Diversity in Language

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Edited by
Zeinab M. Ibrahim
Sabiha T. Aydelott
Nagwa Kassabgy

The Syntax of Colloquial Egyptian Proverbs

Huda M. M. Ghaly

In the syntactic structure of the proverbs of Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA) as cited in Ahmad Taymur's book of *Colloquial Proverbs* (1986), there is always a phrasal or clausal category prior to the phrase with a finite verb or predicate, or matrix IP. In accounting for this syntactic behavior within the framework of the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995), this paper will show that the word order pertaining to these declarative sentences is not really free, because it is motivated by syntactic and semantic considerations. Since the proverbial declarative sentence requires a certain element of focus (i.e., information that is "new" and has the highest degree of communicative dynamism, i.e., the rheme, as distinct from topic, or theme), there is a strong feature in the complement (C; the head of the pre-IP position that determines whether the sentence is declarative or interrogative) of these declarative sentences. In other words, the presence of this strong feature in the C of these declarative sentences activates a rhetorical operation that necessitates the overt insertion of a base-generated phrasal or clausal category in that position. This, in turn, enables us to distinguish syntactically between these proverbial declarative sentences from declarative sentences of the same dialect that are not proverbial. The former sentences always have the structure of a complement phrase (CP; a declarative sentence that has an IP as a complement of its head and also a specifier to that head), because it has a strong feature in its C, but the latter declarative sentences may have the structure of either a CP or an IP.

Theoretical Background and Review of Relevant Literature

Chomsky's Minimalist Program

According to Chomsky's Minimalist Program (MP), operations of the computational system for human language (C_HL) for constructing a sen-

tence recursively construct syntactic objects that are rearrangements of properties of the lexical items. The first operation of this computation, *select*, is a procedure that takes a lexical item from the numeration (N; the items in the lexicon) and introduces it into the derivation (the set of operations performed on the lexical items to produce the relevant structure). This process of derivation involves the operation *merge*, which takes a pair of syntactic objects and replaces them with a new combined syntactic object so that it may be interpreted at the logical form (LF; the semantic component of the string) interface. At some point in the computation to LF, there is an operation *spellout,* which strips away elements that are not relevant to LF, i.e., those elements that belong to the phonological component (Chomsky, 1995, p. 229). Whereas pre-spellout is overt (i.e., the constituents have overt phonetic form), the computation to LF after spellout is covert.

Since "there is no clear evidence that order plays a role at LF or in the computation from N to LF" (p. 335), it is assumed by Chomsky (1995) that ordering applies to the output of morphology, which assigns a linear (temporal, left-to-right) order to the elements (p. 334), all of which are words or morphemes (X^0 categories) though not necessarily lexical items (p. 335). Accordingly, he regards ordering as "surface effects" on interpretation, and he feels that they "seem to involve some additional level or levels internal to the phonological component" that is "postmorphology, but prephonetic" (p. 220). In other words, "the distinction made in early transformational grammar between 'stylistic' rules and others" is still maintained by Chomsky (p. 324).

Furthermore, he maintains that the scrambled element (the word or phrase that has been reordered and moved further to the front of the clause) is "a kind of adjunct, external to the major syntactic structure, [and] associated with an internal position that determines its semantic interpretation" (p. 324). As a result, full reconstruction, which is the formation of operator-variable constructions driven by full interpretation (FI; LF plus phonetic form, PF) that leaves part of a trace intact at LF and deletes only its operator, is restricted to the special case of an adjunct position (A`) movement that involves operators (p. 326). The reason is that "reconstruction in the A-chains does not take place, so it appears" (p. 327). This in turn demonstrates that on strictly minimalist assumptions the only possibilities for adjunction are word formation and that the order assumed in the adjunction of a head to another head "seems rather obscure and may have no general answer" (p. 340).

Chomsky still maintains that the C_{HL} has *move* α (an operation that allows movement of anything, e.g., a word or phrase, anywhere, provided the movement is not prevented by other constraints). This is indicated by the fact that the "output conditions reveal that items commonly appear 'displaced' from the position in which the interpretation they receive is

otherwise represented at the LF interface" (p. 316). However, he now also holds the view that any displacement in language is basically reducible to morphology-driven movement and that the problems related to variable phrase (XP) adjunction do not really belong to the minimalist framework. It follows that "the primary and perhaps only case is α-adjunction" (the process by which any word is adjoined to any other, larger word) "to X^O, α a feature [i.e., features in words or morphemes] or (if the operation is overt) an X^O" (p. 323). The reason for this restriction on α-adjunction is that this framework is concerned with *last resort* movement driven by feature checking within the computation (p. 319).

However, it may be the case that by the strict merger of two elements or by the raising of an element, forming a chain with both elements then merging (p. 322), there are two terms but only one LF role, since "each of these is a category that is visible at the interface, where it must receive some interpretation, satisfying FI" (p. 322). But for Chomsky, such a structure is permissible only "if α is an adjunct that is deleted at LF, leaving just one term" (p. 322), such as when we have a case of "full reconstruction at LF, eliminating the adjunct entirely." Accordingly, the structure "[YP XP [YP...t...]]] (i.e., α-adjunction) is only interpreted at the trace" (p. 323). In such a case, "scrambling [is] interpreted by reconstruction" (p. 323), where the two-segment category, formed by adjunction, will be interpreted as a word by morphology.

It follows then for Chomsky that "adverbials cannot be adjoined by *merge* to phrases that are θ-related [i.e., arguments or predicates]" (p. 330), because the adjunction of an adverbial to an XP that has a θ-role at LF to form the two-segment category [XP,XP], projecting from X, is barred when an XP is an adjective phrase (AP) or verb phrase (VP) (p. 329). This is why Chomsky believes that adverbs can "be 'base-adjoined' only to $\overline{X}$ or phrases headed by $\overline{v}$ (i.e., a verb form that has had affixes adjoined to it) or functional categories" (p. 330). He feels that apart from the fact that "adverbs seem to have no morphological properties that require XP-adjunction," there is no empirical evidence that adverbs form chains by XP-adjunctions (p. 329). In other words, "an adverb in pre-IP position cannot be interpreted as if raised from some lower position" (p. 330) and "the problem of optional raising" of the adverb can be solved by the Larsonian solution, in which α is incorporated without raising since it "appears in some higher position" (Chomsky, 1995, p. 331).

Unlike the "adjunction of YP to XP" (p. 323), which does not fit easily into this general approach, the notion of a strong feature (a feature that can trigger movement) plays an important role in the Minimalist Program. The strong features are nonsubstantives that call for a category in their checking domains. In the lexicon, there are substantive elements such as nouns, verbs,

etc., with their idiosyncratic properties and some of the functional categories, such as the "complementizer (C)" (p. 240). Other functional categories that have semantic properties include tense (T) and determiner (D).

When the functional category C is questions (Q; for interrogative sentences), it is *interpretable* (i.e., it has semantic content at the level of LF), in which case it need not be checked unless it is strong. And when it is strong, it must be checked by *merge* or by *move* by substitution or adjunction before spellout. If, on the other hand, a language has weak Q, it will remain in situ at phonetic form (PF). In referring to the discourse properties of English, Chomsky (1995) says that there is a null variant of the declarative C that must have been introduced covertly and must be weak since strength is motivated only by PF manifestation. However, despite the fact that "covert insertion of strong features is indeed barred," he still maintains that it "is not barred" if this "covert insertion of complementizers has an LF effect" (p. 294).

Other relevant literature

Arguing against the assumption that word order in languages such as Japanese is strictly *optional,* Miyagawa (1997) provides evidence that its apparently flexible word order of indirect object–direct object (IO-DO) and DO-IO is base-generated (i.e., a lexical analysis), rather than involving optional VP-adjunction scrambling, since scrambling is a strictly optional movement operation. He also provides evidence that these two word orders involve argument positions (A-positions; e.g., a subject position or that of the complement of a verb, adjective, or noun), since they have properties such as binding, which can take place only in an A-position. As for the IP adjunction in Japanese, Miyagawa says that it involves A movement and A` movement. In the A movement, VP-internal materials such as the object appears to the left of the subject for case-agreement features. But the A` movement is motivated by focus. Concentrating on the A` movement, Miyagawa says that the accusative case, which is inflected for agreement (I), is licensed by the same functional category. Following Chomsky, Miyagawa assumes that languages like Japanese allow multiple specifier positions for a single head. Accordingly, he assumes that the functional head Agr_O (that is, the head in which there is object-verb agreement) incorporates in Agr_S (that is, the head in which there is subject-verb agreement). Due to this fusion, we have a unitary functional head that checks both the nominative subject, in the lower IP, and the accusative object, in the higher IP node creadted by adjunction, forming $[_{IP}Obj\text{-}acc [_{IP}Subj\text{-}nom...Agr_O\text{-}Agr_S]]$.

The notions of focus and topic have an acknowledged status in Universal Grammar (UG). Focus may be analyzed by analogy with quantifier phrases in the sense that it operates a quantification, effecting a partition of the uni-

verse (May, 1985), and it can occur either in overt syntax or in LF. Accordingly, focus can be realized both fronted and in situ. Phonologically, a focus constituent has always been associated with a prominence-leading accent (Chomsky, 1971). On the other hand, a topic is deaccented and separated from the sentence by an intonational break, i.e., in slow rates of speech speakers generally make a short pause between the topic and the phrase adjacent to it. As far as the syntactic analysis of the topic is concerned, Frascarelli (1997) maintains that there is no general agreement among authors whether a topic is extracted by movement from its argument-position (Rochemont, 1989) or base-generated as an extrasentential constituent, coindexed with a predicate internal gap or clitic (Cinque, 1990). Frascarelli (1997) adds that one point that is generally agreed on makes a critical distinction between a topic and a focus: a topic in extraposed position is either an adjunct or a base-generated construction, while a focus is neither. Moreover, there can be only one focus while multiple topics are allowed. A focus cannot be resumed by a pronominal clitic, and cannot enter into coreference relations. A focus can only bind a pronominal provided it c-commands it, because in this case it is a syntactic operator.

Another consideration from theoretical work that relates to the complementizers seen in proverbial declarative sentences in ECA has to do with the so-called CP hypothesis. This theory assumes that finite subordinate clauses in English that lack an overt complementizer (*that*-less clauses) should be analyzed as CPs with a null head, whether by adopting a rule of "*that* deletion" or through the lexical insertion of a null C^O (a complementizer on a word, rather than a phrasal level; Chomsky and Lasnik, 1977). This hypothesis that finite subordinate clauses (with or without complementizers) share a common syntactic structure has been refuted by Doherty (1997), who has shown that there are significant differences between *that* and *that*-less clauses with respect to adjunction possibilities. He has provided evidence from adverbial adjunction, analyzing finite subordinate clauses in English without an overt C as finite IP complements, rather than as CPs with a null head.

Description of the Data

There are basically six types of proverbial declarative sentences in ECA. The first type has a CP that has an embedded IP that is introduced by a subordinator such as /'in/ or /ba9dima/ generated prior to the matrix IP. The second type has a CP that has an embedded IP that is introduced by an NP operator such as the relative pronominal /'illi/ or the interrogative pronominal /min/ generated prior to the matrix IP. The third type has an

CP that has an embedded IP that has an imperative verb generated prior to the matrix IP. The fourth type consists of three subclasses of these proverbial declarative sentences, but all have a CP with an NP that is generated prior to the matrix IP. The first subclass has an NP that may have overt case and it is also in an embedded IP generated prior to the matrix IP. The second subclass of type four has an NP that is a nominal construct generated prior to the matrix IP. The third subclass of type four has an NP with a strong pronominal form that does not have deictic function generated prior to the matrix IP. The fifth type of these proverbial declarative sentences has a CP with an NP that is introduced by the vocative particle generated prior to the matrix IP. The sixth type of these proverbial declarative sentences has a CP with a PP generated prior to the matrix IP.

Type 1: CP with an embedded IP introduced by a subordinator

The first type of these proverbial declarative sentences has a CP with an embedded IP that is introduced by a subordinator, such as /'in/ or /ba9dima/, generated prior to the matrix IP (see sentences and their respective trees below). It should be noted that in these proposed syntactic configurations that have been designated in the light of the Minimalist Program, the "Larsonian solution" has been used, i.e., the elements of the internal domain (whether as arguments or not) appear in some higher position (Chomsky, 1995, p. 331). This is due to the fact that "there should be no adjunction to a θ-related phrase (a θ-role assigner or an argument, a predicate or the XP of which it is predicated)" (p. 323). These configurations have also made use of the simple transitive verb construction of Chomsky (1995) before tense (T) is added to form TP.
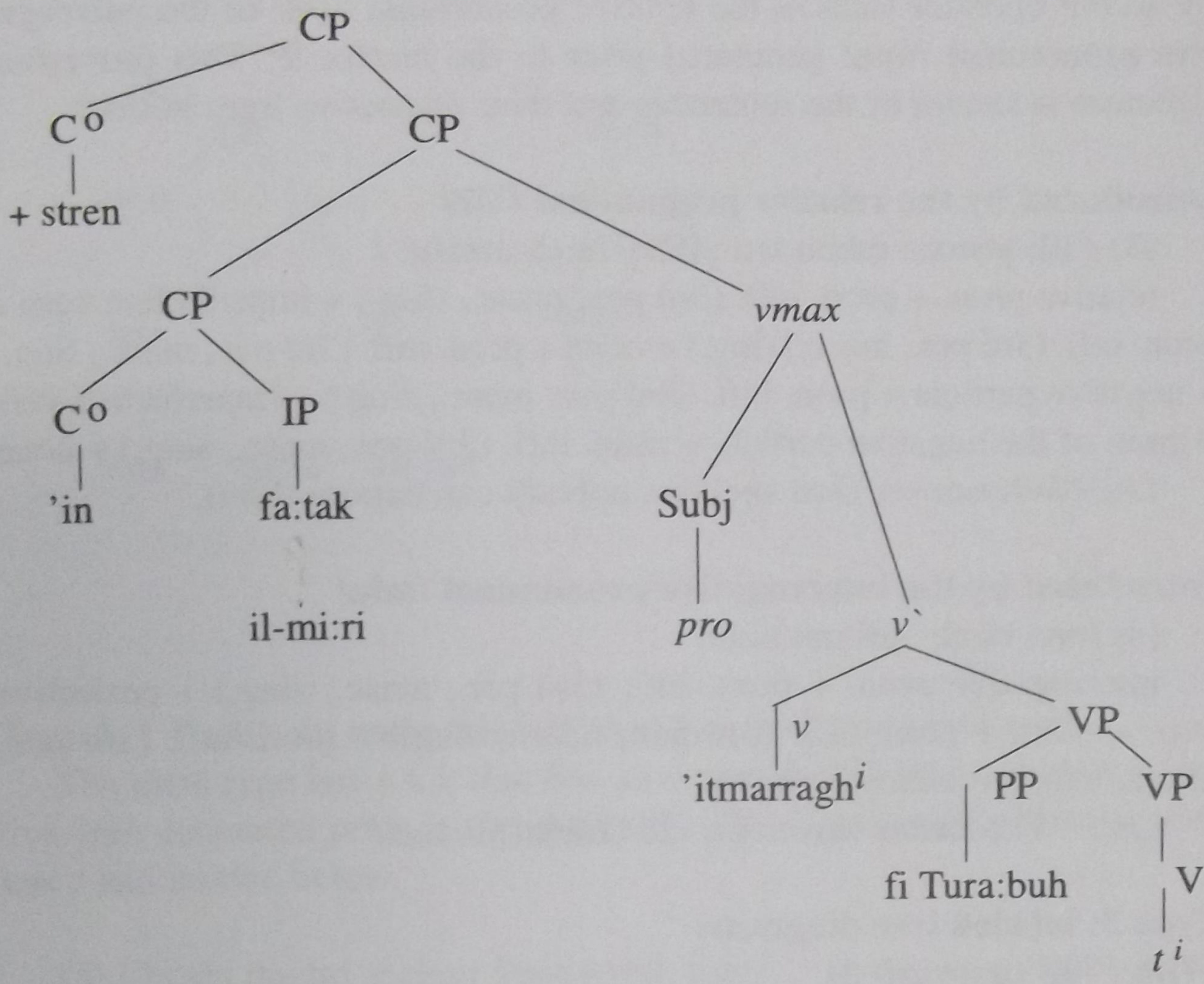
Introduced by /'in/:

(1) /'in fa:tak il-mi:ri 'itmarragh fi Tura:buh/
conditional + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + perfective verb + pron. infl. (2rd per., masc., sing.) + def. art. + noun + pron. infl (2nd per., masc., sing.) + imperative verb + prep. + noun + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.)
Lit., "If the governmental job leaves you behind, roll yourself in its dust," meaning there is nothing better than a job in the public sector.

**Introduced by /ba9dima/:**

(2) /ba9dima sha:b waddu: il-kutta:b/
temporal[1] + pron. + pron. infl. (3rd per., sing., masc.) + perfective verb + pron. infl. (3rd per., pl.) + perfective verb + pron. infl. (3rd per., sing., masc.) + def. art. + noun + pron. infl. (pl.)
Lit., "After his hair became gray, they sent him to school," i.e., he has been asked to do something that is inappropriate for him.

Type 1: labeled tree diagrams
With /'in/ (proverb 1)

With /ba9dima/ (proverb 2)
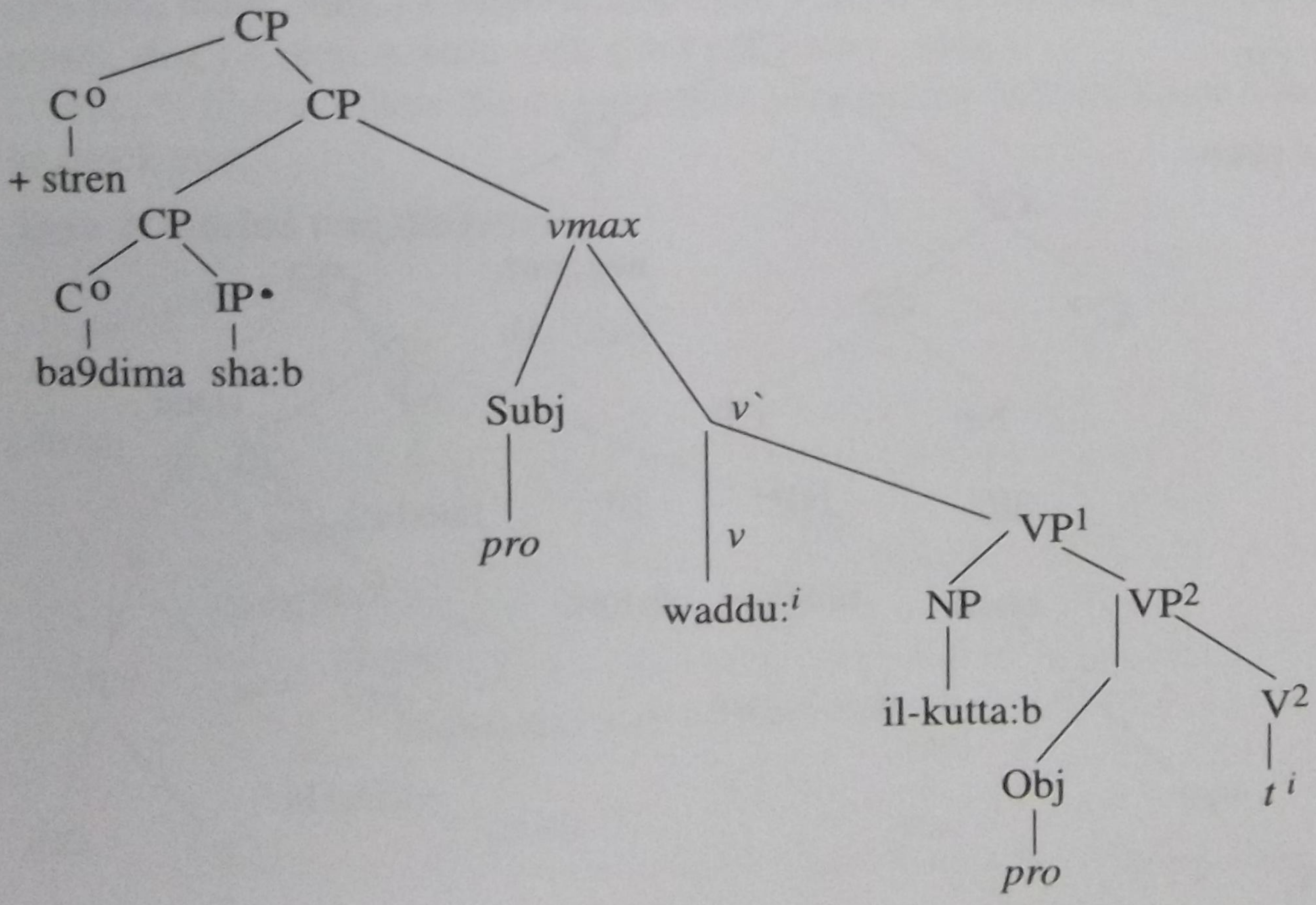
Type 2: CP with an embedded IP introduced by an NP operator

The second type has a CP that has an embedded IP that is introduced by an NP operator such as the relative pronominal /'illi/ or the interrogative pronominal /min/ generated prior to the matrix IP. This proverbial structure is shown in the sentences and their respective trees below.

Introduced by the relative pronominal /'illi/

(3) /'illi yistoro rabbu ma yifDaHu:sh maxlu:'/
relative pron. + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + noun + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + negative particle + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb + cont. of the negative particle + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + noun
Lit., "Whosoever God shelters, nobody can expose (him)."
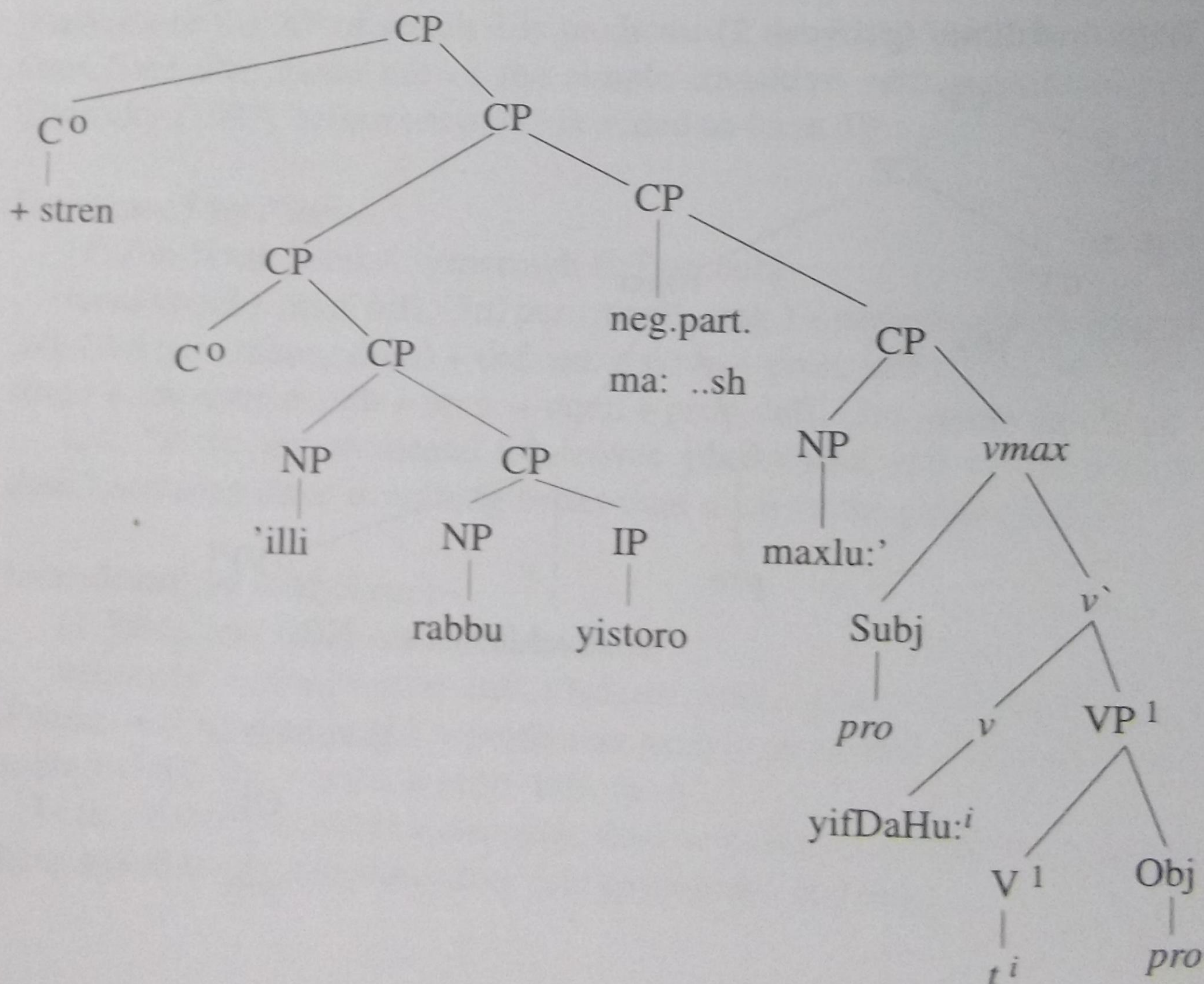
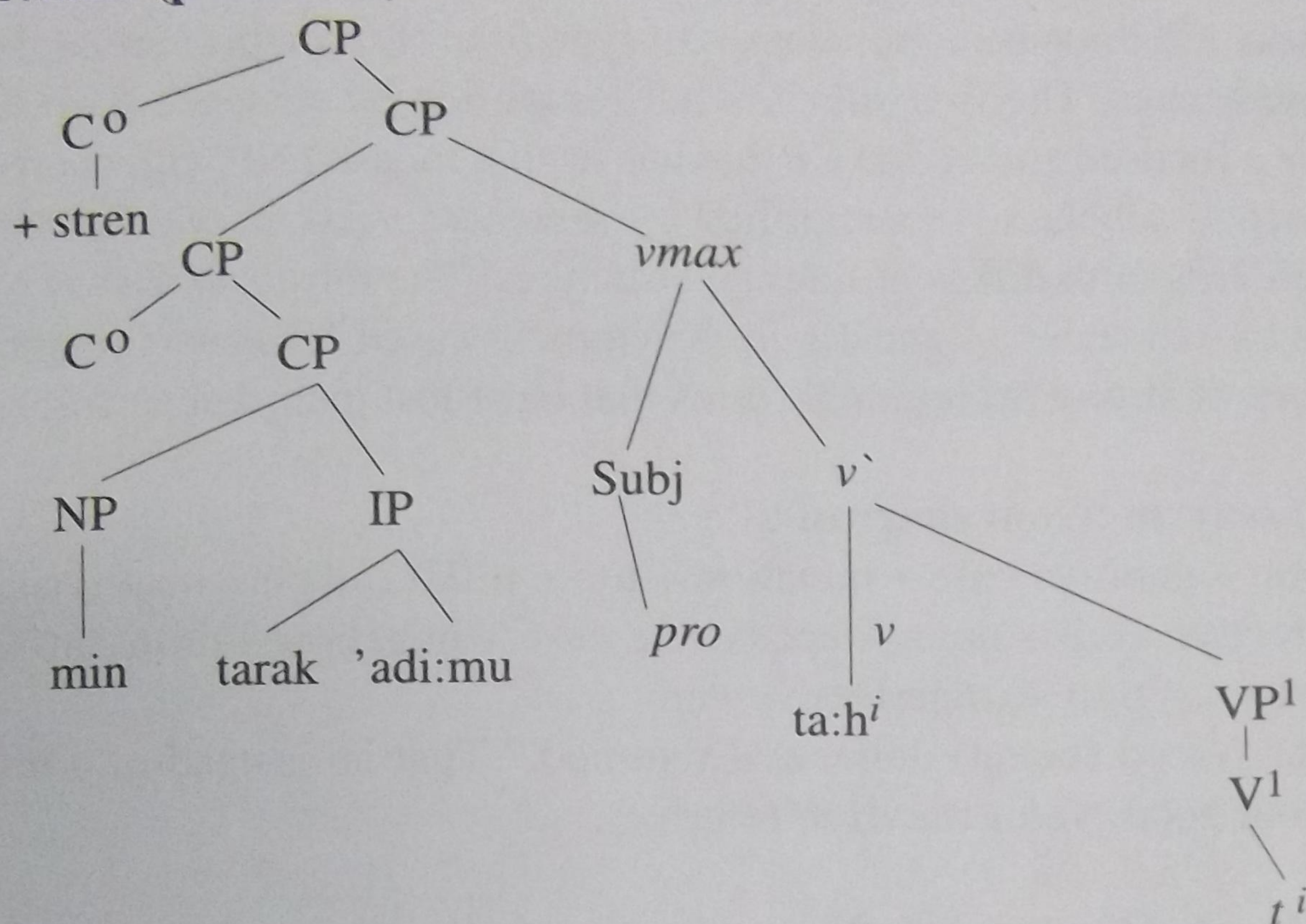### Introduced by the interrogative pronominal /min/

(4) /min tarak 'adi:mu ta:h/
interrogative pron. + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + perfective verb + noun + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + perfective verb
Lit., "Whosoever leaves his old (friend) is lost."

Type 2: labeled tree diagrams
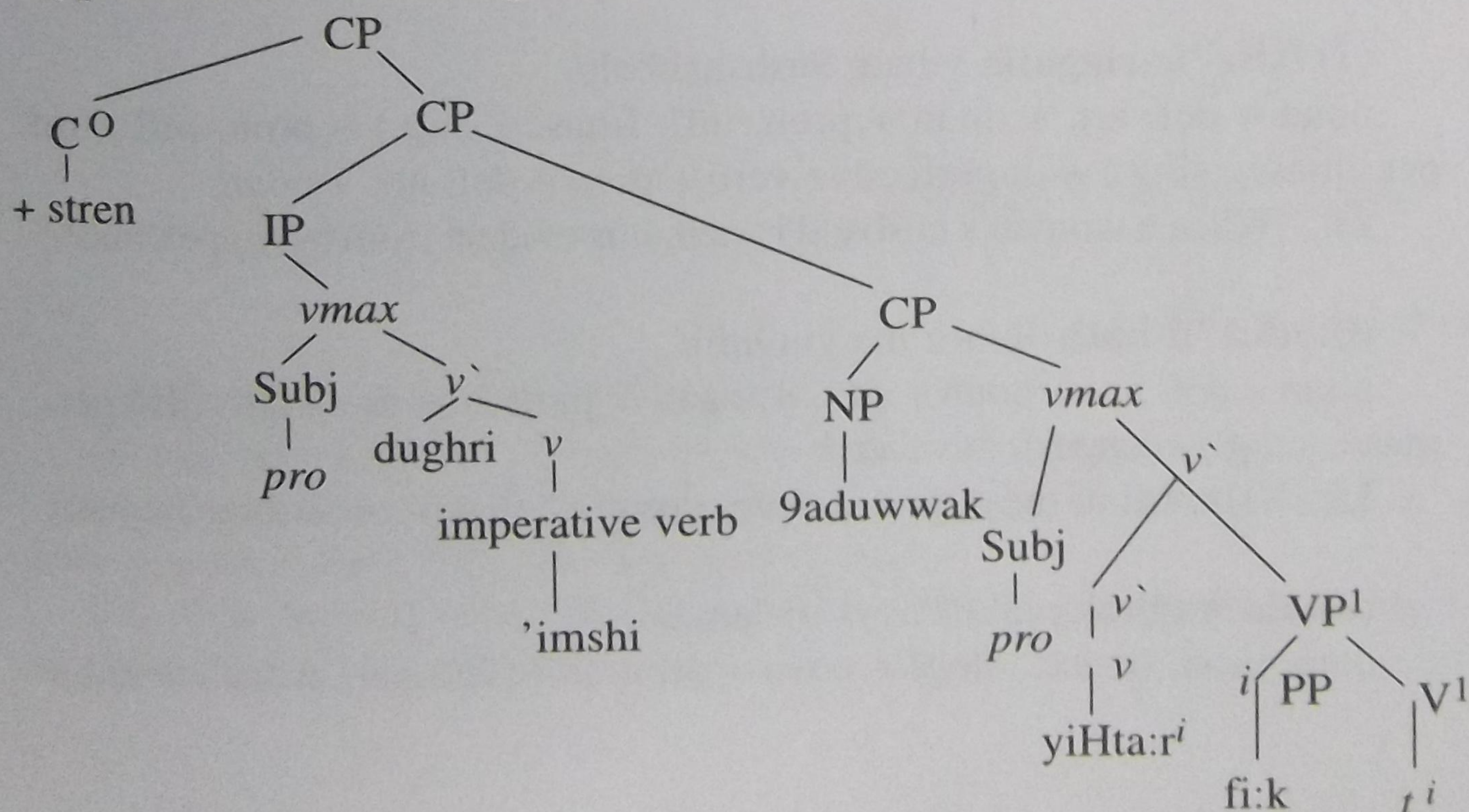With /'illi/ (proverb 3)

With /min/ (proverb 4)

```
                        CP
           C⁰                  CP
           |
         + stren      CP              vmax
                  C⁰      CP
                      NP       IP      Subj      v`
                      |                              v
                     min   tarak  'adi:mu    pro      |
                                                     ta:hⁱ      VP¹
                                                                 |
                                                                V¹
                                                                  tⁱ
```

Type 3: CP with an embedded IP that has an imperative verb

The third type has a CP that has an embedded IP that has an impera-
tive verb generated prior to the matrix IP. This is exemplified by the sen-
tence and its tree below.

(5) /'imshi dughri yiHta:r 9aduwwak fi:k /
pron. infl. (2nd per., masc., sing.) + imperative verb + adv. + pron. infl.
(3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb + noun + pron. infl. (2nd per.,
masc., sing.) + prep. + pron. infl. (2nd per., masc., sing.)
   Lit., "(If you) follow the straight path, your enemy will not know how
to attack you."

Type 3: labeled tree diagram

```
                    CP
        C⁰                  CP
        |
      + stren      IP                    CP
               vmax                  NP        vmax
           Subj    v`                |
            |    dughri  v        9aduwwak   Subj      v`
           pro           |                    |      v`      VP¹
                imperative verb               pro   |     ⁱ PP   V¹
                      |                             v       |      |
                    'imshi                      yiHta:rⁱ   fi:k    tⁱ
```

Type 4: CP with an NP operator :

There are three basic subclasses of type four of these proverbial declarative sentences. The first subclass is exemplified by sentence 6, in which there is a focused embedded CP that has itself a focused NP with overt case. The second subclass is exemplified by sentences 7-10, in which there are focused NPs with different internal structures. The third subclass is exemplified by sentences 11 and 12, in which the focused NPs have the internal structure of strong pronominal forms that have lost their deictic force.

(6) /**xayrin** ti9mil **sharran** til'a /
noun + genitive case + nunation + pron. infl. (2nd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb + noun + accusative case + nunation + pron. infl. (2nd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb

Lit., "Good (being) done, evil returned." That is, instead of a reward for doing good, you get evil in return.

Type 4, subclass 1: labeled tree diagram (proverb 6)
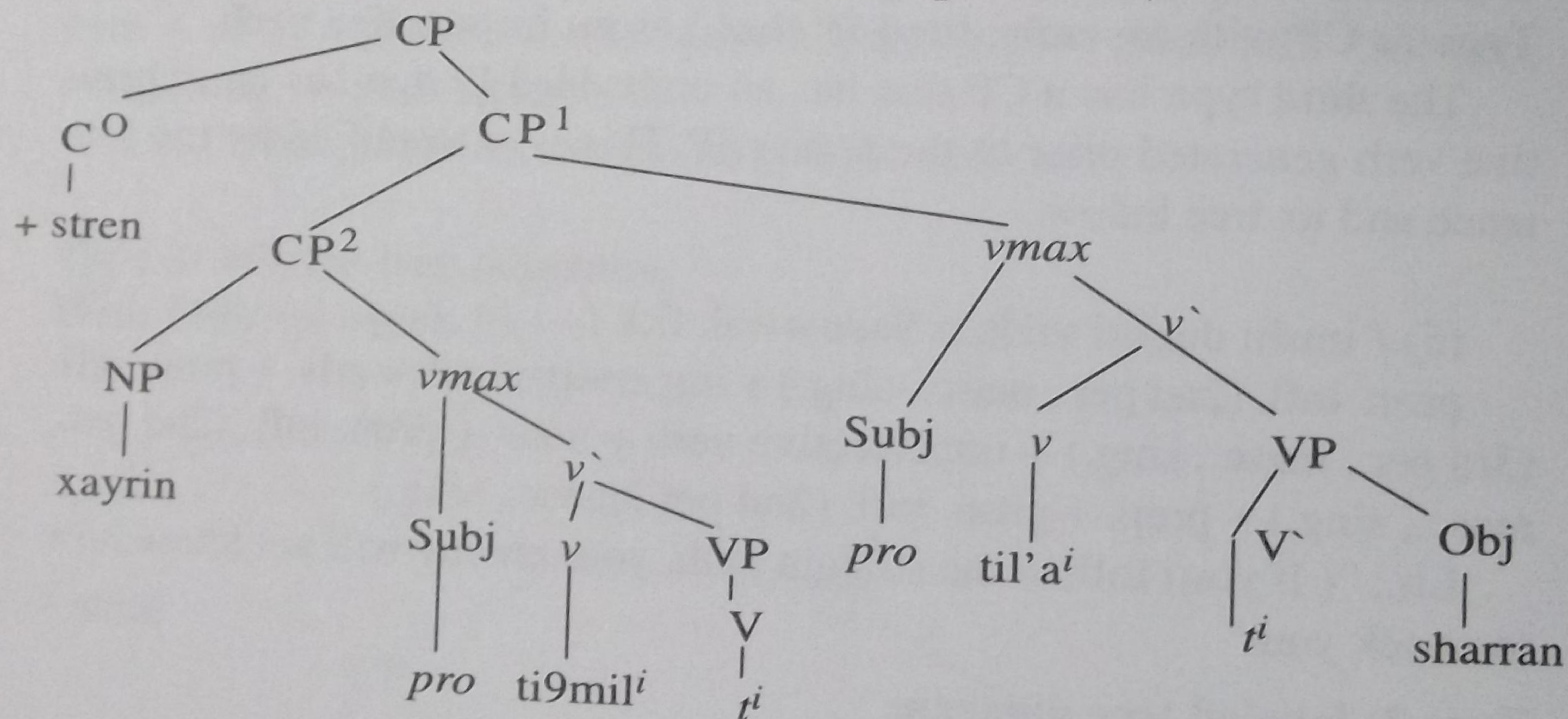
(7) /**xi:r 'ir-rigga:la** yiba:n 9ashshabbah/
noun + def. art. + noun + pron. infl. (masc., sing.) + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb + prep + def. art. + noun
Lit, "When a woman's husband is rich, it is evident from her appearance."

(8) /**di:l 'il-kalb** 9umru ma yin9idil/
noun + def. art. + noun + adv. + negative particle + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb
Lit., "The tail of the dog, it is never upright," that is, old habits die hard.

(9) /**da waghak** wala Dayyi 'il-'amar/
dem. pron. (masc., sing) + noun + pron. infl (2nd per., masc., sing.) +

conj. + emphatic particle + noun + def. art. + noun
Lit., "This, your face and not the glitter of the moon (is its equal)."
This is a very cordial way of complimenting someone on his appearance.

(10) /dabbu:r wi zan 9ala xara:b 9ishshu/
noun + conj. + pron. infl (3rd per., masc., sing.) + perfective verb +
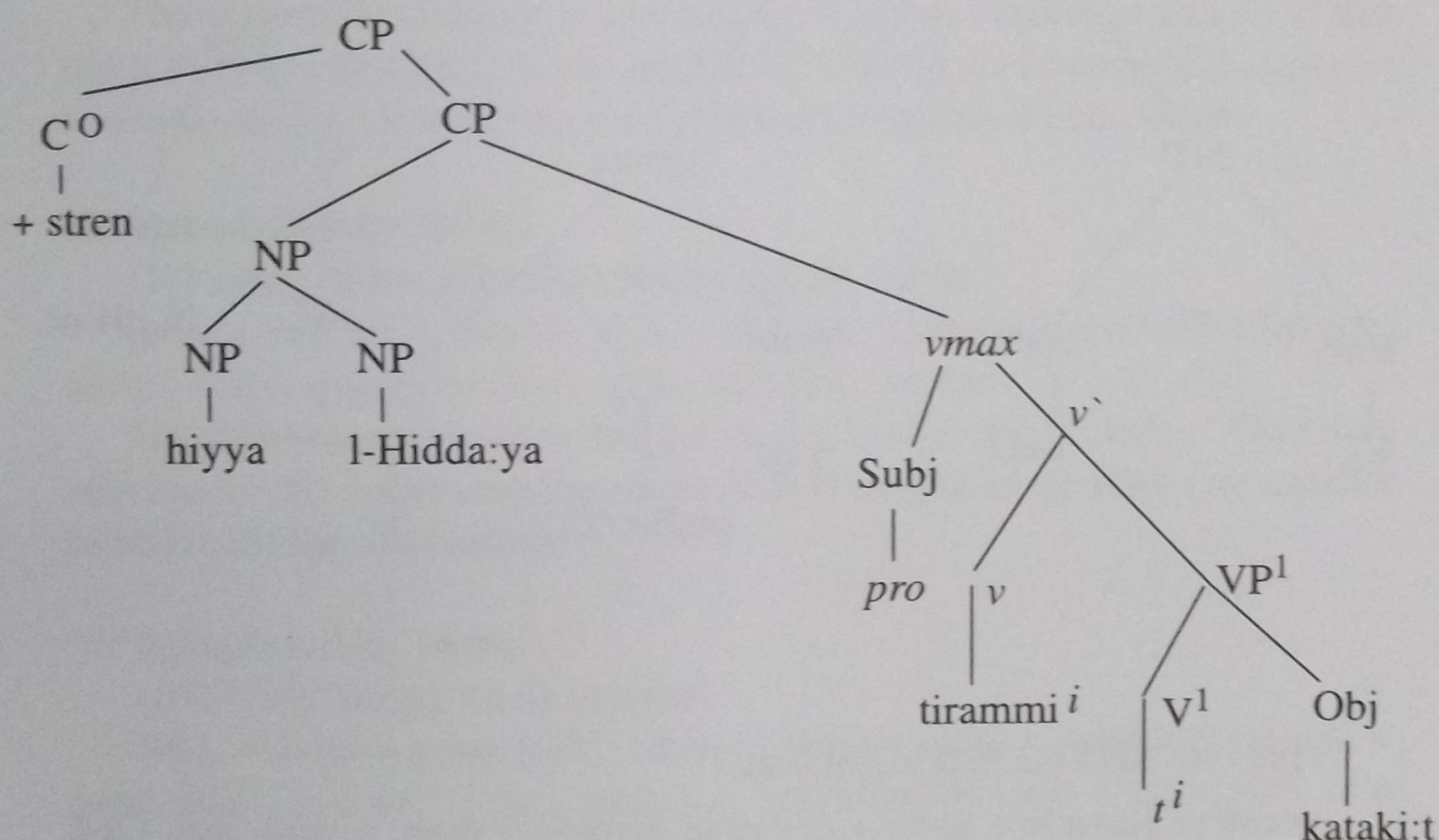prep. + noun + noun + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.)
Lit., "A wasp, and it kept on buzzing to destroy its nest." That is, some
people harm themselves.

(11) /hiyya l-Hidda:ya tirammi kataki:t/
strong pron. (3rd per., fem., sing.) + def. art. + noun + pron. infl. (fem.,
sing.) + pron. infl. (3rd per., fem., sing.) + imperfective verb + noun +
pron. infl. (pl)
Lit, "She–the kite throws away chicks (that she has caught to eat)?!"
That is, is it possible that the kite would throw away the chicks that she
has caught for herself?

Type 4, subclass 3: labeled tree diagram (proverb 11)

(12) /huwwa l-kalb yi9ud widn 'axu:h/
strong pron. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + def. art. + noun + pron. infl.
(masc., sing.) + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb +
noun + noun + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.)
Lit., "He–the dog bites his nephew's ear?!" Is it possible that people
would really hurt others of their own race or kind?

Type 5: CP with an NP operator introduced by a vocative particle

The fifth type of these proverbial declarative sentences has a CP that has an NP that is introduced by the vocative particle generated prior to the matrix IP. Several examples are given below as well as a tree diagramming this type.

(13) /ya 'arD 'insha:'i wi-bla9i:ni/

vocative particle + noun + imperative verb + pron. infl (2nd per., fem., sing.) + conj. + imperative verb + pron. infl (2nd per., fem., sing.) + pron. infl (1st per., sing.)

Lit, "You earth, crack up and swallow me." That is, I was so ashamed that I wished I could hide anywhere even it meant my being devoured by the earth.

Type 5: labeled tree diagram (proverb 13)
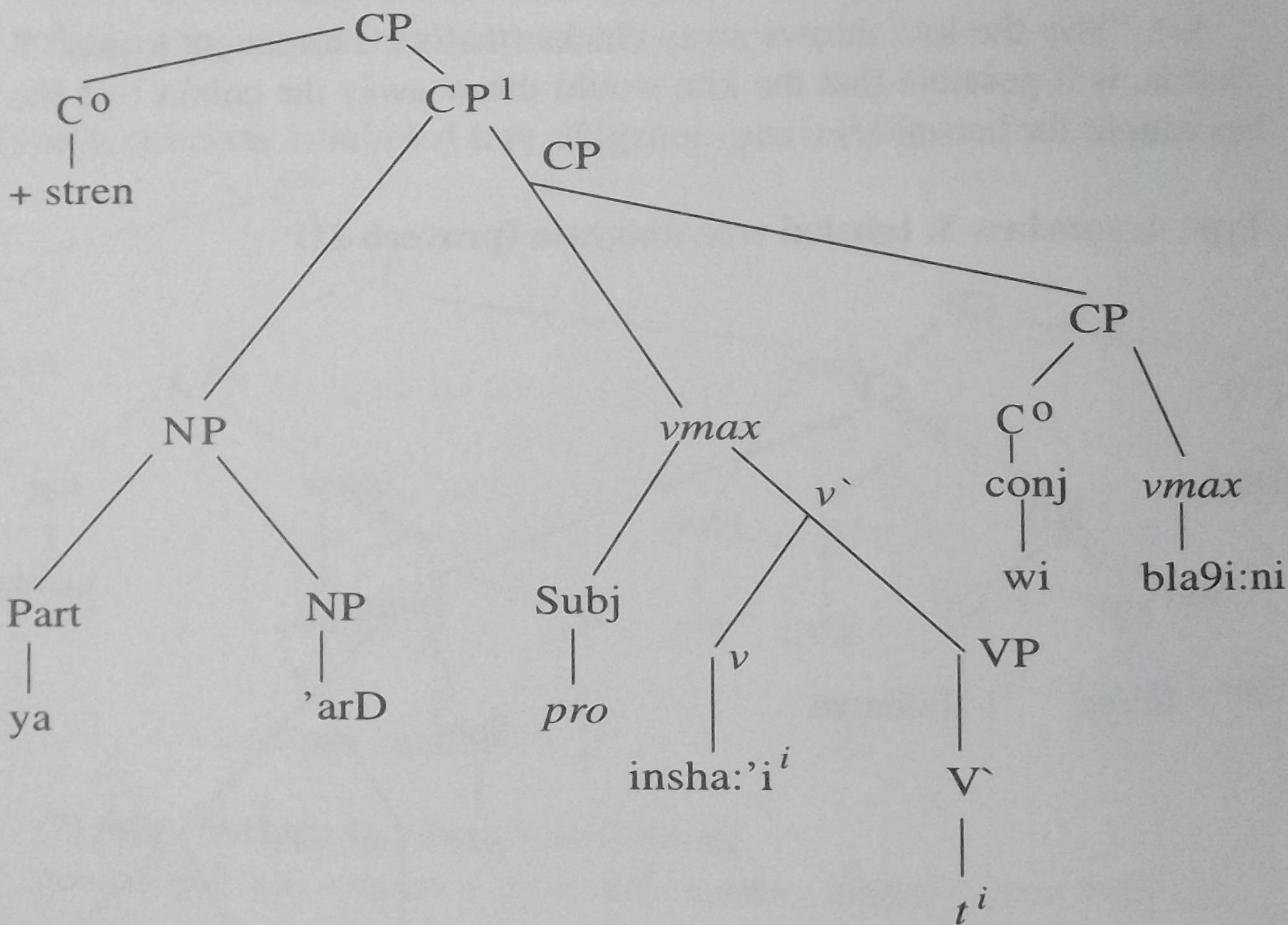
(14) /ya 'arD ma 9ali:ki 'illa-na/

vocative particle + noun + negative particle + prep. + pron. infl. (2nd per., fem., sing.) + prep. + strong pron. (1st per., sing.)

Lit., "You earth, no one is on you but myself." A description of an arrogant and conceited person.

(15) /ya baxt min 'idir wi-9ifi/

vocative particle + noun + interrogative pron. + pron. infl. (3rd per.,

masc., sing.) + perfective verb + conj. + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + perfective verb

Lit., "Oh lucky one, who has the ability to punish his wrongdoer, and yet he forgives."

(16) /ya 'alb yakata:kit ya ma fi:k w-inta sa:kit/
vocative particle + noun + vocative particle + noun + vocative particle + relative pronoun + prep. + pron. infl. (2nd per., masc., sing.) + conj. + strong pron. (2nd per., masc., sing.) + active participial predicate

Lit., "Oh heart, oh poor young chick, oh what is in you, and you are silent?" That is, my poor little heart is overcome with sadness.

(17) /ya ma taHt 'is-sawa:hi dawa:hi/
vocative particle + relative pronominal + prep. + def. art. + noun + noun + pron. infl. (pl.)

Lit., "Oh whatever is underneath this inadvertence, [you are] misdeeds," said of anyone whose behavior in reality is different from its appearance.

Type 6: CP with an NP operator introduced by a preposition

The sixth type of these proverbial declarative sentences has a CP that has a PP generated prior to the matrix IP. This type of proverbial structure is demonstrated by the sentences and their respective trees below.

NP introduced by /bi:n/

(18) /bi:n 'il-ba:yi9 wi-shsha:ri yiftaH 'allah/
prep. + def. art. + noun + conj. + def. art. + noun + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., sing.) + imperfective verb + def. art. + noun

Lit., "Between the seller and the buyer, God is the Provider." God may provide for the seller and the buyer if they do not agree with one another to conclude the transaction.

NP introduced by /9ala/

(19) /9ala lisa:ni wa-la tinsa:ni/
prep. + noun + pron. infl. (1st per., sing) + conj. + negative particle + pron. infl. (2nd per., sing., masc.) + imperfective verb + pron. infl. (1st per., sing.)

Lit., "On my tongue, and do not forget me," that is, do not forget me as I have not forgotten you.

NP introduced by /ba9d/

(20) /ba9d il-9i:d ma yinfitilshi l-kaHk/
temporal particle + def. art. + noun + negative particle + pron. infl.

(3rd per., sing., masc.) + imperfective verb + def. art. + noun

Lit., "After the feast, the cookies are not made," that is, there is a time for everything.

NP introduced by /fi:/

(21) **/fi:ha** l('a)xfi:ha/

prep + pron. infl. (3rd per., sing., fem.) + emphatic particle + pron. infl. (1st per., sing.) + imperfective verb + pron. infl. (3rd per., sing., fem.)

Lit., "(I am) in it (else) I will dispose of it," i.e., if I am not part of it, I will put an end to it.

NP introduced by /zayy/

(22) **/zayy 'il-magazi:b** kulli sa:9a f(i) Ha:l/

prep. + def. art. + noun + pron. infl. (pl.) + universal quantifier + noun + pron. infl. (fem., sing.) + prep. + noun

Lit., "As with crazy people, each hour [they are] in a different condition," i.e., he is very moody like a lunatic.

(23) **/zayy 'il-marakbeyya** ma yiftikiru:sh rabbina 'illa wa't 'il-ghara'/

prep. + def. art. + noun + pron. infl. (pl.) + negative particle + pron. infl. (3rd per., masc., pl.) + imperfective verb + discontinous negative particle + noun + pron. infl. (1st per., pl.) + prep. + noun + def. art. + noun
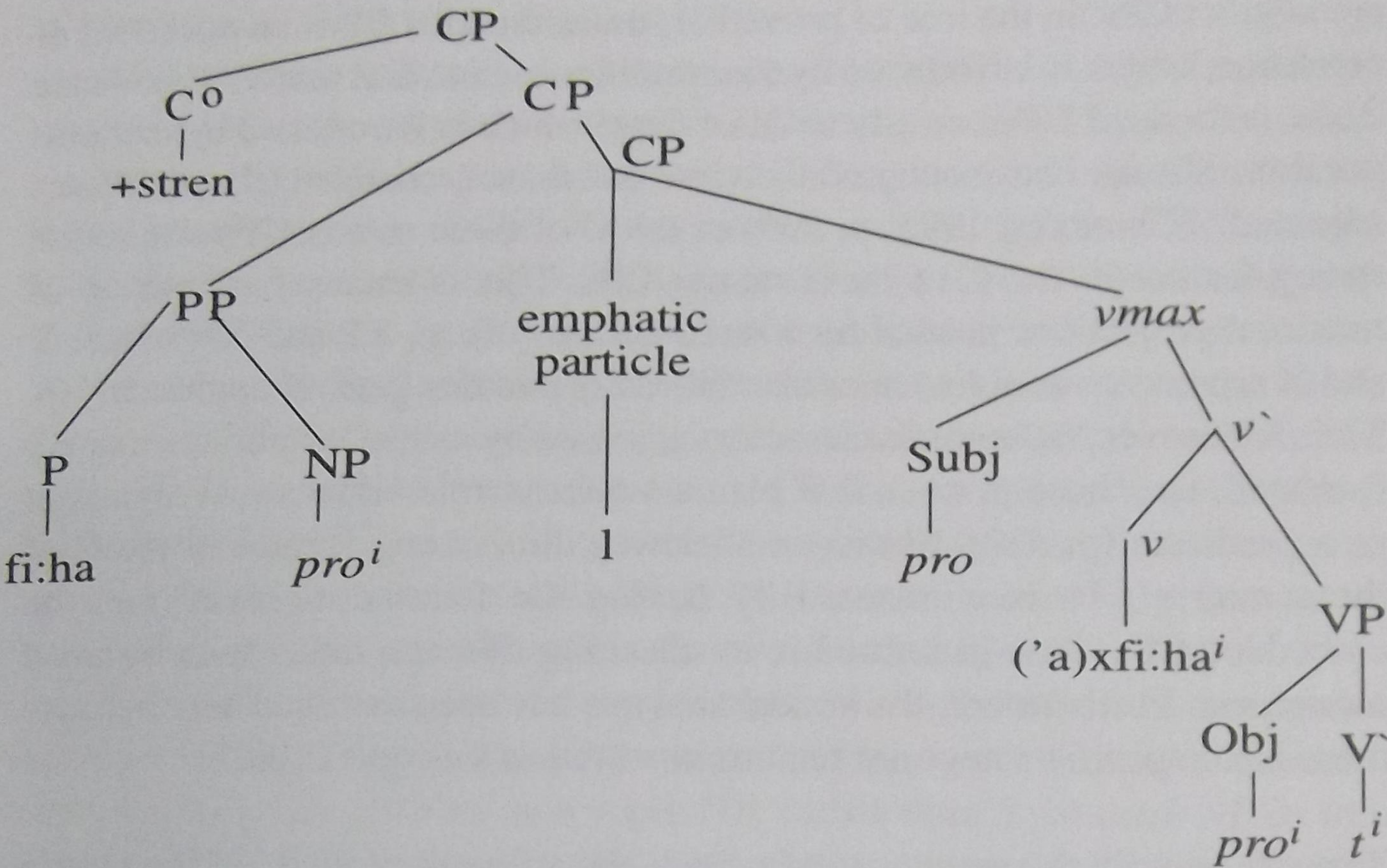
Lit., "As with the sailors, they remember God only at the time of drowning."
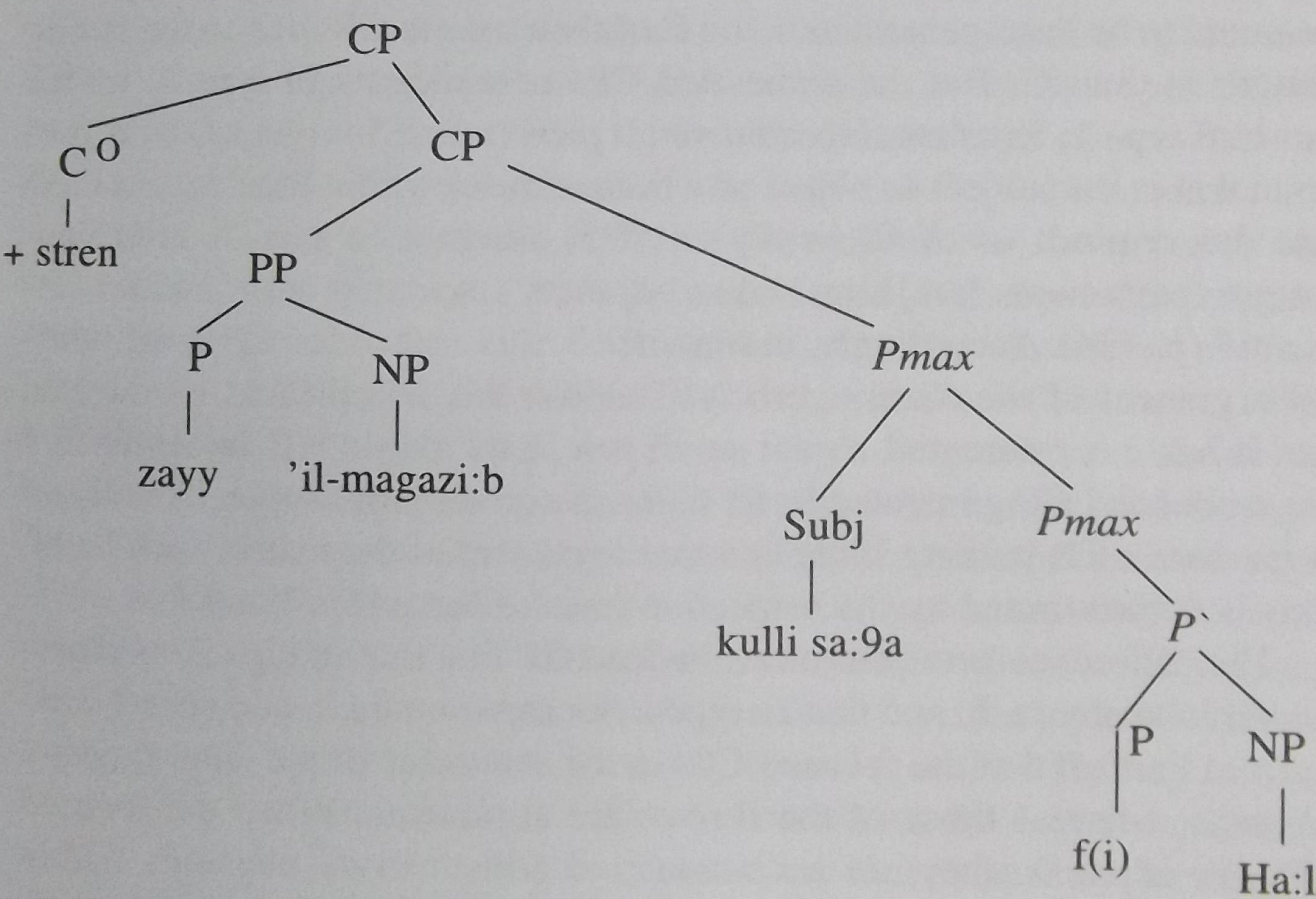
Type 6: labeled tree diagram
With /bi:n/ (proverb 18)

With /fi:/ (proverb 21)

```
                            CP
                _____/  \
              C⁰              CP
              |              /  \
           +stren           /    CP
                           /    /  \
                         PP  emphatic   vmax
                        /  \  particle  /    \
                       /    \    |     /      v`
                      P     NP   |   Subj    /|\
                      |     |    1    |    v   \
                    fi:ha  proⁱ       pro  |    \
                                          |     VP
                                    ('a)xfi:haⁱ  / \
                                              Obj  V`
                                              |    |
                                            proⁱ   tⁱ
```

With /zayy/ (proverb 22)

```
                        CP
               _____/  \
             C⁰            CP
             |            /  \
          + stren        /    \
                        PP    Pmax
                       /  \    /  \
                      P   NP  /    \
                      |   |  Subj   Pmax
                    zayy 'il-magazi:b |   /  \
                               kulli sa:9a  Pmax
                                            /  \
                                           /    P`
                                          /    /  \
                                         P    P   NP
                                         |    |   |
                                       f(i) Ha:l
```
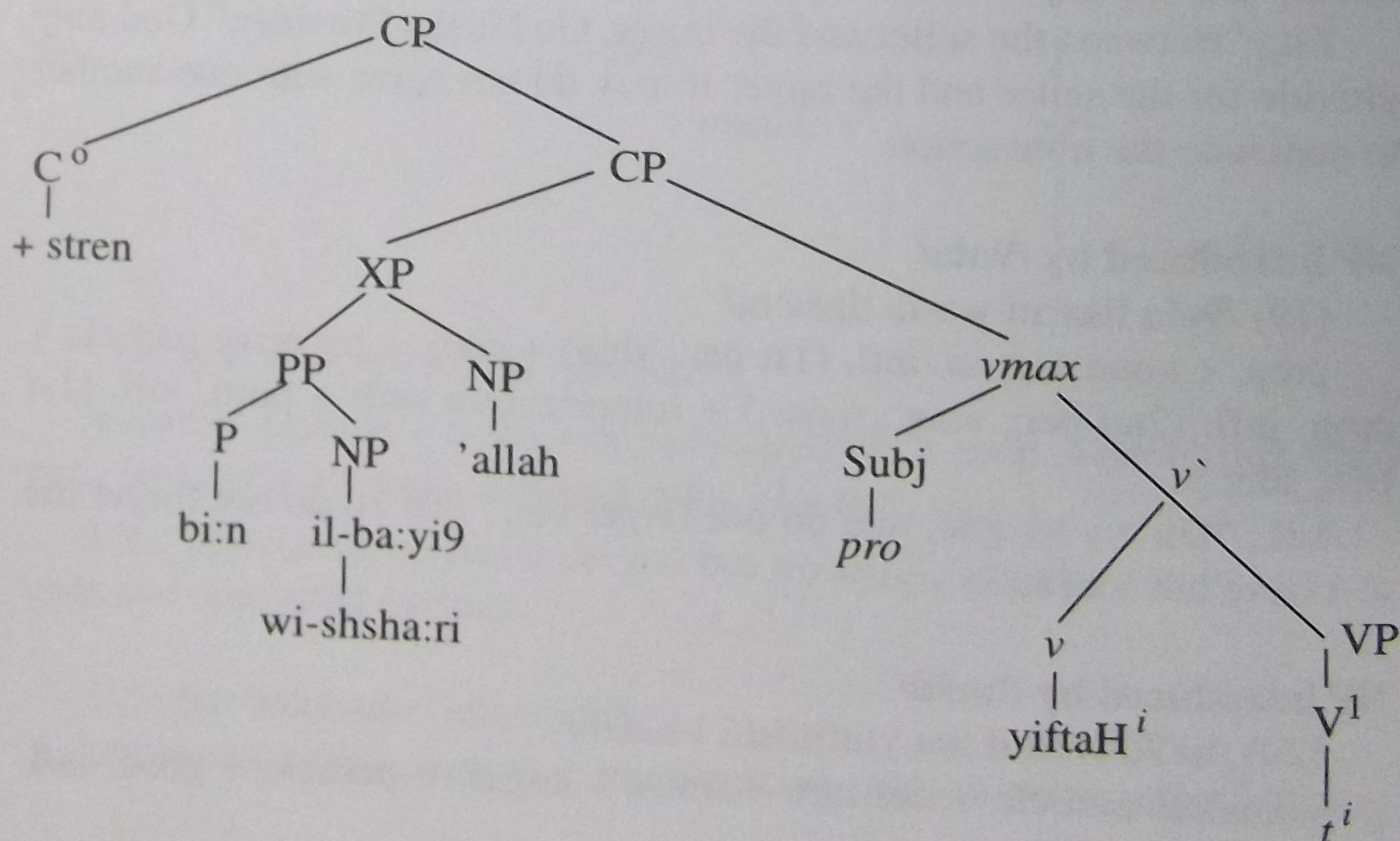
Analysis of Each Proverbial Structure

Type 1. If strength is motivated only by phonetic form (PF) manifestation (Chomsky, 1995), then it may be said that the strength of the C of the matrix CPs in sentences of type 1 is overtly manifested by the base-gen-

eration of the embedded CPs as the focused element. These embedded CPs are adjunct CPs: in the tree of proverb 1, the embedded CP is an adverbial of condition, which is introduced by the conditioner /'in/, and in tree of sentence 2, the embedded CP is an adverbial of time, which is introduced by the temporal /ba9dima/. I have adopted the view that these embedded CPs are "base-adjoined" (Chomsky, 1995, p. 330) in the C of these matrix CPs due to the strong feature in the C of these matrix CPs. This is because adjunction of maximal projections headed by a word category (e.g., YP and XP, where Y and X represent variables) does not "fit easily into this general approach." (p. 323). Moreover, "adverbials cannot be adjoined by *merge*" to phrases that are θ-related, i.e., those phrases that play a semantic role either as an argument or a predicate (p. 330). Stated another way, this strong feature in the C of these matrix CPs is eliminated by having the focused element (i.e., the embedded CPs) base-generated in its checking domain, rather than by overt movement. Furthermore, the lexical analysis has been assumed here because there is no specific categorial feature involved in this operation.

Type 2. As with the sentences of type 1, the strength of the C of the matrix CPs in the second type is overtly manifested by embedded CPs that are assumed to be base-generated in the C of their matrix CPs due to the strong feature in their C. But the embedded CPs in sentences of type 2, unlike those of type 1, have coreferential small *pro*s (a small *pro* is a covert pronoun that is the subject or object of a finite clause) within their matrix CPs, and this reminds us of Chomsky's (1995) assumption that in some languages "arguments [are] attached as adjuncts associated with internal elements" (p. 324). Accordingly, in sentence 3, this embedded CP is the internal argument of the matrix verb /yifDaHu:/; this is indicated by the fact that it has a coreferential object small *pro* in its matrix CP. In sentence 4 the embedded CP generated in its C has a coreferential subject small *pro* in its matrix CP, making it the external argument of the matrix verb /ta:h/. This is demonstrated by the respective trees of sentences 3 and 4.

The difference between the embedded CP like that in type 2, as represented in sentence 3, and that in type 1, as represented in sentence 1 arises from the fact that the focused CPs in the sentences of the latter type are adjuncts, whereas those of the former are arguments. When the focused CPs are adjuncts, they are not associated with internal elements within their major syntactic structures, i.e., the embedded CPs do not have coreferential small *pro*s in their matrix CPs. But when the focused CP is an argument, it does require an internal element within its major syntactic structure for its semantic interpretation. We may, accordingly, assume that the focused embedded CPs in proverbs like sentence 3 must be base-generated in an A-position in the C of their matrix CPs; whereas the focused

embedded CPs in proverbs like sentence 1 must be base-generated in an A`-position in the C of their matrix CPs.

Another basic difference between the embedded CPs of type 2 and those of type 1 is that the former's embedded CPs are introduced by pronominals: a relative pronominal in sentence 3 (i.e., /'illi/) and an interrogative pronominal in sentence 4 (i.e., /min/). As the relative pronominal (i.e., /'illi/) has A-properties such as binding (i.e., in sentence 3 it binds the object small *pro2* in its major syntactic structure), this demonstrates that in ECA there is also an A-position in the C of these embedded CPs. In sentence 4, it is the whole embedded CP that is the external argument of the matrix verb, as indicated by its subject small *pro* within the matrix CP. In either case, the pronominal in the embedded CP, whether it is relative or interrogative, functions as an operator in relation to the embedded IP it heads; accordingly, it may be regarded as the focused NP within these embedded CPs.

In sentence 3 we have the noun /rabbu/, which also has A-properties such as binding. It binds the subject small *pro* in its major syntactic structure. But the noun /rabbu/ is a topic NP, rather than a focused NP in this embedded CP. This assumption is built on two premises: (1) this NP does not function as an operator in relation to the embedded IP it heads; and (2) it displays a different syntactic behavior from that characterizing focused NPs. Concentrating on the distinct syntactic behavior of the topic NP, we notice that it displays a flexibility of the movement that is not available to the focused NP. It has been extraposed from its pre-IP position, where it is assumed to be base-generated, to a post-IP position. Not being part of the focused element, this topic NP has been moved to the post-IP position. This movement of the topic NP /rabbu/ may be described as "not belong[ing] at all within [this] framework of principles" (Chomsky, 1995, p. 333) since it is a stylistic variation, which is not applicable to the focused NP. And in trying to account for this syntactic behavior of the topic NP without an overt complementizer, as distinct from the focused argument, within the framework of the Minimalist Program, we could maintain that this type of NP is base-generated as a multiple specifier of I, along with the subject small *pro*. Since both specifiers (i.e., the topic NP and the subject small *pro*) are checked by a single head (i.e., I or T), they may be regarded as multiple specifiers.[3] This indicates that the A-position for the base-generation of a topic NP is distinct from that A-position in which a focused argument is base-generated be it a CP or an NP . Accordingly, it is only the topic NP that may extraposed, producing a stylistic variation.

Type 3. The IP generated in the C of type 3 is similar to the embedded CPs of type 1 in that they are adjuncts, rather than arguments. Their status as adjuncts is indicated by the fact that they do not have coreferential small

pros within their matrix CPs. However, the basic difference between both types of proverbial sentences is that in those of type 3 the focused category is an IP, rather than a CP, and that the strong feature found in the C of this type of proverbial structure is given overt manifestation by the obligatory presence of the imperative verb form in the embedded IP, rather than the imperfective or the perfective verb forms. In other words, the strength of the C of the matrix CP in type 3 proverbs is overtly manifested by the requirement that this embedded IP have an imperative verb only.

Type 4. The fourth type of these proverbial declarative sentences in this variety of Arabic is characterized by their having an NP generated in their C as illustrated by sentences 6–12; and this in turn provides us with more evidence that there is an A-position in the C of these declarative sentences for the focused argument be it an CP or an NP. The strong feature in the C of this type of the ECA proverbs is overtly manifested in different ways, leading to their subclassification into different subtypes.

The first subtype is exemplified by sentence 6. This subtype is composed of an embedded CP that itself has a focused NP, but one that has overt case manifested on its nouns. The second subtype is exemplified by sentences 7–10. These sentences have focused NPs that may be internally composed of nominal constructs, as in sentences 7 and 8, or complex NP structures, as in sentences 9 and 10. The third subtype is exemplified by sentences 11 and 12, in which the focused NP has the internal structure of a strong pronominal form that has lost its deictic force.

Analyzing sentence 6 first, we find that there are overt case markers and the overt indefinite marker (i.e., the nunation) in the nouns /xayrin/ and /sharran/, both features of which are marked phenomena because there are no overt case markers nor an overt indefinite marker associated with nouns in ECA. The vowel /i/ in the noun /xayrin/ is the overt case marker of the genitive and the vowel /a/ in the noun /sharran/ is the overt case marker of the accusative with the final /n/ after the overt case markers in both nouns being the nunation marker. It is the presence of the overt case marker carried by the noun /xayrin/ and the fact that it is genitive that enables us to maintain that this noun is base-generated in a complementizer A-position, rather than in an A-position within the IP. Despite the fact that both nouns in 6 (i.e., /xayrin/ and /sharran/) are the internal arguments of their respective verbs (i.e., /ti9mil/ and /til'a/), it is only the former noun that has genitive case, indicating that it differs in its base-generation from the noun /sharran/ and providing us with evidence that these two nouns cannot be base-generated in the same A-position.

The noun /xayrin/ acquires its genitive case as a specifier to the head C (the spec-head relation) of the matrix CP. It is to be noted that /xayrin/ is

generated in the focused CP, which is itself base-generated in the C of the matrix CP. The noun /sharran/, on the other hand, acquires its accusative case marker by being in a spec-head relation to the V of the matrix CP. Not being part of the focused category, the noun /sharran/ in sentence 6 has been extraposed to a position before its verb (i.e., /til'a/) as the result of "surface effects" mentioned above. This extraposition is a kind of stylistic variation that makes the word order in the matrix CP apparently similar to that found in the focused CP, making the proverb more harmonious.

Sentence 6 also demonstrates that when the scrambled element is an argument whose semantic interpretation is determined by its overt case marker, there is no need for it to be associated with an internal element within the major syntactic structure. This is probably why the NP with the noun /xayrin/ does not have a coreferential small *pro* within its major syntactic structure, nor does the NP with the noun /sharran/ have a coreferential small *pro* within its major syntactic structure. In other words, the presence of the overt case marker alleviates the need for an internal element within the major syntactic structure of each of these nouns.

Sentences 7–10 differ from sentence 6 in that it is only the latter sentence that has overt case markers. However, it may be said that the strength in the C of the former sentences, which are also proverbial declarative sentences, is nonetheless given PF manifestation. In sentences 7 and 8, there is a nominal construct base-generated in these sentences' Cs; in 8 there is also the adverbial particle /9umru / and the negative particle /ma/, both of which provide further evidence that this nominal construct must be in a position external to the major syntactic structure. In sentence 9, the strength of its C is indicated by the emphatic particle /la/, the demonstrative pronominal /da/, and the conjunction /wa/, all of which are generated in order to focus the noun /waghak/. In other words, the demonstrative pronominal in this sentence does not have a deictic function nor does the conjunction have a coordinating function. Similarly, in sentence 10, the presence of the conjunction /wi/, which has lost its coordinating function, focuses the noun /dabbu:r/.

It is to be noted that since the NPs generated in the C of sentences 7–10 do not have overt case markers they have coreferential small *pro*s within their major syntactic structures. It is only in sentence 9 that there is no internal element that determines the semantic interpretation of the NP that is base-generated in its C. This is because sentence 9 is a nominal sentence, in which case it is not possible to have a subject small *pro*. The nominal predicate, unlike the verbal predicate in Arabic, does not have inflections heavy enough for the local determination of a subject small *pro*.4

In sentence 11, the strong feature of its C is basically indicated by the base-generation of the strong personal pronominal (i.e., /hiyya/) in its C. Having lost its deictic force, this strong personal pronominal simply

recasts the whole sentence so that it rhetorically questions the possibility of a kite ever letting go of its prey. This strong personal pronominal is base-generated prior to another noun that is also assumed to be base-generated in a pre-IP position: it is /l-Hidda:ya/. As with the tree of sentence 3, sentence 11 likewise provides evidence that in ECA there is not only an A-position in C for the base-generation of these focused NPs but also another A-position in a pre-IP position for the the base-generation of a topic NP without an overt complementizer. But this NP may be regarded as a multiple specifier, along with the subject small *pro* since both specifiers are checked by a single head (i.e., I). As for the focused NP, it is checked by a distinct head from that which checks the subject small *pro*. It is checked by a declarative C with a strong feature; and it has an operatorlike function.

Despite the distinctness of these two pre-IP base-generated NPs in sentence 11, they nonetheless constitute one NP in relation to the remainder of the sentence, and this is indicated by the agreement in gender and number between them (i.e. the pronominal /hiyya/ and the noun /l-Hidda:ya/). As both of them represent the contrastive element in this sentence, together they constitute the focused element since there can be only one focus (Frascarelli, 1997), forming one phonological unit associated with a prominence-leading accent (Chomsky, 1971). Both NPs together rhetorically ask whether the proposition within its major syntactic structure is true, i.e., they constitute a syntactic operator analyzed by analogy with quantifier phrases, effecting a partition of the universe (May, 1985).

Type 5. In sentences of type 5 (13–17), the strong teature in their C is given PF manifestation by the base-generation of a focused NP that is introduced by a vocative particle. As the vocative NP in ECA does not have an overt case marker, it is likewise associated with an internal element that determines its semantic interpretation within the major syntactic structure. In sentence 13 (as shown by its tree) these internal elements are the coreferential subject small *pros* in both CPs, while in sentence 14, the vocative NP is the internal argument of the preposition /9ali:ki/ in the underlying nominal sentence /'ana 9ali:ki/ ("I am on you"), in which there is a prepositional predicate and an object small *pro*.

Sentence 14 illustrates an important characteristic of this type of proverbial declarative sentence: the fronting of the prepositional predicate, placing it next to the vocative NP and changing the assumed underlying structure /'ana 9ali:ki/ ("I am on you") to /ma 9ali:ki 'illa-na/ ("Not on you except me"). This fronting emphasizes that predicate, and by addressing the internal argument of the prepositional predicate and making it the

vocative NP (i.e., /ya 'arD/, "Oh, you Earth"), the emphatic effect is even greater. In other words, with the base-generation of this focused element (i.e., the vocative NP) in the C of this type of the nominal sentence (i.e., with a prepositional predicate), the fronting of the prepositional predicate is obligatory. But this obligatory fronting of the prepositional predicate, which takes place in the nominal sentence with a vocative NP base-generated in its C, can only be regarded as falling within the domain of the rules that have been referred to by Chomsky (1995) as the "surface effects" (p. 220). This is because this fronting is contingent only on the presence of a vocative NP in a sentence with a prepositional predicate, and not on the presence of a strong feature in a nonsubstantive category. This obligatory fronting of the prepositional predicate in the nominal sentence with a vocative NP base-generated in its C is found not only in sentence 14 but also in sentence 17, in which /taHt 'issawa:hi/ is fronted due to the generation of the vocative NP (i.e., /ya ma:/).

Another important characteristic of these proverbial sentences that have a vocative NP is demonstrated by sentences 15 and 16: it is the recursiveness of the focused element. Looking first at sentence 15 as an example, if we assume that this sentence is derived from the underlying structure /'illi 'idir wi 9afa baxtu kwayyis/ ("whoever has the ability to punish and yet forgives has good luck"), then the vocative NP (i.e., /ya baxt/) refers to the one who is in possession of this good fortune because he has the above qualities. The other focused element in this sentence is the compound verbal clauses (i.e., /min 'idir wi 9ifi/), which describes the qualifications of the one who is in possession of this good fortune.

Sentence 16 provides us with further evidence of this recursiveness of the focused element in ECA. It has three focused elements: the first vocative element is the NP (i.e., /ya 'alb/), which describes the object she[5] is addressing. Being the first vocative, it is base-generated prior to the other vocatives in this sentence's C. The second vocative NP, which is /yakata:kit/, is base-generated adjacent to the first vocative NP, describing the heart as a little chick. This provides an even more focalizing effect to the first vocative NP. The third vocative element is a nominal clause (i.e., /ya ma fi:k/), which describes the second vocative NP as full despite of its small size. In other words, the first vocative addresses the heart, the second describes the size of that heart, and the third vocative states the full capacity of that heart with the conjunction /wi-/, focalizing these focused elements. It is to be noted that the proposition in this sentence's major syntactic structure is not deleted: it is /inta sa:kit/ ("you [masc. sing.] are quiet and tolerant"), while in sentence 15 the proposition in its major syntactic structure is deleted. The proposition in the major syntactic structure of sentence 16 is not deleted because

it is emphasized, as shown by its having the strong pronominal form (i.e., /inta/) as the subject NP. In other words, the meaning of this sentence would not be complete had the proposition in its major syntactic structure been deleted.

Type 6. The prepositional phrases (PPs) in sentences of type 6 should also be regarded as being base-generated in the C of their sentences because adverbs do not form chains by XP-adjunction and because the adjunction of an adverbial to an XP that has a θ-role is barred when an XP is an adjectival phrase or a verbal phrase (see above, "Theoretical background and review of relevant literature"). The PPs in these sentences are also similar to the embedded CPs in sentences of type 1 in that they are focused elements that are adjuncts, and this is indicated by the fact that they do not have coreferential small *pro*s within their major syntactic structures. Accordingly, these PPs are generated in an A`-position in their C. As with the adjunct CPs in type 1 sentences, these PPs of type 6 have been regarded as adjunct operators that are base-generated in the specifier position of CP when they modify that IP (Rizzi, 1990).

It is to be noted that the topic NP (i.e., /'alla:h/) in sentence 18 and its tree is not part of the focused element, and this is probably why it has undergone a "surface effect" rule, moving it from its base-generated pre-IP position to a post-IP position. That the topic NP (i.e., the noun /'alla:h/) has been moved from a pre-IP position is indicated by the fact that it is assigned an external thematic role and nominative case, rather than accusative case by the verb adjacent to it. Being a topic NP with no overt complementizer, it has been regarded as the multiple specifier of the I head, along with the subject small *pro*. Moreover, the lack of coindexation between the topic NP and the focused element in sentence 18 indicates that they do not constitute one unit, which is the focus in this sentence.[6]

Conclusion

In this study, it has been assumed that the proverbial declarative sentence in ECA is syntactically distinct from the nonproverbial declarative sentence. The former declarative sentence requires an obligatory focused element in a pre-IP position as a rhetorical device. This pre-IP position has been regarded as a position in C because the focused element functions as a syntactic operator as regards the IP it heads. It follows that the nonproverbial declarative sentence that does not have an overt head with an overt complementizer in ECA may be regarded as having an IP structure, rather than a CP, because it has a weak feature in its C, rather than a strong feature. In other words, the nonproverbial declarative sentence

that does not have an overt head with an overt complementizer in ECA does not require an obligatory focused element in a pre-IP position as a rhetorical device. It is in this respect that we may say that there are two types of declarative sentences in ECA: one for the nonproverbial declarative sentence that does not have an overt head with an overt complementizer, and another for the proverbial declarative sentence. It is the former type of declarative sentence that supports Chomsky's (1995) belief that there is a null variant of the declarative C and that this null variant of the declarative C is introduced covertly because it has a weak feature. In other words, the notion that there are strong and weak features not only distinguishes between interrogative sentences and declarative sentences in English but also between the different types of declarative sentences in ECA.

The focused elements in these proverbial declarative sentences have been divided into focused arguments and focused adjuncts. The focused arguments (be they CPs or NPs) are associated with internal positions within their major syntactic structures that determine their semantic interpretation. As for the focused adjuncts (be they PPs, IPs, or CPs), these are not associated with internal positions within their major syntactic structures for the determination of their semantic interpretations. Accordingly, the focused arguments are base-generated in an A-position, while the focused adjuncts are base-generated in an A`-position. But both positions (i.e., the A-position for focused arguments and the A`-position for focused adjuncts) are external to the major syntactic structure, i.e., in C. This not only highlights the importance of this pre-IP position in the syntactic configuration of these proverbial declarative sentences in ECA, but also the distinction between arguments and adjuncts.

The difference in the syntactic behavior between the focused NP and the topic NP also warrants the assumption that they are base-generated in different A-positions in the pre-IP position. Accordingly, the topic NP without an overt complementizer has been regarded as a multiple specifier of the head I or T, allowing it to be extraposed (i.e., it has the ability to subsume to rules at the phonological component, leading to its extraposition from its base-generated position, and in turn display some flexibility in the word order of these proverbial declarative sentences). This distinctness of the focused NP and the topic NP is also indicated by the fact that each type of NP is assigned a different case, providing further evidence that they must be base-generated in two different A-positions. Being the specifier of C, the focused NP is assigned genitive case, rather than nominative case, and this is overtly manifested when there is an overt case marker carried by the focused NP. As for the topic NP that does not have an overt complementizer, it is assigned the nominative case

because it is the multiple specifier of I or T of Chomsky (1995). Thus, it is only when the declarative C is strong that it has the capacity to assign a distinct case to the NP it holds a spec-head relation with, i.e., it assigns genitive case to the focused element and not nominative case.

The lexical type of analysis assumed for these focused elements is in keeping with Chomsky's (1995) assumption that θ-role assignment is the property of the base. It has enabled us to differentiate between the domain in which the focused argument is assigned a θ-role and that in which the topic NP is assigned a θ-role. Being in a spec-head relation with its C in its base-generated position, the focused argument be it a CP or an NP is assigned a θ-role by its head. Likewise, the topic NP without an overt complementizer is assigned a θ-role by its T because it is base-generated as its multiple specifier. Finally, the lexical type of analysis has been maintained in this study of the proverbial declarative sentences because the word order of these focused elements is not really free: these proverbial declarative sentences do not involve strictly optional movement operations since the focused element must be in pre-IP position, unlike the topic NP.

Notes

1   As adverbials of time such as /ba9di**ma**/) incorporate a relative pronominal (indicated by the boldface part of this temporal), it seems more exacting to refer to them as "temporals" rather than as simply adverbs. For a more detailed discussion of the temporals in one of the Arabic dialects, see Ghaly (1988).

2   Shigeru Miyagawa (1997) has stated that binding can take place only in an A-position.

3   Shigeru Miyagawa (1997) states in accordance with Chomsky (1995) that specifiers count as multiple specifiers if and only if elements in these specifiers are checked by the same head.

4   Sentence 8 is a nominal sentence, which has been defined as sentence with a nonverbal predicate. This includes sentences with nominal predicates, with adjectival predicates, or prepositional predicates. See Ghaly (1988) for a discussion of the nominal sentences in one of the dialects of Arabic.

5   The feminine form of the third person, singular pronoun is used here because the use of this proverbial sentence is found mostly in female speech. But this is a separate study that would be interesting to pursue.

6   Cf. sentence 11 in which both the topic NP (i.e., /l-Hidda:ya/) and the focused element (i.e., the strong personal pronominal, /hiyya/) constitute one unit that is the focus in that sentence.

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