

# Anaphoric Agreement in Non-Finite Clauses in Arabic

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## 0. Introduction

In this paper I investigate some properties of one particularly interesting construction in Palestinian Arabic (PA, hereafter) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, hereafter). This construction corresponds to what the Arab grammarians referred to as the *Haal* in Classical Arabic, commonly translated as the 'circumstantial nominal.' I will only be concerned with two types of this construction: one involving a form of a partially inflected active or passive participle and the other involving a fully inflected verb. (1) and (2) exemplify the former, and (3) the latter, respectively:

- (1) aafat                    mona Hmad raakib    Hmaar  
saw.3sf                  Mona Ahmed           riding.sm    donkey  
"Mona saw Ahmed riding a donkey."
- (2) aafat                    mona eHmad mTabba  
saw.3sf                  Mona Ahmed beaten up.sm  
"Mona saw Ahmed in a bad shape."
- (3) aafat                    mona eHmad birkab                    Hmaar  
saw.3sf                  Mona Ahmed           ride.3sm           donkey  
"Mona saw Ahmed riding a donkey."
- (4) ajat                    mona                    raakbe                    Hmaar  
came.3sf                Mona                    riding.sf                donkey  
"Mona came riding a donkey."

- (5)    ajat                mona                mTabba e  
       came.sf            Mona                beaten up.sf  
       "Mona came in a bad shape."

The participles *raakib* and *mTabbas* are examples of the first type and the verb *birkab* is an example of the second. I will henceforth refer to these two constructions as Type I and Type II, respectively.

## 1.0. Properties of Type I

### 1.1. Type I and Agreement

The participial agrees only in number and gender with its antecedent: it shows no person agreement. Consider:

- (6)    aafat-u            mona raakib            Hmaar  
       saw.3fs-him    Mona riding.sm        donkey  
       "Mona saw him riding a donkey."

- (7)    aafat-ak                mona raakib            Hmaar  
       saw.3sf-you.2sm    Mona riding.sm        donkey  
       "Mona saw you riding a donkey."

- (8)    aafat-hen <sup>1</sup>                mona    mTabba iin

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<sup>1</sup> Note that in my dialect the pronoun *henne/hen* 'they/them' is used for both masculine and feminine. This is in contrast to some dialects that have two pronouns *henne/hen* and *hum/hum*, feminine and masculine, respectively. Other dialects have *hum* standing for both genders.

saw.3sf-them.3p      Mona      beaten up.pm  
 "Mona saw them in a bad shape."

(9)    aafat-hen                  mona                  mTabba aat  
       saw.3sf-them.3p      Mona                  beaten.fp  
       "Mona saw them in a bad shape."

(10)    wSelna mTabba iin/mTabba aat  
       arrived.1p      beaten up.pm/beaten up.pf  
       "We arrived in a bad shape."

In (6) the participial *raakib* refers to a third person singular antecedent while in (7) it refers to a second person singular antecedent without there being any changes in the form of the participial to reflect this difference in person. In (8), (9), and (10) the passive participial shows that agreement is indeed in number and gender. Thus, the participles above carry the features of number and gender only.

## 1.2. Controllers in Type I

Consider the following example from Modern Standard Arabic:

(11)    aahada                  aHmad-u                  zayd-an                  raakib-an                  Himaar-an  
       saw.3sm                  Ahmed-NOM      Zayd-ACC                  riding-ACC                  donkey-  
       ACC  
       "Ahmed<sub>i</sub> found Zayd<sub>j</sub> riding<sub>i,j</sub> a donkey."

(11) is ambiguous between two readings: it allows either the subject NP *Ahmed* or the object NP *Zayd* to control the *Haal*.

The ambiguity in (11) is missing in PA. Thus, the equivalent to (11), (12) below, can only have the reading indicated:

(12) aaf            Hmad            zeid    raakib   Hmaar  
saw.3sm        AhmedZayd   riding   donkey  
"Ahmed<sub>i</sub> saw Zayd<sub>j</sub> riding\*<sub>i/j</sub> a donkey."

That is, the subject may not control the *Haal*. The only way to allow for the subject to control the *Haal* is to use the so-called *waawu al-Haali* "the circumstantial *waaw*". Once this *waaw* is used the subject of the *Haal* must be lexical. Consider:

(13) \* aaf            Hmad            zeid    w- raakib    Hmaar  
saw 3sm        AhmedZayd   while-riding   donkey  
"Ahmed saw Zaydj while riding a donkey."

(13) is ungrammatical, regardless of which NP controls the *Haal*.

The only grammatical sentence is given in (14) below:

(14) aaf    eHmad        zeid   w-hu        raakib    Hmaar  
saw.3sm Ahmed    Zayd   while-he   riding   donkey  
"Ahmed<sub>i</sub> saw Zaydj riding while he<sub>i/j</sub> (was) riding a donkey."

In comparison to (12), which demonstrates that when the subject of the *Haal* is not a lexical pronoun only the object (obviously in transitive sentences) may control the *Haal*, (14) shows that when a lexical pronoun appears as the

subject of the *Haal* there are no restrictions on the NP that the *Haal* may refer to.

### 1.3. Definiteness and the *Haal* Antecedent

Centuries ago, Arab grammarians noted that an indefinite NP may not control the *Haal*<sup>2</sup>. Consider:

- (15) eHmad aaf walad raakib Hmaar  
 Ahmed saw.3sm boy riding donkey  
 "Ahmed saw a boy riding a donkey."

(15) can only mean that 'Ahmed saw a boy who was riding a donkey'. That is to say, the expression raakib Hmaar is a relative clause and not a *Haal* construction. To show that this is indeed the case, compare (15) with (16):

- (16) eHmad aaf el-walad raakib Hmaar  
 Ahmed saw.3sm the-boy riding donkey  
 "Ahmed saw the boy riding a donkey."

In (17), but not in (16), WH-extraction from the participial clause is possible:

- (17)\* uu i aaf eHmad walad raakib t<sub>i</sub>?  
 how saw.3sm Ahmed boy riding

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<sup>2</sup> I have in mind the well-known generalization maa ba9da lma9aarifi ?aHwaalun wamaa ba9da nnakiraati Sifaatun 'that which follows a definite is a *Haal*, and that which follows an indefinite is an adjective. Arab grammarians further noted that in case the antecedent is indefinite, then for the *Haal* interpretation to obtain, the *Haal* must precede its antecedent. This latter strategy is not available in Palestinian Arabic.

"What did Ahmed see a boy riding?"

- (18) uu i aaf eHmad el-walad raakib t<sub>i</sub>?  
how saw.3sm Ahmed the-boy riding  
"What did Ahmed see the boy riding?"

(17) and (18) differ in exactly one place, namely the definiteness of the object NP. Since the WH-word is extracted from precisely the same position the contrast above cannot be attributed to an ECP violation. The difference must, then, be attributed to something else. A plausible claim is to assume that in (17) extraction took place out of a complex NP while in (18) it is out of a sentential clause. Thus, the difference is attributed to a subjacency violation.

Furthermore, if the circumstantial *waaw* is used, no ambiguity results, unlike the *Haal* with definite NP's. Thus, in (19) the indefinite object NP is not a potential antecedent for the pronoun:

- (19) eHmad aaf walad w-hu raakib Hmaar  
Ahmed saw boy while-he riding donkey  
"Ahmed<sub>i</sub> saw a boy<sub>j</sub> while he<sub>i/\*j</sub> (was) riding a donkey."

#### 1.4. Case Properties of the Complement of the *Haal*:

If the *Haal* takes a complement, the complement must bear the accusative Case. Consider<sup>3</sup>:

- (20) jaa?a aHmad-u raakib-an Himaar-an MSA  
came.3sm Ahmed-NOM riding-ACC donkey-ACC  
"Ahmed came riding a donkey."

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<sup>3</sup>It is perhaps useful to say that, except for its pronouns, PA shows no overt morphological Case marking. MSA, on the other hand, Case is overtly marked.

- (21) uft Hmad Haamil-ha PA  
 saw.1s Ahmed carrying-it  
 "I saw Ahmed carrying it."

No Case other than the accusative is allowed on the complement in (20); nor any pronoun other than the non-nominative is allowed in (21).

## 2.0. Properties of TYPE II

Recall that Type II contains a fully inflected verb. That is to say, in addition to gender and number, the verb also carries the person feature.

Consider:

- (22) zeinab aafat el-walad birkab Hmaar PA  
 Zainab saw.3sf the-boy ride.3sm donkey  
 "Zainab saw the boy; (while he<sub>j</sub> was) riding a donkey."

- (23) zaynab-u aahadat l-walad-a yarkab-u Hmaar-an MSA  
 Zaynab-NOM saw.3sf the-boy-ACC rides.3sm donkey  
 "Zainab saw the boy; (while he<sub>j</sub> was) riding a donkey."

(22) and (23) show the verb agrees in number, gender, and person with the NP it refers.

In PA, just as in its Type I, and in MSA, unlike its Type I, the subject NP *Zainab*, cannot control the *Haal* phrase if an object is present. When no object is present then the *Haal* must be controlled by the subject. Consider:

- (24)\* zeinab aafat el-walad bterkab Hmaar PA

- Zainab saw.3sf the-boy ride.3fm donkey  
 "Zainab<sub>i</sub> saw the boy<sub>j</sub> (while she<sub>i</sub> was) ridding a donkey."
- (25)\* zaynab-u aahadat l-walad-a tarkab-u Hmaar-an MSA  
 Zaynab-NOM saw.3sf the-boy-ACC rides.3sf donkey  
 "Zainab<sub>i</sub> saw the boy (while she<sub>i</sub> was) riding a donkey."
- (26) zaynab-u jaa?at tarkab-u Hmaar-an MSA  
 Zaynab-NOM came.3sf rides.3sf donkey-ACC  
 "Zaynab came riding a donkey."
- (27) ajat zeinab btebtasem PA  
 came.3sf Zaynab smile.3sf  
 "Zainab came smiling."
- Both the subject and the object may control the *Haal* if the *waaw* of *Haal* is used. Observe:
- (28) zeinab aafat el-walad w-hu birkab Hmaar PA  
 Zainab saw.3sf the-boy w-he ride 3sm donkey  
 "Zainab<sub>i</sub> saw the boy<sub>j</sub> while he<sub>j</sub> was ridding a donkey."
- (29) zeinab aafat el-walad w-hi bterkab Hmaar PA  
 Zainab saw.3sf the-boy w-she ride 3sm donkey  
 "Zainab<sub>i</sub> saw the boy<sub>j</sub> while she<sub>i</sub> was ridding a donkey."
- (30) zaynab-u aahadat l-walad-a wa-huwa  
 yarkab-u  
 Zaynab-NOM saw.3sf the-boy-ACC w-he rides.3sf  
 Hmaar-an MSA

donkey

"Zainab saw the boy<sub>i</sub> while he<sub>j</sub> was riding a donkey."

- (31) zaynab-u      aahadat    l-walad-a      wa-hiya      tarkab-u  
Zaynab-NOM saw.3sf    the-boy-ACC    w-she      rides.3sf

Hmaar-an MSA

donkey

"Zainab<sub>i</sub> saw the boy while she<sub>j</sub> was riding a donkey."

To conclude this section, we have seen that in Type II PA and MSA do not permit the subject to control the *Haal* if an object is present. If the *waaw* of the *Haal* is present together with a lexical pronoun, the either the subject or the object may control the *Haal*.

### 3.0. The Categorical Identity of the *Haal*:

This section addresses the question regarding the categorial identity of the *Haal*. The following is an exhaustive list of possible options: NP, VP, IP, CP, ADJ P, and sc (=small clause).

#### 3.1. Is the *Haal* a NP?

If the *Haal* is an NP, we expect it to show the usual constraints imposed on extraction out of NP's. Consider for example the following subjacency violations:

(32)\* miin uft [abu t] PA  
 who saw.2sm father  
 "Whose did you see father?"

(33) \* man jaa?a [ab-u t] MSA  
 who came.3sm father-NOM  
 "Whose did come father?"

(34) \* miin aja [ab-u t] PA  
 who came.3sm father  
 "Whose did come father?"

(35) \* ayy-a kitaab-in mazzaqa aHmad-u [t ar-rajuli]  
 MSA  
 which book-GEN tore.3sm Ahmed-NOM the-man-GEN  
 "Which book did Ahmed tear the man's?"

(36) \* ayy-a ktaab mazza9 eHmad [t ez-zalame] PA  
 which book tore.3sm Ahmed the-man  
 "Which book did Ahmed tear the man's?"

Now consider extraction from the *Haal*:

(37) maaTHaa ra?ayta aHmad-a raakib-an t MSA  
 what saw.2sm Ahmed-ACC riding-ACC  
 "What did you see Ahmed riding?"

(38) uu uft eHmad raakib

what saw.2sm Ahmed riding  
"What did you see Ahmed riding?"

Comparing the above extraction facts, we cannot but conclude that the *Haal* cannot be an NP. Further evidence for this conclusion can be adduced when we consider extraction from construct state NP's headed by the agentive participle (i.e., the morphologically identical form to the *Haal*):

(39)\* maa aa ra?ayta [raakib-a t] MSA  
what saw 2sm rider-ACC  
"What did you see the rider (of)?"

(40)\* uu uft [raakib t] PA  
what saw.2sm riding  
"What did you see the rider (of)?"

Thus, the *Haal* construction is not an NP. Furthermore, all NPs can acquire different Cases depending on their structural position in a sentence. A *Haal* is (in MSA) invariably accusative.

### 3.2. Is the *Haal* an ADJP?

Given that the *Haal*, like adjectivals, agrees in number and gender with the NP it modifies, can it be considered an adjective? The answer must be in the negative since adjectives agree with the NP they modify in number, gender, definiteness and (in the case of MSA) in Case. Consider:

(41) jaa?a ar-rajul-u al-QaSiir-u MSA  
came 3sm the-man-NOM the-short-NOM  
"The short man came."

- (42) aja            l-walad            le-gSiir PA  
 came.3sm      the-boy            the-short  
 "The short boy came."

By contrast to the above examples, the *Haal* can never have the definite article prefixed to it; and it can never change its Case. Thus we have to conclude that the *Haal* can not be an adjectival.

### 3.3. Is the *Haal* a Small Clause?

Consider first the following examples showing typical small clause constructions<sup>4</sup>:

- (43) aHmad-u        mu9allim-un      qadiir-un MSA  
 Ahmed-ACC      teacher-NOM      capable-NOM  
 "Ahmed is a capable teacher."

- (44) eHmad            m9allem            aaTer PA  
 Ahmed            teacher capable  
 "Ahmed is a capable teacher."

In (43) the subject and the predicate are nominative. Consider now what happens when it is embedded under a Case-assigning verb:

- (45) a9tabiru        aHmad-a            mu9allim-an      qadiir-an MSA  
 consider 1s      Ahmed-ACC        teacher-ACC      capable-ACC  
 " I consider Ahmed a capable teacher."

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<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of small clauses in Arabic and Hebrew, the reader is referred to Eid (1991) and Rapaport (1987), respectively.

(46) ba9taber eHmad m9allem aaTer PA  
 consider.1s Ahmed teacher capable  
 " I consider Ahmed a capable teacher."

Note that the Case assigned to both the subject *Ahmed* and its predicate *mu9allimun* 'a teacher' in (43) is one and the same, namely accusative. The crucial point is that the Case marked on the predicate changed depending on its syntactic environment.

As for type II, the same conclusion can be drawn that the *Haal* is not a small clause. Small clauses, when containing a verb, the verb appears in the subjunctive. Consider:

(47) xalleet Hmad yerkab Hmaar PA  
 let/made.1s Ahmed ride.SUBJ.3sm donkey  
 " I let /made Ahmed ride a donkey."

If an indicative verb is used, (47) becomes ungrammatical:

(48)\* xalleet Hmad berkab Hmaar PA  
 let/made.1s Ahmed ride.IND.3sm donkey  
 " I let /made Ahmed ride a donkey."

By contrast to (47) the *Haal* requires the opposite: it is only grammatical with an indicative verb:

(49) uft Hmad berkab Hmaar PA

saw.1s Ahmed ride.IND.3sm donkey

" I saw Ahmed ride a donkey."

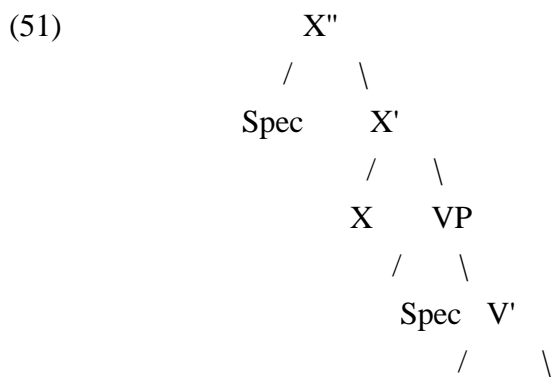
(50)\* uft Hmad yerkab Hmaar  
 saw.1s Ahmed ride.SUBJ.3sm donkey

" I saw Ahmed ride a donkey."

We must conclude that the evidence seems to suggest that the *Haal* is not a small clause.

### 3.4. Is the *Haal* a VP?

One problem facing considering the *Haal* as a VP is the Case marked on the *Haal*. It is not a Case that is associated with verbs. Add to that the fact that the *Haal* is also showing nunation: a property that is never found in verbs. However, we need to derive the verbal properties of the *Haal*, primarily its ability to assign accusative Case to its complement. I make the reasonable assumption that the *Haal* contains a VP. I.e., the *Haal* will have the following configuration underlying it<sup>5</sup>:




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<sup>5</sup>See footnote (9).

## V (NP)

All we need to say now is that the verb, underlying the *Haal* is generated under V. Then, it moves into X along the lines of head movement suggested in Benmamoun (1992), Ouhalla (1994), and Mohammad (1998).

### 4.0. The Status of the Subject of the *Haal*:

In the previous paragraphs, we argued that the *Haal* cannot be an NP, a VP, an ADJP, nor a sc. We are thus left with two categories, namely IP or CP. With evidence to be presented later, I assume that it is a CP. This now forces the following questions: Is the subject of *Haal* base-generated there, and then later moved, or is the subject of the *Haal* generated as an empty category with the controller of this category outside the *Haal* construction?

To clarify, consider first examples where the subject of the *Haal* clause is the matrix subject:

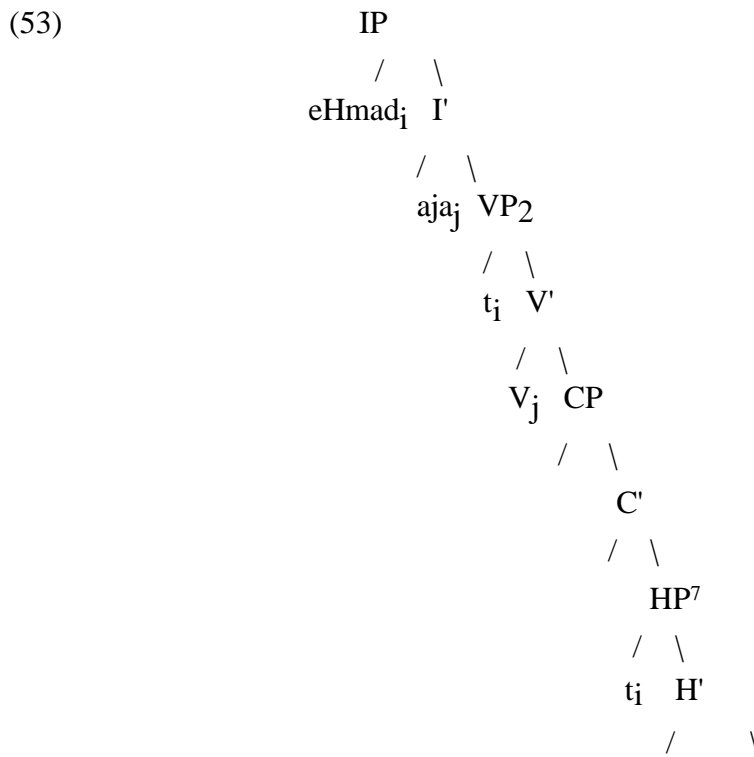
(52)(a) aja                    eHmad raakib                    Hmaar PA  
          came 3sm            Ahmed riding.sm            donkey  
                                  "Ahmed came riding a donkey."

(b)            eHmad            aja            raakib            Hmaar PA  
          Ahmed            came.3sm            riding.sm            donkey  
                                  "Ahmed came riding a donkey."

I assume the VP-internal subject hypothesis of Fukui and Speas (1986), Koopman and Sprotiche (1988), Kuroda (1988) and Mohammad (1990), where the subject of the sentence in (52) originates as[Spec, VP]. In (a) the

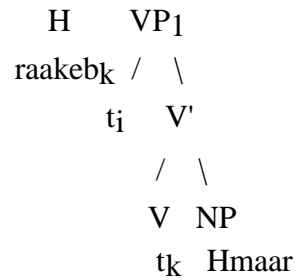
subject remains in situ while in (b) the subject moves to [Spec, IP]. In both instances, the verb moves into I.

The question now is: Is (53) the S-structure associated with (52b)<sup>6</sup>:



<sup>6</sup>I do subscribe to the so-called Split-infl hypothesis of Pollock (1989). The details are irrelevant in the present context. For details regarding the internal structure of sentences in Arabic, see Benmamoun [1992], Fassi Fehri (1993), Mohammad (1990, 1998), and Ouhalla (1991, 1994).

<sup>7</sup>I will use HP (Haal Phrase] to refer to the Haal clause. I.e., X in (51) is now H.



(53) cannot be right, since it assumes that *Ahmed* is the subject of VP<sub>1</sub> contained in HP. This assumption leads to an illegitimate chain because this chain violated the theta-Criterion (cf. Chomsky (1981)). The subject starts in a thematic position and moves into another thematic position. It, therefore, seems reasonable to assume that the subject NP *Ahmed* originates as in [Spec, VP<sub>2</sub>] outside the *Haal* clause.

Consider the following where the *Haal* modifies the head of a construct state:

(54) aju                wlaad                mona    maa    yiin  
 came.3pm        children                Mona    walking.pm  
 "Mona's children came walking."

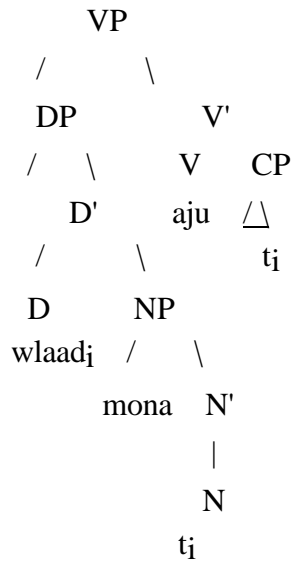
(55) uft    wlaad                mona    maa    yiin  
 saw.1s children                Mona    walking.pm  
 "I saw Mona's children walking."

Assuming the DP analysis of the construct state in Semitic, we would have to assign the relevant portion of (54) and (55) the configurations given in (56) and (57), respectively, if the controllers of the *Haal* above were the result of movement from inside the *Haal* Phrase<sup>8</sup>:

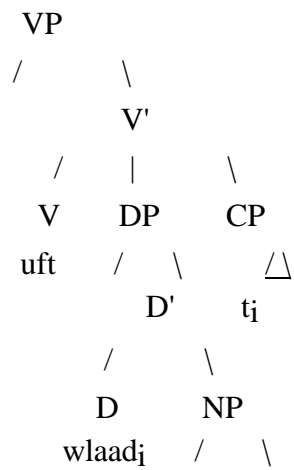
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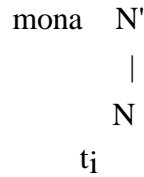
<sup>8</sup>See below for a justification of considering the *Haal* phrase a complement of V.

(56)



(57)





In addition to the theta-Criterion problems noted earlier, the above configurations are highly convoluted and seem to be counter-intuitive. The subject of the *Haal* in both cases must first move into N where this N cannot c-command the trace left in the *Haal* phrase.

Another argument against the a movement analysis can be brought forward when considering clitic-doubling. Consider:

- (58)    uft-hen            la-wlaad            mona    maa    yiin  
           saw.1s-them    to-children        Mona    walking.pm  
           "I saw Mona's children walking."

Leaving aside the important issue regarding clitic-doubling structures, a movement analysis will be too complex to consider as a viable option. I, therefore, conclude that the subject of the *Haal* phrase is an empty element.

## 5.0. Towards an Analysis

With respect to the referential possibilities of the *Haal* constructions, we have found that in PA, in both types of the *Haal*, the closest NP must control the *Haal*, whereas in MA in Type I both the subject and the object may control the *Haal*, while in Type II only the object may control the *Haal*. That is to say, Type II in MA and both types in PA behave in exactly the same way.

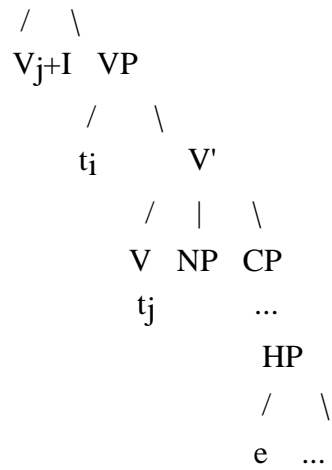
In order to account for the facts noted so far I follow the foot-steps of Borer (1989). She establishes a very convincing case that it is best to look at

AGR and not the empty subject in order to account for some control constructions. Assuming her approach, I suggest that the *Haal* in PA and MSA always contains an anaphoric AGR. The difference between the two languages in the control properties of Type I is attributed to some structural property that allows both subject and objects in MSA but not in PA to bind the subject of the *Haal*.

According to Borer's (1989) proposal, in constructions where the subject is empty, AGR can be anaphoric and, when it is, it must be bound (identified). This identification cannot be accomplished with AGR staying in the position where it is base-generated. It must move to C of CP to be in the identification domain of an identifier. Recall that we have seen that the *Haal* constructions in PA cannot allow the subject of a transitive sentence from controlling the *Haal*. The object is the sole potential controller. It, therefore, follows the *Haal* construction must be embedded in a position where it can be c-commanded by the object with the object being the more potential antecedent. I assume following Chomsky (1980) and Huang (1984, p. 553) that 'A is closer to B than C if A is separated from B by fewer clause boundaries than C is.' I assume that the most potential antecedent is the closest c-commanding category.

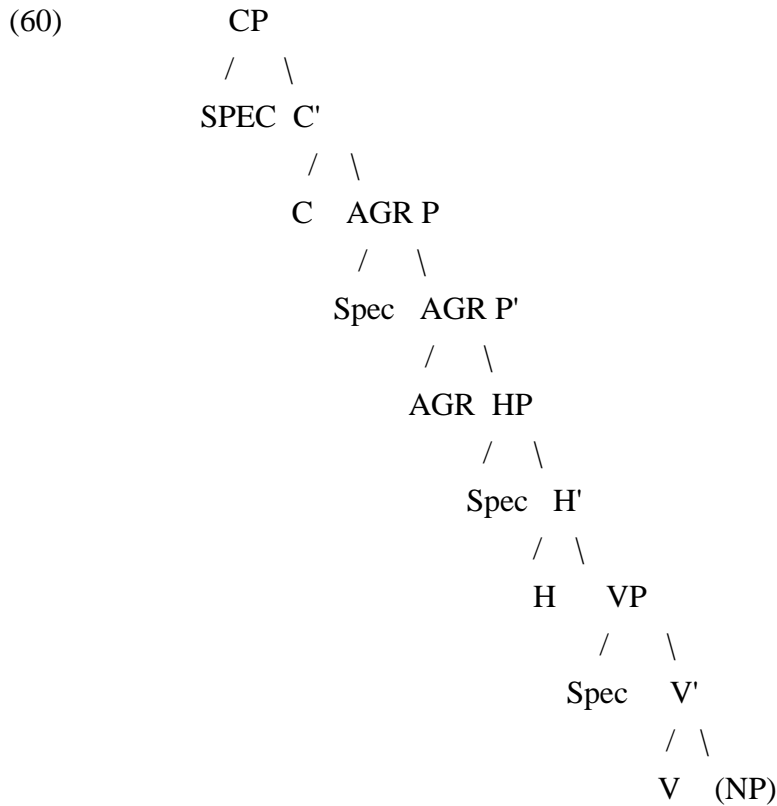
Armed with the assumptions given above, I suggest that in PA the *Haal* clause is always generated as a sister to V:

(59)      IP  
           /     \  
         NP<sub>i</sub>  I'



Thus, in (54) the object NP is the most potential antecedent to  $e$ , the empty subject of the *Haal*, since it is closer to  $e$  than the subject or its trace is.

Given these assumptions, let us see how the PA facts are made to follow. The *Haal* has the following configuration with the details spelled-out:



V moves into H and then into AGR. AGR moves into C to have its features identified. The most potential antecedent, the object, if there is one, identifies its content. Recall that we assume that both types of the *Haal* are sisters to V.

What about Type I in Modern Standard Arabic? We must say that, for some reason, Type I can be generated either inside or outside the domain of V. This will make the *Haal* closer to the subject than it is to the verb. This gives the ambiguity we observed.

Fortunately, there is evidence for the above stipulation. Huang (1982) proposed CED (Complement Extraction Domain) which bars extraction out of subjects and adjuncts. Assuming the CED, if the proposal I made in the previous paragraph is on the right track, then we expect that the object of the

*Haal* can be extracted only if the *Haal* is controlled by the object, i.e., the *Haal* is in a CED. When the subject is the controller, such extraction should not be possible since the *Haal* is outside a CED. This expectation is fulfilled.

Consider first (61)-(63) from Modern Standard Arabic:

(61) maa a            aahadat            mona    ?aHmad            raakib-an    t  
 what            saw.3sf            Mona    Ahmed-ACC    riding.ms-ACC  
 "What did Mona see Ahmed riding?"

(62)\* maa a            aahadat            mona            ?aHmad            raakiba-tan  
 t  
 what            saw.3sf            Mona            Ahmed-ACC    riding.fs-  
 ACC  
 "What did Mona see Ahmed riding?"

(63) maa a            jaa?at            mona            raakiba-tan  
 what            came.3sf            Mona            riding.sf-ACC  
 "What did Mona come riding?"

In both (61) and (63) the *Haal* is generated as a complement to V. The CED correctly predicts that extraction is possible. By contrast in (62) the *Haal* is not in a CED. Thus, extraction is not allowed. It seems, then, that there is evidence supporting the above conclusion.

In PA, the same facts obtain since, independently of CED, PA does not permit the subject to control the *Haal* when an object is present. Consider:

(64) uu            aafat            mona            eHmad raakeb    t  
 what            saw.3sf            Mona            Ahmed riding.ms  
 "What did Mona see Ahmed riding?"

(65)\* uu            aafat            mona            eHmad raakbe t  
 what            saw.3sf        Mona            Ahmed-ACC riding.fs  
 "What did Mona see Ahmed riding?"

(66) uu            ajat            mona            raakbe t  
 what            came.3sf        Mona            riding.sf  
 "What did Mona come riding?"

Another piece of evidence in support of the above analysis can be derived when we consider multiple *Haals* in the same clause. Consider:

(67) aahadat        mona ?aHmad        raakiD-an        maa iya-tan  
 saw.3sf        Mona Ahmed-ACC running.ms-ACC  
 walking.fs.ACC  
 "Mona see Ahmed running walking?"

(68)\* aahadat        mona ?aHmad        maa iya-tan        raakiD-an  
 saw.3sf        Mona Ahmed-ACC walking.fs.ACC        running.ms-  
 ACC  
 "Mona saw Ahmed walking running ?"

As the contrast in (67) and (68) shows when multiple *Haals* are present referring to the subject and the object, only nesting relations are permitted. This follows from the proposals made above. If the two *Haals* in (68) are generated as complements to V, then the object would forbid the subject from co-referring with either of the *Haals*. If, on the other hand, the two *Haals* are generated as adjuncts outside the domain of V, then the subject would forbid the object from identifying either of the *Haals*. By contrast, in (67) the subject and the object are in the right configurational positions for both of them to be the most potential antecedents to c-command their respective *Haals*. As for PA, both (67) and (68) are missing. The object must control both *Haals*. This

follows from our proposal that the *Haal* in PA is always generated as a complement, making it closer to the object than it is to the subject.

### 5.1. Why the Waaw of the *Haal* does not Permit an Empty Subject

Recall that when the waaw of the *Haal* is used a lexical pronoun must appear. Why? The analysis proposed gives now a straight solution. Consider the (13) reproduced as (69):

(69) \* aaf                Hmad            zeid    w- raakib        Hmaar  
      saw 3sm        AhmedZayd    while-riding    donkey  
      "Ahmed saw Zaydj while riding a donkey."

Assuming that the waaw of the *Haal* is base-generated under C. The presence of this *waaw* will block AGR from moving into C. This will result in the failure of the features of AGR being identified. But when a lexical pronoun is used, there is no need for AGR to go up all the way to C since the lexical pronoun, which carries its own features, is strong enough to identify its features. The fact that the subject of the *Haal* is a pronoun allows it to freely corefer with either the subject of the subject or both.

### 5.2. The Interaction Between the *Haal* and Negation

Further evidence for the correctness of the above analysis can be adduced when negation is considered. Consider<sup>9</sup>:

(70)\* uft        ?eHmad mish raakib        Hmaar

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<sup>9</sup>(61) is only grammatical if it is used contrastively. The negative particle must carry a heavy stress and an affirmative sentence must follow as in "I saw Ahmed NOT riding a donkey. I saw him riding a HORSE."

saw.1s Ahmed NEG riding sm donkey  
 "I saw Ahmed not riding a donkey."

(71) uft ?eHmad ma-bidaxxin-esh  
 saw.1s Ahmed NEG- smoke 3sm-NEG  
 "I saw Ahmed not smoking."

The examples above provide striking support for the analysis given above. AGR in both sentences must raise ultimately to C of CP. However, in (61) AGR must cross negation on its way to C. Now, assuming with Benmamoun (1992) and Ouhalla (1991) that NEGP is higher than AGRP, we can simply say that the *Haal* is not a candidate to amalgamate with negation. This movement is, then, blocked by Chomsky's (1995) Minimal Link Condition. AGR fails to be identified. By contrast Type II of the *Haal* contains a fully inflected verb. In PA, the verb can and indeed must amalgamate with negation. This amalgamation allows the verb to move C carrying negation with it.

Now what about negation and the *Haal* in MSA? If our line of reasoning is correct, then we expect that all types of the *Haal* with negation to be ungrammatical in MSA<sup>10</sup>. This expectation is partially borne out. Consider:

(71) \*jaa?a aHmad-u laysa raakiban Himaar-an  
 came.3sm Ahmed-NOM NEG.3sm riding.sm.ACC donkey-ACC  
 "Lit. Ahmed came (he) was not riding a horse."

(72) jaa?a aHmad-u laysa ya9rifu aHad-an  
 came.3sm Ahmed-NOM NEG.3sm know.3sm. one-ACC

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<sup>10</sup>Negation in Modern Standard Arabic is too complex to be addressed in this paper. For a discussion of the issues involved, the reader is referred to Benmamoun (1992) and Fassi Fehri (1993).

"Ahmed came (he) does not know anyone."

The first thing that needs to be noted about (71) and (72) is that the negative particle *laysa* is a verb and fully agrees with its subject in number, gender and person. As a verb it requires a subject and a predicate. Its subject is nominative Case, while its object is accusative. In (71) its subject is an empty pronoun and its predicate is an active participial. If we interpret the active participle as a *Haal*, then we have a clash of Case assignment. The participle would have two Cases assigned to it: one form being a *Haal* and the other from *laysa*. (72), on the other hand, does not have this problem since verbs do not enter into Case assignment with other Case assigners. Thus, the contrast above can be attributed not to a failure of identifying the AGR of the *Haal* but to Case reasons.

Consider now the following more problematic sentences involving the following negative particles (a) *maa* that is capable of negating present and past tense sentences; (b) *lam* which itself carries past tense; (c) *lan* which itself carries the future tense; and (d) *laa* which negates only present tense sentences<sup>11</sup>:

(73)\* jaa?a            aHmad-u        maa    maa iya-an  
         came.3sm    Ahmed-NOM NEG    walking-ACC  
         "Ahmed came not walking."

(74)\* jaa?a            aHmad-u        maa    yamaa ii  
         came.3sm    Ahmed-NOM NEG    walk.3sm-ACC  
         "Ahmed came not walking."

(75)\* jaa?a            aHmadu        lam    yamaa ii

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<sup>11</sup>Independently of the issues discussed here *lam*, *laa*, and *lan* only permit a verb. Thus, an active participle cannot be used in place of the verb.

came.3sm      Ahmed-NOM did not walk.3sm

"Lit. Ahmed came (he) did not walk."

(76)\*    jaa?a            aHmad            lan            yamaa ii  
          came.3sm      Ahmed-NOM will not            walk.3sm

"Lit. Ahmed came (he) will not walk."

(77)    jaa?a            ?aHmad-u      laa      yaHmilu      ay?-an <sup>12</sup>  
          came.3sm      Ahmed-NOM NEG      carry.3sm      thing-ACC

"Ahmed came not carrying a thing. Lit. Ahmed came (he) does not carry a thing."

Thus, except for (77) negation does indeed block AGR from moving into C. However, given (77) we must stipulate that not all negative heads block AGR. Adopting and adapting Chomsky's (1995) terminology, let us assume that the negative particles in (73)-(76) contain a strong feature that blocks AGR from moving across them. The same feature is weak in (77) and does not block AGR. This stipulation accounts for all the negation facts above.

## 6.0. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed some interesting properties of the *Haal* in PA and MSA. I have shown that their properties can be derived with minimal number of assumptions if we follow Borer's (1989) proposals by considering AGR as an anaphor that must be bound. This proposal, I believe, provides a straightforward and elegant account for some rather complex data

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<sup>12</sup>for some reason that eludes me I find *laa* with intransitive verbs ungrammatical.

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