def.Art.+nominal+accusative case+conj+

relative pron.+prep+accusative case+PI(2nd per.,dual,masc.

and fem.acc.andgen.)+prep+prep+Def.Art.+nominal+gen.case

+conj+nominal+gen.case+nunation+passive participle

Allah created not the heavens and the earth,and that which is

between them,save with truth and for a destined end.

8. (Verse no.[9]) / wa $_{CP} [C [VP [V [jaa?athum]] IP [NP [rusuluhum] PP [bi- NP [l-bayyinaati]]]]]$

conj+Perf.verb+PI(3rdper.,fem.,sing)+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+
nominal+PI(masc.,pl.)+nominative case+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+
prep+Def.Art.+nominal+PI(fem.,sing)+gen.case

Messengers of their own came unto them with clear proofs (of Allah's Sovereignty).

9.(Verse number [33]) /wa $_{CP}^1 [C^2 [i3aa^2 IP^2 [VP^2 [V^2 [massa]_{NP} [-nnaasa]]_{NP} [durrun]]] IP^1 [VP^1 [V^1 [da9aw]_{NP} [rabbahum]]]] IP^3 [NP [muniibiina] PP [?ilayhi]]]$

conj+conditional particle+ Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)+
Def.Art+nominal+accusative case+nominal+nominative case+
nunation+Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+nominal+accusative
case+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+nominal+accusative case+prep
+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)

And when harm toucheth men *they cry unto their Lord and turning unto Him in repentence;*

10. (Verse no.[43])_{CP} [_{NP} [yawma ?iθin] _{IP} [_{VP} [yassadda9uun]]]]

nominal(adv.of time)+accusative case+particle of
time+Imperfective verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)

On that Day mankind will be sundered _

11. (Verse no.45) _{CP} [_{comp} [?innahu .]

_{IP}¹ [_{VP} [laa _V [yuhibbu] _{NP} [-l kaafiriin]]]]

comp+PI(3rd per.,masc,sing)+negative particle+Imperf.verb
+PI(3rd per.,masc,sing)+ Def.Art.,+nominal(active participle)

Lo! He loveth not the disbelievers (in His guidance).

12.(Verse number [47]) /wa _{IP}¹ [_{VP} [_{VP} [laqad] _V [?arsalnaa]]

_{PP} [_{min} _{NP} [qablika]]] _{NP} [rusulan] _{PP} [?ilaa _{NP} [qawmihim]]]]]

_{CP}² [fa _{IP}² [_{VP} [jaa?uuhum] _{PP} [b _{NP} [-il bayyinaati]]]]]]

_{CP}³ [f _{IP}³ [_{VP} [_V [-antaqamnaa] _{PP} [_{min} _{IP}⁴

[_{NP} [a l-laθiina] _{VP} [?ajramuu]]]]]]]

conj+modal+Perf.verb+PI(1st per.,pl)+prep+nominal(adv.of
time)+gen.case+PI(2nd per.,masc.,sing)+nominal+accusative
case+nunation+prep+nominal+gen.case+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)
+emphatic particle+Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+PI(3rd per.

,masc.,pl)+prep+Def.Art.+nominal+gen.case+emphatic
 particle+Perf.verb+PI(1st per,pl)+prep+Def.Art.+relative
 pron.+PI(masc.,pl)+Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)

*Verily We sent before thee (Muhammad) messengers to their
 own folk. They brought them clear proofs (of Allah's
 Sovereignty). Then We took vengeance upon those who were
 guilty(in regard to them).*

13. (Verse number [52]) CP^1 [fa_{comp} [?inna] NP [-ka] IP^1 [VP [laa VP [V [tusmi9u] NP [-s summa] NP [-d du9aa?a]]]] CP^2 [?i3aa IP^2 [VP [V [wallaw] NP [mudbiriin]]]]]

emphatic conj.+comp+PI(2nd per.,masc.,sing)+negative particle
 + Imperf. verb+PI(2nd per.,masc.,sing)+Def.Art.+nominal+
 accusative case+Def.Art.+nominal+accusative case+conditional
 particle+ Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+ nominal(passive)

For verily thou (Muhammad) canst not make the dead to
 hear,nor canst thou make the deaf to hear the call *when they have
 turned to flee.*

14.(Verse number [55]) /wa CP^1 [_{adv}. [yawma] IP^1 [VP [V [taquumu] NP [-s saa9atu]]]]

$CP^2 [_{VP} [_{V} [yuqsimu]] IP^2 [_{NP} [-l\ mujrimuuna]]]$
 $IP^3 [_{VP} maa [_{V} [labi\theta uu]] PP [gayra_{NP} [saa\textit{ḡ}atin]]]]]]]$
 conj+nominal(adv.of time)+accusative case+Imperf.verb+
 PI(3rd per.,fem.,sing)+Def.Art.+nominal(PI:fem.,sing)
 +nominative case+ Imperf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,sing)
 +Def.Art.+nominal(passive particple+PI:masc.,pl))
 +negative particle+Perf.verb+PI(3rd per.,masc.,pl)+prep
 +accusative case+nominal+gen.case+nunation

And on the Day when the Hour riseth the guilty will vow that
*they did tarry but an hour*_

III Analysis of the Data

In sentence no.1 ,there is no agreement between the verb
 / gulibat /and and its non-thematic lexical subject NP,which is
 the NP /-ir-ruumu/. The verb form has the features for feminine
 and singular and its lexical subject NP is plural and masculine².
 The NP /-ir-ruumu/ is a non-thematic lexical subject NP because
 it is the syntactic subject of a passive verb³. It has also been
 assumed that the thematic lexical subject NP⁴ in sentence no.1
 is base-generated as a sister of the verb and that "there is an
 empty Spec in IP above the VP in VSO languages"(Woolford

,1991: 515).⁵ But as we have a passive verb in sentence no.1 ,it has a thematic subject with an “ unspecified character ”(R.W. Langacker and P. Munero ,1975:789) in addition to its thematic complement,both of which are base-generated as sisters of V , as shown in (i). And as the verb in sentence no.1 is passive , it is the thematic complement NP that “Assumes the GF” (Chomsky,1982a:129) of syntactic subject,in which case we have a non-thematic subject NP. Qurʿanic Arabic has been regarded as a “non-configurational language” (Chomsky,1982a:128) ,in turn, requiring the rule of “Assume GF”, instead of Move-alpha , in determining which NP is the syntactic subject, to which Nominative Case is assigned in accordance with “a Case-assignment rule that assigns nominative Case to the first NP following the verb”. (Chomsky,1982a:120)

The locative PP of this sentence (i.e. Verse no.2) ,which is / fii _{NP}[ʔadna -l- ʔardii/ “in the nearer land” , is actually placed in the Qurʿanic Verse as part of Verse no.3,which has not been cited here as it represents an example of an SVO structure. In this study,however, this PP has been incorporated as a constituent in sentence no.1 since it is semantically related to Verse no.2 . It gives the location of their defeat. It is probably to emphasize the fact that the “Romans have been defeated” that

this proposition by itself has been placed separately ,constituting Verse no.2, without its locative PP ;and , in turn , its locative PP has been lowered down to the next Verse(i.e.Verse no.3).

The verb form of sentence no.2 also does not agree with its lexical subject NP in number. Whereas the verb form / yafrahu / has the features masculine and singular,the subject nominal /-l-mu?minuun/ has the features masculine and plural. However,the degree of lack of agreement between the verb form and its lexical subject NP in sentence no.1 is greater than it is in no.2.

The PP / bi **NP**[nasri -l-laaahi / ,which is placed at the beginning of Verse 5 in the Glorious Qur'aan , has also been placed in this study as part of sentence no.2 since semantically it is the continuation of Verse 4. It determines the cause of their rejoice. Both nominals in this PP are assigned genitive Case because they are introduced by a preposition.

The time NP / yawma ?i3 in/ in sentence no.2 of Verse no.4 has been assumed to be generated in a pre-IP position since semantically this time adverbial NP has scope over the S (i.e. IP) it heads. It is an operator with the IP it heads as its variable,specifying its time reference. This is in keeping with Chomsky(1986) ,who says that "general properties of LF require that wh-phrases (and other similar elements, e.g.,empty

operators) are generated at D-structure in pre-IP(i.e.S) position or moved to such a position by substitution.”(Chomsky,1986:5);and “what can appear in pre-IP position in a clause“ is “a wh-phrase or other element subject to the same LF conditions (perhaps an empty operator) and V_1 ”,which “is an inflected verbal element” (6) in accordance with the rule “[CP (X`) (V_1) IP]”. (6)

As for the notion of an A-position in the pre-IP position ,this does seem to be a feasible option in this variety of Arabic since an A-position has been defined by Chomsky (1982a) as “one in which an argument such a name or a variable may appear in D-structure;it is a potential θ -position ”.(1986:47) And since / yawma ?i~~3~~ in/ is an NP (as shown by the fact that its head is a nominal , which has accusative Case, i.e. /-a/ suffix), its D-structure position may be regarded as an A position.Futhermore,if“GFs(i.e.Grammatical Functions) are heads, complements,adjuncts and subjects ”(Chomsky,1982a:47) and if COMP may either be the head or specifier of S' (52), then it may be assumed that the pre-IP position may have an A-position. It may also be assumed that this A-position may or may not be a θ -position , depending on properties of the associated S , on the analogy of the fact that the “position of subject may or

may not be θ -position”(1982a:47), depending on properties of VP. This is because two factors enter into the determination of θ -role: intrinsic lexical properties of lexical items which are heads of phrasal categories; and GFs such as subject,object,clausal complement, head,etc (Chomsky (1982a) 42,and 43).

In sentence no.3, both the verb form / yuxlifu / and its subject NP /- llaahu/ have the features masculine and singular;therefore ,it may be assumed that there is agreement in gender,and number. However, D.Cowan (1982) says that in literary Arabic there is “no infinitive”;and therefore, “the root of an idea is nearly always a simple verb”,which has “the heading of the 3rd person masculine singular of a simple verb.”(54) Accordingly,the verb form in sentence no.3 may be assumed to be in its root form and that there is accidental agreement between the verb form and its lexical subject NP since the subject nominal happens to have the same features as those found in the root form of the verb.This option is reinforced by Cowan’s (1982) grammatical rule as regards Literary Arabic;i.e. “if the verb comes before its subject it must always be in the singular.”(193);and the fact that if the lexical subject NP of this sentence is transformed to a plural nominal, the sentence is nonetheless well-formed. Therefore,the agreement in sentence

no.3 between the verb form and its lexical subject NP is simply in gender;and it is in this respect similar to sentence no.2.

This phrase /laakinna_{NP} [ʔakθara -nnaasi] / in sentence no.4 is syntactically a unit that has the disjunct /laakinna/, which is similar to the complementizer /ʔinna/ especially as it may be analyzed as having this complementizer as one of its components. Accordingly, /laakinna/ is assumed to be generated in the C(OMP) of Chomsky (1982 and 1986) and assigns accusative Case to the NP it governs,which is generated in the pre-IP A-position and headed by the nominal /ʔakθara /. As for the nominal /-nnaasi/ , it is assigned genitive Case because it forms a nominal construct with the nominal /ʔakθara /. Together they form a topic NP,which has accusative Case,rather than nominative Case.

The assumption that this NP /ʔakθara -nnaasi / is a topic NP, rather than a subject NP, is indicated by four facts. First, it has a subject pronominal suffix that shows coreference or agreement with it ;i.e. both have the features plural , and masculine . This pronominal suffix is carried by the verb form /yaɣlamuun /. Second, there is Case difference between this NP and the pronominal suffix with which there is agreement. Third, this NP has the greater emphasis that is required for the topic NP and

that is often followed by a slight pause. (E.Woolford (1991)) Fourth, the governor of this NP is /laakinna /, rather than AGR. As a matter of fact ,it is on the analogy of this sentence (i.e. sentence no.4 , along with those of 11, and 13, in which we have an overt complementizer ;i.e. / (?)inna/) that the accusative Case carried by the nominal /yawma/ in sentence no.2 is assumed to be assigned by a complementizer ;but one that is covert. However, the NP /ʔakθara - nnaasi / in this sentence (i.e. no.4) differs from that NP with accusative Case in sentence no.2 in that it is only the former that may be regarded as a topic NP because the NP headed by /yawma/ , in sentence no.2 , does not have a coreferential pronominal in IP .

It is to be noted that this analysis of the sentential configuration in this variety of Arabic is in keeping with Chomsky(1982a) in that “a clause (S’) “ “ consists of “a complementizer COMP and a propositional component (S) “(19)(i.e. “[_S’ COMP [_S NP INFL VP])”(21)) and that Comp may incorporate “[+ or - *WH*] or *for*” (23) complementizer, apart from the fact that tensed clauses may “have *that* or no complementizer in D-structure”.(54) He has also described the [-*Wh*] as being the complementizer “*that* (and analogues in other languages)” (53) ;and that “COMP” can

be regarded as “ the specifier of S,or perhaps,as some have argued, the head of S”(52). It is also in keeping with Chomsky (1995) in that “a structural position that is narrowly L-related has the basic properties of A-position; “(196).

As for the coreferential subject pronominal suffix carried by the verb form,it may be regarded as the “inflectional “ element (INFL),which has “the features person,gender and number”;and Chomsky(1982a) calls “this complex(AGR)’ agreement’ ”(52). This is because Chomsky’s(1982a) assumes that the requirement that clausal structures must have subjects has “to be relaxed for non-configurational languages”,or that “we might assume that there is an empty subject of one sort or another ”.(131) Therefore, he regards AGR as being “ basically nominal in character” (52) ;and believes that we should take “AGR to be the governing element which assigns Case in INFL”(52). It ,therefore, follows that NPs generated in the pre-IP position can not have nominative Case because they have another governor,which is (C)OMP, and that the lack of agreement between the the AGR of the verb form in sentence no.4 and its coreferential lexical NP is in Case. These AGR features have nominative Case;while its coreferential lexical NP has accusative Case.. It is in this respect that the ‘complementizer C ‘ has to

'remain' a 'free agent' "(Chomsky,1986:5),according to which it may be the governor of the nominals generated in this A-position;

Sentence no.5 also demonstrates that Chomsky's(1982a) requirement that clausal structures must have subjects has "to be relaxed for non-configurational languages";or that "we might assume that there is an empty subject of one sort or another".(131) This sentence is also similar to sentence no.4 even though it does not have a lexical topic NP because the verb form of both of these sentences subsumes to the same type of verb-raising rule. As AGR is strong in both cases ,the verb form is raised;but it is only raised to I or AGR-s. As for the lexical object NP (i.e. /ʔaahiran /),it is assigned accusative Case by its governor ,i.e the verb / ya9lamuuna ;but again we must make use of the rule "Assume GF".

Sentence no.6 draws attention to the fact that the negative particle not only has scope over the verb it precedes but that the negative particle in this variety of Arabic can also be said to control that verb. It not only negates the verbal action but it also controls the form of the verb it precedes in the sense that when we have the negative particle /lam/ before an Imperfective verb ,the verb loses the /n/ Imperfective suffix for the third person,

masculine, plural form. This is probably because the negative particle /lam/ is more emphatic than that of /laa/. It is due to this strong relation between the verb form and its negative particle that we have assumed that both the negative particle and the verb form are generated in IP and that the verb form has only been raised to I or AGR-s.

The matrix clause (i.e. IP⁻¹) of sentence no.7 is similar to sentence no.3 in that there is accidental agreement in number between the lexical subject NP and its verb form; therefore, the agreement again is only gender, in accordance with Cowan (1982) and Kamel (1991). This is because we would have produced a well-formed sentence even if we had a plural lexical subject NP instead.

As regards the object NP of this sentence, it consists of /ssamaawati wa-l-?arda wa maa baynahumaa/. Again maintaining that this type of Arabic is a non-configurational language; and applying the rule of Assume GF of Chomsky (1982a), the thematic complement of the verb form is assigned accusative Case and theta -marked by the verb form. The same thing applies to the thematic subject NP so that it is assigned nominative Case once we maintain "only the terminal D-structure position in the

chain retains the capacity to θ -mark or Case - mark".(Chomsky,1986:72)

As for the embedded IP^2 , it has the relative pronoun /maa/ as its subject NP and the PP /baynahumaa / as its predicate. But the PP /?illa PP [bilhaqqi wa?ajalin musammaa] / is part of the matrix clause. In this PP/ ?illa bilhaqqi wa ?ajalin musammaa /, it may be assumed that there is a deleted /li/ preposition ;i.e. at D-structure we have / wa **li** ?ajalin musammaa / "for an appointed time". This again does seem to demonstrate that the concept of a D-structure versus S-structure does exist in this variety of Arabic.

In sentence no.8, there is no agreement between the verb form, /jaa?athum /, and its lexical subject NP ,/rusuluhum /. The verb form has the features 3rd per.,fem.,sing ;while its subject nominal has the features masculine and plural . Nonetheless, it is the noun /rusuluhum / that is the thematic subject as well as the syntactic subject since it has nominative Case.

The lack of agreement between the verb form and its lexical subject NP in this sentence is even greater than in sentence no.2 since here there is disagreement in number and in gender;whereas in sentence no.2 the disagreement is only in number. Furthermore, the agreement that does exist in this

sentence is between the verb form (i.e. /jaa?athum /) and the head nominal of the NP governed by the preposition /bi-/. Both the verb form and the nominal / l-bayyinaati / have the features feminine and singular. But naturally this nominal / l-bayyinaati / has genitive Case, rather than nominative Case, since it is governed by a preposition. As for the nominal /rusuluhum / , it is assigned nominative Case because it is governed by AGR. It is cases like sentences nos.1 and 8 that necessitate that we distinguish between VSO sentences in which there is gender agreement and those in which there is not even gender agreement, especially as this phenomenon is found in other Verses in different Suuras of the Qur'aan. (See end-note no.6)

In sentence no.9, we have written the Verse as a whole whenever it has been felt that taking out the clause structure by itself would disrupt its meaning. We have done this in order to maintain the sacredness of these Verses. Therefore, the part of the Verse that is not our concern in this study has been italicized.

IP² demonstrates that we may have a VOS order in this variety of Arabic. The object NP is /-nnaasa/ ;while the subject NP is /durrun/. This order is presumably maintained in IP² because the emphasis is on the fact that "when people are in calamity , they cry unto their Lord". This sentence provides

further evidence that Qurʾanic Arabic is indeed a non-configurational language; and that Qurʾanic Arabic is derived from (i) of Woolford (1991), in which the lexical subject NP is the sister of the verb and the lexical object NP, rather than as the specifier of VP, as proposed by S. Burton and J. Grimshaw (1992). With (i) as the base structure and the rule of “Assume GF” of Chomsky (1982a), we can also derive a surface structure of VOS, as in sentence no.9.

Sentences nos. 10 and 11 demonstrate that Chomsky’s rules of “[_S COMP [_S NP INFL VP]]” (1982a:21) and that of “[CP (Xʹ) (V₁) IP]” (1986:6) are indeed active in this variety of Arabic, with Xʹ being the time NP / yawma ʔiḏin / in sentence no.10; and the complementizer being overt in sentence no.11. Sentence no.11 also demonstrates that the complementizer /ʔinna-/ is like the verb form in that it has the capacity to carry a pronominal suffix.

Sentence no.12 IP² should be compared with sentence no.8 of Verse no.8. In sentence no. 8, the verb form /jaaʔathum/ has a subject pronominal suffix (i.e. AGR) with the features 3rd person feminine and singular; but in this verse (i.e. no. 47), the subject pronominal suffix (i.e. AGR) carried by the verb /jaaʔuuhum/ has the features 3rd person,

masculine and plural. In other words, the verb form /jaa?uuhum/ in sentence no.12 agrees with nominal /rusulan/, which precedes the verb form. This nominal is generated in the superordinate clause (i.e. in IP^1) of sentence no.12. On the other hand, in sentence no.8 the verb form /jaa?athum/ does not agree with the nominal /rusuluhum/, which is its postverbal subject NP. This difference between the verb form of sentence no.8 as well as that of IP^2 of sentence no. 12 is due to the position of the nominal with which the subject pronominal suffix carried by the verb form has agreement. There is agreement between the verb form and the nominal /rusulan/ in sentence no.12 because the nominal is in a preverbal position even if it is in a superordinate clause and also has accusative Case.

As with sentence no.11, sentence no.13 CP^1 demonstrates that when the thematic subject pronominal suffix which is carried by the verb form (i.e. /tusmi9u/) is emphasized, the complementizer /?inna/ along with a pronominal suffix (i.e. /-ka/) is generated in the pre-IP position. CP^1 also has a di-transitive verb with the objects /s summa/ and /d du9aa?a/, both of which have accusative case. Again if we make use of the rule of “Assume GF”, we assign both of these NPs accusative Case for di-transitive verbs such as this causative verb /tusmi9u/.

In CP¹ of sentence no.14, there is agreement between the verb form (i.e./ taquumu /) and its subject NP (i.e. / -s saa9atu /). Both have the features feminine and singular. On the other hand, the verb form in CP² (i.e. /yuqsimu/) shows no agreement in number between it and its subject NP (i.e./-l mujrimuuna/). Whereas the verb form is singular, its subject NP is plural in form. Again the agreement between the verb form / taquumu / and the nominal / saa9atu/ is assumed to be only in gender with an accidental agreement in number. In this respect, it is similar to the agreement between the verb form /yuqsimu/ and its subject nominal / l mujrimuuna/. Accordingly, both verbs of this sentence subsume to the same type of verb-raising rule, as distinct from the verb-raising rule that applies to sentences of nos.1 and 8.

It is to be noted that CP¹ is a time clause in relation to CP² and that the time nominal / yawma/ is itself the adverbial of time in relation to IP¹. Both adverbials of time whether the clausal or the nominal are generated in the pre-IP position of the clause they have scope over. Therefore, the pre-IP A-position may have a time NP or even an adverbial clause of time; and the nominal in this position is assigned accusative Case.

IV: Verb -Raising Movement Rule

“Morphological properties require V-raising”(Chomsky,1986:5);therefore,the“movement of V to I forming V₁ is obligatory since otherwise the affix would lack a bearer”(Chomsky ,1986: 68). In a similar respect ,Chomsky (1988) says that “at S-structure ,the verb must typically be combined with its various affixes,to yield the proper forms of PF” in order to form a single complex.(8) And as there are two types of VSO sentences in Qurʿanic Arabic,there are also two types of verb-movement rules,both of which are verb-raising because AGR is strong in Qurʿanic Arabic. The first type concerns VSO sentences with gender agreement;and the second concerns those with neither number nor gender agreement.

The first type of rule raises the verb form from its base-generated position as in (i) , to I or AGR-s. Prior to V-raising , I does not L-mark VP because it is not lexical” (i.e. ”I does not L-mark its complement” since “L-marking is restricted to lexical categories.” (Chomsky,1986:69)) But as in head movement the verb can only move to the position of I where I either θ -governs or L-marks the VP, we have made I' lexical by making it amalgamate with V, after which it L-marks VP so that VP is not a barrier. Therefore, it is by forming V₁ that VP is L-marked

;and ,in turn, the “raising of V to the position of the θ -governor I of VP is legitimate,producing no ECP violation. Now as VP is no longer a barrier for the trace of V, it is therefore properly governed by the raised V.”(70) ;i.e.[$I \cdot V_1$ [VP t...]]

Likewise , we may raise the “ V to AGR or to I” (Chomsky 1988:8) in (iv) , in which the AGR-trace must be eliminated, “as required for the proper functioning of ECP.” (1988:21) On the other hand, V-trace may not be eliminated because “we cannot delete an element if it plays a role at LF(e.g. the trace of a verb”)but “the trace of AGR is deletable”. (1988:10) And as “the deletion of an element leaves a category lacking features, which we designate [e]” (10),the ECP is not violated. Therefore, “unnecessary elements’ delete at LF”. (12)

This movement rule is applicable to sentences nos. 2,3,4,5,6,7,9, 10,11, 12 CP², 13 IP²,and , 14 PI¹ and PI² regardless whether there is a lexical subject NP or not. It is to be noted that in sentences nos.2,3,7,9, and 14 we have lexical postverbal subject NPs with gender agreement;and in the sentences in nos. 4,5,6,10,11,12 CP²,and 13 PI¹ we have no lexical subject NPs. As in both types of sentences, there is agreement between the verb form and its subject (pro)nominal, they involve the same type of verb-raising rule. Sentences nos.

3,7,9, and 14 PI¹ involve the same verb-raising rule as those sentences of nos. 2, and 14 CP² because if the lexical subject nominals of the former group of sentences are pluralized, these sentences are nonetheless well-formed.

However, it is sentences nos. 2 and 8 that require a slightly different type of verb-raising since they not only show lack of number agreement between their verb forms and their lexical subject NPs but also lack of gender agreement. We could account for this by assuming that the verb form in these sentences has been moved to a position outside of S, i.e. in the pre-IP position of Chomsky (1986:6) "[CP (X'') (V₁) IP]". Hence, the verb form functions as a kind operator that controls the IP (S) it heads as whole, making it its variable for it determines its time reference. And as in such a position the verb form is no longer a constituent in IP, there is no agreement between it and its lexical subject NP.

It is in this respect that the verb-raising of these verbs must be a longer movement rule, moving them to C of CP of Chomsky (1986). But Chomsky (1986) says and that in the rule of [CP ...[C' C[_{IP} NP [_{I'} I [_{VP} V ...]]]]], "the V head of VP can reach the head position C of CP only if it first passes through the head position I of IP, amalgamating with inflection and that "such

head raising must be sufficiently local as to guarantee antecedent government.”(69). Also ,again as “L-marking is restricted to lexical categories” (69; ”I does not L-mark its complement” (69) ;therefore ,we have to make I' lexical,by having it amalgamate with V forming a newly formed element V_1 ,which is lexical . In turn, it L- marks VP (70) and voids barrierhood. This movement i.e. $[I' V_1 [_{VP} t...]]$ allows V' to move on to C' because the trace of V may be properly governed by the raised V_1 ;while V_1 is properly governed by its antecedent in C. However, now that the verb has been raised to C we still need to assign nominative Case to the NP assuming the GF subject ;and following Chomsky (1986), we have assumed that “only the terminal D-structure position in the chain retains the capacity to θ -mark or Case - mark”(72). Therefore , it can be said that ”there are evidently relations between COMP and INFL” (Chomsky,1982a:54) in this variety of Arabic.

V: Conclusion

Qur?anic Arabic has been regarded as being a VSO language derived from a VP-internal subject structure in which the lexical subject NP is a sister of the verb form ,rather than its specifier, because this may also account for its VOS structures. The verb

form in such a structure has been shown to be always in the singular in form. But there are two types of VSO sentences: the first type has gender agreement; and the other type has neither number nor gender agreement. Both types involve the rule of verb-raising in the syntax because AGR is strong in Arabic. In the former case, this movement rule is shorter as it moves the verb form to I or AGR-s; while in the latter case the movement rule is longer as it raises it to C, after it has amalgamated with I, forming V_1 . In the former case, the verb form remains a constituent in IP; therefore, it has gender agreement with its postverbal lexical subject NP; but in the latter case, it is no longer a constituent in IP; and hence, shows neither number nor gender agreement with its postverbal lexical subject NP. It becomes an operator with the whole IP that it heads as its variable

It is in this respect that it may be said that the rule of (Chomsky, 1986:6) "[CP (X')] (V_1) IP]" is active in the sentential configuration of this variety of Arabic. It has not only accounted for verb forms that do not show gender and number agreement with their postverbal lexical subject NPs but may also account for the accusative Case assigned to a time NP or a topic NP, which represents the X' in this pre-IP position. In both cases, there is scope over the IP (i.e. S) that is headed, whether

by determining and emphasizing its time reference in the former case or by having a coreferential pronominal in that IP in the latter case. This X'' may be an NP that is generated at the A-position in this pre-IP position; and is assigned accusative Case by a (C)OMP, which may be overt or covert.

End -Notes

1. See Chomsky (1995) for the development of this "basic structure of the clause". (173)
2. This study does not discuss the fact that Chomsky's (1982a) requirement that clausal structures must have subjects has "to be relaxed for non-configurational languages", nor that "we might assume that there is an empty subject of one sort or another". (131)
3. For a discussion of passive verbs and the fact that they have non-thematic subjects see Chomsky (1982a:124).
4. See T. Hoekstra (1986) for a discussion of the fact that the passive predicate has both an external as well as an internal argument; i.e. it has both a thematic subject and a thematic complement even though it is the latter that is the syntactic subject when the verb is passive.

5. It is assumed that there is also the Spec. of IP, to which position the subject NP is moved when we have an SV(O) order in Qurʿanic Arabic, as represented by some Verses from Suurat - iRRum.

6. This phenomenon is found in other Qurʿanic Verses. For example, see Suurat -ʿal- ʿaraaf Verses nos. 43, and 53, Suurat - ʿal-ankabuut Verse no.31, Suurat Huud Verses nos. 69, and 77, Suurat -ʿal-Hujuraat Verse no.14, Suurat -ʿal-baqarah Verse no.113, Suurat -ʿaalimraan Verses nos. 42, and 45, Suurat ʿibraahiim Verse no.10; and Suurat Taahaa Verse no. 111.

The Notations Used for the Transcription of Qurʿanic Arabic

I. 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
6. /j/ voiced palatal stop

(ii) Fricatives

1. /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative
2. /s/ and /z/ voiceless and voiced dental grooved fricatives
3. /ʃ/ voiceless palatal fricative
4. /θ / and /ð / voiceless and voiced interdental fricative
5. /h/ voiceless glottal fricative

6. /x/ and / ɣ / voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives
7. /ħ/ and /ʕ/ voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives

(iii) Emphatics

1. /t̤/ and /d̤/ voiceless and voiced dental, apical
emphatic stops
2. /s̤/ dental emphatic fricative
3. /ð̤ / voiced interdental emphatic fricative

(iv) Resonants

1. /r/ trilled resonant
2. /l / lateral resonant

(v) Nasals

1. /m/ bilabial nasal
2. /n/ dental nasal

(vi) Semi- Vowel

1. /w/ velar semi- vowel
2. /y/ palatal semi- vowel

II Vocalic Phonemes

1./i/ and /ii/ high front,unrounded short and long vowels respectively.

2. /u/ and /uu/ high back ,rounded short and long vowels respectively.

3./e/ and /ee/ mid front ,unrounded short and long vowels respectively

4./o/ and /oo/ mid back ,rounded short and long vowels respectively

5./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.

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جامعة عين شمس
كلية الآداب



حوليات كلية الآداب

المجلد الرابع والعشرون

الجزء الأول

١٩٩٥-١٩٩٦