

Raising in Modern Standard Arabic

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A Major Research Paper

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List of Abbreviations

A-Movement	argument movement
A-bar-Movement	non-argument movement
ACC	accusative
AgrOP	object agreement position
AgrOSP	subject agreement position
CP	complementizer phrase
DP	determiner Phrase
D-structure	deep-structure
ENER	energetic mood
EPP	extended projection principle
Expl	expletive
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative mood
INDIC	indicative mood
INFL	inflectional
IP/TP	inflectional phrase/tense phrase
LD	left dislocation
LF	logical Form
M	masculine
NOM	nominative
NP	nominal phrase
P	preposition
PF	phonological Form
PL	plural
PLC	particle
PP	prepositional phrase
[+PR]	pronominal
RtoO	raising to object
RtoS	raising to subject
S	sentence
S'	embedded sentence
SG	singular
Spec	specifier position
S-structure	surface Structure
SUBJ	subjunctive mood
SV	subject-verb word order
VS	verb-subject word order

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study investigates a core subject in generative syntax which is Argument movement (A-movement) as is represented by the syntactic process of Raising in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Subject-to-subject raising, and subject-to-object raising have been extensively studied in English language and other languages, however, this is not the case for MSA. Although the topic of Raising has been getting more attention in the last few decades, relevant studies in MSA remain sparse. Moreover, there are conflicting views towards the availability of A-movement, and hence Raising, as well as an overall lack of comprehensive research.

1.1 A Brief Introduction to Raising

In English, Raising has been long studied as one of the most important topics in syntax (e.g., Postal, 1974; Chomsky 1981; Lasnik, 2001, 2003; Adger, 2003; Davies & Dubinsky 2007; Polinsky & Eric Potsdam, 2006; Sportiche et al. 2014). The raised element in English is the nominal subject of a nonfinite clause to either the subject or object position of the matrix clause.

Subject Raising accounts for the structure where the grammatical subject of the matrix clause is raised from the lower subject position of the non-finite embedded clause to the higher subject position of the matrix clause as in example (1):

(1) Agamemnon seems to have left. [Adger 2003: 262, ex (152)]

[Agamemnon_i seems [_{TP} *ti* to have left]]

Subject raising occurs in sentences with unaccusative intransitive verbs in their matrix clause and nonfinite embedded clauses, (e.g., infinitival and gerund clauses). Because the embedded clause is a reduced nonfinite TP, the DP in the embedded clause cannot be assigned Case. Thus, it needs to be raised to check Case. Subject and object raising constructions require reduced embedded clause structure (i.e., these cannot be complete CPs). The movement of the embedded DP subject in both cases of raising is called A-movement. In such constructions, the subject is semantically related to the predicate of the non-finite embedded clause and not to the predicate of the matrix clause.

In MSA which is the focus of this study, the same process of Raising as A-movement is not clearly identified. Arabic is a verb initial, typically subject drop language. Though, VS word order is unmarked in Classical Arabic, MSA can be either VSO, or SVO. Ouhalla (1994: 43) argues that in Arabic, the word order VS is derived in fact from SV because it is always possible to move one of these two categories to precede the other as illustrated in (2):

- (2) a. wasal-a ?al-walad-u VS
 arrive-3SGM the-boy-3SGM-NOM
 “The boy arrived”
- b. ?al-walad-u wasal-a SV
 the-boys-NOM arrive-3MSG
 “The boy arrived.” [Ouhalla 1994: 43, ex (1)]

The flexibility of word order in MSA, and the complexity of the agreement system that changes accordingly posit some challenge to the account of A-movement in Arabic. For

example, in SV sentences, if the subject is changed from singular to plural, the verb in (2b) should also be in the plural as in (3a). However, with VS word order, the verb agrees with the subject in person and gender, but not in number as in (3b):

- (3) a. ?al-?awlad-u wasal-u
the-boys-3MPL-NOM arrive-PAST-3PL
- b. wasal-a ?al-?awlad-u
arrive-PAST-3MSG the-boys-3MPL
- “The boys arrived” [Ouhalla,1994:43, ex (1)]

Moreover, there is a disagreement amongst linguists regarding the availability of nonfinite clauses in Arabic. Fassi Fehri (1993: 158) assumes that Arabic lacks nonfinite clauses because verbs are inflected in all contexts. He states that “in Arabic there are no bare verbs, no non-finite participles, and no infinitives”. Thus, Arabic embedded clauses may indicate the presence of constructions such as Raising, but the embedded verb always carries agreement markers to indicate coreference with the subject of the matrix clause.

In addition, it is worthy to note that there is no consensus amongst linguists on the status of the two particles *?an* and *?anna* which usually appear before the subjunctive clause to indicate subordination.

1.2 The Aim and the Significance of the Study

There are two points that promoted this study: (i) the lack of empirical research on raising constructions in MSA, and (ii) the controversy added by the previous studies to the

literature of MSA syntax. With respect to the latter, Salih (1986); and Haddad (2005, 2012) point out that in MSA not only subjects can be raised, but that also direct and indirect objects can be raised. On the other hand, other researchers (Soltan, 2007, 2011; Al-Balushi 2011) argue that there is no A-movement in MSA, and that there is no Raising of any DP from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. This study will show that MSA has raising constructions which involve A-movement by attempting to answer the following questions:

1. What are the types of Raising in MSA constructions?
2. Are the empirical properties associated with raising constructions in different languages (as in English language for example), also applicable to similar constructions in MSA?
3. How to account for the particles *?na* and *?anna* as complementizers? Where can these particles be placed in the structure?
4. How to explain Raising out of the subjunctive clause which is finite?
5. How to account for the movement of the raised subject in these constructions?

The significance of this study lies in attempting to address the current shortage of research in this area of MSA syntax and contribute to the existing body of knowledge. Moreover, the findings will show that Raising is indeed found in MSA along with A-movement, despite the lack of non-finite clauses.

Further, what is missing in the current syntactic studies, is a detailed analysis of raising constructions in MSA. Within the few studies that have investigated A-movement, Raising is always a minor topic, and usually is dealt with while studying other constructions such as Passive and Control. Therefore, this study attempts to fill this gap by providing a detailed account for raising constructions in MSA.

1.3 Methodology

This study will adopt the Minimalist framework of Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), and Chomsky (1995) to answer the above questions. Moreover, to account for the movement of the subject from the embedded clause to the matrix clause where the verb is in initial position, A-movement is proposed and the structure of subject-to-subject raising, and subject-to-object raising is illustrated. The study also conducts a number of structural and interpretive tests to check if raising predicates in MSA have the typical empirical properties that are usually associated with raising structures in other languages.

1.4 The Scope of the Study

Unlike Standard Arabic, which is mainly a VS language, MSA exhibits two-word orders: VS and SV. The study covers Raising in VS sentences only, since this order is the unmarked word order. Moreover, data analyzed are limited to certain types of raising verbs, such as verbs of appropinquation, and *yabduu* “seem” type of verbs for subject-to-subject raising. As for subject-to-object raising, sentences examined are only ones that contain *danna* “believe” type of verbs, and *?arada* “want” type of verbs.

1.5 Outline of the Study

This chapter introduces the present study by first providing a brief introduction to the context of raising in English language and MSA. This is followed by the research problem, the research aims, questions, and the significance of the study. It also presents the methodology and the scope of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature related to the syntactic process of Raising in English. It surveys the analysis proposed for Raising since it is first pointed at in Rosenbaum (1967), through Postal (1974), the GB theory, to the present time's treatment of Raising within the Minimalist framework.

Chapter 3 presents a brief account to the syntax of MSA to help analyzing the data in chapter four. In this chapter, the types of the sentence in MSA are examined, and relevant agreement patterns are discussed. Moreover, case, tense, aspect, and mood are introduced.

A theoretical and empirical account for Raising in MSA is argued for in chapter 4, and multiple tests are conducted to show that movement is involved in subject-to subject-raising, subject-to-object raising, and "backward" raising. The status of the two particles *?an* and *?anna* are debated as well as the finiteness of the subjunctive clause.

In chapter 5, the main findings of this study are given, followed by the limitations of the study and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review of Raising in the English Language

2.1 Introduction

Raising has been a central concern of generative syntax since the 1960s. Davies and Dubinsky (2007: viii) claim that Raising “among a handful of syntactic constructions including Control, Anaphora and Question formation” must be investigated in every instantiation of a comprehensive model. They add that “[i]n many instances understanding the analysis of these constructions in a particular framework requires understanding the key assumptions underlying that framework, which leads to a general understanding of the framework itself”.

In this chapter, a review of Raising in English is presented by tracing the developments in its treatment from early generative syntax, starting with the work of Rosenbaum in (1967) to the present time treatment of Raising within the Minimalist Program (MP) of Chomsky (1995).

2.2 Rosenbaum (1967) and the Standard Theory (ST)

One of the initial studies of Raising was in Rosenbaum (1967). According to Rosenbaum (1967: 4), all sentential complements in English are either NP complements or VP complements. Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 22) explain that to handle Raising, Rosenbaum proposes a transformation that is referred to as “Pronoun Replacement”. In this transformation, the subject of the embedded clause *the students* in (1a) replaces the pronoun *it* to be the matrix clause subject as in (1b):

- (1) a. It seems that the students have gone
 b. The students seem to have gone. [Davies and Dubinsky 2007: 22, ex (22)]

According to Rosenbaum (1967), (1b) has the derivation in (2):

- (2) [NP [it] [S the students have gone home]] seem (Deep Structure)
 [NP [it] [S for the students to have gone home]] seem (Complementizer Insertion)
 [NP it] seem [S for the students to have gone home] (Extraposition)
 [NP the students] seem [S for to have gone home] (Pronoun Replacement)
 [NP the students] seem [S to have gone home] (Complementizer Deletion)
 [Davies and Dubinsky 2007: 22, ex (25)]

The underlying subject of *seem* is the complex NP *it the students have gone home*. After Complementizer Insertion, the sentential constituent of this complex NP is extraposed to the end of the matrix clause. The subject of the extraposed clause, *the students*, then moves to replace the pronoun *it*. In Rosenbaum's formulation of the Pronoun Replacement transformation, Extraposition must already have taken place, so that the indefinite pronoun *it* is the sole element in the matrix NP when the Pronoun Replacement rule is applied. Therefore, the raised NP moves into an existing NP node which was left behind after Extraposition. In addition, since Raising is not triggered by all types of complement taking by the predicates, Rosenbaum includes a lexical feature [+PR] in the structural description of the "Pronoun Replacement" transformation to denote that this transformation can apply only to sentences with predicates having this diacritic.

The inclusion of this annotation rules out the possibility of driving (3) by the application of the same rules, since the verb *surprise* lacks [+PR] feature:

(3) *Barnett surprised me to win. [Davies & Dubinsky 2007, ex 26: 23]

In addition, Rosenbaum (1967) analyzes Raising-to-Object (RtoO) in the same way, proposing no new transformations.

2.3 Chomsky (1973) and the Extended Standard Theory (EST)

According to Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 60), the framework of “Conditions on transformations” represents a major departure from the Standard Theory (ST) of the *Aspects*-model in which Rosenbaum (1967) makes his proposals regarding Raising and in which the types of arguments made by Postal (1974) are rooted. Many transformations posited within ST have very specific types of effects and conditions. What Chomsky (and those following) refer to as the Extended Standard Theory (EST), is on reducing the number of transformations and much of their specificity and sharpening the conditions on their application.

Regarding this point, Chomsky (1973: 343) mentions that his framework attempts to “constrain the functioning of grammatical rules and thereby limit the generative power of grammars of a given form”. Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 82) describe EST as a “seismic shift” in the analysis of Raising; Raising-to-object was eliminated and Raising-to-subject took on a somewhat different look.

Chomsky (1973) adopts Rosenbaum’s pronoun replacement analysis, though the extraposition structure is base generated. Thus, (4b) is derived from (4a):

- (4) a. It seems [_S COMP John to be a nice fellow]
b. John seems to be a nice fellow. [Davies & Dubinsky 2007: 82, ex (13)]

This analysis is different from ST in two important ways: (i) the type of complementizer insertion that is part of Rosenbaum's (1967) analysis is abandoned, and (ii) the surface structure is still derived from the deep structure via transformations.

Within EST, raising to object (RtoO)¹ is eliminated as a transformation. Chomsky (1973: 254) states this explicitly: "As already noted, under the analysis proposed here there is no necessity for a rule raising the subject of an embedded sentence to the object position of the matrix sentence (and, therefore, it is questionable whether such a rule could even be added)".

2.4 Postal (1974)

Following Rosenbaum (1967), there were some direct critiques to his proposal as in Lakoff (1967) and Ross (1967). As a result, new attempts emerge to refine Raising which resulted in analyses that treat raising to subject (RtoS) and raising to object (RtoO) as separate transformations.

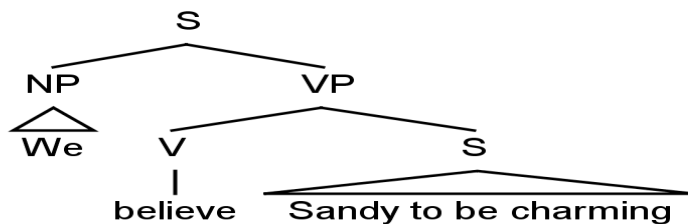
According to Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 29), Postal (1974) provided the most far-ranging and detailed examination of Raising that exists, attempting to motivate the existence of the transformation with a preponderance of data.

¹Also called subject to object raising or ECM.

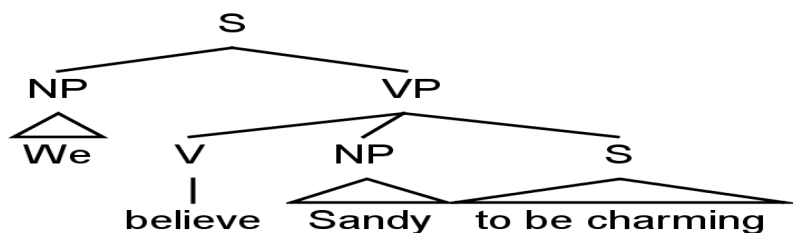
Postal (1974) presents arguments that support the spirit of a Rosenbaum-type analysis which recognizes a raising transformation. In discussing Raising, Postal (1974: 102) motivates a raising analysis to disconfirm Chomsky's (1973) theory "Conditions on transformations", which rejects RtoO while recognizing RtoS.

Postal's "Relational grammar" (which the author developed with David Perlmutter) and Chomsky's 1973 theory differ in many ways, but they crucially differ in the surface structure assigned to infinitival complements as illustrated in examples (5) and (6) from Davies and Dubinsky (2007:31, ex (1) & (2)).

(5) Conditions (Chomsky 1973)



(6) Raising (Postal 1974)



In Chomsky's (1973) approach represented in (5), *Sandy* is not only a deep structure subject, but also a surface structure subject. However, (6) represents the standard raising analysis in which the deep structure subject *Sandy* is a surface direct object.

Moreover, Postal (1974) proposes a new argument in which the author accounts for the difference between raising and non-raising predicates in terms of a constraint on the placement of "sentential adverbs" as in (7):

(7) The chairman expected his earnings foolishly to show increases.

[Polinsky 2013: 580, ex (13a)]

For the adverbial *foolishly* to be interpreted with the matrix verb (which is the only interpretation that makes sense), it should be in the same clause as that verb; this means that the constituent preceding it including the raised DP should also belong to the matrix clause. If this is correct, it supports the argument that the [NP+ infinitive] string is not a clausal constituent, contra Chomsky (1973).

Finally, Postal (1974: 288) sketches a rough idea of the rule of Raising as he states: "If anything along the lines of the account in this section is correct, it follows that in studying Raising in English we have actually been studying Raising in every other language that contains it as well".

2.5 Government and Binding Theory (GB): Chomsky (1981) – (1986)

As in its theoretical predecessors, the analysis of RtoS sentences within GB involves movement. However, as Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 190) view that GB principles determine that this analysis takes on particular characteristics. First consider the sentences in (8):

- (8) a. It seems that Lee is having a bad day.
b. Lee seems to be having a bad day. [Davies and Dubinsky 2007, ex 26: 190]

The verb *seem* selects a single propositional complement. The empty subject position in the matrix clause is projected in conformity with the EPP². (8a) is derived by a late rule of *it*-insertion. It would be reasonable to suggest that (8b) is derived from the same deep structure as (8a), but without an overt complementizer, and with nonfinite *to* INFL. However, in (8b), the subject of the infinitival clause is raised to the subject position of the matrix clause.

On the other hand, the difference between a raising predicate such as (9) and a semantically similar non-raising predicate such as *be possible* as in (10) is that the former triggers S'-deletion, and the latter does not. Thus (9) is grammatical because the trace e_i is governed by *likely* while (10) is ungrammatical since the trace e_i is ungoverned, resulting in Principle A violation³.

² EPP is the Extended Projection Principle. Chomsky (1982) proposes that every sentence must have a subject which is required by the strong D-feature on the functional category T. This D-feature can trigger either movement to [Spec, TP], or the insertion of an expletive pronoun.

³Condition A is one of three constraints that are proposed by GB:

A: An anaphor must be bound in a local domain.

B: A pronoun must be free in a local domain.

C: An R-expression must be free.

(9) Leslie_i is likely [_S e_i to be reading]

(10) *Leslie_i is possible [_S [_S e_i to be reading]]

[Davies & Dubinsky 2007: 192, ex (34) and (35)]

To account for raising to object, consider the example in (11):

(11) *Lynn believes [_S [_S Lee and Leslie to like lemons]]

[Davies & Dubinsky 2007: 193, ex (35)]

In (11), there is no way for the embedded subject *Lee and Leslie* to be assigned Case. The nonfinite INFL *to* cannot assign Case and the potential case-assigner *believe* does not govern the NP because the maximal projection S' blocks government. Therefore, (11) is ruled out as a violation of the Case Filter⁴.

As the D-structure subject in RtoO is assigned objective Case and this Case is clearly assigned by the verb *believe*, it is necessary to create the proper structural relationship between the matrix verb and the embedded subject. Here again Chomsky invokes the rule of S'-deletion. Application of S'-deletion will yield the S-structure in (12):

(12) Lynn believes [_S Lee and Leslie to like lemons] [Davies and Dubinsky, 2007: 193, ex (39)]

⁴Case Filter indicates that every overt NP must be assigned case. More specifically, an NP cannot be licensed in a phrase unless it is marked for case, (Chomsky, 1981).

In this sentence, the embedded subject *Lee and Leslie* is in a government relationship with the verb *believe*, thus *believe* can case mark this NP. Because it is the exception rather than the rule for a matrix predicate to case mark the subject of a complement clause, the type of case marking exhibited in RtoO structures is referred to as “Exceptional Case Marking” or ECM⁵, (Chomsky, 1981).

Verbs with the lexical property of inducing S'-deletion and assigning Case to the subjects of their complements are referred to as ECM verbs. According to the ECM account (Chomsky, 1981), the “raised” object is never part of the main clause; it is syntactically and semantically in the embedded clause throughout the derivation.

Within the framework of GB, Lasnik (1999: 60) assumes that Case and agreement generally are manifestations of the Spec-Head relation. The status of [Spec, IP] is anomalous in several respects, it may or may not be a Θ -position, depending on lexical choices.

Thus, in (13) the subject of *hurt* is a Θ -position occupied by the trace of the argument *John*, taken to be the agent of *hurt*; but the subject of *seems* is a non-theta-position, which can also be occupied by the expletive *it*:

(13) a. John seems [*t* to have hurt himself]

b. It seems [that John has hurt himself] [Lasnik 1999: 60, ex (78)]

⁵ This term has remained among many linguists even though in the current Minimalist framework there is no Exceptional Case Marking and movement has returned as the analysis proposed for such constructions as it is going to be discussed in section 2.6.

Such idiosyncratic properties would be eliminated if we were to assume that a thematic subject originates from a position internal to VP, then raised to [Spec, IP].

2.6 The Minimalist Program (MP): The early 1990s and beyond

Aiming at extending and developing the Principles and Parameters (i.e., GB) model of grammar, the Minimalist program model evolved in a series of papers and chapters, beginning with Chomsky in the late 1980s which culminated in Chomsky (1995) and continuing to this day.

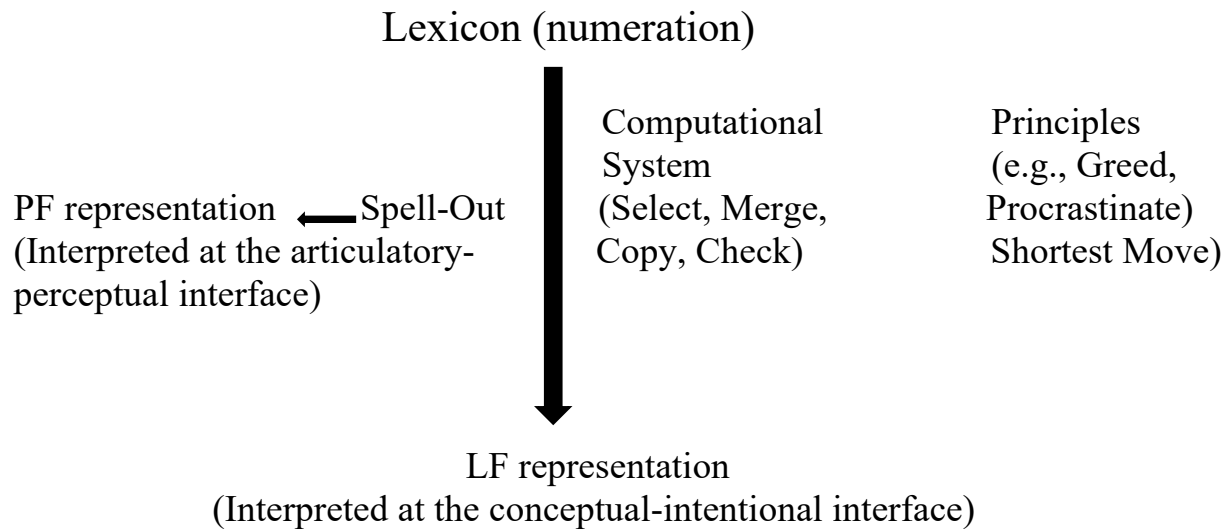
The core idea of this theory is “Economy of derivation”, in the form of “last resort”. As Chomsky (1986: 143) states “movement is a kind of “last resort”. An NP is moved only when this is required, either because it is a wh-phrase that must appear in an operator position (at least at LF), or in order to escape violation of some principle: the Case filter, as in the case of passive and raising”.

Additionally, Chomsky (1993: 169) points out that the optimal theory of grammar to be one which no intermediate levels of representation would be relevant. Further, LF and PF are the only levels of representation, as he states that “A particularly simple design for language would take the (conceptually necessary) interface levels to be the only level”.

In the Minimalist Program, there is a lexicon out of which items are selected, there are generalized operations for assembling these into structures. Also, there are two levels where a representation must interface with phonetic principles, so that the sentence can be pronounced, and with interpretive principles, so that it may be understood as shown in Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 287), replicated here in (14):

(14)

The Minimalist Program model of grammar



It is worth noting here that the most important characteristic of the computational system is Feature Checking. Chomsky (2000: 222) claims that feature checking is the operation that motivates movement in this system, and itself is a deletion operation, in that checked features are deleted. Importantly, under the earlier versions of the Minimalist framework (1995 and before), lexical items come out of the lexicon fully inflected. In later models of Minimalism (i.e., Chomsky 2000 and beyond), lexical items are not fully inflected, but receive values during the process of feature checking. In both cases, inflectional “features” must be checked against an inflectional head that bears the requisite matching features. Features are allowed to be checked only in two configurations: specifier-head, and head-head.

Within MP, features are assumed to be either “strong” or “weak”, and the distinction between strong and weak features varies from language to language. Chomsky (1995: 232) suggests that strong features should be checked by Spell Out, while weak features need only to be checked by LF. Chomsky (1995: 198-9) claims that the EPP of T in English is strong, and that this forces raising of the subject by Spell-Out to check this feature in the Agr/T complex.

Furthermore, Chomsky (1986:2-4) introduces the replacement of S with IP⁶ and S' with CP. The separation of thematic and inflectional layers in the more highly articulated phrase structure of MP, as described by Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 299) created a whole array of non-thematic positions into which arguments typically move to, in particular [Spec, AgrSP] and [Spec, AgrOP]. These create positions in the matrix clause to enable the embedded subject of RtoO to move without violating the Θ -criterion, which was the reason why RtoO was regarded as an illicit structure in earlier versions of the theory.

Freed from this restriction, a number of linguists working in the basic framework of MP proposed “Neo-RtoO” analyses, reintroducing many of Postal’s (1974) original arguments which had been previously discredited.

2.7 Neo-RtoO: A return to Raising

Runner (2006, 1998: 90-1) points out that there are two accounts for the subject of RtoO: The ECM (standard) account and the raising account (also called “true” raising). These two accounts differ in how high in the structure, this subject is placed.

⁶IP and T/TP are often used interchangeably to denote the Inflectional layer in the structure.

The standard account (Chomsky 1981) places ECM subject in the embedded subject position of infinitival clause at S-structure, and at LF. The alternative raising account places the ECM subject in the specifier of AgrOP in the matrix clause.

One of the first studies to reintroduce a “true” raising analysis of RtoO structures is Howard Lasnik and Mamoru Saito’s (1991)’s work which examines a number of phenomena showing that the infinitival subject of RtoO structure is in a position higher in the phrase structure than the subject of a finite complement of the same predicate.

In their paper, Lasnik and Saito (1991) cite five arguments for the raising analysis, by comparing the different properties of subjects of embedded infinitival clauses with finite complements of RtoO predicates. They conclude that in each instance the difference can be attributed to the infinitival subject residing higher in the phrase structure than the subject of the finite complement, and in each instance the infinitival subject patterns with direct objects. These are the classic types of arguments that have been provided for Raising, in fact three of the arguments are adopted from Postal (1974): the scope of the quantifier, pronominalization, and binomial *each*. They add to this the behavior of reciprocal binding and licensing negative polarity items, (Davies and Dubinsky, 2007: 316).

For instance, Lasnik (2003: 150) observes that the infinitival subject of ECM construction behaves as if it is in the matrix clause with respect to binding and scope:

(15) Joan believes [he_i is a genius] even more fervently than Bob $_i$ does.

(16) *Joan believes him $_i$ to be a genius even more fervently than Bob $_i$ does.

[Lasnik, 2003: 151, ex (47), (48)]

Lasnik and Saito (1991) assume that if quantifier raising is LF-movement of the whole quantificational phrase, then Condition C of the Binding Theory must apply prior to LF-movement. Also, assuming that scrambling can be undone in the LF-component, Condition C cannot apply at LF and therefore, it must apply at S-structure only. For this reason, objects of ECM constructions and simple transitive sentences must also be overt.

Now, consider the examples in (17):

- (17) a. Some linguists seem to each other [*t* to have been given good job offers]
b. *There seem to each other [*t* to have been some linguists given good job offers]
[Lasnik 1999: 209, ex (22)]

Lasnik (1999: 209) explains the contrast between these two sentences as follows: when movement is overt, thus, following Chomsky (1995), affecting only formal features, the referential and quantificational properties which are needed to create new binding and scope configurations are left behind, so no such new configurations are created. Importantly, both simple direct objects and ECM subjects pattern with the overtly raised NP in (17a) rather than with the covertly raised NP in (17b).

In examining the following pair of sentences, Lasnik (2003, 1999: 209) argues that in (18) and in (19), the base position of the antecedent of the reciprocal is too low for binding to obtain. Therefore, raising is almost certainly involved. Given (17), there is strong reason to believe that raising is overt:

- (18) The DA questioned two men during each other's trials.

(19) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trials.

[Lasnik 1999: 209, ex (23), (24)]

Following Postal (1974: Ch 4), Runner (1998: 79-8) cites the example in (20) below in which Postal (1974) claims that ECM subject is in fact a matrix object in the sense that it occupies the position that an object would occupy:

(20) a. I believe very strongly that Tony is honest.

b. *I believe very strongly Tony to be honest. [Runner, 1998:98, ex (22)]

These sentences show that an adverb in English can separate a verb from its non-NP complement, but it cannot separate the verb from its NP complement, thus, the movement of the subject of ECM verb here is overt. Also, Davies and Dubinsky (2007: 320) remark that a number of other linguists such as (Koizumi 1995; Ura 1993, Runner 1995, 2000) who investigate this issue all conclude that the movement is indeed overt.

Based on the above assumptions, Runner (2006: 195) points out that the ECM account is now rarely applied to English "Raising-to-object constructions". Further, the author provides the examples in (21) and (22) to illustrate the difference between "covert raising" and "overt raising":

(21) Spell-Out: [Cindy [_{VP} believes [_{TP} Marcia to be a genius]]]

(22) LF: [Cindy believes Marcia [_{VP} ~~believes~~ [_{TP} ~~Marcia~~ to be a genius]]]⁷

[Runner 2006: 195, ex (2) and (3)]

The covert raising account is an attempt to explain some of the observations that favored the raising account, while still maintaining the claim that in the surface string, the thematic subject of the embedded clause *Marcia* appears in the embedded clause as in example (21). However, at the level of the Logical Form (LF) *Marcia* or the relevant features associated with that DP raised to the main clause as in sentence (22). Runner (2006: 195) deduces that at LF, *Marcia* is in the object position of *believe* [Spec, AgrOP] or [Spec, VP].

In contrast, the overt raising account differs from the covert raising account in assuming that the movement to syntactically license the embedded subject is part of the overt syntax as in (23):

(23) Spell-Out: [Cindy believes Marcia [VP ~~believes~~ [TP ~~Marcia~~ to be a genius]]]

[Runner 2006: 196, ex (7)]

On the overt raising account, the embedded subject is actually part of the main clause in the surface string.

Giving the account above, Polinsky (2013: 580) argues that the main objections to Chomsky's (1981) account for covert movement of Raising in English have to do with the incorrect predications it makes with respect to word order as shown in example (7) which is repeated here in (24):

⁷A strikethrough is used to indicate a "moved" item

(24) The chairman expected his earnings foolishly to show increases.

[Polinsky 2013: 580, ex (13a)]

The word order in (24) suggests that the adverb *foolishly* is in the main clause following the verb *expected* which it modifies, thus the antecedent raised DP *his earning* must be in that clause as well.

As with sentential adverbs, the particle verb *make out* has to be represented in the same clause, thus, the DP *Jerry* in (25) separating the verb and the particle is also in that clause:

(25) She made Jerry out to be famous. [Polinsky 2013: 580, ex (13b)]

Most importantly, there is a difference in C-command between the sentence that involve Raising and their counterparts in which the DP in question is without doubt inside the embedded clause. To show the contrast between the two, let us examine the following pair of sentences in (26):

(26) a. The DA proved none of these defendants to be guilty during any of the trials.

b. *The DA proved that none of these defendants was guilty during any of these trials.

[Polinsky 2013: 588, ex (47)]

In (26 a), the negative polarity item (NPI) *any* is licensed by the C-commanding expression *none of these defendants*; NPI licensing is clause-bound. This supports the idea that the negated expression is in the same clause with the NPI. In (b), where the negative phrase is clearly

enclosed within the embedded clause, NPI licensing is impossible (cf. Lasnik and Saito 1991, Runner 1998). Such difference in licensing presents another challenge to the idea that the accusative subject remains inside the embedded complement throughout the derivation.

On the other hand, there is also contradictory empirical evidence, which is unexpected under the conception that the raised DP belongs to the matrix clause. Compare the sentences in (27):

(27) a. Which artist_i do you admire [paintings by ----_i]?

b. ?/* Which artist_i do you expect [paintings by ----_i] to sell the best?

[Polinsky 2013: 580, ex (14)]

It is clear that subextraction out of a regular object in (26a) is unproblematic; but subextraction out of the raised object in (26b) is ungrammatical, (Polinsky, 2013: 580).

In later work, the “true” raising account was also defended by Authier (1991), Johnson (1991), Koizumi (1995), Runner (1998, 2006). Most linguists agree that the subject of the embedded clause undergoes overt raising out of that clause and occupies the object position of the matrix verb. This account maintains that the “raised” object is the subject of the embedded clause at D-structure (or at the point of first Merge), hence, also at LF. Its presence in the lower clause allows for its interaction with that clause’s material, reconstruction, and binding.

It is worthy to note that the true raising to object analysis runs into problems with respect to extraction facts, as noted in (27) above. Such sentences, where subextraction would target a subject island, are explained under the ECM account, (Polinsky 2013: 598).

2.8 Trace Theory

The trace theory of movement is based on the idea that a constituent starts out in a particular structural position and then literally moves to the position where it is pronounced. There is just one instance of a constituent that undergoes this movement process, and the syntactic category of “trace” or “copy” fills the starting position.

The understanding of the mechanism of movement has undergone changes over the history of generative grammar. Polinsky (2013:547-8) explains that in the Principles and Parameters framework, the moved element was represented by an NP-trace. The Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 2000; Nunes 1995) has reintroduced an old view (as presented in Chomsky 1955, 1975); the movement (internal merge) consists of two distinct operations: a copying of the item being displaced and a deletion operation that eliminates some copies.

Nasu (2010: 128) points out that the initial view adopted by the copy theory of movement defines this process as “a category undergoing movement leaves a copy (or copies) in the position(s) from which it moved, and that the final structure of a sentence is derived by deleting all but one copy in the phonological component”. Nasu (2010: 130) also proposes that the copy deletion process (also called Chain Reduction) should be applied as few times as possible.

Under this copy-and-delete view, there can be two or more positions which contain copies of the expression that undergoes movement. The positions form a copy chain, and in that chain one or several of the elements may get deleted. A trace is no longer a distinct category, rather a link in the copy chain, where deletion has taken place, and is replaced by “silence”. With a trace no longer necessary, conditions determining the positions where traces (i.e., silences) can

appear are also removed. As a result, the potential range of possibilities in the chain also expands, as deletion may in principle now target any position in the chain.

Further, Polinsky (2013: 602) argues that the range of phenomena that a successful theory of Raising has to account for is much broader. For instance, an important phenomenon that has not been discussed yet here is that of “copy raising” illustrated in (28):

(28) a. There looks like there could be a different solution.

b. Richard seems like he is in trouble. [Polinsky 2103, ex 78: 602]

Under copy raising, first introduced on the linguistic scene by (Rogers 1974), both elements of the dependency are pronounced, or partially pronounced, and the crucial question, which still evokes significant debate, has to do with the possibility of analyzing this construction as true raising or as a completely different phenomenon (see Potsdam and Runner 2001, Landau 2011, Haddad 2009, and further references therein).

2.9 Summary

Chapter 2 reviews the literature of Raising in English. Rosenbaum (1967) provides one of the initial accounts of Raising by introducing the “Pronoun Replacement” transformation. Within EST, Chomsky (1973) proposes reducing the number of the transformations by applying certain conditions on them. Chomsky (1973) adopts the same transformation of “Pronoun Replacement” in analyzing subject-to-subject raising constructions.

Postal (1974) provides new arguments in accounting for the difference between Raising and non-raising constructions. Contra to Chomsky (1973), Postal (1974) suggests that the raised subject of the deep structure of RtoO constructions is the direct object in the surface structure.

In GB theory, the analysis of RtoS constructions is said to involve movement. Subject-to-object raising structures are referred to as ECM constructions. According to this account, the raised subject is syntactically and semantically in the embedded clause.

On the other hand, the Minimalist framework introduces the separation of the thematic and inflectional layers of the phrase structure, thus creating non-thematic positions into which arguments can move to as in [Spec, AgrSP] and [Spec, AgrOP].

This chapter also discusses “Neo-RtoO” or “true analysis” of RtoO construction as proposed by Lasnik and Saito (1991). According to this account, the infinitival subject of the RtoO sentence is assumed to be in a position higher in the phrase structure than the subject of a finite complement of the same predicate.

Lastly, trace theory is briefly discussed. According to this theory, movement comprises two operations. The first operation copies the DP that is raised, and the second operation eliminates all but one of these copies.

Chapter 3: Background to Syntax in Modern Standard Arabic

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a brief look at some aspects of the morphosyntax of MSA. This chapter discusses the types of the sentence and word order in MSA, in addition to Case, and agreement morphology. The chapter furthermore provides a brief account of Tense, Aspect, and Mood. This will help in setting the background for the discussion of Raising constructions in MSA in the following chapter.

3.2 Types of Sentences and Word-Order

According to traditional grammar, Arabic exhibits two types of sentences: The equational sentence, and the verbal sentence. The verbal sentence includes the VSO word order pattern, and the SVO word order pattern which is also sometimes called the nominal sentence. These types of sentences are:

(i) Equational or the verbless sentence

Chueiri and Benmamoun (2013: 116) point out that the equational sentences in (1) posit a challenge of how to be accounted for, since nouns and predicates are both marked for the nominative case:

(1) a. ?al-bayt-u kabirr-un
 DEF-house.MSG-NOM big.MSG-NOM-INDF⁸
 “The house is big.”

- b. ?ar-raʒul-u kaatib-un
DEF-man.MSG-NOM writer.MSG-NOM. INDF

“The man is a writer.” [Chueiri and Benmamoum 2013: 116, ex (1)]

Such sentences consist of a subject (topic) and a predicate, and they typically begin with a noun phrase or a pronoun. The predicate may be a noun, pronoun, adjective or a prepositional phrase. The subject of the equational sentence is in the nominative case and if the predicate is a noun or an adjective, it would also be in the nominative case. Moreover, when the predicate is a noun, pronoun, or adjective, it agrees with the subject in gender and number, but not in definiteness as shown in example (1).

Within the generative framework, there are two broad approaches that account for this type of sentence. The first approach which is adopted by Bakir (1980), and Fassi Fehri (1993) claims that there is indeed a verb in the structure, i.e., the copula, but that it is phonologically null. It is in the form of an abstract verb which is syntactically present, but with no phonological content. According to this account, the main feature that distinguishes Arabic from, for example English or French is that the copula verb can be null in main finite clauses as in (1). The rationale behind this analysis, is that, in past tense and future tense clauses, the copula is overt, that it has phonological content as shown in examples (2) and (3):

⁸Unless deemed necessary, ϕ -features are suffixed hereafter. However, this is inaccurate since features in Arabic are fused rather than suffixed.

(2) a. kanna ʔal-bayt-u Kabiir-an
be.PST DEF-house-NOM Big-ACC

“The house was big.”

b. kanna ʔar-raʒul-u kaatib-an
be.PST DEF-man-NOM writer-ACC

“The man was a writer.”

(3) a. sa-ya-kuunu ʔal-bayt-u kabiir-an
FT-3-be Def-house-NOM big-ACC

“The house will be big.”

b. sa-ya-kuunu ʔar-raʒul-u Kaatib-an
FT-3-be DEF-man-NOM writer-ACC

“The man will be a writer.” [Chueiri and Benmamoum 2013: 117, ex (2) & (3)]

In addition, MSA has equational sentences with expletive *there* as in (4):

(3) hunaaka rajul-un fi l-daar-i
there man-NOM in the-house-GEN

“There is a man in the house.” [Ahmed 2016: 8, ex (13)]

The main difference between the two accounts is that while Bakir (1980) claims that the sentences in (1) have copula verbs which are later deleted, Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that the copula is there, but with no phonological features that need to be spelled out.

Contrary to the first account, the second approach calls to treat present tense copular sentences as lacking a verbal copula altogether because they are true verbless sentences. Here, the main argument, as summarized in Benmamoun (2000), and Aoun et al. (2010) is to reject the first approach because the predicate in the context of the putative null copula in example (1) does not carry accusative case, while it does in the context of the overt copula in the past tense as in example (2) and the future tense as in example (3). If there were a null copula in (1), we would expect the predicate to be as well marked accusative rather than the default nominative case which is sometimes associated with the absence of a syntactic case marker, (Chueiri and Benmamoun 2013: 119)

Another argument in favor of the claim that these sentences are truly verbless sentences is discussed by Ryding (2005: 59). These sentences are verbless because the Arabic verb *yakuun-u*⁹ “to be” is normally not used in the present tense indicative, it is always simply implied.

Because there is no unified account for this type of sentences, the debate generally centers around the issue of whether they are full clauses with the same set of functional and lexical categories as the copular constructions containing verbal copulas in the past tense in (2), or future tense as in (3). An additional question is whether they are small clauses consisting of a projection of the main predicates with no verbal or functional projections above it, (Aoun, et al., 2010: 36).

(ii) The Verbal Sentence

⁹Ryding (2005: 59) actually uses the past form *kann-a* instead of the imperfective form *yakoon-u* (to be) in the discussion of this point, because the latter is rarely used explicitly. This verb usually comes either in its past form as in example (2), or in its future form as in (3).

The verbal sentence is of two types depending on the position of the subject. The subject can be preverbal, in which case it is called a “nominal” sentence as in (5), or it can be post verbal as in (6):

(5) ?al-?awlaad-u qara?-u d-dars-a
the-boys-NOM read-3MPL the-lesson-ACC
“The boys read the lesson.” [Adapted from Soltan 2006: 1, ex(1a)]

(6) qara?-a l-?awlaad-u d-dars-a
read-3MSG the-boys-NOM the-lesson-ACC
“The boys read the lesson.” [Adapted from Soltan 2006: 1, ex(1b)]

Regarding the two major orders SVO and VSO as shown in (5) and (6) respectively, it is clear that there is an agreement asymmetry between these two types of sentences, so that the number feature is only realized on the verb in SVO order. The nominal sentence in (5) exhibits the marked word order, showing full agreement between the subject and the verb, while (6), the verbal sentence is considered to be the unmarked word order, revealing partial agreement between the subject and the verb.

MSA is also a subject pro-drop language. According to Haddad (2012:62), when the subject is dropped, the verb shows full agreement as shown in example (7):

(7) daras-uu/na l-dars-a
studied-3MPL/3FPL the-lesson-ACC
“They (M/F) studied the lesson.” [Adapted from Haddad 2012 :62, ex (3)]

In addition to the two basic word orders SVO and VSO exemplified respectively in (5) and (6) above, Aziz (1989:197) points out that Arabic is said to have other sentence patterns such as: OVS, VOS, SOV, and OSV. Hence, Bakir (1980: 9) claims that MSA has free word order due to its rich case marking and inflectional morphemes. This is supported by the fact that all word orders are reported to be possible as illustrated in example (8)¹⁰:

(8) a. hall-a ?al-taalib-u ?al-mas?alat-a (VSO)

solved-3MSG the-student-NOM the-problem-ACC

“The student solved the problem.”

b. ?al-taalib-u hall-a ?al-mas?alat-a (SVO)

the-student-NOM solved-MSG the-problem-ACC

“The student solved the problem.”

c. ?al-mas?alat-a hall-a-haa ?al-taalib-u (OVS)

the-problem-ACC solved-3MSG-it the-student-ACC

“As for the problem, the student solved it.”

d. hall-a ?al-mas?alat-a ?al-taalib-u (VOS)

solved-3MSG the-problem-ACC the-student-NOM

“It was the problem that the student solved.”

¹⁰ Examples (8a, b, c, & d) are from Ahmed (2016: 6, ex (8 a, b, c, and d)). Examples (8 e and f) are from (Bakir 1980: 10- 11, (ex 1.1.d, 1.1.e)).

e. Muhammad-un kitab-an ?iftaraa (SOV)

Muhammad-NOM book-ACC bought.3MSG

“Mohammad bought the book

f. ?al-kitaab-u Muhammad-un ?iftaraa-hu (OSV)

the-book-NOM Muhammad-NOM bought.3MSG-it

“As for the book, Muhammed bought it”

However, most other researchers (see Bakir 1980; Mohammad 1990, 2000; Fassi Fehri 1993; Aoun et al.1994) agree that MSA has only two-word orders, namely VSO and SOV and those in (4c-f) are derived through movement.

3.3 Agreement Morphology

In MSA, subject-verb agreement seems sensitive to the relative ordering of the subject and the verb in the sentence. Agreement patterns can differ according to the word order in question, if it is VS or SV as in examples (9-18)¹¹:

(9) kataba ?al-walad-u risaalat-an

wrote 3MSG the-boy-NOM letter-ACC

“The boy wrote a letter.”

(10) kataba-t ?al-bint-u risaalat-an

wrote 3FSG the-girl-NOM letter-ACC

“The girl wrote a letter.”

(11) kataba ?al-walad-an risaalat-an

wrote 3MSG the -boys-dual-NOM letter-ACC

“The boys wrote a letter.”

(12) kataba ʔal-ʔawlad-u rissalat-an

wrote 3.MSG the-boys-NOM letter-ACC

“The boys wrote a letter.”

(13) *katab-u l-ʔawlad-u risaalat-an

wrote 3.MPL the boys-NOM letter-ACC

(14) kataba-t ʔal-bint-an risaalat-an

wrote 3.FSG the-girls- dual- NOM letter-ACC

“The girls wrote a letter.”

(15) kataba-t ʔal-banat-u risaalat-an

wrote 3.FSG the girls-NOM letter-ACC

“The girls wrote a letter”.

(16) *katab-an ʔal-banat-u risaalat-an

wrote 3.FPL the girls-NOM letter-ACC

¹¹Aoun et al., (1994:197) points out this pattern of post verbal agreement in SA is transparent for [+human] elements. [- human] nominal elements exhibit a different and unexplained behavior. Such elements can be masculine or feminine. The verb agrees in gender with a [-human] singular subject as in (i) and (ii):

(i) ʔal qittu tala-ʔa ʔalaa ttaawila-ti
the cat.MSG.NOM climbed.3MS on the table-GEN

“The male cat climbed on the table”

(ii) ʔal qittatu tala-ʔat ʔalaa ttaawila-ti
the cat.FSG.NOM climbed.3FSG on the.table-GEN

“The female cat climbed on the table”.

However, all nonhuman plural elements govern feminine singular agreement with the verb as in (iii):

(iii) ʔal-qittatu tala-ʔat ʔalaa ttaawila-t
the cat.PL. NOM climbed.3FSG on the.table-GEN

“The cats climbed on the table.”

(17) ?al-?awlad-u katab-uu risaalat-an
the boys-NOM wrote 3.MPL letter-ACC

“The boys wrote a letter.”

(18) ?al-banat-u katab-an risaalat-an
the girls-NOM wrote 3FPL letter-ACC

“The girls wrote a letter.” [Shorafat 2012: 33-4, ex (1- 10)]

Agreement in (9) and (10) is full between the verb and the subject, i.e., in person, number and gender. However, examples (11), (12), (14), and (15), show partial agreement (only in gender) between the verb and the subject. On the other hand, examples (13) and (16) are ungrammatical which reveal that full agreement (in person and number) is not possible in VS order. Lastly, examples (17) and (18) exhibit full agreement between the subject and the verb because they are SV sentences.

Examining the partial agreement in VS and the full agreement in SV is of great importance in analyzing any syntactic construction in MSA. Aoun, et al. (1994:198) state that “Naturally, in the case of Arabic, no analysis can be established independently of structural analyses of the SV/VS strings”. Any plausible hypotheses to be formulated crucially depends on the structural relations between the S and the V in the SV and VS strings.

3.4 Case

Arabic case system falls within the class of nominative-accusative languages. Arabic language has three cases:

(i) The nominative case ends in (-u) when the DP is definite and (-un) when the DP is indefinite.

(ii) The accusative case ends in (-*a*) when the DP is definite, and (-*an*) when it is indefinite.

(iii) The genitive case ends in (-*i*) in case the DP is definite, and (-*in*) when it is indefinite.

Nominative is assigned to subjects of verbal clauses, accusative is assigned to direct and indirect objects of verbal clauses, while genitive is assigned to objects of prepositions and to possessors in possessive constructions, as in (19) and (20) respectively:

(19) saffar-at Zaynab-u ?ilaa l-ʕiraaq-i
traveller-3FSG Zaynab-NOM to the-Iraq-Gen
“Zaynab travelled to Iraq.” [Ahmed 2016: 202, ex (89a)]

(20) baabu l-bayt-i maksuur-un
door the-house-GEN broken-NOM
“The door of the house is broken.” [Adapted from Ryding 2021:364].

Case in Arabic has been stirring a lot of debate in the last few decades. To account for it within the Minimalist framework, there are various hypotheses offered by linguists such as Fassi Fehri (1993); Raḥḥali (2003); Ouhalla (2005); Soltan (2007); Al-Balushi (2011), (2012); Ahmed (2016), (all cited in Ahmed, 2016: 15). However, each account comes with its own problems. For example, Raḥḥali (2003:147) proposes that in MSA, structural nominative case is assigned by T and that the case of the DP is checked either via “Agree” or via “Incorporation”. The author suggests that in VS order, the subject does not raise to [Spec, TP], but that, it is in [Spec, vP], so that case is checked via Agree relation between the functional head T and the subject in [Spec, vP] as illustrated in (21):

(21) [TP naam-a T [vP l-ʔawalaad-u v VP]]

slept-3MSG the-boys-NOM

“The boys slept.” [Raḥḥali 2003: 147, ex: (45a)]

In this sentence, the subject *l-ʔawalaad* “the boys” checks its nominative case feature [uCase: NOM] against the nominative case feature [uCase: NOM] of T via Agree.

In case the subject is a pronominal clitic, a second way to check for nominative case is via incorporating the pronominal subject into the functional head T as illustrated in (22):

(22) [TP naam-uu [vP <-uu> v VP]]

slept-3MPL

“They slept.” [Ahmed 2016: 17, ex (24)]

Following Fassi Fehri (1990, 1993), Raḥḥali (2003) suggests that pronominal subjects incorporate within the T which also hosts the verb which has been raised from v. The pronominal subject being raised from vP, lands in T to check its [uCase: NOM].

According to Ahmed (2016: 22-3), this account raises many problems, one of them is that if structural nominative case is the result of an “Agree” relation between T and the subject DP, one would predict that the subject would always be assigned the nominative case. However, in ECM constructions in MSA, the subject of the embedded clause obligatory surfaces with an accusative case as shown in (23):

(23) ?amsi ḥasib-tu Zaynab-a/*Zaynab-u sa-t-uḡ aadar-u
 yesterday thought-1SG Zaynab-ACC/*Zaynab-NOM FUT-3FSG-leave-INDIC
 ḡad-an
 tomorrow-ACC

“Yesterday, I thought that Zaynab would leave tomorrow.” [Ahmed 2016: 22, ex (29)]

This example clearly displays that *Zaynab* which is the subject of the embedded clause is assigned the accusative and not the nominative case. This is in spite of the fact that the embedded clause is finite since *-u* in *sa-t-uḡ aadar-u* (*would leave*) is a future suffix and the whole sentence is bound by the temporal adverb *?amsi* (*yesterday*). The assumption that T is the locus of structural nominative case, as Ahmed (2016) argues, would imply that T of the embedded clause would value the case feature of the embedded subject as nominative, which in fact is not.

In a comprehensive study of Case in Standard Arabic, Ahmed (2016: 265-7) concluded that case assignment in SA is applicable only when there is no “dependent case”¹². T assigns the structural nominative (unmarked case) to the subject, however, if this NP appears with the accusative case, this means that this case is dependent. P assigns the structural genitive case to its DP in the PP domain, whereas v cannot assign the accusative case to the object without the dependent case assigning mechanism. On the other hand, adverbial NPs get semantic, adverbial case.

¹²Ahmed (2016) based his analysis of case on Baker 2015 “Dependent Case Theory” which has “Agree” based account incorporated within the dependent theory.

The dependent case theory according to Baker (2015: 48) states that “If there are two distinct NPs in the same spell-out domain such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as accusative unless NP1 has already been marked for case”. Also,

“X c-commands Y if X does not contain Y and the first node that properly contains X contains Y”.

3.5 Tense/Aspect and Mood

In Arabic, verb form changes according to tense/aspect, gender, number, person, mood, and voice. As far as tense/aspect is concerned, there are two forms which indicate these contrasts: the perfect and the imperfect. These two tenses refer only tenuously to temporal distinctions. The two sets of finite forms have paradigms that are inflected for person, number, and gender and congruent with the system of personal pronouns. Regarding the type of verbal action to which they relate, the distinction they represent is between what has been realized or affected and what remains unrealized, in other words perfect and imperfect or past and non-past, (Chueiri, and Benmamoum 2013: 13).

To illustrate how MSA realizes tense, let us consider the following examples where in each one the imperfective/present verb is used differently as shown in examples (24-29):

(24) a. lam ta-ktub
Neg.past 3FSG-write
“She did not write.”

b. lan ta-ktuba
Neg.FUT 3FSG-write
“She won’t write.”

(25) qad ya-drus
may 3M-study
“He may study”

(26) sa-ya-drus
FUT-3M-study

“He will study.”

(27) ?araada ?an ya-drus
wanted.3MS COM 3M-study

“He wanted to study”

(28) Laa ta-drus
Neg 2F-study

“Do not study”

(29) ya-drus
3M-study

“He is studying.” [Aoun et al., 2010: 24-6, ex (28a, 28b, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33)]

Following Bahloul (1994); and Ouhalla (1993), Aoun et al. (2010: 26) stress the fact that the imperfective verb can occur in different temporal contexts, thus, clearly showing that this form of the verb does not encode any tense feature, particularly not the simple present tense. It is worthy to note that tense interpretation as past in (24a) and future¹³ in (24b) does not come from the imperfective verb *ya-ktub* “write”, but from the negative particles that carry tense. Further, the present verb *ya-drus* “study” can come after the particle *qad* “may” which implies modality as in (25). It can also occur with a future marker (26), can be in a nonfinite embedded clause (27), in a negative imperative sentence (28), and in a present tense sentence (29).

¹³Future tense in Arabic is realized by independent particles and or proclitics. Standard Arabic does not have overt particles or clitics on the verb to express progressive or habitual aspect. The bare imperfective form of the verb is used in these contexts.

Thus, on par with the past tense, the present tense in Arabic seems to be a null abstract morpheme. This abstract morpheme is generated in T and the affixes observed on the verbs in Arabic are reflexes of agreement features.

Turning to mood, mood refers to the Arabic verb properties: indicative, subjunctive, and jussive. These categories are caused by contextual modalities that condition the action of the verb. In Arabic, mood marking is only done on the present tense or imperfective, there are no mood variants for the past tense. Thus, the forms of mood in MSA are nonfinite, that is they do not refer to points of time, (Ryding, 2005: 59).

Furthermore, Ahmed (2016: 9) explains how ϕ -features can appear as prefixes or suffixes to express mood in MSA. The imperfective verbs as in (30a-c) are marked for mood by a suffix, and the phi-features are all realized as either a suffix or a prefix. However, the perfective form of the verb bears no morphological marking of mood, and all the ϕ -features are realized only in the form of a suffix, as in (30d):

- (30) a. t-arsum- \emptyset -u ?al- $\text{t}\alpha$ alib-at-u law $\text{h}\alpha$ t-an
 FUT-draw-SG-INDIC the -student-FSG-NOM picture-ACC
 “The student usually draws pictures/ The student is drawing a picture”.
- b. ?al- $\text{t}\alpha$ llaab-u lan y-arsum-uu- \emptyset law $\text{h}\alpha$ t-an
 the-students-NOM NEG.FUT 3-draw-PL-SUBJ picture-ACC
 “The students, they will not draw a picture”.
- c. ?al- $\text{t}\alpha$ llaab-u lam y-arsum-uu- \emptyset law $\text{h}\alpha$ t-an
 the-students-NOM NEG.PAST 3-draw-MPL-JUSS picture-ACC
 “The students, they did not draw a picture”.

d. rasam-at ?al- ?aalib-at-u lawḥat-an
drew-3FSG the-student-FSG-NOM picture-ACC

“The student drew a picture.” (Ahmed, 2016: 10, ex (16 a-d)).

On the other hand, Aziz (1989: 79) specifies other types of mood in SA. In addition to the indicative, subjunctive, jussive, there are also the imperative and the energetic (emphatic) as illustrated in (31) and (32) respectively:

(31) ?iqraa-Ø haḏi-hi ?al-risaalat-a
read.2SG-IMP this-FSG the-letter.FSG-ACC

“Read this letter.”

(31) layt-aka taqula-nna haḏa
wish-2SG say- 2SG-ENER this

“I wish you would say this.” [Adopted from Aziz 1989: 83, ex (63 & 70)]

It is worthy to note that the energetic mood in (31) is not common in MSA, even in SA, its use is restricted to few cases. It is formed from the jussive mood by adding the suffix (-nna) or (-n) to render the sense of the jussive more emphatic or emphasizes the meaning of “certainty” or “truly”, (Aziz, 1989: 82).

3.6 Summary

To sum up, this chapter explored the morphosyntactic features of the sentence in MSA. Because of its richness in case marking, all word orders are said to be possible in MSA.

However, most linguists agree that there are only two main word orders in MSA, which is VSO, and SVO.

It is evident that an analysis of any construction in MSA depends on the structural relations obtained between the subject and the verb in case the sentence has the VS string, or the SV string. For case, MSA has the nominative, accusative and the genitive case. While NOM is assigned to subjects of verbal clauses, ACC to direct and indirect objects of verbal clauses, GEN case is assigned to objects of prepositions and to possessors in possessive constructions. Regarding tense and mood, verbs in MSA contrast according to the perfective and the imperfective tense, and mood is either indicative, subjunctive, or jussive.

Chapter 4: Raising in Modern Standard Arabic

4.1 Introduction

This chapter shows that MSA does indeed have raising constructions, and argues that subject-to-subject raising, subject-to-object raising, and “backward” raising involve A-movement.

As observed in chapter 3, MSA has two-word orders: VS and SV. The focus in this chapter will mainly be on examining raising constructions in VS sentences. Section 4.1 presents the discussion raised by some linguists who claim that Arabic language has no Raising and no A-movement, followed by examining the status of *?an* and *?anna* in 4.2.1, which are used to introduce the embedded clauses in raising constructions. The subjunctive clause is discussed in 4.2.2. In section 4.3, the properties of raising to subject constructions are introduced, then an account for the movement of the raised DP is proposed in 4.3.1. Section 4.4 discusses subject-to-object raising, and the movement of the raised subject is given in 4.4.1. Lastly, “backward” raising in MSA is explained in 4.5, and 4.6 sums up this chapter.

4.2 The Absence of Raising in MSA

Al-Balushi (2011:223), and Soltan (2007:102) both assume that MSA does not have A-movement. Based on their proposed analysis of simple clauses, no A-movement is involved in the derivation of SV word order from VS. The preverbal DP is claimed to be base generated in its surface position, (in the Spec of the highest functional category below C). Further, the vP-internal subject position is occupied by the null subject *pro* that is bound by the peripheral DP.

This structure is described as a left dislocation (LD) structure, and the same LD analysis is extended to passives, subject-to-subject raising, and to object raising to show that this language has no A-movement.

Further, Al-Balushi (2011), and Soltan (2007) claim that raising predicates must select non-finite infinitival clauses, and such types of clauses are not found in MSA. Arabic lacks nonfinite clauses because there are no infinitive-type verbs, and all verbs in Arabic inflect for tense as mentioned in chapter three. The closest type of clauses that can be taken to resemble the infinitival embedded clauses in English language is the subjunctive clause.

To prove that Arabic does not employ A-movement, Soltan (2007: 102) provides the examples in (1) using the prototypical raising predicate *yabduu* “seem”:

- (1) a. *yabduu* ?anna l-?awlaad-a qad haḍar-uu
seem-3MSG C the-boys-ACC PCL came-3MPL
“It seems that the boys have come.”
- b. ?al-?awlaad-u *yabduu* ?anna-hum qad haḍar-uu
the-boys-NOM seem-3MSG C-they PCL come-PERF-3MPL
“The boys, it seems that they have come.”

[Adapted from Soltan 2007: 102, ex (12) and (13)]

In example (1b), the verb *yabduu* “seem” does not show full agreement, which is unexpected in the SV word order, rather in both (1a) and (1b), the verb appears in the same third person singular masculine form. Also, in (1b), the raising predicate *yabduu* “seem” is preceded by the subject which has to be associated with a pronoun cliticized onto the C of the embedded clause.

Thus, Soltan (2007:103) argues that (1a) and (1b) are transformationally related, but (1b) is LD structure.

For Soltan (2007: 113), and Al-Balushi (2011: 227) the question remains as why *yabduu* “seem” and similar verbs in MSA cannot appear with full agreement, even in the presence of a preverbal DP as in (1b). The answer as they proposed, is that *yabduu* “seem” does not select an external argument, hence the possibility of merging a *pro* in [Spec vP] does not raise, and full agreement in turn is impossible to obtain.

In Examining ECM constructions in SA, the focus of the data presented by Soltan (2007: 135) is on three types of verbs: verbs of “desire/expectation” like *?araada* “want”, and *tawaqqʕaa* “expect”; verbs of “hearts” as they are called in Arabic traditional grammar, e.g., *ɖanna* “believe” and *xaala* “imagine”; and verbs of “perception” such as *raʔaa* “see” and *samiʕa* “hear”. These three types of verbs are illustrated in examples (2), (3), and (4) respectively:

(2) ?araad-a Zayd-un ?al-?awlaad-a ?ann yarḥal-uu
 wanted.3MSG Zayd-NOM the-boys-ACC C leave-3MPL
 “Zayd wanted the boys to leave.”

(3) ɖanna Zayd-un ?al-?awlaad-a ?ann-hum raḥal-uu
 believed.3MSG Zayd-NOM the-boys-ACC C-they left-3MPL
 “Zayd believed the boys to have left.”

(4) raʔaa Zayd-un ?al-?awlaad-a yaʕfab-uun
 saw.3MSG Zayd-NOM the-boys-ACC play-3MPL
 “Zayd saw the boys playing.” [Adapted from Soltan 2007:135-6, ex 2a, b and c]

These sentences raise a problem since the DP *?alawlaada* “the boys” appears in the accusative case, even though it looks to be thematically related to the verb in the embedded clauses. Also, the accusative DP is associated with the null subject of the embedded clause.

Moreover, Al-Balushi (2011: 207) claims that the hypothesis that the accusative marked DP in any of the examples above has moved to its surface position to be assigned Case is not motivated given that the structural case can be provided in the embedded clause because of its finite T.

With respect to the data above, these constructions in MSA raise few interesting questions as whether the accusative DP is in the matrix clause or in the embedded clause, if it arrives at its surface position via movement or it is base-generated, and finally the way by which it gets accusative case. In general, one can distinguish two main approaches to the phenomenon of Raising:

(i) It can be overt, covert, or copy raising¹⁴ where the accusative DP starts in the thematic domain of the embedded clause and then moves to a higher position, either within the embedded clause or within the matrix clause.

(ii) It can be “prolepsis”¹⁵, which is a non-movement account for RtoO structures, whereby the accusative DP is base generated in its surface position while being linked to a null or overt resumptive pronominal in the thematic domain of the embedded clause.

¹⁴Copy raising as discussed in chapter 2 differs from raising in leaving a pronominal copy rather than a trace of the raised DP behind as in: *John seems like he loves basketball.*

¹⁵See Davies (2005) for the prolepsis approach.

As proposed by Soltan (2007: 137), and Al-Balushi (2011: 222) because Arabic has no A-movement, RtoO constructions are proleptic, i.e., they are the result of base-generating a lexical DP, either in the matrix clause, or in the left periphery of the embedded clause, thereby making it accessible for accusative case assignment by the matrix verb.

On the other hand, in MSA, the embedded clause is subjunctive, and the verb appears in the imperfective non-tensed form, but with full agreement features, while the accusative DP appears in the position preceding the embedded C. However, in ECM constructions in languages like English, the non-finiteness of the embedded infinitival T is assumed to force ECM subjects to acquire case from the matrix predicate domain. But given the data in (2)-(4), it is not clear if this analysis can be extended here, since the embedded subjunctive T shows full agreement. One solution is to suggest that subjunctive T in MSA, while ϕ -active, is tense-deficient, hence unable to assign Case. However, as Soltan (2007) argues, sentence (2) has a parallel sentence as in (5) where the nominative DP appears in postverbal position inside the subjunctive clause, thereby suggesting that subjunctive T is indeed able to assign the nominative case:

- (5) ?araad-a Zayd-un ?an yarḥal-a ?al-?awlaad-u
 wanted.3MSG Zayd-NOM C leave.3MPL-SUBJ the-boys-NOM

“Zayd wanted the boys to leave.” [Soltan 2007: 139, ex (5)]

The fact that subjunctive T is ϕ -active and capable of assigning the nominative case presents an obvious problem to a raising analysis of *?araada*-type constructions. This implies that the accusative DP can get case-assigned in postverbal position, leaving no need for it to raise.

As it turns out, there is also empirical evidence showing that the accusative DP in *?araada*-type constructions does not arrive at its surface position via movement out of the thematic domain, rather, it has to be base-generated in that surface position. This comes from the fact that this DP can be associated with non-subjects in the embedded clause as shown in (6) which has the resumptive pronoun *hu* “him”:

- (6) a. tawaqqaʕ-tu ?an tatzwwadg-a Hind-u Zayd-an
 expected-1SG C marry.3SGF-SUBJ Hind-NOM Zayd-ACC
 “I expected Hind to marry Zayd.”
- b. tawaqqaʕ-tu Zayd-an an tatzwwadg-a-hu Hind-u
 expected-1SG Zayd-ACC C marry.3SGF-SUBJ-him Hind-NOM
 “I expected Hind to marry Zayd.”, [Soltan 2007: 140, ex (10)]

If RtoO involves raising in MSA, then we should expect it to be confined to subjects only, which is not the case, as the data in (6) indicates that the direct object is raised.

While the subject of what may raise is a matter of debate, as Davies (2005: 654) points out in discussing RtoO constructions in Madurese, the absence of any restrictions on the accusative DP in RtoO constructions as in (6) would be as Soltan (2007: 141) proposes “less surprising in the proleptic NP analysis”. This because prolepsis structures are typically unconstrained with regard to the grammatical relation of the embedded pronoun bound by the accusative DP.

To sum up the discussion, Soltan (2007), and Al-Balushi (2011) claim that MSA has no A-movement and that subject-to-object-raising constructions are not ECM constructions, rather

they are at best understood as cases of prolepsis, where the accusative DP is actually base-generated in the matrix clause, while controlling a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause.

4.3 Raising in MSA

Before introducing a raising account for MSA, there are two crucial points that need to be clarified: (i) it is important to resolve the status of *?an* and *?anna* used before the subjunctive clauses, for it is unclear whether these are complementizers or some other lower category. (ii) the issue of finiteness of the subjunctive clauses above also needs to be explained, since raising is mainly motivated because the embedded clause is nonfinite.

4.3.1 The Status of *?an* and *?anna*

It is worthy to note that in some instances there is an overlap in the way *?an* and *?anna* are treated in MSA. According to the traditional grammar of Arabic, both are “particles”. *?an* denotes subordination because it precedes imperfective verbs and renders them in the subjunctive mood; it is therefore referred to as a mood particle, mood marker, or “complementizer”. On the other hand, *?anna* usually precedes subjects in both main and embedded clauses and assigns them accusative case.

Importantly, *?an* selects complement clauses for a particular type of verbs, such as raising verbs. Alternatively, the same verb can take as a complement a DP headed by the verbal-noun “Masdar” which is the counterpart of the subjunctive verb. For this reason when *?an* introduces clauses that can be replaced by verbal-noun phrases, it is called “*?an ?al - masdariyya*” “the verbal noun *?an*” as in (7):

(7) a. *?arad-tu* *?an ?aqra-a* *l-kitab-a*

wanted-I-NOM to read the-book-ACC

“I wanted to read the book.”

b. ?arad-tu qeraat-a l-kitab-i

wanted-I-NOM reading-ACC the-book-GEN

Literary: “I wanted the reading of the book.”

“I wanted to read the book.”

According to Aziz (1989: 222) *?na* is a linking particle that marks subordination in Arabic as in example (7a). Typically, clauses selected by *?ina* appear with no overt subject, yet their unexpressed subject is taken to be the subject of the matrix verb.

On the other hand, Alotaibi (2019: 70) points out that the standard Arabic complementizer known as *?anna* poses restrictions on word orders in the clause it introduces and induces accusative case-marking on the otherwise nominative verbal DPs. The author argues that *?anna* is a case assigner and thus it carries an uninterpretable¹⁶ case feature that determines the value which it assigns to unvalued case feature concerning accessible goal in the sentence as illustrated in (8):

¹⁶An uninterpretable feature F on a syntactic object Y is checked when Y is sister to another syntactic object Z which bears a matching feature F. The checking requirement: Uninterpretable features must be checked, and once checked they can delete, (Adger, 2003: 76).

(8) qult-u ?anna l-?awlaad-a qara?-uu l-kitab-a

said.1S that the-boys-ACC read-3MPL the-book -ACC

“I said that the boys read the book.” [Alotaibi 2019: 70, ex (3)]

As can be seen *?aana* is followed by the accusative NP *l-?awlaad-a* “the boys” which can be interpreted as the subject of the embedded clause.

To test whether *?an* and *?anna* embed clauses as TPs or CPs, Ahmed (2016: 171) explains that only CPs but not TPs can be pseudo-clefted. The prediction then is that clausal complements of raising predicates in MSA should not be allowed to be pseudo-clefted if they were TPs¹⁷. This is borne out, as can be shown by the contrast between CPs introduced by overt complementizers and sentences with *believe*-type predicates as in (9) and (10):

(9) a. nasiy-a Zayd-un_i [CP ?an e_i y-aqfil-a l-?abwaab-a]
forgot-3MSG Zayd-NOM that.SUBJ 3-lock-3MSG.SUBJ the-doors-ACC
“Zayd forgot to lock the doors.”

b. ?allaðii nasiy-a-hu Zayd-un_i huwa [CP ?an e_i y-aqfil-a
that forgot-3MSG-it Zayd-NOM be.3MSG that.SUBJ 3-lock-3MSG.SUBJ
l-?abwaab-a]
the-doors-ACC
“What Zayd forgot was to lock the doors.”

¹⁷ This observation is first made by Rizzi (1982) for Italian and English.

(10) a. ḥasib-tu zayd-an y-uriid-∅-u l-safar-a

believed-1SG Zayd-ACC 3-want-MSG-INDIC the-travelling-ACC

“I believed that Zayd wanted to travel.

b. *ʔallaðii ḥasib-tu-hu huwa Zayd-an/un y-uriid-∅-u.

that believed-1SG-it be.3MSG Zayd-ACC/NOM 3-want-MSG-INDIC

l-safar-a

the-travelling-ACC

Intended meaning: “What I believed was that Zayd wanted to travel.”

[Ahmed 2016: 171-2, ex (42) and (43)].

Example (9) might suggest that the embedded clausal complements of *believe*-type predicates are TPs and not CPs. However, Fassi Fehri (2012) shows that these embedded clauses can support an independent temporal modifier as shown in (11):

(11) ʔamsi ḥasib-tu l-rajul-a y-aktub--∅-u l-risaal-a ḡad-a

yesterday believed-1SG the- man-ACC 3-write-MSG -IND the-letter-ACC tomorrow-ACC

“Yesterday, I believed that the man would write the letter tomorrow.”

[Ahmed 2016: 173, ex (44)]

Following Fassi Fehri (2012: 249), Ahmed (2016: 173) concludes that for these types of predicates, the derivation would start with two CPs, and for one to be deleted later.

Similarly, in a study conducted on clauses in MSA, Jalabneh (2022) concludes that the actual structure of the independent and subordinate subjunctive clauses headed by *ʔanna* is C and not T. C cannot constitute an argument, thus it cannot bear a theta role. This syntactic fact is

obvious in the presence of the complementizer *?anna* “that” which theoretically changes the structure from T to C.

In another detailed study on *?an* and *?anna*, Habib (2009) claims that *?anna* is not a complementizer, thus it can be situated in T and the subject occupies a position higher than *?anna*, that is [Spec, TP]. The study concludes that to claim that there is an extra projection or head to accommodate the subject and *?anna* would be unnecessary to account for these structures.

On the other hand, Rizzi (1997) assumed that finiteness has an independent projection in the left periphery of the clause structure from which it agrees with the IP in the features which are primarily the correlates of finiteness, for example, tense and agreement. The head Fin^0 encodes the clause as finite or nonfinite. Rizzi (1997) proposes that this head has an interpretable feature [\pm Finite] and its specification of tense and agreement are rudimentary compared to the IP domain, (Davies & Dubinsky, 2003: 237).

It is evident that there are contradictory views about the status of *?anna* in the syntax of MSA. To sum up this section, and for the purpose of this study I would assume that *?na* is a mood particle that has a similar function to the infinitival (to) in English, but it assigns its embedded clause the subjunctive mood, and it can be placed in T. As for *?anna*, it will be clear in the coming sections that *?anna* is used only before a preverbal subject to assign it accusative case, and because there are ways to justify for *?anna* not to be in CP, following Rizzi (1997), I would assume *?anna* to be in the [Spec, FinP] of the embedded clause.

4.3.2 Finiteness and the Subjunctive Clause

A key requirement for licensing raising constructions in GB and the Minimalist framework is that for the embedded clause to be non-finite. Recently, this condition started to change as Davies & Dubinsky (2003:230) remark that more attention is paid now to the extension of Raising to finite clausal complement constructions.

Beginning with Rosenbaum (1967) and Postal (1974), linguists have taken counter positions regarding the interaction of complement clause finiteness and raising structures. For Rosenbaum (1967), a raising verb such as *believe* bears lexical rule feature [+PR] which obligatory triggers raising in case of infinitival complement is selected. On the other hand, for Postal (1974), it is the application of raising which determines the non-finiteness of the complement clause in English. Therefore, it is perfectly consistent with Postal's (1974) view for a language to have Raising out of finite clauses and for Raising to be optional as well. This perspective led directly from the mid 1970's on, to the application of raising analysis to constructions in which the complement is clearly a tensed CP (see Kuno (1976) on Japanese, Chung (1976) on Indonesian, Jake and Odden (1979) on Kipsigis, Seiter (1983) on Niuean)

In English, Raising is a TP with a defective T^0 head, in the sense that it is negatively assigned for tense and agreement [- Tense, - Agr]. Therefore, it lacks the ability to assign Case, and the subject must raise to a higher position to receive Case.

However, in MSA, this account is not applicable to raising constructions because the embedded clause in these constructions is finite. According to traditional grammar, the subjunctive mood is confined to the imperfect, and the imperfect is associated with aspect and not tense. The imperfect verb is sometimes called tenseless, in the sense that the verb alone does not refer to the past, future, or present time, it mainly refers to the simple present tense (in

comparison with the present tense in English). The imperfective verb is used in subordinate clauses and follows certain particles which said to govern the verb in the subjunctive. The only exception of the subjunctive occurring in the main clause is when preceded by *lan* "not". This particle governs the verb in the main clause as in:

- (12) *lan ta-ktub-a l-drasa*
 not 3F-write-SUBJ the-lesson
 "She will not write the lesson."

In order, to examine the finiteness of the subjunctive clauses in MSA, let us consider the sentence in (13) which has an RtoO predicate in the matrix clause:

- (13) *?arada l-mu?alim-u l-taliba [?an ya-ktub-a l-drss-a]*
 wanted the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC to 3M-write-SUBJ the-lesson-ACC
 "The teacher wanted the student to write the lesson."

Ahmed (2011:44) (following Landau 2004, Polinsky and Potsdam 2006) analyzes the featural specifications of similar constructions by running the following tests:

- (i) The complement clause C^0 can be fully independent of the matrix clause tense, with no [T] or [\emptyset T] since the tense of the embedded clause is not selected by the matrix verb. This is the case of the embedded indicative clauses whose tense is free.
- (ii) The tense of the embedded clause can be partially independent of the matrix clause tense with the featural specification [+T] on C^0 . Partially independent means that the embedded C^0 can

either have a [T] feature identical to that of the matrix clause, or it can establish its own tense domain.

(iii) The embedded clause can be fully dependent on the tense of the matrix clause (i.e., having anaphoric tense) with the featural specification [-T] on C⁰. Anaphoric tense is the case where the tense of the embedded C⁰ is always identical to that of the matrix clause.

Ahmed (2011: 49) argues that the embedded clause in a sentence like (13) with *?araada* “want” predicate has an independent tense. This can be proved from the acceptability of (11), repeated here as (14):

(14) ?amsi ḥasib-tu l-rajul-a y-aktub--∅-u l-risaal-a ḡad-a
yesterday believed-1SG the- man-ACC 3-write-MSG -IND the-letter-ACC tomorrow-ACC
“Yesterday, I believed that the man would write the letter tomorrow.”,
[Ahmed 2016: 173, ex (44)]

As can be seen, (14) allows a temporal conflict between the matrix clause and the embedded clause. This means that the embedded C in this example has a [+T] feature. This in turn implies that the embedded C is possibly transparent and that movement of the DP to the matrix clause may or may not take place (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2006: 187-89).

On the other hand, Landau (2004: 820) following other researchers predicts that the tense of the subjunctive mood is always invariable. For example, in Hebrew, the subjunctive clause is always in the future tense. Similarly, in MSA, the verb in subjunctive mood as mentioned earlier is always perfective and cannot be changed as illustrated in (15):

4.4 Properties of Subject-to-Subject Raising

There is no doubt that MSA has raising constructions, however these constructions may seem different due to the variation in MSA's word order.

Polinsky (2013: 578) points out that Raising is in some way limited to the idiosyncrasies of a given language. In English, it is possible with verbs such as: *seem, appear, happen, be likely*. In MSA, RtoS is tested with verbs like *yabduu* "seem" and few other verbs, while some linguists (Haddad: 2012) argue that Raising is confined only to verbs of appropinquation¹⁸ such as: *kada, aufaka* "was about"; *dana* "think", *hasiba* "believe".

To examine subject-to-subject raising predicates in MSA, I list below the empirical properties of subject raising predicates:

(i) They are one-place predicates which select an event

It is evident that in subject raising, there is a dependency relation between the two grammatical subject positions (i.e., the matrix and the embedded). The standard assumption is that this dependency relation is established through movement. According to Polinsky & Potsdam (2006), and Sportiche et al. (2014), the cooccurrence of some verbs with expletive pronouns indicate that these verbs do not assign an external theta role to their argument.

In MSA, verbs of appropinquation and *yabduu* "seem" verb assign nominative case to their embedded subjects in all cases except when the subject is in initial position in the sentence and is preceded by the complementizer. However, it is evident that these verbs are one-place (intransitive) predicates. This is illustrated in (16) where the verb *yabduu* "seem" selects only one argument, namely the embedded clause expressing an event:

¹⁸ Following Wright 2007, verbs of appropinquation include verbs of proximity, hope and inception.

(18) kaad-a l- matr-u (?an) ya-hṭil-a
 was.about-3MSG the-rain-NOM to 3M-fall-SUBJ
 “The rain was about to fall.” [Haddad 2012: 46, ex (4a)]

Further evidence to prove that raising verbs in MSA select clausal complements is illustrated in (19):

(19) a. yabduu bi woḍouḥ-in ?anna l-talib-a qad katab-a
 seem-M in clear-GEN that the-student-MSG-ACC has wrote-SUBJ
 l-dars-a bi-surḥat-in
 the-lesson-ACC in-speed-GEN
 “The student clearly seems to have written the lesson quickly.

b. yabduu l-talib-u bi woḍouḥ-in ?anna-hu qad katab-a
 seem-M the-student-MSG-NOM in clear-GEN that-he has wrote
 l-dars-a bi ṣurḥat-in
 the-lesson-ACC in- speed-GEN
 “The student clearly seems to have written the lesson quickly.”

Example (19) reveals that the modifier *bi woḍouḥ-in* “clearly” modifies the verb *yabduu* “seem” in the matrix clause and not the verb *kataba* “wrote” in the embedded clause. This is further supported by the fact that the modifier *bi-ṣurḥat-in* “quickly” in (19a) modifies only the verb *kataba* “wrote” in the subordinate clause and not the predicate of the matrix clause. Therefore,

what one can infer from these examples that the raising predicates in MSA select clausal complements.

(ii) Raising to subject predicates do not impose selectional restrictions on their grammatical subjects

According to Sportiche, et al. (2014), the primary feature of raising predicates cross linguistically is that raising to subject verbs do not select their grammatical subjects. In MSA, raising predicates do not impose any restriction on the type of their grammatical subject as illustrated in example (20):

(20) yabduu l-waqta-u ?anna-hu ya- nqaḍi bi-surʕat-in huna
seem the-time-NOM that-it-MAS 3M-pass in-quick-GEN here
“It seems that time passes quickly here”.

To replace the subject *l-waqta-u* “the time” with *l-talib-u* “the student”, the sentence will remain grammatical as in (21):

(21) yabduu l-talib-u ?anna-hu katab-a l-dars-a
seem-MSG the-student-MSG-NOM that-he wrote the-lesson-ACC
“The student seems that he wrote the lesson.”

Examples (20), with an abstract DP subject, and (21), with an animate DP subject illustrate clearly that the raising verbs do not impose any thematic restrictions on their subjects

(iii) Raising cannot skip intermediate clauses

According to Polinsky (2013), and Polinsky & Potsdam (2006), Raising cannot cross an intervening clause because the raising predicate has to create a relation of dependency between the two subjects in the embedded and the dominating matrix clauses, as illustrated in the ungrammatical sentence in (22)¹⁹:

(22) *yabduu l-talib-u_i [kay yu-şadiq-hu l-muʔalim-u [----- _i ?anna-hu katab-a seem-M the-student-MSG-NOM [for believe-him the-teacher-NOM[----- that-he wrote l-dars-a]] the-lesson-ACC]].

“*The student seems for the teacher to believe him that he wrote the lesson.”

Example (22) is ungrammatical because the raised DP cannot move across this intervening clause. Thus, a relation of dependency is not possible to be created between the subject positions in the two clauses.

(iv) Idiom chunks

Sportiche et al. (2014: 208) explain that idiom chunks are cases in which typically “a verb selects so tightly its object and that this object needs to be a specific word rather than a range of possible words”. Certain idiom chunks do not even occur outside of their idiomatic expressions as illustrated in (23) and (24):

¹⁹ This is a well-known property of A-movement, (Chomsky, 1977).

(23) ?al-ḥaadgat-u uom ?al-ixitira?-i
the-necessity.FSG- NOM mother the-invention-GEN

Literal meaning: “Necessity is mother of the invention”

Idiomatic meaning: “Necessity is mother of invention”

(24) tajammada l-dam-u fi uruq-i-hi
freez.PAST the-blood-NOM in vein-PL-his

Literal meaning: “The blood froze in his veins”.

Idiomatic meaning: “He is afraid to death.” [Adapted from Abdou 2010: 106, ex (12)]

In MSA, raising predicates can be distinguished from other non-raising predicates by virtue of applying Raising to these idioms. The subject of the idiom can be raised while still preserving the idiomatic meaning as in (25) and (26) which are the raising counterparts of examples (23) and (24) above:

(25) kaad-at ?al-ḥaadga-tu ?an takuun-a uom-u l-ixitira?-i
was about-F the-necessity-NOM to be mother-NOM the-invention-GEN

“# necessity was about to be the mother of invention.”

(26) aufaka l-dam-u ?an ya-tajammada fi uriq-hi
was about the-blood-NOM to freeze-SUBJ in veins-his-GEN

“The blood was about to be frozen in his veins.”

The fact that in all these cases, the DP selected in the idiom does not appear in its “selected position” immediately implies that movement has taken place. These examples of raised idiom chunks clearly illustrate the case of non-local selection of the raising predicates.

(v) Semantic effects of passivization

According to traditional grammar, the passive voice in Arabic is used only when the agent is unknown or is irrelevant. Apart from the verb that undergoes a morphological change (change in the vowel), usually there is no change in the word order.

The sentences in (27b and 28b) reveal that when subject raising predicates are passivized, they are semantically equivalent to their active raising predicate as in (27a and 28a)- in other words, they are truth-conditionally synonymous of their non-passive counterparts:

(27) a. yabduu l-talib-u ?aana-hu ḥal -a l-masʔalat-a
 seem-M the-student-MSG-NOM that-he solved-SUBJ the-problem-ACC

“It seems that the student solved the lesson.”

b. yabduu ?anna l-masʔalat- ḥulut
 seem that the-problem-FSG-ACC solved-PASS

“It seems that the problem has been solved.”

(28) a. kaad-a Ali-un ?an yabiʕ-a l-lawḥat-a
 was about-3M Ali-NOM to sell-SUBJ the-painting-ACC

“Ali was about to sell the painting”

b. kaad-at l-lawḥat-u ?an tubaʕ- a
 was about-F the-painting-FSG-NOM to sold-PASS-SUBJ

“The painting was about to be sold”.

(vi) The raised DP is selected in the embedded clause

The DP that has undergone raising is selected and interpreted within the embedded clause. The position of that DP is relevant for anaphoric relations. Compare the difference in binding between (29a) where the silent subject of the embedded clause determines the place and interpretation of the reciprocal, and (29b) where the reciprocal is bound by the matrix subject²⁰.

(29) a. yabduu Ali-un wa Zayd-un li Zaynab ?anna- [huma [~~Ali-un wa Zayd-un~~]_i yalum-aan
 seem Ali and Zayd to Zaynab that- [they/dual [---- -----]_i balme-dual
 baʕða-huma_i]]
 each other_i]]

“Ali and Zayd seem to Zaynab that they are blaming each other.”

b. yabduu [Ali-un wa Zayd-un]_i li- baʕða-hima_i ?ann-[huma [~~Ali-un wa Zayd-un~~]
 seem [Ali and Zayd]_i to-each other_i that- [they [-----]
 ya-drus-aan bi dgad-in]]
 study-dual hard-GEN]

“Ali and Zayd seem to each other that they are studying hard.”

The DP *Ali-un wa Zayd* “Ali and Zayd” in (29a) is interpreted within the embedded clause, thus binding can be achieved, because the DP’s trace is bound by the reciprocal pronoun *baʕða-huma* “each other” in the embedded clause. Sentence (29b) shows that when the

²⁰ Agreement markers are not shown in the interlinear glosses, so that the focus would be on binding.

reciprocal pronoun is in the matrix clause, binding between these two constituents is done in the matrix clause.

4.4.1 Movement in Subject Raising

Wurmbrand et al. (2013: 2) argue that according to different languages that have raising constructions, these languages can either achieve this through long distance Agree or via movement. As it is shown in section 4.3, the raised subject in MSA undergoes movement.

To account for the movement of the raised subject in RtoS constructions when the word order is VS, let us consider examples (21) repeated here as (30) and example (31):

(30) a. yabduu l- talib-u ?anna-hu katab-a l-dars-a
M-seem the-student-MSG-NOM that-he wrote the-lesson-ACC
“The student seems to have written the lesson.”

b. tabduu l- talibaat-u ?anna-huna katab-na l-dars-a
F-seem- the-students-FPL-NOM that-they.FPL wrote.F.SUBJ the-lesson-
“The student seems to have written the lesson.”

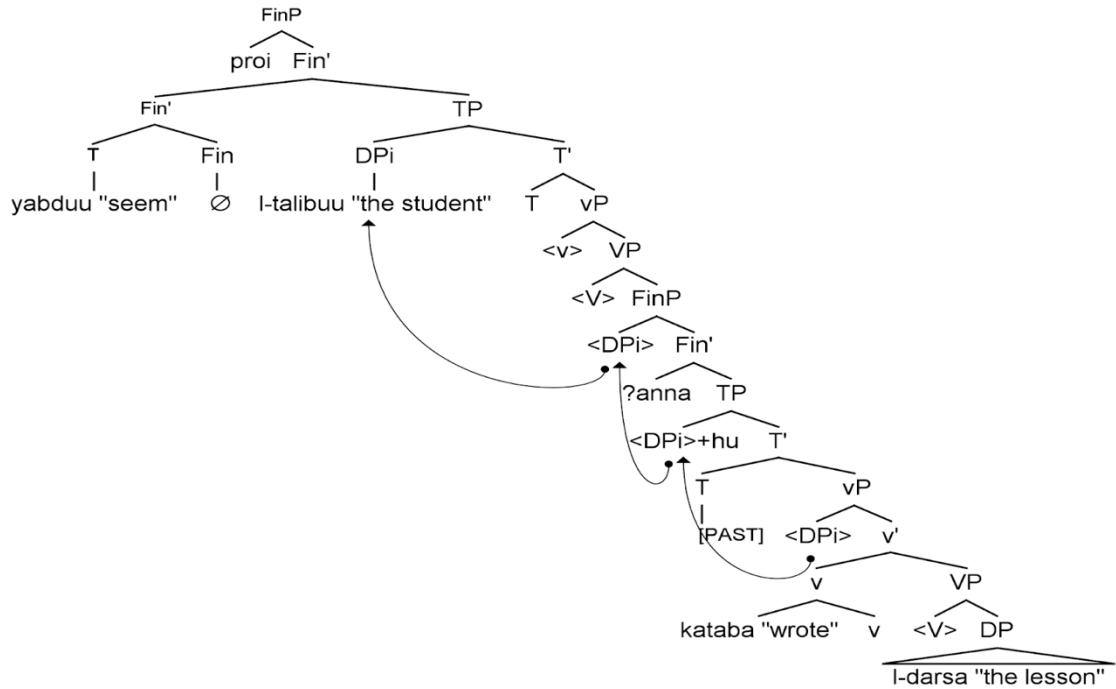
(31) a. kaad-a l- talib-u ?an ya-ktub-a l-dars-a
was about the-student-NOM to 3.MSG.write-SUBJ the-test-ACC
“The student was about to write the lesson.”

b. kaad-at l- talibaat-u ?an ta-ktub-na l-dars-a
were about the-student-FPL-NOM to 3FPL.write-SUBJ the-test-ACC
“The students were about to write the lesson.”

The above four sentences are all examples of subject raising. They all exhibit the same pattern: the matrix clause has VS word order (partial agreement), while the embedded clause is SV word order (full agreement). What is different between examples (30) and (31) is that in (30) the resumptive pronouns *hu* “he” and *hunna* “they.PLF” are cliticized on the complementizer *?anna* “that” in the embedded clause, while in (31) the agreement pronouns are attached to the embedded verb.

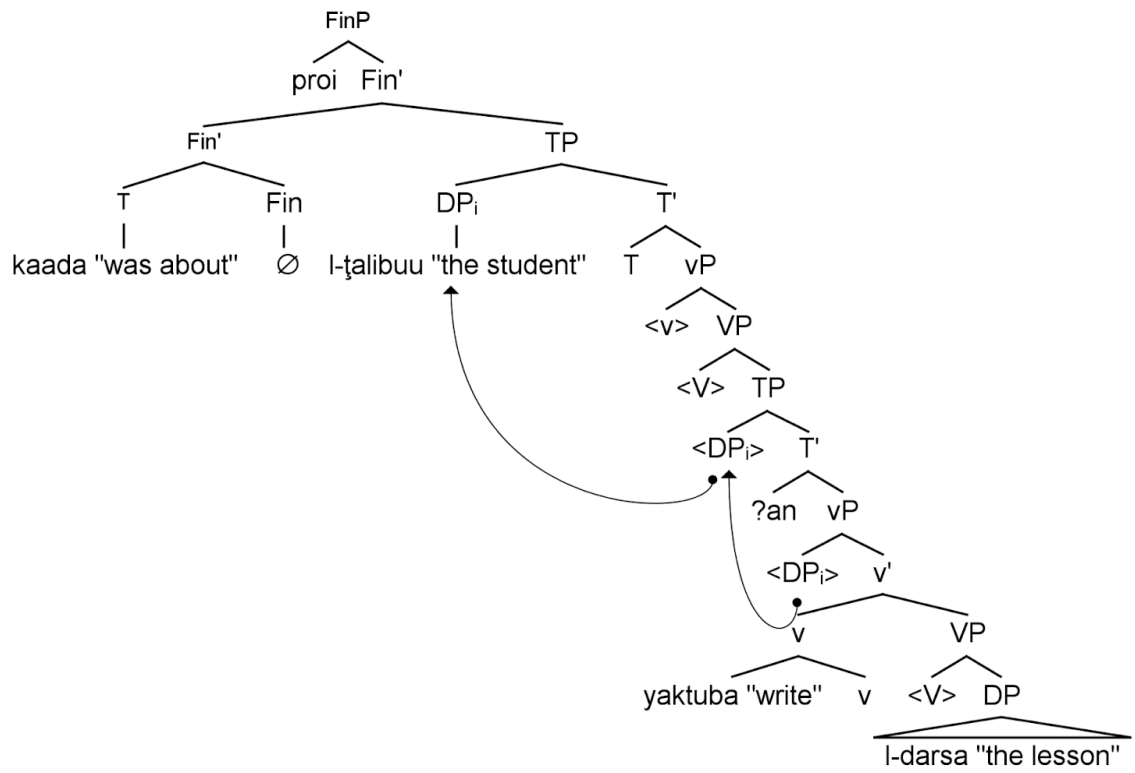
For the structure of (30a), I would assume that the subject DP *l- talib-u* first merges in [Spec, vP] and agrees fully with the verb in the embedded clause, before moving to [Spec, TP] of the embedded clause. Since T of the embedded clause is deficient or truncated as suggested in 4.2.1, and 4.2.2, the complementizer *?anna* is in Fin. Now, the subject can be raised to [Spec, FinP] to agree partially with the matrix verb. Then, the raised subject *l-talibu* “the student” is raised to [Spec, TP] of the matrix clause, while the verb *yabduu* “seem” is in T. The movement of the subject in (30a) is presented in (32):

(32)



To account for the movement involved in example (31), I would assume the same process, that the DP *l-talibu* “the student” first merges in [Spec, vP] of the embedded clause to achieve full agreement with the verb *yaktuba* “write”, and then moves to [Spec, TP] in the embedded clause. Because *?an* is a mood particle as discussed in section 4.2.1, which has the function of selecting a clausal complement to render it in the subjunctive mood, *?an* is in T. Then, the DP subject *l-talibu* “the student” is raised from [Spec, TP] of the embedded clause to the post verbal position [Spec, TP] of the matrix clause to agree partially with the verb *kada* “was about”. The structure of (31a) is given in (33):

(33)



4.5 Properties of Subject-to-Object Raising

RtoO constructions in MSA contain believe-type verbs such as *ḍanna*, *hasiba*, *khaala* “believe”, illustrated in example (34):

- (34) a. ḍanan-tu ?anna l-walad-a ya-drusu
believed-1SG that the-boy-ACC 3M-studying
“I believed that the boy was studying.”

b. *ḍanan-tu l-walad-a ya-drusu*
 believed-1SG the-boy-ACC 3M-study

“I believed the boy to be studying.” [Ouhalla 1994: 64, ex (36)]

In (34a) the embedded subject is assigned the accusative case by the complementizer *?anna*. However, it is not clear from which source the embedded subject in (34b) receives the accusative case, given the absence of the complementizer. In the traditional analysis, the matrix verb assigns the accusative case to this DP. Obviously, the accusative case cannot be inherent as the DP involved is not thematically related to the verb.

As it is discussed in 4.3, the raised DP in RtoS constructions is semantically interpreted within the embedded clause, but structurally, it behaves as if it is in the matrix clause. This is also true with the raised subject in RtoO constructions. This can be gleaned from the facts included in (i) and (ii) below:

(i) RtoO predicates can be passivized as in sentence (35):

(35) a. *?a-twaqa?-uu l-ṭalilib-a ?an yandgah-a bi-l-imtiḥan-i haaḍihi l-sannat-i*
 1SG-expect-NOM the-student-ACC to pass-SUBJ in the-test-GEN this the-year-GEN
 “I expect the student to pass the test this year.”

b. *yo-tawaqa?-u l-ṭalilib-u ?ann yandgah-a bi-l-imtiḥan-i haaḍihi l-sannat-i*
 PASS-expect the-student-NOM to pass-SUBJ in the-test-GEN this the-year-GEN
 “The student is expected to pass the test this year.”

(ii) Cliticization

According to Ouhalla (1994:65), if the ECM subject moves to the matrix [Spec, AGROP], it should be expected to acquire the status of the grammatical object of the matrix verb. In other words, it is expected to be able to undergo the usual processes associated with direct objects, e.g., passivization as in (35), and cliticization onto the (matrix) verb. Similarly, Ahmed (2016:174) mentions that when the subject of the matrix clause is pronominal, the embedded subject is encliticized to the matrix predicate, this shows that the embedded subject is clearly in the matrix clause as in (36):

(36) ḥasib-tu-hu daxal-a l-qaaʕat-a
believed-1SG-him entered-3MSG the-hall-ACC

“I believed he entered the hall.” [Ahmed 2016:174, ex (45)]

It is evident that the raising to object analysis maintained by the assumption that structural accusative is assigned under Spec-Head agreement with AGROP makes the right predictions with respect to the ability of the ECM subject to undergo passivation and cliticization onto the matrix verb. However, Ouhalla (1994) argues that this is not enough evidence against the traditional analysis of Exceptional Case Assignment across the clause boundary since this analysis makes similar predictions with respect to passivation and cliticization.

As it is observed in chapter two, the ECM analysis for RtoO constructions is no longer tenable. As there is a theoretical motivation for rejecting this approach and introducing the raising approach again.

To show that Raising is involved in RtoO structures found in MSA, the evidence comes from the fact that these constructions have certain empirical properties. Following Davies & Dubinsky (2003) and Polinsky & Potsdam (2006), these properties are outlined in (i)-(iii) below:

(i) The antecedent-anaphor relation

To prove that the subject of the embedded clause is raised to the object position of the matrix clause, examine the sentences in (37):

- (37) a. *ḥasiba l-muṣalm-u* [ʔanna *l-tulabb-a* *yu-saʕidon-a* *baʕða-hum*]
believed the-teacher-NOM [that the-students-MPL 3-help-PL-SUBJ each other]
“The teacher believed that the students helped each other.”
- b. *ḥasiba l-muṣalm-u* *l-tulabb-a* [----- *yu-saʕidona* *baʕða-hum*]
believed the-teacher-NOM the-students-MPL-ACC [----- 3-help-PL each other]
“The teacher believed the students to help each other.”

In sentence (37a), the DP *l-tulabb-a* “the students” is in the subject position of the embedded clause as with the reciprocal pronoun *baʕða-hum* “each other”. We can claim here that the reciprocal pronoun is binding the DP *l-tulabb-a* “the student” in the embedded sentence.

However, in (37b) the DP *l-tulabb-a* “the students” cannot bind *baʕða-hum* “each other” and it should be considered to violate Principle A of the Binding theory. Because it is perfectly grammatical, this is taken as evidence for the movement of the raised DP into a position outside the embedded clause, and that the reciprocal pronoun binds the trace of the moved DP in the embedded clause, so there is no violation of Principle A. This example strongly

suggests that A-movement is involved, and that the subject moves probably to matrix AgrOP to check for accusative case.

(ii) Intervening adverbs

Let us examine the following sentences in (38):

(38) a. ?arada ḥaq-ann l-muʿalim-u l-taliba ?an yandgaḥ-a bi l-imtiḥani
wanted really-ACC the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC to pass-SUBJ in the-test-
GEN

“The teacher really wanted the student to pass the test.”

b. ?arada l-muʿalim-u l-taliba ḥaq-ann ?an yandgaḥ-a bi l-imtiḥani
wanted the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC really-ACC to pass-SUBJ in the test-GEN

“The teacher really wanted the student to pass in the test.”

c. %* ?arada l-muʿalim-u l-talib-a ?an yandgaḥ-a ḥaq-ann bi l-imtiḥani
wanted the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC to pass-SUBJ really-ACC in the- test-
GEN

“The teacher wanted the student to really pass in the test.”

Though adverbs in Arabic are traditionally considered to be nouns, these nouns have the same function of adverbs in English which is modifying verbs. In (38a), the “adverb” *ḥaq-ann* “really” is placed after the verb of the matrix clause to modify it, in (38b), the same adverb comes after the raised subject-to-object DP, at the edge of the matrix clause. However, in (c), when the adverb *ḥaq-ann* is positioned in the embedded clause, the sentence becomes unacceptable if not ungrammatical, since *ḥaq-ann* “really” modifies the verb *?arada* “wanted” in

the matrix clause, and not the verb *yandgaha* “pass” in the embedded clause. This test shows that the raised object is in the matrix clause. For the adverb to be interpreted with the verb, so that the sentence remains grammatical, this adverb should be in the matrix clause. Thus, implying that all the material preceding the adverb is in the matrix clause.

(iii) The raised object can precede the post verbal subject

Ouhalla (1994) points out to the fact that in Arabic the (postverbal) subject of the matrix verb can intervene between the ECM subject and the rest of the material in the embedded clause. This is shown in the following examples, where the ECM subject is italicized:

(39) a. dhann-a *Zaynab-a* l-mudarris-u ta-ktubu l-qisas-a
 believed-3MSG *Zaynab-ACC* the-teacher-NOM 3FSG-write the-stories-ACC

“The teacher believed *Zaynab* to write stories.”

b. hasib-a *Zaynab-a* l-mudair-u ta-ndumu l-shi’r-a
 believed-3MSG *Zaynab-ACC* the-director-NOM 3FSG-write the- poetry-ACC

“The director believed *Zaynab* to write poetry.” [Ouhalla 1994: 65, ex (40)]

Ouhalla (1994: 65) argues that assuming that the subject to occupy the Spec of the matrix vP, and ECM subject to occupy the Spec of the matrix AGROP, the word order pattern shown in (39) is expected. In other words, these examples show clearly that the subject has moved to the matrix clause.

4.5.1 Movement in Subject-to-Object Raising

Davies and Dubinsky (2003: 238) suggest that the ECM analysis of RtoO structures like the one proposed by Rosenbaum (1967) which determined that such construction is the result of

a lexical feature on the matrix verb and non-finiteness of the complement clause which would fail to assign Case for its subject is not possible to account for ECM constructions in finite clauses.

The earliest systematic approach to these cases of ECM constructions in finite clauses in the GB framework was Massam (1985). Besides finite clauses, ECM constructions display the following properties which are not found in English: (i) The subject of the ECM clause is not in the canonical subject position, it can be outside the complementizer. (ii) The trace of the raised NP is in a Case-marked position. (iii) In many languages it is not restricted to subjects, as in this example from Fijian:

(40) Au a vinakati iko_i [mo mokuti Timoci t_i].

SG.PST want you COMP_[SUBJ.2SG] hit T

“I wanted you to hit Timothy.” [Davies & Dubinsky 2003: 238, ex (28)]

To account for these properties within GB, Massam (1985) proposes some innovations. Since every position in the embedded clause is case marked, movement cannot be motivated by the need for Case. In addition, the trace of *iko* is in a case marked position, the Chain <iko_i, t_i> resembles A'-Chain, and not A-Chain. Thus, for these languages, Massam (1985) proposes movement to a second higher SPEC position which is labelled SPEC2 because the lower SPEC is reserved to wh-movement.

In MSA, RtoO constructions as discussed in section 4.4 are true examples of Raising out of finite clauses. By assuming that there is non-theta position in the clause structure for the raised subject which is “AgrOP”, we can easily account for the movement of the raised DP which is not

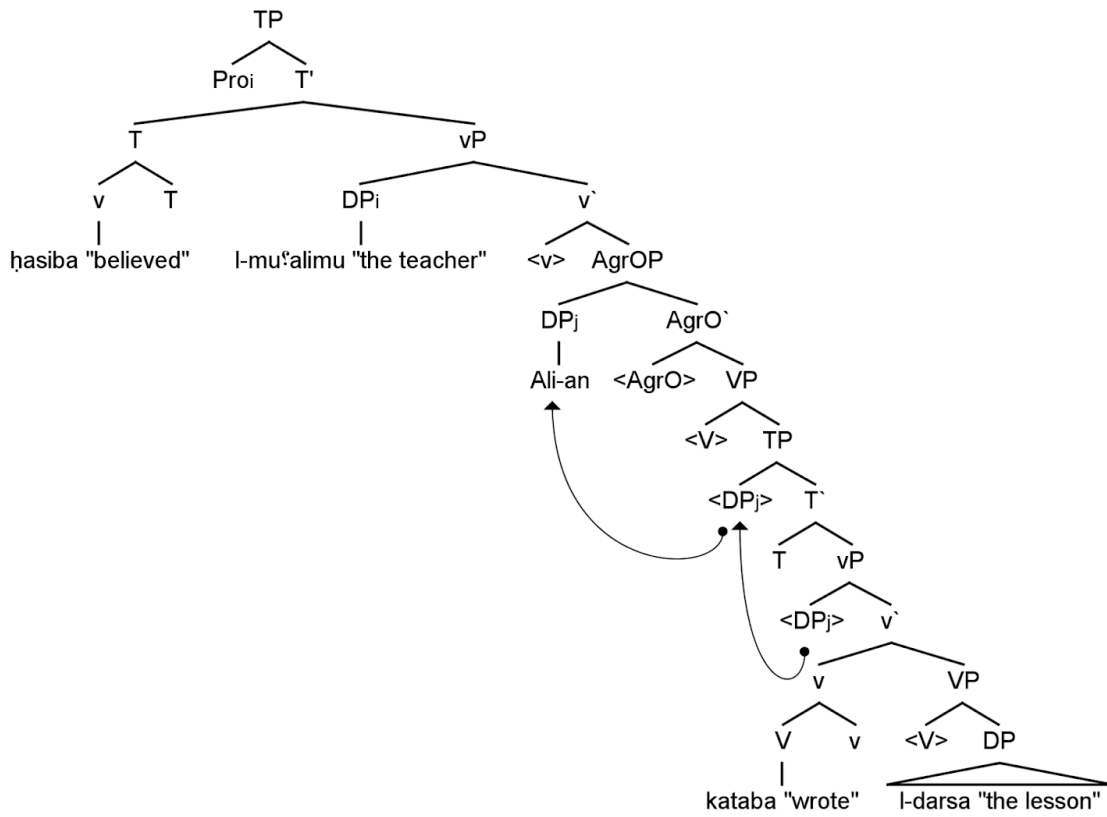
necessarily thematically related to the verb of that clause. Thus, there is no violation of the theta criterion because the subject of the embedded clause is raised targeting a non-theta position in the matrix clause.

Another way to account for Case in RtoO constructions in MSA would be to assume that nominative and accusative values are derived compositionally from properties of the entire probing domain. According to Alboiu (2019), valuation of Case as nominative or accusative is argued to be a dynamic property of the entire probing domain rather than being associated with finite T and phasal v. This is because Chomsky’s proposal that all NPs are taken from the lexicon with case features, then checked under Spec-Head agreement with an appropriate functional head will not work for every case. Alboiu (2019: 43) adds that “Case licensing understood as checking of [uCase], is shown to be property of phase heads (i.e., points of transfer) and not of agreement (or tense, or default options)”. Therefore, this analysis based on featural specifications of probing domains allows for the flexibility needed to capture cross-linguistic variation.

As the issue of case can be solved, the movement in sentence (41) can be accounted for, and the structure in (42) is proposed:

- (41) ḥasiba l-muʕalim-u Ali-an kataba l-dars-a
believed-1SG the-teacher-NOM Ali-ACC wrote the-lesson
“The teacher believed Ali to have written the lesson.”

(42)



In such constructions, *?an* is optional. The structure in (42) shows that the subject of the embedded clause *Ali* first merges in [Spec, vP], then moves to [Spec, TP] to be raised to [Spec, AgrOP] in the matrix clause.

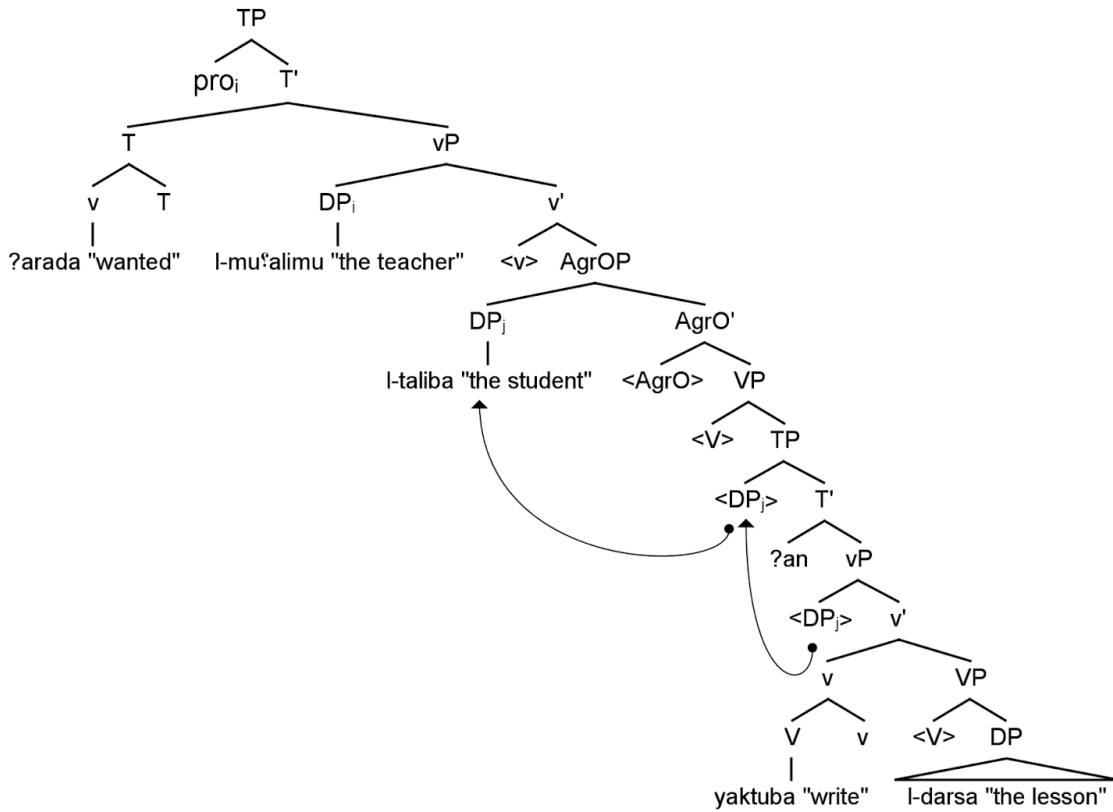
To propose a structure for other RtoO predicates in MSA such as *?arad* “wanted”-type of verbs as in (13) repeated here as (43), I suggest (44):

(43) ?arada l-muʕlim-u l-ṭalib-a ?an ya-ktub-a l-dars-a
 wanted the-teacher-NOM the-student-ACC to 3MSG-write-SUBJ the-lesson-Acc

“The teacher wanted the student to write the lesson”

In sentence (43) *?an* is not optional. The same account given in (42) can be applied to (43), with one addition, and that is of merging *?an* in T. The structure of (43) is illustrated in (44):

(44)



4.6 Backward Raising

Haddad (2012: 70) points out that MSA licenses another type of Raising which is backward raising. These constructions show evidence that the subject has moved to the matrix clause, yet this subject is pronounced in the subordinate clause as in sentence (45):

- (45) kaadat ta-tawaqqaf-u ḥarkat-u l-sayyaaraat-i
 was about 3FSG 3F-stop-s-IND the movement-NOM the-cars
 “The cars almost stopped moving.” [Haddad 2012: 70, ex (25)]

Notably, the partial agreement on the raising verb is an indication that at some point in the derivation, the subject occupied a postverbal position in the matrix clause.

The difference between the backward-raising structures and their forward-raising counterparts is attributed to the PF operation Chain Reduction. While Chain Reduction saves the highest copy in forward raising, the same operation saves the lowest copy in example (45). This is illustrated in (46):

- (46) [CP[TP[was about [vP ~~the movement of the cars~~ [v’ was about [TP ~~the movement of the cars~~-[T stop [vP the movement of the cars [v’ stop [VP stop]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]
 [Adapted from Haddad 2012: 71, ex (28)]

In addition, Al-Ghalayini (2003) points out that a structure like (47) is also possible in MSA. In this case, the raising verb *ṭafiq-uu* “started” shows full agreement. This is evidence that derivationally the subject has touched down in a preverbal position in the matrix clause, yet it is

similar to (45) in that the subject is pronounced in a post verbal position in the subordinate clause:

(47) ṭafiq-uu ya-nṣarif-u l-naas-u
started-3MPL 3M-leave-s-INDC the-people-NOM

“The people started to leave.”

[From Al-Ghalayini 2003: 205 n. 2, cited in Haddad 2012: 70, ex 27].

Turning to Chain Reduction, Nunes (1995) claims that this process usually saves the copy with the least unchecked features, unless other conditions apply. In the case of backward raising, Chain Reduction is free to choose which copies to delete because all copies have equal status with respect to feature checking, since all of them have checked nominative case.

It is worthy to note that although agreement in the matrix clause is evidence that the pronounced subordinate subject has a copy in the matrix clause, and accordingly movement is involved; it is not sufficient evidence.

Per Polinsky and Potsdam (2012), research shows that agreement does not have to be local and that long-distance agreement, whereby the matrix predicate agrees with a subordinate argument, is possible. In other words, sentence (45) may have the structure in (48) in which the matrix verb establishes long-distance agreement with the subordinate subject:

- (48) a. kaad-at ta-tawaqqaf-u ḥarakat-u 1
 was about-3FS 3F-stop-s-INDC movement-NOM
 sayyaaraat]]]]
 the-cars. [Adapted from Haddad 2012: 71, ex (30)]

Nevertheless, Haddad (2012: 71) rules out this possibility because partial agreement between the verb and the subject in MSA obtains when the subject remains inside vP/VP domain. This means that partial agreement obtains via Agree as proposed by Chomsky (2000). Full agreement, on the other hand, is the outcome of a Spec-Head relation between the verb and the subject.

To prove that movement is involved and that the deleted copy holds some sort of a relation with the pronounced copy, let us examine other examples of backward raising in MSA, as in (49):

- (49) a. habba-t l-talibat-u t-aktub-u l-dars-a
 started-3FSG the-student-FSG-NOM F-write-SG-INDC the-lesson-ACC
 “The student started to write the lesson.”
- b. habba-t t-aktub-u l-talibat-u l-dars-a
 started-3F write-FSG-SUBJ the-student-FSG-NOM the-lesson-ACC
 “The student started to write the lesson.”

c. habba-t l-talibaat-u ta-ktub-na l-dars-a
 started-3F the-student-FPL-NOM 3F-write-PL-SUBJ the-lesson-ACC

“The students started to write the lesson.”

d. habba-t ta-ktub-na l-talibaat-u l-dars-a
 started-3F 3F-write-PL-SUBJ the-student-FPL-NOM the-lesson-ACC

“The student started to write the lesson.”

Sentences (49a) and (49c) are typical examples of forward subject-to-subject raising. The verb *haba* “started” is one of the verbs of inception that takes optionally the particle *?an*, which in turns embed the subjunctive clause *taktub-a l-dars-a* “write the lesson” to the matrix clause. In these examples, the subject DP agrees partially with the matrix verb preceding it, while at the same time agreeing fully with the embedded verb which follows.

However, when the DP subject *l-talibat-u* “the student” in (49b), and *l-talibaat-u* “the students” in (49d) raised backward, the canonical agreement pattern is changed. In (49b) and (49d), the raised DP, though now is in a post verbal position, it retains its full agreement with the embedded verb. This clearly indicates that at some point in the derivation, this subject was preverbal.

Following Polinsky and Potsdam (2006) on their account of back raising in Adyghe²¹, if the above analysis holds true for MSA, then the overt copy in the argument chain is expressed in the embedded clause, however, the deleted copy remains to exhibit syntactic presence in its clause.

²¹Adyghe is a Northwest Caucasian language, and it is an absolutive-ergative case system (syncretic for first and second person) with specific DPs, (Polinsky and Potsdam 2006: 178).

To prove that this proposal holds also for MSA, the raised DP can take a wide scope over the matrix clause when the verb in the embedded clause is negated. Thus, in example (50), the wide scope reading in (i) would not be possible in case the higher copy was not present in the matrix clause. This is illustrated in (50) where the sentence is negated by using the particle *ma*²²:

- (50) ma-habba-t ta-ktub-na kul-u l-talibaat-i l-darsa
 not-started-3FSG 3F-write-PL all-NOM the-students-FPL-GEN the-lesson-ACC
- (i) “All students did not start to write the lesson.”
- (ii) “Not all students started to write the lesson.”

Similarly, backward raising constructions permits ambiguous scope reading, just as in familiar forward raising. This ambiguity is exemplified in (51) where there are two readings depending on the scope of the quantifier:

- (51) habba-t ta-ktub-na sitat-u talibaat-u l-dras-a
 started-3FSG 3F-write-PL six-NOM students-NOM the-lesson-ACC
- (i) “There were six students and all of them started to write the lesson”.
- (ii) “Only six students started to write the lesson”.

The DP “six students” can take either wide or narrow scope over the sentence. If the embedded quantified DP were not represented in the matrix clause, the scope of ambiguity would not be explainable.

²² According to traditional grammar of Arabic, *ma* is used to negate the perfect verb in the past and sometimes with relevance to the present, (Aziz 19: 240).

Turning to trace theory, Polinsky and Potsdam (2006: 173) argue that movement in backward raising is based on the idea that an expression starts out in a particular structural position and then literally moves to the position where it is pronounced. There is just one instance of an expression that undergoes this movement process, and a distant category (trace) fills this position. On the compositional (copy-and-delete) view, there can be two or more positions which contain copies of the expression that undergoes movement. The positions form a copy chain, and in that chain one or more elements may get deleted. A trace is no longer a distinct category, rather a link in the copy chain, where deletion has taken place, and is replaced by “silence”.

4.7 Summary

To conclude this chapter, there is strong evidence that MSA exhibits different sorts of Raising. In addition to subject-to-subject raising, and subject-to-object raising, MSA also has backward raising, in which the backward raised subject is clearly connected to its deleted copy (trace, silence) in the matrix clause.

In addition, this chapter discusses and analyzes the different empirical properties that are usually associated with Raising construction cross linguistically. Although, MSA has no infinitival non-finite clauses, it is shown that Raising from the subjunctive clause is possible. When the mood particle *?an* introduces the subjunctive clause, the sentence is proposed to have two TPs. Because there is no consensus on the real status of *?anna*, in addition to the distinctive nature of the subjunctive clause in MSA, *?anna* is assumed to embed two TPs as well.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

This chapter concludes the study by summarizing the key findings and providing answers to the questions raised in chapter 1. It will also review the limitations of the study and suggest recommendations for further research.

5.1 Findings of the Study

I have argued that MSA has raising constructions, and as a result these raised constructions involve A-movement. Following Haddad (2012), it becomes evident that MSA not only makes use of subject-to-subject raising and subject-to-object raising, but also backward raising.

Working within the Minimalist framework, the present study attempted to answer the following questions raised in chapter 1, and repeated below:

1. What are the types of Raising in MSA?
2. Are the empirical properties associated with raising constructions (as in English language for example), also applicable to similar constructions in MSA?
3. How to explain Raising out of the subjunctive clause which is finite?
4. How to account for the particles *?na* and *?anna* as complementizers, and where in the structure can these be placed?
5. How to account for the movement of the raised subject in these constructions?

To answer all these questions, this study analyzes different raising structures from MSA, and advances the proposal that MSA has subject-to-subject-raising, subject-to-object raising, and backward raising.

In addition, the study examines raising constructions and shows that subject raising predicates share the same typical properties attributed to raising predicates in other languages as for example, raising predicates in English. Examples given from MSA show that subject-to-subject raising predicates are one-place predicates that select an event, and that raised subjects are selected and interpreted in the embedded clause. Further, the study analyzes examples of raising predicates in MSA to show that these predicates do not impose any selectional restrictions on their subjects and that the raised subject cannot skip intervening clauses. Analyzing other examples also reveal that the passivized raising predicates are semantically equivalent to their active counterparts, and that the subjects of idioms can be raised while preserving their idiomatic meaning.

As mentioned previously, subject-to-object raising predicates in MSA constitute for example verbs such as *?arad* “want” and *believe*-type of verbs like *ḍanna*, *ḥasiba*, *khala* which all mean “believe”. The study illustrates that the raised subject behaves as the object of the matrix clause. This fact is supported by testing that the raised subject can also be passivized and cliticized as with the direct object in similar constructions.

Following Davies & Dubinsky (2003), and Polinsky & Potsdam (2006), tests were applied to show that the subject of the above predicates raises to the object position in the matrix clause. Examples from MSA reveal that reciprocal pronouns can bind the raised subject in the matrix clause. Also, sentences with intervening adverbs indicate that the raised subject is actually in the matrix clause.

Turning to the last type of Raising, which is backward raising, this study supports the claim that MSA has certain constructions where the subject of the embedded clause moves to the matrix clause, yet the copy of the subject in the embedded clause is the one that is pronounced. It also gives examples that illustrate the fact that the partial agreement between the subject and the verb in the matrix clause indicates that at some point in the derivation, the “backward” raised subject occupied a post verbal position in the matrix clause. The study also illustrated that the standard patterns of VS and SV agreement are changed, which in fact support the claim that the deleted copy of the subject has touched down in the matrix clause. Most importantly, it is shown that this type of Raising does not indicate “long-distance” agreement, however there is evidence of movement.

Following Polinsky & Potsdam (2006), it is revealed that while Chain Reduction saves one copy of the raised constituent in the embedded clause, there is indication that the deleted copy has some presence in the matrix clause. This indication is underpinned by the fact that the “backward” raised subject takes wide scope over the matrix clause when the verb in the embedded clause is negated. This is further supported by showing that backward raising constructions in MSA allow ambiguous scope reading when the raised subject is quantified. The ambiguity of the scope suggests that the backward raised subject holds some syntactic presence in the matrix clause.

As for the question of how to account for *?na* and *?anna* as complementizers, the present study discusses the contradictory views regarding these particles. While *?an* and *?anna* are treated as mood particles in traditional grammar of Arabic, more recent studies reached opposed conclusions as whether to treat them as complementizers that can occupy C, or lower position in the structure. It is agreed upon that *?an* usually precedes verbs in embedded clauses

and assigns them the subjunctive mood, while *?anna* precedes preverbal subjects of embedded clauses and assign these subjects accusative case. Because *?an* is always followed by the imperfect verb which denotes aspect, I have suggested that *?an* to be placed in T. However, as the other studies mentioned about *?anna*, it is difficult to determine where to position *?anna* in the structure. Therefore I have proposed for *?anna* to be in the head Fin (Finite), since it denotes that the following clause is the finite subjunctive clause.

On the other hand, to solve the issue of finiteness that characterizes the subjunctive clauses in MSA, the new perspective that is compatible with Postal's (1974) view for a language to perform raising out of a finite clause contributed to the extension of the raising process to predicates that have tensed complements. Though, in MSA the subject is raised out of the embedded subjunctive clause, which is finite, this study shows that finiteness of this type of clauses may be defective in some way. The examples given in section 4.2.2 illustrate that the subjunctive mood is always associated with the imperfect verbs in MSA, and these verbs mainly refer to Aspect. Because the tense of the subjunctive clause is always invariable, this may indicate that Tense has no feature in this type of clauses. Therefore, in this study, subjunctive embedded clauses are treated as TPs, and not as CPs.

Turning to the main argument which proposes that movement is involved in the raised constructions in MSA, the present study discusses in detail how A-movement can be accounted for. For subject-to-subject raising with *yabduu* "seem" verb, it is proposed that the subject DP first merges in [Spec, vp] of the embedded clause and agrees fully with the verb. While *?anna* is in Fin, the raised subject moves to [Spec, FinP] through [Spec, TP] to a higher position, namely [Spec, TP] of the matrix clause. On the other hand, when the particle *?an* introduces the embedded clause and enters the derivation in T, the subject DP of the embedded clause first

merges in [Spec, vP], moves to [Spec, TP] to be raised higher to [Spec, TP] of the matrix clause for partial agreement.

In regards to the raising process of the subject to the object position in the matrix clause, the same account is given for the two variants of this construction; in other words, where *?an* is optional and where it is not. The thematic subject of the embedded clause as assumed first merges in [Spec, vP] of the embedded clause, moves to [Spec, TP] which is the canonical position for the subject DP. Then, it is raised to [Spec, AgrOP], the recommended position for the objects.

To sum up this discussion, the present study investigates the empirical properties associated with raising constructions in MSA. Consequently, it advances the proposal that in the syntax of MSA, there is strong evidence for Raising, and that this process is performed by employing A-movement.

5.2 Limitation of the Study and Recommendations

It is important to point out that the present study is confined to investigating Raising in MSA. It is worthy to note that MSA is different in some respects from Standard Arabic and other varieties of Arabic. Unlike Standard Arabic, which is mainly a VS language, MSA has two-word orders VS and SV. This study covers Raising constructions that have the word order of VS only.

Moreover, data investigated are limited to two types of raising verbs for subject-to-subject raising which are verbs of appropinquation, and *yabduu* “seem” type of verbs. Regarding subject-to-object raising, sentences analyzed are ones that contain *ɗanna* “believe” type of verbs, and *?arada* “want” type of verb.

Future research may explore Raising with other types of verbs that are not discussed in this study. Further research can be conducted to explore the process of Raising with constituents other than the subject such as the direct object and the indirect object in MSA. Raising also can be researched in MSA to find out if movement is also involved in raising constituents within the marked word order of SV.

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