

## THE /NAFS-/ QUANTIFIER IN QUR'ANIC ARABIC

*Huda M.M. Ghaly*

### Abstract

There is a /nafs-/ construction in Qur'anic Arabic which conveys quantification, according to which it may be regarded as an QNP of May (1985). Also, as it is basically composed of the noun /nafs-/, it may also be regarded as an R-expression, which is subject to principle C of the binding theory of Chomsky.(1981) Thus, these /nafs-/ constructions are all of the third type of QPs, as described by Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985), and of type I quantifiers of Norbert Hornstein (1988) in that they have namelike properties. Having the logical syntax of names, these /nafs-/ constructions need not c-command the pronouns that are coindexed with them. As for the coreference relation between these /nafs-/ constructions and their coindexed pronouns, it represents cases of 'accidental coreference' since it lies outside of binding; therefore, there is no violation of principle C of the binding theory.

There are also different types of these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) in Qur'anic Arabic due to their having different internal structures that are reflected by their having different interpretations of quantification. When it is in its uninflected form, the word /nafs/ in Qur'anic Arabic, like any other noun, assumes an indefinite interpretation, assuming existential quantification. Thus, it is simply by its being a noun in its indefinite form that this /nafs/ noun conveys a variable in a domain, which is the domain of the human "self"(i.e. mankind). But when it is headed by the universal noun /kull/, it assumes universal quantification. And when the definite article is annexed to this noun in the singular form, it assumes a generic interpretation whose variables are uniform in type. With the annexation of a singular pronominal suffix to this noun in the singular form, there is an operator-variable quantificational interpretation whose variables are also uniform in type. But when this /nafs/ noun is plural in form, it assumes different types of quantification, which all share the concept that their variables are distinct and variable in kind. The first type of these /nafs-/



constructions with the /nafs/ noun in the plural form has the definite article annexed to it and conveys a generic interpretation that has variable variables. The second type that has the /nafs/ noun in the plural form has a plural pronominal suffix, conveying either an operator-variable interpretation that has variable variables or a reciprocal interpretation that is geared in quantification. As for the /nafs-/ construction (which has the /nafs/ noun in the plural form and a plural pronominal suffix) which is introduced by the preposition /min/ "from", this conveys a generic interpretation that has variable variables descending from the human "selves".

In accordance with Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985) belief that namelike QPs in English are not subject to QR, it has been maintained in this study that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) in Qur'anic Arabic are also not subject to the rule of QR. Such an assumption is reinforced in Qur'anic Arabic by the fact that there are no scope ambiguities in these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) due to the presence of overt Case markers in them. This assumption is also in keeping with Chomsky's (1995) assumption that the quantificational feature [quant] is optionally chosen "if it makes a difference". In other words, according to Chomsky (1995), the rule of QR is allowed only when it leads to a distinct interpretation. In this respect, these QNPs (i.e. the /nafs-/ constructions) do not undergo QR because Qur'anic Arabic has overt Case markers, cutting down the possibility of there being ambiguity in these QNPs. Furthermore, it may be maintained that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions in Qur'anic Arabic) do not undergo the rule of QR because they have a quantificational feature [quant] that is Interpretable but weak. They differ in this respect from QPs that have a quantificational feature [quant] that is Interpretable and strong, which does undergo QR. This assumption is based on the analogy of the Q feature that is Interpretable but is only moved if it is strong.

The lexical-type of analysis assumed here for these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) has necessitated determining the position in which these NPs are generated in their sentential configurations. Making use of Chomsky's (1995) and Peter W. Culicover's (1996) distinction between the two specifier positions [Spec,CP] and [Spec,TP], it is to be maintained that



these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs- constructions) are generated in [Spec,TP], rather than in [Spec,CP].

## 1. Introduction:

Before I embark on a description of the /nafs / constructions in Qur'anic Arabic and attempt to show that they are noun phrases (NPs) that are quantifiers (i.e. QNPs), let us first very briefly review how "quantifiers" are described in the literature.

Assuming that quantifiers denote a range of variables that are "the parts of [a] group" (Irene Heim, Howard Lasnik, and Robert May, 1991: 69), Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein (1985) say that the "full range of logical possibilities exist for quantifiers: there are quantifier phrases (QPs) that are namelike, those that are anaphoric, and those that are both." (634). Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein (1985) also assume that "the rule of Quantifier Raising (QR) is crucial to determining the scope of QPs such as *someone* and *everyone*" (624) and that "the notion 'in the scope of' is linguistically determined by the relative c-command relation of these sorts of QPs in LF." (624) Accordingly, they believe that "the QR can be constrained" (624) to the first and the second types of QPs only. This is why they say in the description of the scope of the first type of QPs (which includes QPs such as *everyone* and *someone*) that it is limited to the minimal clause in which it is contained and is subject to the ECP. The second type of QPs, which includes *personne* in French and *wh-in-situ*, is also subject to the ECP; but it can have scope outside the minimal clause in which it is contained. As for the third type (which has *any* and *a certain* as examples), it is not subject to the ECP and can have scope outside the clause in which it is contained.

Likewise, Aoun, Hornstein, and Sportiche (1981) and Hornstein (1984a) describe type three QPs, as exemplified by *any*-phrases, saying that they act like names, rather than like other QP with regard to their pronoun binding properties. It is in this respect that its (i.e. type three QPs) behavior can be accounted for if we assume that it does not undergo QR. This is because it is just like a name at LF; accordingly its scope interpretation is not



subject to the ECP and is not limited to the minimal sentential domain, as shown in 1.1

1.1

- (i) If John found *any dog*, he would feed *it*.
- (ii) If John found *Fido*, he would feed *it*
- (ii)\* If John found *every dog*, he would feed *it*

In describing type three QPs, Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein (1985) also say that "like names, they are R-expressions" (631) In turn, these QPs "are subject to principle C of the binding theory" (631) In other words, as they have the logical syntax of names" (631), they can be coindexed with pronouns in other clauses, unlike QPs which form operator-variable structures and which can only coindex a pronoun if the operator c-commands that pronoun in LF, as shown in 1.2. (a) and not in 1.2.(b) (631):

1.2.

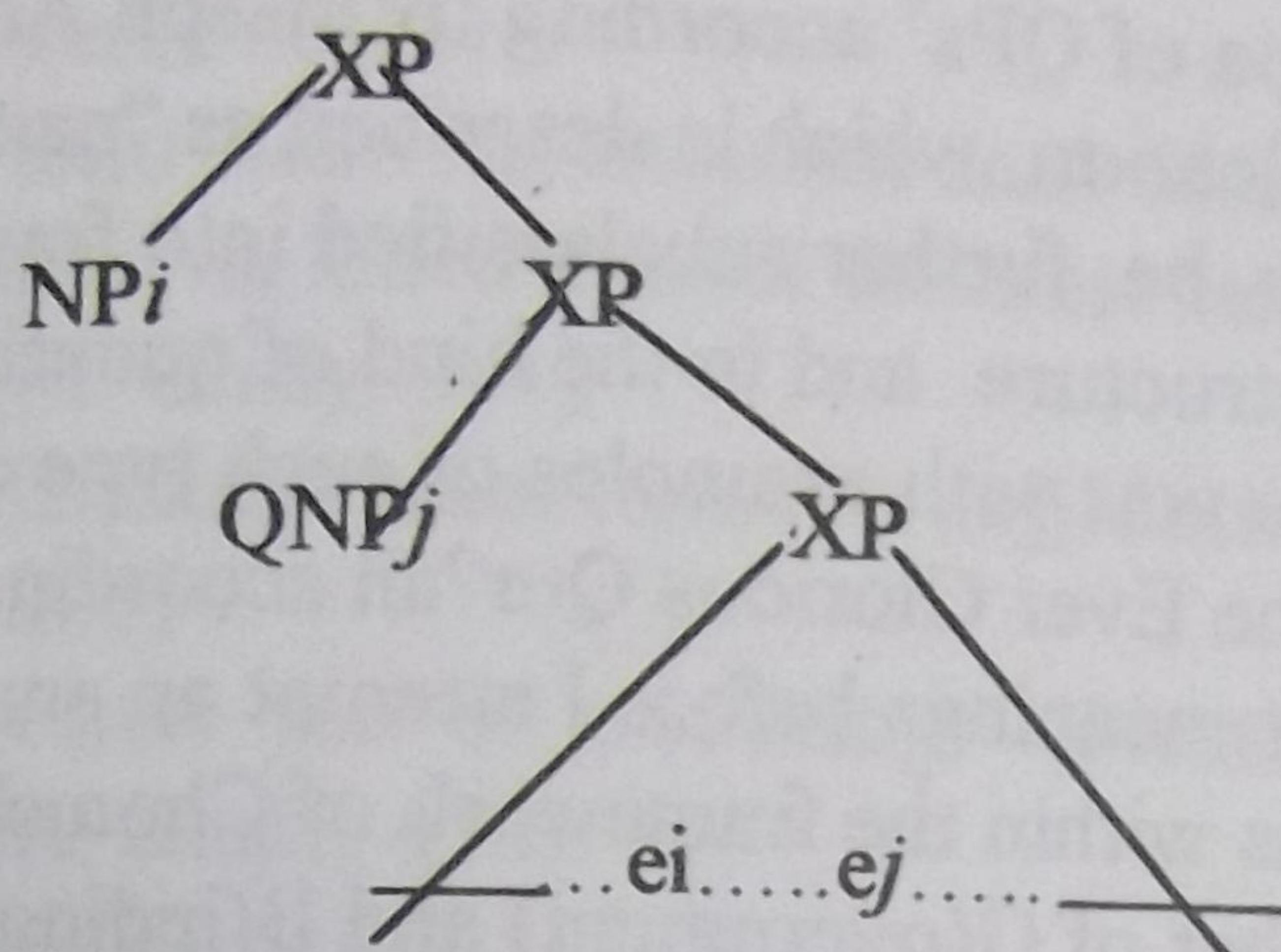
- (a) [Ox [pronoun x] ]
- (b) [ [Ox ] pronoun x ]

Therefore, they maintain that "some quantifiers indeed have anaphoric variables and some act more like names" (636), in which case they are not subject to QR and do not form operator-variable structures" (626) That is, QPs that act like names "do not involve QR" in the sense that "there is no movement and linking to an empty element" (626)). Apart from both these types, they also maintain that "some, surprisingly, share both properties." (636)

The rule of quantifier raising (QR), as shown in 1.3, has been formulated in order to capture the familiar scope ambiguities among quantifiers, as shown in 1.4



1.3.



1.4. Every student admires some professor.

(a) There is some professor that all students admire.

(b) For each student, there is some professor that he or she admires.

May's (1985) proposal depends on scope being determined by government under m-command. Norbert Hornstein (1988) says that May's (1985:34) version of c-command, which is here termed m-command, is defined as A c-commands B iff every maximal projection dominating A dominates B, and A does not dominate B. May's (1985:34) Scope Principle states that the Quantifying Noun Phrases (QNP<sub>i</sub>) and (QNP<sub>j</sub>) in the LF representation are free to take any type of relative scope regardless of the position of their traces because they have the same c-command domain.

Having given a very brief description of the term "quantifier" in some of the literature, in section 2. there will be a description of some of these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) in Qur'anic Arabic. In section 3., there will be a more detailed discussion of the relevant literature; and in section 4., there there will be an analysis of the above mentioned data within the framework of the Minimality Program (Chomsky, 1995) and the GB framework as regards the notion of a quantifier and the rule of QR. Finally, in section 5. there is the conclusion.

## 2. Description of the Data:

Despite the fact that the /nafs-/ constructions in Qur'anic Arabic which have a quantificational interpretation and which may be called QNPs 1 all fall



within the domain of the third type of QPs<sup>1</sup> according to Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985) classification, which is described as "namelike", yet these /nafs-/ constructions can be further subclassified into four major types due to their difference in structure and in the kind of quantification they convey. I hope to first provide you with examples of each type of these /nafs-/ constructions, taken from the Ever Glorious Qur'an according to the hafs reading and then discuss their meanings before I attempt an analysis of each of these /nafs-/ constructions within the framework of Chomsky's the Minimality Program (1995) and that of G(overnment) and B(inding) which pertains to QNPs.

## 2.1.Existential Quantification:

As shown by sentences 2.1.1., the first type of these /nafs-/ constructions conveys existential quantification, examples of which are *someone, anyone* etc in English. The structure of this /nafs-/ construction is composed of the /nafs-/ noun by itself in the sense that it has neither a prenominal nor a postnominal modifier. Accordingly, it is composed of the noun /nafs-/, which has the syntactic behaviour of nouns in Qur'anic Arabic; i.e. it has an overt Case marker and when it is in a non-prepausal position, it has the indefinite marker, which is the nunation. Also, this NP with the /nafs-/ noun may be introduced by a preposition, giving it a slightly different interpretation of existential quantification, as shown in sentence 2.1.1. (iv).

### 2.1.1.

(i) / wa 8akkir bihi ?an tubsala **nafsun** bima kasabat.../<sup>2</sup> surat ?al?an9aam verse no.70

"Remind (mankind) hereby lest a soul be destroyed by what it earneth." (Pickthall, 126) OR "And remind with it (i.e. ?islaam ) lest a self should be discomfited for what it has earned." (M. Ghaly, 136).

(ii) / la takallamu **nafsun** ?illaa bi?i8nihii.... / surat Huud verse no.105

"On the day when it cometh no soul will speak except by His permission," (Pickthall, 216) OR "The Day it comes up, no self speak except by His permission," (M. Ghaly, 233).



(iii). /qaala ʔaqatalta **nafsan** zakiyyatan bigayri nafsin.../ surat ʔal-Kahf (*The Cave*: Verse no.74)

“Hast thou slain **an innocent soul** who hath slain no man”? (Pickthall, 284)

Or “Have you killed **a most cleanest self**, without (his having killed another) self?” (M. Ghaly, 301)

(iv). /xalaqakum **min nafsin waahidatin**.../ surat ʔaz-Zumar (*The Hordes*: Verse no.6)

“He created you of one being.” (Pickthall, 456) Or “He created you of one self.” (M. Ghaly, 458)

Having the indefinite marker in non-prepausal position and an overt Case marker be it nominative or accusative, this /nafs-/ construction, which conveys existential quantification, illustrates that nominative is marked by the vowel /u/; while accusative is marked by the vowel /a/ prior to the nunation. These overt Case markers play an important role in the scope assignment of this /nafs-/ construction; i.e. the wide or the narrow scope interpretation of this /nafs-/ construction is determined by whether it has nominative or accusative Case, which is overtly manifested on it. Accordingly, when the /nafs-/ construction has nominative Case, as in nos. 2.1.1. (i) and (ii), there is wide scope: in sentence no.(i) the /nafs-/ construction has scope over both verbs /tubsala / and /kasabat/; and in sentence no. 2.1.1.(ii), it also has scope over the verb /takallamu/. Also due to its namelike properties, the /nafs-/ construction is coreferential with the subject pronominals of these respective verbs; i.e. as the /nafs-/ construction has “the logical syntax of names”, (Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein, 1985: 631), it can also be coindexed with pronouns in other clauses. In sentence no. 2.1.1.(iii), on the other hand, the /nafs-/ construction only has narrow scope (i.e. over /zakiyyatan bigayri nafsin/) because it has accusative Case.

I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that the /nafs-/ construction is translated by Pickthall as “a or any soul” and by M. Ghaly as “a or any self”. As shown by sentences 2.1.1., it does seem to be the case that it is the latter translation of this /nafs-/ construction that is more in keeping with the intuitions of the native speaker of Arabic who is to some degree familiar with the Ever Glorious Qurʔan. For example, in no.2.1.1. (i),



it is the whole self and not just the soul that is to be destroyed for what it has earned; and in no. 2.1.1 (ii) it is the whole self and not just the soul that speaks by permission of ʔallah on that Day, i.e. the various organs of our body speak up and say the truth of what they have committed during their lifetime. And in no. 2.1.1 (iii), it is not the soul that is murdered but the human "self" as a broad entity i.e. the human being with both his baser and higher qualities. This notion of the broad entity of the "self" is also reinforced by sentence 2.1.1 (iv), in which we are all created from one being or one (human) self.

## 2.2. Universal Quantification:

The second type of these /nafs-/ constructions in Qurʔanic Arabic which have a quantificational interpretation and which may be called QNPs conveys universal quantification, examples of which are *everybody* and *everyone* in English. In structure, these /nafs-/ constructions are headed by the universal quantifier /kull-/, which carries either the nominative or the accusative Case of the whole NP. As for /nafs/ noun itself, it has genitive Case all through; and both nouns in this nominal construct take the indefinite marker in non-pausal position. Examples of this type of the /nafs-/ construction are shown in 2.2.1

### 2.2.1

(i) /yawma taʔtii kullu nafsin tujaadilu 9an nafsihaa/ surat ʔannahl (The Bee) verse no. 111

"On the Day when **every** soul will come pleading for itself" (Pickthall, 261) Or "The Day that **every** self shall come up disputing for herself." (M. Ghaly, 279)

(ii) /kullu nafsin 8aaʔiqatu -lmawti/ surat ʔal-ʔanbiyaa? Verse no. 35 (The Prophets)

"**Every** soul must taste of death." (Pickthall, 311) Or "**Every** self shall be tasting of death."

(iii) /walaw Siʔnaa laaʔataynaa kulla nafsin hudaaha/surat ʔassajdah (Prostration) Verse no 13



“And if We had so willed, We could have given **every soul** its guidance.” (Pickthall, 408) Or “And if We had decided, indeed We could have brought **every self** its guidance.” (M. Ghaly, 416)

(iv) /huwa qaa?imun 9alaa kulli nafsin bi ma kasabat / suurat ?arra9d verse no.33

“*Is He Who* is aware of the deserts of **every soul** (as he who is aware of nothing)?” (Pickthall, 235) OR “*So, is He Who* is ever upright over **every self** for what it has earned (as any other ) ?” (M. Ghaly, 253).

As shown in sentences 2.2.1, it is /kull-/ that has the overt Case marking of the NP as a whole: in sentences nos. 2.2.1. (i)- (ii), it has nominative Case; in sentence no.2. 2.1. (iii) it has accusative Case; and in sentence no..2. 2.1.(iv), it has the genitive Case because it is governed by a preposition. As with the the /nafs-/ NPs in sentences 2.1.1., the /nafs-/ NPs in sentences 2.2.1.(i)- (ii) have wide scope interpretation because of their nominative Case, which is overtly marked. Accordingly, in sentences 2.2.1.(i) the scope of this /nafs-/ NP is not limited to its minimal sentential domain, allowing this /nafs-/ NP to be coindexed with the subject pronominal of the matrix clause of this sentence. On the other hand, in sentence 2.2.1. (iii) there is a narrow scope interpretation because this /nafs-/ NP has accusative Case, only allowing it to have scope over /hudaaha/. Similarly, sentence 2.2.1. (iv) does not have a wide scope interpretation because this /nafs-/ NP does not have nominative Case. Rather, it has genitive Case because it is governed by a preposition(i.e. /9ala/); and, in turn, it only has scope over / bi ma kasabat/.

In summation of this discussion of existential and universal quantification in Qur?anic Arabic, as shown in sentences 2.1.1. and in sentences 2.2.1., it is important to note that the overt Case markings of these QNPs play an important role in determining their scope. Accordingly, there are no scope ambiguities, as shown in 1.4. Also, this discussion has shown us that the binding characteristics of these QNPs are those of names in the sense that “they do not need to c-command a pronoun in order to be coindexed with it and control its interpretation”.( Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein, 1985: 626).

### 2.3: The /nafs-/ Construction with the Definite Article:A Generic Interpretation



The third type of these /nafs-/ constructions in Qur'anic Arabic which have a quantificational interpretation and which may be called QNPs is introduced by the definite article. There are two types of these /nafs-/ constructions, which are introduced by the definite article as illustrated by sentences 2.3.1. and 2.3.2. Each of these two types is distinct in structure and has a distinct interpretation from the other. The first type has the /nafs-/ noun in the singular form; while the second type has the /nafs-/ noun in the plural form. The former type is associated with a generic interpretation of the human race, as distinct from the other beings in this Universe. As for the second type, it is associated with a plural distributive and variable interpretation, in addition to the collective one. In other words, it has the interpretation of a "distributor" (66) of the "bound variable anaphora" (72) of I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) and as well as the interpretation of "coreference anaphora" (72).

### 2.3.1: With the singular form

(i) /walaa taqtulu -**nna**fsa -llatii harrama -llaahu... / suurat ?al?an9aam verse no.151

"And that ye slay not **the** life which Allaah hath made sacred, " (Pickthall, 137) OR "and that you do not kill **the** self that Allaah has prohibited." M. Ghaly, 148.

(ii)/wa maa ?ubarri?u **n**afsii ?inna -**nna**fsa la?ammaaratum bi ssuu?i... / suurat Yuusuf verse no.53

"I do not exculpate myself. Lo! **the** (human) soul enjoineeth unto evil, " (Pickthall, 224) OR "And in no way do I acquit my self. Surely **the** self indeed constantly commands to odious (deeds)." (M. Ghaly, 242).

(iii)/wa naha -**nna**fsa 9ani -lhawaa/suurat ?a-Naazi9aat (The Pluckers) Verse no.40

".. restrained **his** soul from lust " (Pickthall, 605) Or.."and forbade **the** self (its) prejudices." (M. Ghaly, 584)

As this /nafs-/ construction has a generic interpretation, Pickthall has translated it in sentence 2.3.1.(i) as "the life", instead of "the soul" It is the



generic interpretation of this /nafs-/ construction that makes sentences 2.3.1.(ii) and (iii) sound rather strange; i.e. it is strange that “the soul” enjoys evil in sentence 2.3.1.(ii) and that it also lusts in sentence 2.3.1.(iii). On the other hand, M. Ghaly has translated this /nafs-/ construction as “the self” all through because the concept of the “self” comprises both the abstract and the concrete properties of the human being with his higher and baser qualities. Accordingly, the translation of this type of the /nafs-/ construction as “the self”, rather than “the soul”, conveys this generic interpretation more clearly.

### 2.3.2: With the plural form

(i) /wa ?i8a -nnufusu zuwwijat/ surat ?at-Takwiir (The Rolling) Verse no.7  
 “And when **souls** are reunited” (Pickthall, 609) Or “And when the (inner) **selves** shall be espoused.” (M. Ghaly, 586).

(ii) /wa fiihaa maa taStahiihi -l?anfusu.../ surat ?az-Zuxruf (Decoration or Ornaments of Gold) Verse 71

“Therein is all that the **soul** desires”. (Pickthall, 494) Or “And therein being whatever the **selves** lust for”. (M. Ghaly, 494).

(iii)/?iy yattabi9uuna ?illa -88anna wa maa tahwa -l?anfusu.../ surat ?an-Najm (The Star) Verse no.23

“They follow but a guess and that which (they) **themselves** desire.” (Pickthall, 531) Or “Decidedly they closely follow nothing except surmise, and what (prejudices) the **selves** yearn to.” (M. Ghaly, 526)

As shown in sentences 2.3.2., there are two types of the /nafs-/ construction with the plural form and the definite article. That they are two distinct types is structurally indicated by their having two distinct plural forms for the same singular noun, which is /?annafsu/. These two plural forms are /?al?anfus-/ and /?annufuusu-/, both of which may be regarded as broken plurals. Each of these plural forms is consequently associated with a distinct interpretation, as to be shown in the following discussion.

The plural form /?annufuusu/ is unique in that in all of the Ever Glorious Qur?an there is only one occurrence of it. M. Ghaly (personal communication) says that it pertains to Life after Resurrection; and this is



why he translates it as the marriage of "the (inner) selves" Pickthall, on the other hand, translates it as the reunion of the souls. A. A. M. Bin Ahmad ?al?ansaari ?alqurtobi in his "The Qurtobi Interpretation" (Kitaab ?aSSa9b Edition) states that this Verse means that in the Life after Resurrection each soul will returned to its body; and then each man will be spoused to a wife of his own kind and clanned with people of his own kind. It is to be noted that in our present Life each man is not necessarily spoused to a wife of his own kind, and vice versa for each wife. Nor is it the case that each man in this Life is clanned or has decented from parents of his own kind.

Accordingly, this /nafs-/ construction not only conveys the generic interpretation of "man" in Life after Resurrection but also conveys the variability of the types of the people there will be in that Life (i.e. after Resurrection). For example, it is said that there are different layers of the Heavens with the most pious people being accomodated in the highest layers; but even the less pious people who are accomodated in lowest layer of the seven Heavens will be in a state of constant harmony because they will be with spouses and people of their own kind. There are also different layers of Hell for the accomodation of all wrongdoing people in accordance with their different and variable degrees of evil; i.e. the most evil people, such as the hypocrites, are accomodated in the lowest layer of Hell. In other words, in Life after Resurrection each man will be spoused to a wife of his own kind and clanned with people of his own kind whether he is good or evil; and this notion of the variability in the types of "selves" there are even in Life after Resurrection is brought about by this plural form of the /nafs-/ noun.

The second plural form (i.e. /?al?anfus-/ as represented by sentence 2.3.2.) differs from first plural form (as shown in sentences 2.3.1.) in that there are many occurrences of it in the Ever Glorious Qur?an and in that it refers to the "selves" of the people in this Life, rather than in Life after Resurrection. However, both plural forms are similar in that they convey a generic interpretation that also refers to the variability of the types of the people or the "selves" that are found in mankind whether in this Life or in Life after Resurrection. For example, in sentence 2.3.2.(ii) /?al?anfus-/ refers to each individual self in the domain of all the "human selves" with their own distinctive desires or lusts; and, in sentence 2.3.2.(iii) /?al?anfus-/ refers to



each individual self in the domain of all the “human selves” with their own distinctive desires and yearnings. Thus, it can be said that this /nafs-/ construction in terms of I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) conveys both “the you” reading and “the we” reading of plural (pro)nominals.

In summation of this discussion of the /nafs-/ construction with the definite article, it may be said that its quantificational interpretation is that of generic interpretation. When the /nafs-/ noun is in the singular form, there is the notion of the uniformity and the sameness of all of the variables. But when the /nafs-/ noun is in the plural form, it conveys a generic interpretation that is associated with the notion of the distinctness and the variability of each and all the human “selves” that are found in mankind. With the /ʔannufuusu-/ plural form, this variability of each and all of the human “selves” pertains to people in Life after Resurrection, designating their sameness and difference in kind leading to their further subclassification or matrimonial merging either in Heaven or in Hell. While with the /ʔalʔanfus-/ plural form, this variability of each and all of the human “selves” pertains to people in this Life with all their distinct desires and lusts.

#### **2.4: The /nafs-/ Construction with a Pronominal Suffix:**

The fourth type of these /nafs-/ constructions in Qurʔanic Arabic which have a quantificational interpretation and which may be called QNPs has a pronominal suffix annexed to the noun (i.e. /nafs-/) in this construction. Again, there are different types of these /nafs-/ constructions with a pronominal suffix due to their difference in structure, as shown in sentences 2.4.1. and 2.4.2. The first type has the singular form of the noun /nafs-/ and a singular pronominal suffix; and the second type has the plural form of the noun /nafs-/ and a plural pronominal suffix. This difference in structure naturally reflects a difference in meaning, as shown in the translations of sentences 2.4.1. and 2.4.2. It is to be noted that the plural form that is found in the latter type of this /nafs-/ construction, which has a pronominal suffix annexed to it, is /ʔalʔanfus-/ plural form, rather than /ʔannufuusu/ plural form. This is because it pertains to the “selves” in this Life, rather than in Life after Resurrection.



## 2.4.1: With a Singular Pronominal Suffix

(i)/wa laq xalaqna -l?insaana wa na9lamu ma tuwaswisu bihi nafsuhu/  
suurat Qaaf Verse no 16

"We verily created man and We know what his soul whispers to him."  
(Pickthall, 521) Or "And indeed We already created man, and We know  
whatsoever his self whispers for him." (M. Ghaly, 518).

(ii) /wa mra?atun mu?minatun ?in wahabat nafsahaa linnaabii/ suurat ?al-  
Ahzaab(The Allied Parties or The Clans) Verse no.50

"and a believing woman if she give herself to the Prophet,..." (Pickthall,  
416) Or "and any believing woman (wife) in case she bestows herself to  
the Prophet,..." (M. Ghaly, 424).

(iii)/wa man jaahada fa ?inmaa yujaahadu linafsihi/ suurat ?al-9ankabut  
(The Spider) Verse no.6

"And whosoever striveth, he striveth only to himself." (Pickthall, 388) Or  
"And whosoever strives, then surely he strives only to himself." (M. Ghaly,  
396).

(iv)/wa man yaSkur fa?innama yaSkuru linafsiihi/ suurat Luqman(The  
Sage) Verse no.12

"whosoever giveth thanks, he giveth thanks for (the good of ) his soul".  
(Pickthall, 404) Or "And whosoever gives thanks (to ?allah), then surely he  
gives thanks only to himself". (M. Ghaly, 412)

(v)/wa man tazakkaa fa?innama yatazakkaa linafsihii/ suurat Faṭir (The  
Originator or The Angels) Verse no.18

"He who groweth (in goodness), groweth only for himself (he cannot by his  
merit redeem others)." (Pickthall, 429) Or "and whosoever cleanses himself,  
then he cleanses it for himself." (M. Ghaly, 437).

(vi)/faminhum 8aalimun linafsihii/ suurat Faatir (The Originator or The  
Angels) Verse no.32

"Then We gave the Scripture as an inheritance unto those whom We elected  
of Our bondmen But of them are some who wrong themselves." (Pickthall,  
430) Or "Thereafter we gave the Book for an inheritance to (the ones) of  
Our bondmen We elected. Then of them are (some) who are unjust to  
themselves." (M. Ghaly, 438).



(vii) /balil ʔinsaanu 9alaa nafsihii baʕiiraturun/ suurat ʔal-Qiyaamah (The Resurrection or The Rising of the Dead) Verse no. 14

“Oh, but **man** is a telling witness against himself.” (Pickthall, 595) Or “No indeed, (but) **man** is a demonstration against himself”. (M. Ghaly, 577).

As shown above, sentences 2.4.1. convey quantification with the /nafs-/ construction itself functioning as an overt variable in relation to an operator that may not necessarily be within the same clause. For example, the /nafs- + pron./ construction in sentence 2.4.1.(i) itself functions as a variable that is coindexed with the operator /-ʔalʔinsaan/ (i.e. “man”), which is outside the minimal clause of this /nafs- + pron./ construction. As with the previously discussed /nafs-/ constructions, this /nafs- + pron./ construction has the behavior of names in that it “never form[s] operator -variable structures”, leaving “an empty category (i.e. a variable) behind” (Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein, 1985:631) that it c-commands; i.e. it does not undergo the rule of QR. But since it itself functions as an overt variable in sentences 2.4.1., it must be coindexed with an operator even if that operator is outside its minimal clause, as shown in sentence 2.4.1.(i). Also, as this /nafs- + pron./ construction in sentence 2.4.1.(i) has nominative Case, it has wide scope: it has scope over the verb / tuwaswisu/, in which case it is its subject and is coindexed with the subject pronominal of this verb (i.e. / tuwaswisu/).

In sentence 2.4.1. (ii), this type of the /nafs- + pron./ construction similarly functions as an overt variable in relation to the operator /mraʔatun/, which is also outside its minimal clause. It is to be noted that /mraʔatun/ “woman” does not refer to a specific woman. Rather, it refers to any believing woman who wishes to bestow herself to the Prophet and he is willing to have her. Unlike in sentence 2.4.1.(i), this /nafs- + pron./ construction only has scope over the PP / linnaabii/. This is because it has accusative Case, demonstrating again the important role played by the presence of overt Case markers in determining the scope of these quantifiers. But as the /nafs- + pron./ construction in sentence 2.4.1 (ii) also has namelike properties, it is coindexed with the subject pronominal of the verb /wahabat/. In turn, both the subject pronominal of this verb and the /nafs- + pron./ construction are also coindexed with /mraʔatun/, which is the operator that determines their range of reference



Likewise, the /nafs- + pron./ construction in sentence 2.4.1. (iii) is coindexed with an operator that is outside its minimal clause; i.e. / **man**/ "whosoever". Apart from being introduced by a preposition, the /nafs- + pron./ construction in sentence 2.4.1. (iii) is also coindexed with the subject pronominals of the verbs /jaahada /and / yujaahadu /, which are outside its minimal clause. It is to be noted that both of these subject pronominals also function as overt variables in relation to the same operator ( i.e. / **man**/ "whosoever"), which also determines their range of reference. The same analysis is also applicable to sentences 2.4.1. (iv) and (v) in relation to the operator / **man**/ "whosoever". Accordingly, it can be said that in this variety of Arabic both pronominals and nominals 3 may function as overt variables and that the /nafs- + pron./ construction differs from the pronominal variable in that it refers to the concept of a human "self" as a variable, as shown in all of the sentences of 2.4.1.

Sentences 2.4.1. (vi) and (vii), on the other hand, demonstrate that the /nafs- + pron./ construction may also be coindexed with an operator within its minimal clause: in sentence 2.4.1. (vi) it is the overt variable that is coindexed with the operator /**minhum**/ "some of them"; and in sentence 2.4.1. (vii), it is the overt variable that is coindexed with the operator /**?insaanu**/ "man". It is to be noted that the /nafs- + pron./ construction in these sentences also does not refer to specific people but rather to a range of variables in a certain domain which is specified by its operator.

In summation of this discussion of sentences 2.4.1., it may be said that it is the overt Case markers that determine the scope of these\_QNPs so that there are no scope ambiguities. Likewise, it is their namelike properties that allow them to be coindexed with pronominals they do not c-command; and it is probably their namelike properties that have enabled them to function as an overt variable since variables are also R-expressions. This discussion has also shown that whether this /nafs- + pron./ construction has nominative or accusative Case, it is not A-free, violating Principle C of the Binding Conditions. However, it may be said following Clark (1992) that this type of coreference may be assimilated to "the class involving 'accidental coreference'; these are cases where two elements corefer but neither binds the other." (13)<sup>4</sup>



## 2.4.2: With a Plural Pronominal Suffix:

There are different types of this type of the /nafs- + pron./ construction, which has the plural form of the /nafs-/ noun and a plural pronominal suffix. The first type is illustrated by sentences 2.4.2.1., which have an operator - variable interpretation; the second type is illustrated by sentences 2.4.2.2., which convey quantification that is fused with reciprocity; and the third type is illustrated by sentences 2.4.2.3., which have a generic interpretation.

### 2.4.2.1: With a Operator -Variable Interpretation:

(i)/wa **man** 9amila saalihan **fali**?anfusi**him** yamhaduuna/ surat ?ar-ruum  
(The Romans) Verse no.44

“**those who** do right make provision **for themselves**-”

(Pickthall, 400) Or “.”and **whosoever** does righteousness, then for **themselves**, they are gaining access (to the Garden).” (M. Ghaly, 409).

(ii)/wa -lmutallaqaatu yatarabbasna **bi**?anfusi**hinna**/ surat ?al-Baqarah  
(The Cow) Verse no.228

“Women who are divorced shall wait, keeping **themselves** apart, three (monthly) courses.” (Pickthall, 36) Or “And divorced women shall await **by themselves** for three periods.” (M. Ghaly, 36).

As with sentences 2.4.1.(i)-(iii), the /nafs- + pron./ construction in sentences 2.4.2.1. (i) and (ii) itself functions as an overt variable that is coindexed with an overt operator, which is outside its minimal clause. However, sentences 2.4.2.1., which have the plural form of the /nafs-/ noun and a plural pronominal suffix, differ from those of 2.4.1. in that in the former group of sentences there is an emphasis on the distinctness and the variability of the types of variables there are in a particular group or domain, which is determined by the operator of that variable. For example, in sentence 2.4.2.1. (i) both the plural form of the /nafs-/ noun and its plural pronominal suffix convey the notion that there are many types of “selves” or variables in mankind. Had the /nafs- / noun and its pronominal suffix been in



the singular form, this variability of the variables in that group or domain, which is mankind and which is referred to as /**man**/ "whosoever", would not have been found. But as each "self" does righteousness for its own gain in accordance with its calibre, the overt variable in sentence 2.4.2.1. (i) has its /nafs- / noun and its pronominal suffix in the plural forms, rather than in the singular forms. In other words, there are different types of variables in mankind: the fact that warrants calling these variables as "selves", rather than the "self".

This emphasis on the variety of the types of variables that are coindexed with an operator is also shown in sentence 2.4.2.1. (ii). The fact that the operator (i.e. /?almuṭallaqaatu/) is in the plural form and the /nafs-/ construction (i.e. /?anfusihiinna/) has the /nafs-/ noun in the plural form and its pronominal suffix also in the plural form is to bring out the difference in the types of divorced women there are according to Islamic Legislation. For example, a young divorced woman has to meet certain legal requirements that are different from those legal requirements set for an old woman who gets divorced. Had the operator and its overt variable been in the singular forms, this sentence would have meant that all divorced women meet the same legal requirements, which is not the case in Islamic Legislation. In other words, we would have had a more general application to all divorced women had the operator and its overt variable been in the singular forms. Therefore, despite the fact that sentences 2.4.1. and those of 2.4.2.1. convey an operator -variable interpretation, yet there is a grave semantic difference between them.

#### 2.4.2.2: With a Reciprocal Interpretation

(i)/taxaafuunahum kaxayfatikum **?anfusakum/** suurat ?ar-ruum(The Romans) Verse no.28

"...ye fear them as ye fear **each other** ( that ye ascribe unto Us partners out of that which We created). *Thus We display the revelations for people who have sense*" (Pickthall, 398) Or "...you fearing them as you have fright of **each other**? *Even thus We expound the signs for a people who consider*" (M. Ghaly, 407).



(ii)/fa ?i8a daxaltum buyuutan fasallimuu 9alaa ?anfusikum/ surat ?an-nuur (The Light) Verse no.61

“But when ye enter houses, salute **one another**..” (Pickthall, 346) Or “So when you enter houses, salute **one another**.” (M. Ghaly, 358).

(iii)/faqtulu ?anfusakum/surat ?albaqarah (The Cow) Verse no.54

“... kill (the guilty) yourselves.” (Pickthall, 11) OR “... so kill yourselves (i.e. kill the guilty among you).” (M. Ghaly, 8).

(iv) /wala tuxrijuuna ?anfusakum min diyaarikum./surat ?albaqarah (The Cow) Verse no.84

“*Shed not the blood of your people* nor turn (a party of ) your people out of your dwellings.” (Pickthall, 15) OR “*You shall not shed your (own ) blood,* nor drive out yourselves (i.e. your own people ) from their homes. (M. Ghaly, 12).

(v) /θumma ?antum ha?ulaa?i taqtuluuna ?anfusakum wa tuxrijuuna fariiqan minkum min diyaarihim..../ surat ?albaqarah (The Cow) Verse no.85

“Yet ye it is who slay each other and drive out a party of your people from their homes, *supporting one another against them by sin and transgression*.” (Pickthall, 15) OR “Yet, thereafter, you are these (who) kill yourselves (ie.kill some of you); *and drive out a group among you from their homes*.” ((M. Ghaly, 12).

As can be seen from the translations and the contexts of sentences 2.4.2.2., the /nafs-/ construction may also assume a reciprocal interpretation which is geared in a quantificational framework. It is to be noted that this fusion between reciprocity and quantification is reminiscent of I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May ‘s (1991) discussion of reciprocity, which incorporates both the group coreference (i.e. the “we” reading) and the distributive coreference (i.e. the “you” or “I” reading ). They show that reciprocals have a dual nature: “as a kind of anaphor and as a kind of quantifier, restrictions on which must be jointly satisfied at LF” (65) and that “reciprocal expressions have no semantic properties peculiarly their own”. (I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May, 1991: 67). Accordingly, their meaning “arises from the compositional interactions of the meanings that their constituent parts have in isolation” (I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May, 1991: 67). This is why I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) maintain that “treating reciprocal pronouns as having an R-expression part reveals” that they introduce “a



disjointness condition into their semantic composition". (80) It also "accounts for the fact that *each* can have broad scope in the sense that reciprocal expressions can have 'long-distance' antecedents". (96)

E. Williams (1991) extends this notion further saying that "the notion of distributivity relevant for reciprocals is exactly the same notion relevant for ordinary plural NPs." (171) In other words, for E. Williams (1991) plural (pro)nominals in general, and not just reciprocals, convey the "you" and "I" reading, in addition to the "we" reading. It is, therefore, no wonder that this /nafs-/ construction conveys reciprocity, rather than reflexivity<sup>5</sup>, since the /nafs-/ noun itself is in the plural form and its pronominal suffix is also plural. Thus, the fact that the /nafs-/ construction itself is composed of an R-expression, which is the /nafs-/ noun, has led to this quantificational frame, which is also part of the very nature of reciprocity, as shown by I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991).

Accordingly, in sentence 2.4.2.2., (i) we are told that people in general fear one another, rather than themselves. Likewise, in sentence (ii) people in general salute one another, rather than themselves. Similarly, sentence (iii) does not mean that people are ordered to kill themselves. Rather, they should kill those people (whoever they are) that are the guilty ones amongst them. This partitive quantification with reciprocity is also found in sentences (iv) and (v). In both sentences, it is only a group of their people that transgresses over the other, either by driving them out or by killing them.

#### 2.4.2.3: With a Generic Interpretation

(i)/ *daraba lakum maṭḥalan min ?anfusikum/ surat ?ar-ruum* (The Romans)  
Verse no.28

"He coineth for you a similitude of yourselves". (Pickthall, 398) Or "He has struck for you a similitude of yourselves". (M. Ghaly, 407).

(ii)/ *wallaahu ja9ala lakum min ?anfusikum ?azwaaja/ surat ?annahl* (The Bee) verse no.72

"And Allah hath given you wives of your own kind.." (Pickthall, 257 Or "And ?allaah has made for you of yourselves spouses.." (M. Ghaly, 275).



In sentences 2.4.2.3., this type of the /nafs-/ construction, which has the plural noun form and the plural pronominal suffix, is introduced by the preposition / **min** / “from”, in which case it has a generic interpretation. In sentence 2.4.2.3. (i), we are told that ?allaah created similitudes with their distinct and variable types that are from our own kind; i.e. human beings. In sentence 2.4.2.3. (ii), we are told that ?allaah has made for us from our own kind (i.e. mankind) pairs or spouses that are distinct and of variable types. It is to be noted that even this generic interpretation is geared in a quantificational frame as there is no reference to specific people and as the plural nominals and pronominals<sup>6</sup> in general convey with both the “we” reading and the “you” or “I” reading in reference to the human race.

In summation of the above discussion of the /nafs+pron.suffix/ construction, it may be said that all of the sentences in 2.4. are associated with some kind of quantification, with slight differences between each type. In sentences 2.4.1. and those of 2.4.2. 1., the /nafs+pron.suffix/ construction functions as an overt variable that is coindexed with an operator that may be outside its minimal clause. But the quantification found in sentences 2.4.1. is of a more general application as it is not associated with the notion of the distinctiveness and variability of the types of variables there are in a specified domain. All of the sentences of 2.4.2., on the other hand, are associated with this quantificational interpretation which emphasizes the distinctness and the variability of its variables. Sentences 2.4.2. 1., however, are similar to sentences 2.4.1. in that they have a quantification with the operator-variable interpretation.<sup>7</sup> We also have a quantificational interpretation that is associated with reciprocity in sentences 2.4.2.2. and a generic interpretation that still maintains the distinctness and the variability of its variables in sentences 2.4.2.3. Thus, it may be said that it is the plurality in these /nafs-/ constructions that is found in the /nafs-/ noun itself and the pronominal suffix that is annexed to it in all of the sentences of 2.4.2. that gives these constructions this variety that ranges over atomic individuals, as shown by I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May’s (1991) description of a plural (pro)noun “as a variable ranging over atomic individuals” (77) and as “a marker of distribution” (66) that introduces “a universal quantification effecting a distribution” (72)



### 3. A Brief Review of the Relevant Literature

Having had a look at a sample of the different types of the /nafs-/ constructions in Qur'anic Arabic which have a quantificational interpretation and which may be called QNPs and explained their meanings, let us briefly review some of the relevant literature in the light of which we hope to analyze the above data.

In referring to the rule of quantifier raising (QR), which is associated with the interpretation of quantifiers, Chomsky (1995) says that "the status of this phenomenon has been the topic of much controversy" (377), which he does "not attempt to review". However, he does suppose that "the operation exists" (377); but it does take on a different perspective in accordance with the over-all changes that are found in the Minimality Program. Chomsky (1995) says that since this "operation [i.e. the rule of quantifier raising (QR)] is covert, it must be feature raising" in the sense that "a quantificational feature [quant] raises to adjoin to some X<sup>0</sup> max that is a potential host." He assumes that this potential host is "T or v", both of which he assumes have optional affix features allowing them to host [quant]. He goes on to say that as [quant] is Interpretable, it need not be checked. And as this affix feature of the functional categories is optional, it is chosen if it makes a difference: in keeping with the fact that the economy condition holds. He also believes that since there is no PF effect, the result would be to allow QR when it leads to a distinct interpretation. Thus, by incorporating the notion of a quantificational feature [quant], the rule of quantifier raising (QR) "falls naturally into the framework already outlined." (Chomsky, 1995: 377)

Following May (1985), Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein (1985) assume that the rule of Quantifier Raising (QR) is crucial in determining the scope of QPs such as *someone* and *everyone* and that the notion "in the scope of" is linguistically determined by the relative c-command relation of these sorts of QPs in LF. In 1989, Aoun and Li make the assumption that English subjects originate within VP (and move to Spec IP at S-structure), so that when the object QNP moves at LF, it will c-command the subject



trace. As for the subject QNP, it also c-commands the object trace, so either QNP may have wide scope at LF.

In a similar respect, following Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein (1985) Norbert Hornstein (1988) says that the “quantified expressions subdivide into three classes whose properties can be derived from the theory of Generalized Binding.” (101)<sup>8</sup> “Type I quantifiers, like names, do not form operator/variable structures” and, “syntactically speaking, they are scopeless” (101) in the sense that “whatever semantic scope effects such quantified elements display are not mirrored in the syntactic structures involving these elements at LF” (101), making them “generally interpreted as having wide scope.” (101) Type I quantifiers also have “the same pronoun binding configurations as names because at LF they have the same syntactic form[s] as names”: “like names, they can bind across a sentence” (i.e. “need not c-command the pronouns they bind ” ) (104), “do not display WCO effects,” (104); and “are not subject to ECP” (104). That “type I quantifiers are able to bind pronouns across sentences” is shown in 3.3.(i); and in 3.3.(ii), it is shown that they “do not display weak crossover (WCO) effects”. In 3.3.(iii)., it is shown that they “do not display Empty Category Principle (ECP) effects”. (103):

3.3.

- (i) *Every soldier covets a certain rank i. Bill has already attained it i.*
- (ii) *His i heavy case load made a certain lawyer i angry / \*Who i did his i heavy case load t i ?*
- (iii) *Everyone said that a certain woman appeared at the party/ \*Who believes that what appeared in the northern sky? (103)*

It is to be noted that Norbert Hornstein’s (1988) Type I quantifiers are similar to Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein’s (1985) third type of QPs. This is why Norbert Hornstein’s (1988) says that “lack of Quantifier Raising (QR)” is “a necessary condition for the relative interpretative independence of these quantifiers from their logical environment. “(103)

In describing Type II quantifiers, Norbert Hornstein (1988) says that “at LF, type I quantifiers have the logical syntax of names, whereas type II quantifiers form operator/variable structures”; (105) and their scope domain



is strictly limited to the clause that contains them." (101) As Norbert Hornstein's (1988) Type II quantifiers are Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985) first type of QPs, they "form operator/variable structures at LF"; and the "trace this sort of movement leaves behind is subject to Principle A of the Generalized Binding." (102) As for type III quantifiers of Norbert Hornstein (1988), these are Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985) second type of QPs; i.e. they "form operator/variable structures at LF"; but their scope "is not limited to the clause that contains them." (102)

R.Clark. (1992), on the other hand, differs from Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein (1985) and Norbert Hornstein (1988) in that he raises questions regarding this approach to Logical Form (LF) that is associated with May (1977; 1985). This approach of May (1977; 1985) "treats LF as a distinct level of representation that encodes properties of scope" (Clark, 1992:1) and as a projection of S-structure under the Quantifier Rule (QR). It also maintains that "QR applies to all and only those NPs that may be treated as (semantic) operators" (Clark, 1992:1); therefore, it regards QR as a special case of Move alpha that moves a quantified NP from an A-position and adjoins it to some category, creating an A' -position. In determining the criteria for QR, the proponents of this approach say that there are certain phenomena that are taken as grounds for the assumption that a particular NP (or set of NPs) undergoes QR. These phenomena include scope ambiguities (as illustrated in 3.2. and 3.4. (May, 1977)), weak crossover effects, and the Empty Category Principle (ECP) effects.

3.4.(i) Every student read a book.

(ii) [IP [NP a book] *i* [IP [NP every student] *j* [IP *t* *j* read *t* *i*]]]

The effects of the Empty Category Principle (ECP) (May, 1985) require that "a quantified NP in a position that is not properly governed at S-structure may be ruled out." (Clark, 1992:5); i.e. , "the output of QR is subject to ECP." (Clark, 1992:5)

The Weak Crossover effects (May, 1985) may be illustrated by 3.5:

3.5. (i) [his *i* friends] admire John *i*.

(ii)\* [his *i* friends] admire every artist *i*



(iii)\* what *j* did [his *i* mother] give *t<sub>j</sub>* to whom *i*

In 3.5. (i), the name *John* “may corefer with the prenominal genitive NP *his*. But Clark (1992) says that “this coreference relation presumably lies outside of binding, given that neither NP c-commands the other at S-structure.” (Clark, 1992:4) That is, “the genitive pronoun may corefer with *John*, although the pronoun need not be taken as referentially dependent on *John* in the sense covered by the binding theory.” (Clark, 1992:4) Clark (1992), accordingly, says that this type of coreference may be assimilated to “the class involving ‘accidental coreference’; these are cases where two elements, corefer but neither binds the other.”(13)

The quantified NP *every artist* and the *wh*-phrase *whom* in (ii) and (iii), on the other hand, “may not enter into a coreference relation with the prenominal genitive NP.” (Clark, 1992:5) “The inability of the quantified NP in” (ii) “to corefer with prenominal genitive NP follows from the fact that the quantified NP” (Clark, 1992:5) undergoes QR in the mapping to LF locally A'-binding the pronoun in the LF representation, which is illicit. A similar account, which has this approach to weak crossover which “crucially relies on QR to displace a quantified NP to an A'-position”, (Clark, 1992:5) also holds for the relationship between the *wh*-phrase” (Clark, 1992:5) *whom* and the prenominal genitive NP in 3.5. (iii). Therefore, proponents of this approach maintain that “since names do not seem to be associated with these effects, the standard position is that names do not undergo QR (May, 1985).” (Clark, 1992:4) This view is not upheld by Clark (1992), who assumes that even names could undergo QR with the Weak Crossover effect of 3.5. (i) accounted for as ‘accidental coreference’.

The hypothesis that names do not undergo QR has been held by May (1985) in accordance with his *Do* Interpretation, as demonstrated in 3.6. (i). May (1985) maintains that the object NP (including the relative clause) in 3.6. (i) “will never be raised out of the VP, leading to a regress when *do* is interpreted;” (Clark, 1992: 7) and, this in turn, accounts for its ill-formedness.

3.6. (i)\* Dulles suspected Philby, who Angleton *did*. ”



- (ii) Dulles [*VP* suspected everyone who Angleton *did*]
- (iii) [[*IP* [everyone who Angleton suspected *t i* ] *i* [*IP* Dulles [*VP* suspected *t i*]]]

On the other hand, for the proform *do* in 3.6. (ii) to be interpreted as anaphoric while avoiding the infinite regression of the *Do* Interpretation, it must be replaced by some *VP* at LF representation by making use of the derivation involving QR, as shown in (iii). Thus, the “copying of the *VP* of the matrix clause provides a variable for the head of the *NP*, *everyone*, to bind” and “prevents vacuous quantification by the relative clause operator.” (Clark, 1992: 7)

In order to maintain that even names could undergo QR, Clark (1992) proposes to circumvent the weak crossover effects of names by means of ‘accidental’ coreference and also notes that Reinhart (1983) and Williams (1986) argue against this analysis of weak crossover, maintaining that there is a bound pronoun rule that allows a quantified *NP* to bind a pronoun resulting in the pronoun’s treatment as a bound variable only in *S*-structure configuration. It is to be noted that this is similar to Peter W. Culicover and Ray Jachendoff’s (1997) belief that “it is standardly argued that a quantifier must c-command a pronoun in order to bind it and that in most cases *S*-structure c-command is sufficient”. (Peter W. Culicover and Ray Jachendoff, 1997:203) As for the coreference of names, Reinhart (1983) and Williams (1986) argue that “the referential nature of names is such that coreference with a pronoun is possible just so long as the pronoun does not c-command the name.” (Clark, 1992:5)

Finally, in providing further evidence that even names could undergo QR, Clark (1992) says that it is crucial that there is a variable to act as an antecedent of the pronoun in order to license the bound pronoun interpretation in 3.7., distinguishing this interpretation from the group interpretation:

3.7. All students think they ‘re smart. (Clark, 1992:6)



Maintaining that this sentence has a three way ambiguity in the interpretation of the pronoun, Clark (1992) says that the pronoun may be entirely disjoint from *All students* or, “it may be treated as a bound variable” (i.e. the I reading), or it may have “the group reading of the pronoun.” (Clark, 1992:6) And in structurally distinguishing between the *bound* and the *group* reading of the pronoun in 3.7., he says that we need to assume that *All students* undergoes QR. In the former case, the pronoun is referentially dependent on the variable left by assigning scope to *All students* after it has undergone QR, giving us the bound reading of the pronoun with the interpretation that each student believes himself to be smart although he may consider other students to be stupid. But in the latter interpretation, the pronoun is referentially dependent directly on the NP *All students*, giving us “the *group* reading of the pronoun with the interpretation that “each student thinks all the students (including himself) are smart”. ( Clark, 1992:6)

In dealing with the scope ambiguities found in sentences with reciprocal pronouns, I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) say that “anaphora type and scope are tightly interconnected ”(87) ), as shown in 3.8.

### 3.8.

- (i) John and Mary think that they like each other.
- (ii) John and Mary think John and Mary like each other
- (iii) John thinks that he likes Mary and Mary thinks that she likes John

Maintaining that sentence 3.8.(i) may have the narrow reading, which is the “we” reading as shown in (ii), or the broad reading, which is the wide scope interpretation with the “I” or “You” reading (64) as shown in (iii), I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) say that they “discriminate between two syntactically and semantically distinct ‘antecedence’ relations that a reciprocal enters into.”(65) This arises from “its dual nature as a kind of anaphor and as a kind of quantifier” (65) with the ‘I’ reading requiring “that its values *vary*, as a function of the values assigned its antecedent”.(83) Thus, they show that in a reciprocal sentence anaphora type and scope are tightly interconnected because it has both coreference anaphora and a bound variable anaphora.



In discussing the semantics of reciprocal phrases, I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) say that they have two distinct roles: one is the introduction of "a universal quantification, whose values are restricted to individuals falling under the collective denotation of the antecedent" (67), called that the distribution of the reciprocal phrase; while the other is its "reciprocation." (67) Maintaining that "reciprocal pronouns inherit their semantics from the nonreciprocal usages of *each* and *other*" (67), they say that "its range argument" is "coreferential with the group-denoting 'antecedent' of the reciprocal" (69) with "the *other* found in *each other* and *one another*" having "the pronominal properties of *other*" (69). As for its contrast argument, it is always "a variable bound by the *each*. They also maintain that a plural pronoun is "a variable ranging over atomic individuals" (77) and that *each* in *each other* is "itself a quantifier whose range is the parts of that group" (69) and is "a distributor, compositionally introducing a universal quantification effecting a distribution over the atoms in the proper atomic partitioning of an individual." (72)

Accordingly, they propose that in 3.9.(i) *each* in *each other* in Logical Form involves Quantifier Raising QR, in which case it is removed from its surface position and adjoined at LF to its antecedent phrase, as shown in 3.9.(ii):

- 3.9.  
 (i) The men saw each other  
 (ii) [S [NP [NP the men] 1 each 2 ] [VP saw [NP e 2 other ] 3 ]]

Further applications of Quantifier Raising (QR) to the subject and object NPs yields the LF representation in 3.10.

- 3.10.  
 [S [NP[NP the men1] each 2 ] [S e 2[VP [NP e 2 other ] 3 [VP saw e 3 ]]]]
- group-denoting antecedent-distributor-reciprocator-predicate



Both *each* and its residue after movement (namely, *e*, *other*) are operators - the former on the subject NP, and the latter on the predicate VP: "*each*(NP) (*e other*(VP))". (66) Through the operation of *each*, we have a distributed NP, and through the operation of *other*, a reciprocated predicate. (66)

I. Heim, H. Lasnik, and R. May (1991) also maintain that reciprocals contain both an anaphoric and a nonanaphoric part: *e* of *each* in 3.11. is an anaphor; while [*e other*] is an R-expression. Thus, in 3.11., the trace of *each* is A-bound by the subject NP, which is the single NP which hosts the moved *each* and also bind *e other* at LF. As for the phrase containing the trace, it is free, since it and the subject are countraindexed. (73)

3.11. [S [NP [NP the men] 1 *each* 2 ] [VP saw [NP *e* 2 *other* ] 3 ]] (73)

This is in keeping with "the theory, [which] predicts that so long as the binding theory is satisfied locally, the scope of the reciprocal may be unbounded, so that the antecedent need not be in the next clause." (92)

In discussing QB (Quantifier Binding), Peter W. Culicover (1995) says that the standard conclusion is that movement of the QNP in LF is like movement of *wh*- in S-structure in that both move to positions (IP and CP, respectively) in which they take scope over the entire sentence. That is, the *wh*-phrase is just like a quantifier in that the quantifier must take scope in order for the trace to be a bound variable. And in defining the scope of quantifier binding, Culicover (1992) proposes that it is determined through LF adjunction of the quantifier to the lowest maximal projection that dominates it; and Peter W. Culicover and Ray Jachendoff (1997) propose that "the binding domain of quantifier Q in representation R corresponds in syntactic structure to the lowest maximal projection in D-structure that contains Q." (203)

Peter W. Culicover (1996), on the other hand, confirms that *wh*-movement and scrambling are two different types of movement: the landing site of *wh*-movement in most cases is [Spec, CP]; but scrambling appears to be adjunction to a maximal projection VP or IP. He also points out that both types of movements (i.e. *wh*-movement and scrambling) differ from



topicalization, which is movement to an IP-external specifier position producing verb-second (V2). However, topicalization, like *wh*-movement, displays A'-movement properties, differing in that "*Wh* can move only to [Spec, CP]; while a topic can move only to [Spec, TP]" (Peter W. Culicover, 1996: 459) This difference is because "movement can only be to the specifier of a designated head" (459) with "C nominal and T verbal". (459) As for scrambling, it differs from both *wh*-movement and topicalization in that it displays A-movement properties.

#### 4. A Syntactic Analysis of the above Data in the light of the above discussed Literature

In the light of the above semantic description of these /nafs-/ constructions and the above discussion of the relevant literature, it may be said that these /nafs-/ constructions, which have a quantificational interpretation and which may be called QNPs, are all of the third type of QPs, as described by Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985), and also of type I quantifiers of Norbert Hornstein (1988). However, these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) exemplify different structures and different interpretations of quantification to warrant their further subclassification. When it is in its uninflected form, the word /nafs/ in Qur'anic Arabic, like any other noun, assumes an indefinite interpretation, assuming existential quantification. But when it is headed by the universal noun /kull/, it assumes universal quantification. When the definite article is annexed to this noun in the singular form, it assumes a generic interpretation whose variables are uniform in type. With the annexation of a singular pronominal suffix to this noun in the singular form, there is an operator-variable quantificational interpretation whose variables are uniform in type. But when this /nafs/ noun is plural in form, it assumes different types of quantification, which all share the concept that their variables are distinct and variable in kind. The first type of these /nafs-/ constructions with the /nafs/ noun in the plural form has the definite article annexed to it and conveys a generic interpretation that has variable variables. The second type that has the /nafs/ noun in the plural form has a plural pronominal suffix, conveying either an operator-variable interpretation that has variable variables or a reciprocal interpretation that is



geared in quantification. As for the /nafs-/ construction (which has the /nafs/ noun in the plural form and a plural pronominal suffix) which is introduced by the preposition /min/ "from", this conveys a generic interpretation that has variable variables descending from the human "selves".

However, regardless of the various subclasses this /nafs-/ construction may be further subdivided, they are all names; therefore, they are R-expressions, which are subject to principle C of the binding theory. Having the logical syntax of names, all these /nafs-/ constructions need not c-command the pronouns to be coindexed with them, unlike QPs which form operator -variable structures. But there is no violation of principle C of the binding theory because the coreference relation between these /nafs-/ constructions and their coindexed pronouns represent cases of 'accidental coreference', which "lies outside of binding, given that neither NP c-commands the other at S-structure" (Clark, 1992:4) even though both the name and the pronominal corefer.

All these different types of the /nafs-/ constructions are also not subject to the rule of QR. Making use of R. Clark's (1992) assumption that there are certain phenomena, such as scope ambiguities, the weak crossover effects and the Empty Category Principle (ECP) effects, that are taken as grounds for the assumption that a particular NP undergoes QR, it has been possible to maintain that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) do not subsume to the rule of QR. This is because there are no scope ambiguities in Qur'anic Arabic due to the presence of overt Case markers in these QNPs. Thus, the QNPs in Qur'anic Arabic (i.e. these /nafs-/ construction) are different from quantifiers in English such *someone*, *everyone* etc., which require QR in order capture their scope ambiguities. This assumption that all the /nafs-/ constructions are not subject to the rule of QR is not only because there is no logical necessity to assume otherwise but is also in keeping with Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985) belief that namelike QPs even in English are not subject to QR. In this respect, I have differed from R. Clark. (1992), who assumes that even names could undergo QR.

Moreover, the fact that Chomsky (1995) makes the assumption that the quantificational feature [quant] is optionally chosen "if it makes a difference"



may be shown to provide further grounds for the assumption that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) do not subsume to the rule of quantifier raising (QR). This means that there is no point in assuming that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) do subsume to the rule of QR since the application of this rule *would not make a difference at LF*. In other words, it *would not lead to a distinct interpretation*; therefore, the economy condition of Chomsky (1995) necessitates the non-application of the rule of QR to these QNPs.

Chomsky's (1995) assumption that the quantificational feature [quant] is an Interpretable feature, which needs not to be checked unless it is strong, can also provide us with further evidence that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) do not subsume to the rule of quantifier raising (QR). To do so, let us make use of the Q feature, which is also an Interpretable feature, as an analogy. That is, the Q feature is only moved when it is strong (Chomsky, 1995:294), as in English interrogative sentences, in which case it is moved to C, its potential host, by means of the *wh*-movement, carrying along with it the whole *wh*-phrase as excess baggage. On the other hand, if the Q feature is weak (Chomsky, 1995:294) in a language, then this language does not involve the analogue to the *wh*-movement to C. Applying the same type of argument to the quantificational feature [quant], it may be assumed that as this quantificational feature [quant] in Qur'anic Arabic is Interpretable but weak, it does not subsume to QR. These QNPs in Qur'anic Arabic differ in this respect from the non-namelike QPs in English in that it can be said that the latter QPs have a quantificational feature [quant] that is Interpretable and strong; and, accordingly, they must be moved by QR as excess baggage, along with their quantificational feature [quant]. This interpretation of the movement of the non-namelike QPs in English by QR is a slightly modified version of Joseph Aoun and Norbert Hornstein's (1985) and Norbert Hornstein's (1988) assumption that these types of QPs do undergo QR; but it makes use of the framework of the Minimality Program in designating such a movement. Likewise by making use of the framework of the Minimality Program, it has been maintained that namelike QPs, such as these /nafs-/ constructions in Qur'anic Arabic, do not undergo QR because they have a quantificational feature [quant] that is weak.



The lexical-type of analysis assumed here as regards the quantificational feature [quant] in Qurʾanic Arabic due to its being Interpretable but weak necessitates determining the position in which these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) are base-generated in their sentential configurations. Following Chomsky (1995), Peter W. Culicover (1996) distinguishes between two specifier positions in the sentential configuration: [Spec,CP] and [Spec,TP]. He says that *Wh* can move only to [Spec,CP]; while a topic can move only to [Spec,TP]. Making use of these two distinct specifier positions in the sentential configuration in this variety of Arabic, it is to be maintained that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) are base-generated in [Spec,TP], rather than [Spec,CP]. It may be assumed that these QNPs (i.e. these /nafs-/ constructions) are the multiple specifiers of T when they have nominative Case with the subject small *pro* as the main specifier of T. On the other hand, when they have accusative Case or Genitive Case, they are base-generated in the complement position of either the verb, the preposition or the head nominal in the nominal construct respectively.<sup>9</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion of this study on the /nafs-/ construction in Qurʾanic Arabic, the writer has hoped to have drawn the attention of the reader to an important fact about the Arabic language, as exemplified here by Qurʾanic Arabic. This fact is that any noun in Arabic in its uninflected form is also in its indefinite form and that any noun in such a form is a quantifier in the sense that an indefinite noun always is a variable in a specific domain. For example, the uninflected form of the word *girl* in Arabic is /bint/ and as this very same form is also its indefinite form in pausal position, it may be said that it is also a variable in the domain which includes *girls* in general. In a similar respect, the /nafs-/ noun in its uninflected form is in its indefinite form, referring to a variable in the domain of the human selves. And by transforming this very same noun /nafs-/ into the plural form, it still denotes a variable within the domain of the human selves but also emphasizes the fact that these variables are not uniform in type. As with any plural (pro)nominal, there is always the collective as well as the distributive denotation; and it is the latter interpretation that makes room for the variability of its variables.



## NOTES

1 It is to be noted that this paper is only dealing with the /nafs-/ construction in Qur'anic Arabic which has a quantificational interpretation and which may be called an QNP

### 2 Notations used for the transcription of Qur'anic Arabic:

#### 1. *Consonantal Phonemes:*

##### 1.1. Stops:

1.1.1 /b/ voiced bilabial stop

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

1.1.3 /k/ voiceless velar stop

1.1.4 /ʔ/ voiceless glottal stop

1.1.5 /q/ voiceless uvular stop

1.1.6 /j/ voiced palatal stop

##### 1.2. Fricatives:

1.2.1 /f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative

1.2.2 /s/ and /z/ voiceless and voiced dental grooved fricatives

1.2.3 /ʃ/ voiceless palatal fricative

1.2.4 /θ/ and /ð/ voiceless and voiced interdental fricative

1.2.5 /h/ voiceless glottal fricative

1.2.6 /x/ and /g/ voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives

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

##### 1.3. Emphatics:

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

1.3.2 /s̤/ dental emphatic fricative

1.3.3 /ð̤/ voiced interdental emphatic fricative

##### 1.4. Resonants:

1.4.1 /r/ trilled resonant

1.4.2 /l/ lateral resonant

##### 1.5. Nasals:

1.5.1 /m/ bilabial nasal

1.5.2 /n/ dental nasal



## 1.6. Semi- Vowels:

1.6. 1. /w/ velar semi-vowel

1.6. 2. /y/ palatal semi- vowel

## 2. Vocalic Phonemes

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

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

2.3. /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.

<sup>3</sup> See L. Burzio (1991) for a discussion in which it is shown that both pronominals and nominals<sup>3</sup> may function as anaphors. It follows that they may also function as variables.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 14 in the review of the relevant literature as regards the view that there is "accidental coreference".

<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that this /nafs-+pron./ construction in Qur'anic Arabic which has a quantificational interpretation and which may be called a QNP conveys reciprocity, rather than reflexivity. This paper has not dealt with the /nafs-+pron./ construction in Qur'anic Arabic that might be regarded as conveying reflexivity, an example of which is illustrated the following Verse:

/wastana9tuka **linafsi**/ surat Taaha Verse no.41

"And I attached thee to **Myself**". (Pickthall, 300) Or "And I had you worked out **for Myself**". (M. Ghaly, 314)

A separate study should be undertaken to analyze this type of the /nafs-+pron./ construction in Qur'anic Arabic. However, for a discussion of the inherently reflexive verbs in Qur'anic Arabic, as demonstrated by /wastana9tuka /, see H. Ghaly (1996); and for a discussion of reflexivity in Cairene Arabic, see H. Ghaly (1994).



- <sup>6</sup> See Clark (1992) in the discussion of the relevant literature (i.e. p. 15), in which the plural pronominal may be treated as a bound variable (i.e. the I reading), or it may have 'the group reading'. See also E. Williams (1991).
- <sup>7</sup> See Reuland, E. and Jan Koster 's (1991) 'Long Distance Anaphora'.
- <sup>8</sup> See J. Aoun (1985) for a discussion of the theory of Generalized Binding.
- <sup>9</sup> For a discussion of the importance of assuming that there is an A-position in the [Spec,CP] of the sentential configuration as well as an A-position in the [Spec,TP] see Ghaly, H. M. (forthcoming) and for a discussion of the importance of assuming that there is an A-position in the [Spec,CP] of the sentential configuration of not only Qur'anic Arabic but also Egyptian Arabic see the articles written by H.M. Ghaly in the references.



## WORKS CITED

- Aoun, J. (1983). "Logical Forms." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 14, 325-332.
- Aoun, J. (1985). *A Grammar of Anaphora*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Aoun, J., N. Hornstein, and D. Sportiche. (1981). "Some Aspects of Wide Scope Quantification." in *Journal of Linguistic Research* 1, 69-95
- Aoun, J., and N. Hornstein. (1985). "Quantifier Type." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 16, 623-637.
- Aoun, J. and Y.H.A. Li. (1989). "Scope and Constituency." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 20, 141-172.
- Baltin, Mark. (1995). "Floating Quantifiers, PRO, and Predication." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 26, 199-248.
- Burzio, L. (1991). "The Morphological Basis of Anaphora." in *Journal of Linguistics*, 81-105.
- Chomsky, Noam. (1971). "Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic Interpretation." in *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits (eds.). 183-216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. (1976). "Conditions on Rules of Grammar." in *Linguistic Analysis* 2:303-351.
- Chomsky, Noam, and Howard Lasnik. (1977). "Filters and Control." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 8:425-504.
- Chomsky, Noam, and Howard Lasnik. (1993). "The Theory of Principles and Parameters." in *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, Joachim Jacobs, Armin von Stechow, Wolf Sternefeld and Theo Vennemann (eds.). 506-569. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Chomsky, N. (1977). "On Wh-Movement." in P. Culicover, T. Wasow, and A. Akmajian, eds., *Formal Syntax*. Academic Press, New York.



- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Foris, Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, N. (1982). *Some Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Barriers*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Clark, Robin. (1992). "Scope Assignment and Modification" in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 23, 1:1-28
- Clark, R. and E. Keenan. (1986). "The Absorption Operator and Universal Grammar." in *The Linguistic Review* 5, 113-135.
- Corver, Norbert. (1997). "Much-Support as a Last Resort." in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 28, 119-164
- Doherty, Cathal. (1997). "Clauses without complementizers: Finite IP-complementation in English." in *Linguistic Review* 14:197-220.
- Frascarelli, M. (1997). "The Phonology of Focus and Topic in Italian." in *The Linguistic Review* 14:221-248.
- Culicover, Peter W. (1995). "A Note on Quantifier Binding." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 26, 658-663
- Culicover, Peter W. (1996). "On Distinguishing A'-Movements." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 445-463
- Culicover, Peter W. and Ray Jachendoff. (1997). "Semantic Subordination despite Syntactic Coordination, in *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, 195-217
- Ghaly, M.M. (1997). "Towards Understanding the Ever Glorious Qur'aan." Dar An-Nashr for Universities.
- Ghaly, H. M. (1994). "Passivity in Cairene Arabic" in *The Journal of Mansoura Faculty of Education*, 2:161-263.
- Ghaly, H. M. (1994). "Causativization in Cairene Arabic" in *Philology*, 197-231.
- Ghaly, H. M. (1995). "The Reflexive Pronominals in Cairene Arabic" in *Philology*, 193-283.



- Ghaly, H. M. (1995). "Reciprocity in Cairene Arabic" in *Annals of the Faculty of Arts*, 1-70.
- Ghaly, H. M. (1996). "Verb-Raising in Qur'anic Arabic as represented by Verses from Suurat- irruum" in *Annals of the Faculty of Arts*: 3-43.
- Ghaly, H. M. (1996). "Verb-Incorporation of the Inherent Reflexive Verb in Qur'anic Arabic, in the *Al-Asun Journal*, 63-109.
- Ghaly, H. M. (forthcoming). "The Strong Feature in the Declarative C of the Colloquial Egyptian Proverbs" (forthcoming).
- Heim, I. (1982). *The Semantics of Definite and Indefinite Noun Phrases*. Doctoral dissertation, University of, Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Heim, I, H. Lasnik, and Robert May. (1991). "Reciprocity and Plurality." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 63-101.
- Heim, I, H. Lasnik, and Robert May. (1991). "On Reciprocal Scope." in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 173-192
- Pesetsky, David. (1982). *Paths and Categories*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Pickthall, Marmaduke. *The Meanings of the Glorious Qur'aan*. Tajj Company Ltd.
- May, R. (1977). *The Grammar of Quantification*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- May, R. (1985). *Logical Form: Its Structure and Derivation*. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Reinhart, T. (1983). *Anaphora and Semantic Interpretation*. Doctoral dissertation, Croom Helm, London.
- Reuland, E. and Jan Koster. (1991). "Long Distance Anaphora". Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Sportiche, Dominique. (1988). "A Theory of Floating Quantifiers and its Corollaries for Constituent Structure." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 425-449.



- Takahashi, Daiko. (1997). "Move-F and null operator movement." in *Linguistic Review* 14:181-196.
- Williams, E. (1980). "Predication." in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 11, 203-238
- Williams, E. (1986). "A Reassignment of the Functions of LF." in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 17, 265-299.
- Williams, E. (1991). "Reciprocal Scope." in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 159-173

### GENERAL REFERENCES

- Brody, Michael. (1990). "Some Remarks on the Focus in Field in Hungarian." in *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 2:201-225.
- Campos, Hector. (1997). "On Subject Extraction and Antiagreement Effect in Romance." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, 1:92-119.
- Huang, C.T.J. (1982). *Logical Relations in Chinese and the Theory of Grammar*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Koopman, H. and D. Sportiche. (1982). "Variables and the Bijection Principle," *The Linguistic Review* 2, 139-161.
- Nakamura, Masanori. (1997). "Object Extraction on Bantu Applicatives: Some Implications for Minimalism." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, 2: 252-280.
- Ouhalla, Jamal. (1993). "Subject-extraction, negation, and the anti-agreement effect." in *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 11:477-518.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. (1989). "Verb movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP." in *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365-424.