

THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF TURAIF ARABIC

by

Khalaf AlShammiry

MA, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK, 1999

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and
The Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of
The requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Chairperson

Date Defended: _____

The Dissertation Committee for Khalaf AlShammiry certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF TURAIF ARABIC

Committee:

Chairperson

Date approved _____

ABSTRACT

The Clause Structure of Turaif Arabic
Khalaf AlShammiry, PhD
Department of Linguistics, May 2007
University of Kansas

In this dissertation, I investigate the clause structure of Turaif Arabic, an undocumented dialect, a dialect that is spoken in the northern region of Saudi Arabia. I present a description and analysis of the three main clauses SVO, VOS, and VOS. I show that one order may have different interpretations. Further, the data show that there are a number of positions for the subject in the clause. That is to say, the clause structure appears to be richer than what it is been assumed. Thus, using several types of evidence from the dialect like the of adverb positions, quantifier float, agreement, the negation and quantifier interaction as well as binding, it will be shown that previous accounts have oversimplified the clause structure and the subject-verb agreement issues. Besides, this dissertation adds to Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause. Although, I follow Rizzi's assumption of the kind of elements the left periphery of the clause can host, topics and foci, I slightly depart from his analysis with regard to the order these elements can be in. I show that elements in the left periphery take various orders depending on the clause they are in. The dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to Turaif Arabic and a necessary background for the discussion of the different clauses. Chapter 2 analyzes SVO clauses. I argue that the subject of SVO clauses appears in various positions depending on how it is interpreted. Taking into account Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause, I show that it not always the case

that topics follow and precede the focused element. Chapter 3 focuses on VSO clauses. I argue that the subject of VSO clauses is always interpreted as neutral and never moves to a position before the verb. Chapter 4 investigates VOS clauses. I argue that these clauses are derived out of SVO clauses. The subject of VOS clauses is in a TopP whereas the VO is in a FocP.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is not an easy task to mention all the names of those people and the effort they contribute on the creation of this dissertation in an acknowledgement with one or two pages. First, I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Sara Rosen, for her excellent supervision and encouragement, not to mention, her tireless efforts and invariable suggestions and comments. It is a word of truth I need to say here: when I arrived in Lawrence 2002 and while attending my first class in syntax taught by Sara, I was astonished by her character and kindness as well as the way she teaches courses which was the first incentive towards specializing in syntax. Thanks for my supervisor Sara for seeing through my drafts. Prof Sara, I really apologize if I made you any inconvenience by what I provided you or what I emailed you. I would like to extend my thanks to the co-advisor, Prof. Harold Torrence who spent uncountable hours reading many drafts of this dissertation and providing me with excellent feedback. From the time I started to jot down the first lines of this dissertation, Prof. Harold has been completely cooperative and enthusiastic about my work. I really owe him a lot. Thank you Prof Harold for your kindness and thank you for your extensive feedback. Throughout the hours I sat with you discussing my work I really benefited a lot. Prof. Harold, I really apologize if I made you any inconvenience by what I provided you or what I emailed you. I would like also to extend my thanks to the committee members, Prof. Naima Omar and Prof. Peter Ukpokodu for their cooperation and valuable comments and feedback. Special thanks are forwarded to

Prof. Jie Zhang for his invaluable comments and research information relating to my qualifying papers and dissertation.

The Syntax group will not be forgotten, Osama Abdel-Ghafer, Maisoun Abu-Joudeh, Mohammad Galal, Nina Radkevich, Mike Putman, Jong-il Kwon, Maria Carmen Parafita, Dan Kasparek, Sok-Ju Kim and Michelle Bridges. I thank you all for being patient with my long presentations. Thank you for your comments and suggestions which I really benefited from. You made the syntax group look different to me by your cooperation and friendship. Each one of you guys has put some effort on this work, long discussions and excellent comments and articles you provided me with will not be forgotten. Guys forgive me if I made you any annoyance. I did not mean it if you have experienced any.

During my study at KU, I have enjoyed the friendship of many of my graduate fellows specially, Farah Al-Enezi, Saad Al-Dwayan, Emaad Al-Kulaib, Sabri Al-Shbouli, Abdu-Lah Jaradat, Barakan Makrami, Saad Al-Dosiri, Mircea Sauciuc, Yuwen Lai, Pedro Mateo, Brad Montgomery-Anderson, Craig Sailor and Khady Tamba.

I would like to forward special thanks to my two brothers, Abdullah Al-Uqaab, abu Anas, and Saleh Al-Shamrani, abu Mohamad, for being the first to provide me with their financial and moral support when I needed them one day.

Here it comes the person whom I always address “you are the salt of the department or the earth”; she is the ex-secretary of The Department of Linguistics, Alex Hornbrook. Thank you Alex for your smiling face I was met with every day, thank you for your support, encouragement and energy. Moreover, I don’t want to miss this opportunity to thank the new secretary Laura Coulter for her friendship and help. Laura your sunny disposition and support means a lot to me. Thank you for all the things you have done!

Last but not least, I would like to thank some of those in my homeland, Saudi Arabia. I would like first to thank my parents, Mutlaq Jadou AlShammiry and Suriya Shaati AlShammiry. I want to say to them thank you for your sacrifices, love, moral and financial support, patience, and prayers throughout these years. I am also immensely indebted to my wives, Jamela Badr Al-Asmar and Tarfa Farhan Ali, and the kids, Reem, Saqir, Sanad, Raghad, Juud and Hind who provided me with endless love. Your patience while I am away from home or while you were with me when I am engrossed with my work is highly appreciated. My thanks are extended to Dr. Jasir Al-Jasir who continuously pushed me to pursue my PhD and showed me the way to USA and the way to KU. Thank you Dr. Al-Jasir for all that you did for me and thank you for your comforting words and suggestions. You are really one of the kindest, most cooperative persons I have ever met in my life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

perf	Perfect
imperf	Imperfect
neg.	Negation
pl	Plural
sg	Singular
masc	Masculine
f	Feminine
fem	Feminine
fut	Future
nom	nominative
accu	accusative
indef	Indefinite
past.part	Past Participial

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In this dissertation, I investigate the clause structure of Turaif, an undocumented dialect of Saudi Arabia. I present a description and analysis of the three main clauses SVO, VSO, and VOS. Let us take the following sentences from Turaif Arabic:

- (1) a. *al-banaat shaaf-an al-filim* SVO
the-girl.pl.f see.perf-3pl.f the-movie
“The girls saw the movie.”
“As for the girls, they saw the movie.”
“THE GIRLS saw the movie.”
- b. *shaaf-an al-banaat al-filim* VSO
see.perf-pl.f the-girl.3pl.f the-movie
“The girls saw the movie.”
- c. *shaaf-an al-filim al-banaat* VOS
see.perf-3pl.f the-movie the-girl.pl.f
“As for the girls, they SAW THE MOVIE.”

In the SVO order in (2)a, the subject *al-banaat* “the-girls” can be interpreted as neutral preverbal subject or as a topic or as a focus. As for the VSO order, as in (2)b, the subject is only interpreted as neutral. In (2)c, the subject appears final in the clause. It is a topic whereas the VP, *shaaf-an al-filim* “saw the movie”, is focused.

Looking at (1)a-c, many questions arise. How are SVO, VSO, and VOS clauses derived? What is the position of the subject in each of those clauses? What is the structure of the left periphery of those clauses? And is there any relationship between any of those clauses?

Via investigating SVO, VSO, and VOS clause, I show that one order may have different interpretations. Further, the data show that there are a number of positions for the subject in the clause. That is to say, the clause structure appears to be richer than what it is been assumed in Arabic.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. Since Turaif Arabic is an undocumented dialect, chapter one provides an introduction to the dialect and the background necessary for the core discussion of this dissertation. The chapter also goes over previous works done on word order in Arabic. In chapter two, I discuss SVO clauses. Making use of the distribution of adverbs, quantifier float and scope interaction between the quantifier and negation, I argue that SVO clauses have a higher subject position, SubjP, higher than AspP; in between these two positions, two types of adverbs can surface. The first type is the preverbal adverbs like *aHyaanan* “sometimes” and *daayim* “always” and the second type is the *ma*-adverbs like *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma-9ad* “no longer”. Moreover, I distinguish between preverbal adverbs and adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly” which only appear clause finally. Moreover, although I argue that the subject appears preverbally in its surface position in SVO clauses, in SubjP, I argue that it actually originates lower in the clause and moves successively upwards landing on its way up in the spec of AspP and NegP. Finally, although I support Rizzi’s (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause in which topics and foci appear, I slightly deviate from his analysis of the internal structure of the left periphery. Contrary to what he assumes, I show that in SVO clauses there can be no topic lower than focus.

Chapter three discusses VSO clauses. Making use of the distribution of adverbs, quantifier float, the scope interaction between a quantifier and negation, and the distribution of indefinite subjects and NPIs, I argue that the subject of VSO clauses is in lower neutral subject position. Taking into account what I argue in chapter 2 along with what I establish in chapter 3, I conclude that there are multiple subject positions in the clause.

Chapter Four is mainly about the derivation of VOS clauses. In this chapter, I show that the subject of the VOS clauses is definite. An indefinite subject can not occupy the subject position of VOS clauses. Moreover, making use of the distribution of adverbs, quantifier float, scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation, and the distribution of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, I argue that the subject in VOS clauses is in a TopP at the left periphery of the clause; and an XP is in a FocP higher than the subject. In my analysis of VOS clauses, I add something new to Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause. I show that the left periphery of the clause holds bigger XPs bigger than DPs, AdjP, PPs and wh-items; it actually holds very large "IP" like constituents. Moreover, the order of the items moved to the left periphery of the sentences in Turaif Arabic seems to differ according to the kind of the items that moved to it. In SVO clauses, I argue that a topicalized DP or AdvP can only appear higher than the focused element. In VOS clauses, I argue that a topicalized element only appears below the focused element. in this case, the focused element must be a VP or bigger than a VP.

1.2 Turaif dialect and its speakers

The dialect under investigation in this dissertation is Turaif Arabic. It is a dialect spoken primarily by people in the northern region of the Arabian Peninsula. The speakers are mainly the dwellers of the northern region of Saudi Arabia. According to 2002 population census, only in Turaif City, there are approximately 50000 to 60000 people speaking the dialect. Other surrounding cities, like Arar, Rafha, Skaaka, AlJouf, and Hafir AlBaatin, have between 50000 to 100000 speakers. Education and mass media in these areas use Modern Standard Arabic as a way of communication. People of other regions find hard to understand the speaker of this dialect unless they have previous exposure to the dialect. As for the data used in this dissertation, except for a few examples, they are not taken from any particular written source. The author, as a native speaker of the dialect, born, raised and educated in Turaif, and his family along with other speakers of the dialect, by and large, were the main source of the data investigated. No previous work has been done on this dialect. Thus, being an undocumented dialect, this chapter primarily provides an introduction to Turaif dialect and the necessary background for later chapters.

1.3 Grammatical features of Turaif Arabic

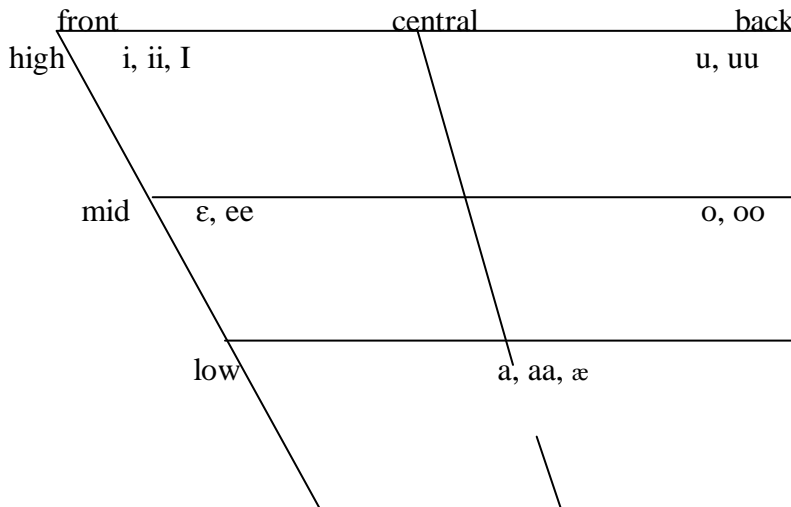
1.3.1 Sounds of Turaif Arabic

Turaif Arabic has 29 surface consonants and 12 surface vowels. The vowels are divided into two groups, short and long vowels. Consonants and vowels are given in the following two tables.

Table 1. The Consonants of Turaif Arabic

Manner ↓	Place→	Labial	Labio dental	Interdental	Dental		Post- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
					Plain	Emphatic						
Plosive		b			t d	T D			k g	q		ʔ
Fricative		f		θ th	s z	s z	sh dʒ		x X		H ʕ	h
(Central) approximant		w					r	j				
(Lateral) approximant						l						
Nasal		m					n					

Table 2. The Vowels of Turaif Arabic



1.3.2 Word Orders

The dialect has three basic word orders SVO, VSO, and VOS. These word orders

Are associated with different intonations.

- (2) a. al-banaat shaaf-an al-filim SVO
the-girl.pl.f see.perf-3pl.f the-movie
“The girls saw the movie.”
“As for the girls, they saw the movie.”
“THE GIRLS saw the movie.”
- b. shaaf-an al-banaat al-filim VSO
see.perf-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f the-movie
“The girls saw the movie.”
- c. shaaf-an al-filim al-banaat VOS
see.perf-3pl.f the-movie the-girl.pl.f
“As for the girls, they SAW THE MOVIE.”

In the SVO order in (2)a, the subject *al-banaat* “the-girls” can be interpreted as neutral preverbal subject or as a topic or as a focus. The pitch is higher when the subject is interpreted as focus than when it is interpreted as a topic. As for the VSO order, as in (2)b, the subject is only interpreted as a neutral post-verbal subject. The subject has the same level of pitch as other elements of the sentence. In (2)c, the subject appears final in the clause. It is a topic whereas the VP, the verb and the object, are focused. In all word orders, one sees that the subject fully agrees with the verb in person, number and gender.

1.3.3 Previous Analyses of Arabic Word Order Variation

Most of the previous work in agreement asymmetries in Arabic has been done on Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), not on dialects of Arabic. In Modern Standard Arabic, the verb fully agrees, in gender, person and number, with the subject only in the SVO order:

- (3) a. raʔ-a al-mudars-uun aT-Taalib MSA
see.past-3sg.masc the-teacher-masc.pl.nom the-student.masc.sg
“The teachers saw the student.”

b. *raʔ-u al-mudars-uun aT-Taalib MSA
 see.past-3pl.masc the-teaher-masc.pl.nom the-student.masc.sg
 “The teachers saw the student.”

(4) a. al-mudars-uun raʔ-u aT-Taalib MSA
 the-teaher-masc.pl.nom see.past-3pl.masc the-student.masc.sg
 “The teachers saw the student.”

b. *al-mudars-uun raʔ-a aT-Taalib MSA
 the-teaher-masc.pl.nom see.past-3sg.masc the-student.masc.sg
 “The teachers saw the student.”

We observe that in (3)a where the plural subject, *al-mudars-uun* “the teachers (masc.pl)” follows the verb, the verb obligatorily bears the 3sg.masc-agreement clitic in the form of *-a*. Thus, the 3pl.masc-agreement clitic *-u* is never used in this case, (3)b. When the subject precedes the verb, (4)a, the verb bears the 3pl.masc-agreement clitic in the form of *-u* and that the clitic 3sg.masc *-a* is impossible, (4)b. In other words, in Standard Arabic, there is “partial” agreement between the subject and the verb in the VSO order (number and gender) and full agreement between the subject and the verb in the case of SVO order (person, number, and gender).

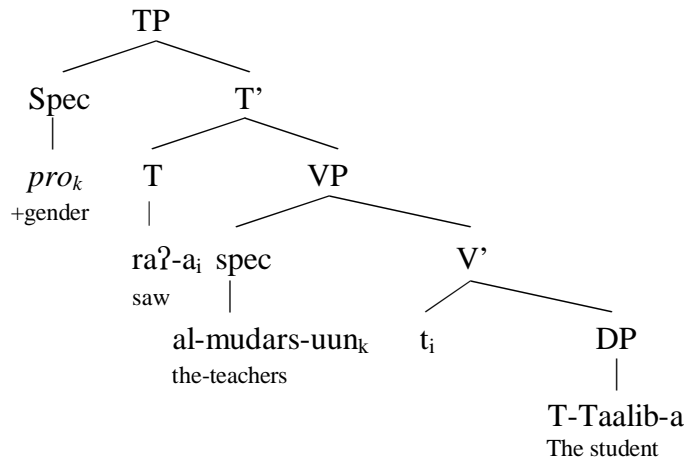
According to the standard treatments of these asymmetries in Modern Standard Arabic, Fassi (1993), Benmamoun (1992) and Mohammad (1989), the SVO order is derived from VSO. In SVO order, the subject raises overtly to the specTP which accounts for the full agreement between the subject and the verb. In VSO however, the subject raises covertly at LF, which accounts for the lack of full agreement. In this case, there is only person and gender but no number agreement.

To account for the variation in agreement between the two orders, Benmamoun (1992) assumes that the agreement can take place in two ways, via spec-head relation in SVO order and via government in VSO order (3)a. Benmamoun proposes that gender agreement takes place through government and a spec-head relation, whereas the number agreement case takes place only through spec-head relation where the subject needs to be in the spec of IP. As for case assignment, he assumes that nominative case can be assigned in two ways, agreement or government. In the SVO order, as the tree in (15) shows, the subject is assigned case through spec-head agreement whereas in the VSO order, as the tree in (12) shows, Benmamoun, following Mohammad (1989), assumes the existence of an expletive in the specTP to which the case is assigned under spec-head agreement and the subject in spec of VP is assigned case through government by I.

Mohammad (1999) proposes that there is a null expletive *pro* that bears only a gender feature and which is located in the spec of IP in the VSO order. The verb enters into agreement with the expletive. Through co-indexing *pro* with the postverbal subject, *pro* will carry the same case feature as the one on the subject.

Roughly, one implementation of Mohammad's analysis sentences like (3)a above would be:

(5)



The null expletive *pro* appears in the specTP while the thematic subject is in its base position in the specVP. *pro* and the subject are coindexed. Once the verb moves to T, it enters into an agreement relation with the expletive that gets its features from the postverbal subject via coindexation. The expletive receives case through agreement with T. Through coindexing *pro* and the subject, the subject in specVP receives case via transmission of the case of the expletive to it.

The main motivation for his analysis is that the verb in the VSO order displays default third singular features which are the same features that are carried by verbs with non-argument subjects like the verb *yabdu* “seem” in Arabic.

(6) *pro* yabdu ʔanna l-ʔawlad-a dʒaʔu¹ MSA
 pro seem.3sg.masc that the-boys-acc arrived.3pl.masc
 “It seems that the boys arrived.”

(7) *l-ʔawlad-u yabduna ʔanna dʒaʔu MSA
 the-boys-nom seem.3PL.masc that arrived.3pl.masc
 “It seems that the boys arrived.”

¹ Examples 4-6 are taken from Mohammad (1999), pages 95-97.

- (8) *l-ʔawlad-u yabduna ʔanna-hum dʒaʔu MSA
 the-boys-nom seem.3PL.masc that-them arrived.3pl.masc
 “It seems that the boys arrived.”

According to Mohammad (1999), in (6), the verb *yabdu* “seem” is marked for third person singular masculine with the matrix subject being empty while the embedded clause has a subject with different features. Raising to subject as in (7) and (8) yields ungrammaticality. To exclude the possibility that the ungrammaticality arises because the complementizer *ʔanna* “that” in the embedded clause which requires a DP or a clitic following it, Mohammad shows in (8) that even with the presence of a clitic following the complementizer *ʔanna* “that”, the sentence is still ungrammatical. He concludes that there are no raising verbs in Modern Standard Arabic. Quoting Mohammad (1999), he states “no referential NP can ever occupy the subject position of a “raising” verb” (page 97).

Moreover, the behavior of the complementizer *ʔanna* in Arabic can be further evidence for the existence of this expletive. Being an accusative case assigner, *ʔanna* assigns the expletive *pro* this accusative case which causes the expletive to be visible or lexicalized in the syntax as a clitic. Since the clitic can not stand alone, it cliticizes onto the complementizer. In (9) below, the subject *l-ʔawlad-u* “the boys” is interpreted as a topic.

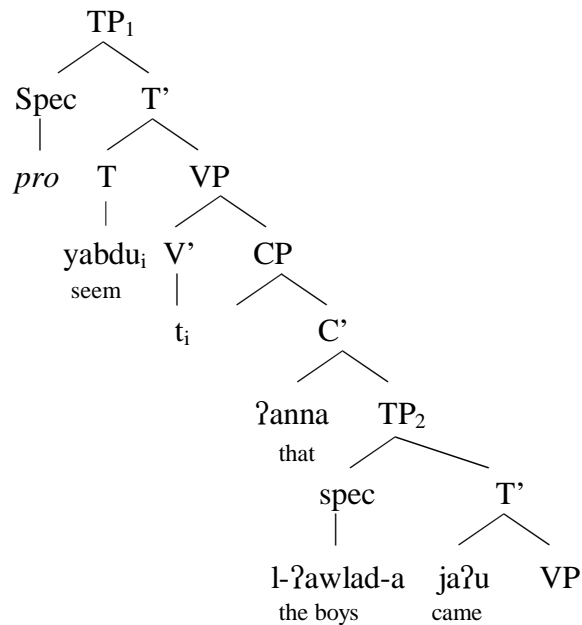
- (9) l-ʔawlad-u *pro* yabdu ʔanna-hum safaru MSA
 the-boys-nom pro seem.3sg.masc that-them departed.3pl.masc
 “The boys, it seems that they departed.”

There is no agreement between the topic *l-ʔawlad-u* “the boys” and the verb *yabdu* “seem”. According to Mohammad, the DP *l-ʔawlad-u* in (9) is in an A’-position which is a non-theta position; it is a left-dislocated DP. This DP and the clitic *hum* “them” on the complementizer *ʔanna* “that” can be co-indexed.

As for how case assignment takes place, it is directly explained in the case of SVO order: the subject raises to spec of TP where it agrees with T. In VSO order, it is assumed that the expletive that is generated under TP receives the case, and the subject in the spec of VP receives the same case via a transmission operation. That is to say, the expletive *pro* receives case; then this case percolates or transmits to the postverbal DP which causes the postverbal DP to receive the same case as the one on the expletive.

Translating Mohammad’s analysis of sentence (6) into a tree form yields roughly the following:

(10)



In the tree, no raising of the embedded subject *l-ʔawlad-a* takes place. In the specTP of the matrix clause, there is the expletive *pro*, an empty subject of the verb *yabdu*. The DP *l-ʔawlad-a* in the embedded clause is assigned an accusative case by the complementizer *ʔanna*. This DP *l-ʔawlad-a* would receive a nominative case in the absence of the case assigner.

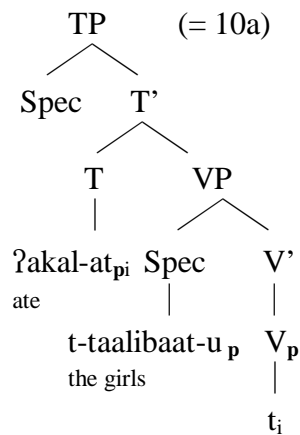
Benmamoun (2000) proposes that subject-verb agreement always takes place in a spec-head relation. In the case of SVO order, the subject is in a spec-head relation with the verb under TP; and in VSO order, the subject is in a spec-head relation with the verb under VP. In other words, the subject is in the spec of VP. The absence of number agreement suffix on V in VSO results from the Merger between the verb and the subject.

(11) a. ʔakal-at $t\text{-taalibaat-u}^2$ VSO
 eat.past-3fs the-students.fp-nom
 “The students ate.”

b. $*\text{ʔakal-na}$ $t\text{-taalibaat-u}$ VSO
 eat.past-3fp the-students.fp-nom
 “The students ate.”

(11)a and b show the VS order. The verb presumably comes from the numeration bearing gender, person and number features. In this case, the subject which is inherently specified for number remains in its base position in the spec of VP. Thus, the number feature on the verb is not spelled out as an affix but it is spelled out by the lexical subject. In other words, the subject at PF merges with the verb which renders the number agreement on the verb redundant. Modifying only Benmamoun’s presentation, cases like (11)a, can be represented as:

(12)



In (12), as the subscript “p” indicates that the verb ʔakal-at_p “ate” carries the plural feature. In its theta position, the verb is in a spec-head relation with the subject $t\text{-taalibaat-u}$ “the students”; therefore, the plural feature is checked. When the verb

² Examples 8-11 are taken from Benmamoun (2000), page 121.

moves to T, the plural feature is still carried by the verb but it is not spelled out because the postverbal subject carries the same feature. To account for the Moroccan data where the plural feature appears on the verb in both SVO and VSO orders, Benmamoun states that the deletion of the number feature on the verb is not an option in Moroccan Arabic, MA. Thus, the verb in both orders carries the plural feature.

- (13) a. kla-w lə-wlad³ MA
 eat.past-3p the-children
 “The children ate.”
- b. lə-wlad kla-w MA
 the-children eat.past-3p
 “The children ate.”
- c. *kla lə-wlad MA
 eat.past.3s the-children
 “The children ate.”

(13)c is ruled out because the verb loses its plural feature.

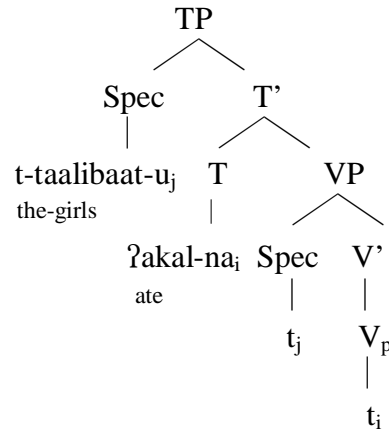
In MSA, in the case of full agreement, SVO, where the verb agrees with the subject in person, number, and gender, the subject is in the specTP. Recall the paradigm:

- (14) a. t-taalibaat-u ʔakal-**na** SVO
 the-students.fp-nom eat.past-3fp
 “The students ate.”
- b. *t-taalibaat-u ʔakal-**at** SVO
 the-students.fp-nom eat.past-3fsg
 “The students ate.”

Again, modifying Benmamoun’s presentation, (14)a would be analyzed as:

³ The sentences are from Benmamoun (2000) page 10.

(15)



In (15), the verb *?akal-na* “ate” carrying gender, person and number features moves to T and the subject *t-taalibaat-u* “the students” moves to the specTP. In this configuration, the subject is in the spec-head relation with the verb. Thus, these features are checked.

Before investigating whether the previous assumptions can account for the Turaif data or not, I want to point out that Benmamoun’s 2000 account has a theory-internal problem. As an escape hatch, he needs to assume that the subject can check its features with the verb in its theta position at the specVP in case of VSO order. The standard assumption is that this position is only for theta assignment. And even if we agree with Benmamoun’s assumption, I do not know why the subject does not check its features in the same position in the SVO order. In other words, why does the subject need to raise to specTP if checking can be done at the specVP?

Now, although I am not assuming any particular theory in my work, I would say it is not clear how such analyses could account for the Turaif data. As we saw in (2)a-b

(repeated below) the verb, in SVO, VSO and VOS orders, always fully agrees with the subject.

- (16) a. al-banaat shaaf-an al-filim SVO
the-girl.pl.f see.perf-3pl.f the-movie
“The girls saw the movie.”
“As for the girls, they saw the movie.”
“THE GIRLS saw the movie.”
- b. shaaf-an al-banaat al-filim VSO
see.perf-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f the-movie
“The girls saw the movie.”
- c. shaaf-an al-filim al-banaat VOS
see.perf-3pl.f the-movie the-girl.pl.f
“As for the girls, they SAW THE MOVIE.”

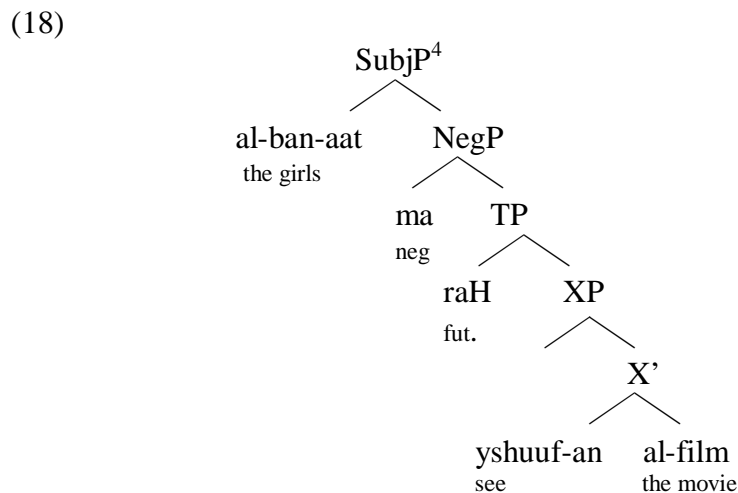
As (16)a-c show, agreement in Turaif Arabic is not affected by the variation in subject-verb order. The verb always fully agrees with the subject. According to the previous discussed accounts, SVO order is explained (16)a. In this case, the subject is in the spec-head relation with the verb in T. The problematic case would be the agreement in the VSO and VOS orders. In this order (16)b, the expletive that is specified for gender only does not work since the verb is fully inflected for all features. To solve the problem, one might assume that Turaif Arabic has an expletive that is specified for all features. This is a problem too. With this assumption, the verb would agree with the expletive rather than the real subject.

Moreover, there are cases where the subject appears in a position higher than the T; other elements like negation and the element *gad* can appear between the verb and the subject:

- (17) a. al-banaat ma raH y-shuuf-in al-filim SVO
the-girl.pl.f not fut. y-see.imperf-3pl.f the-movie
“The girls will not see the movie.”
- b. al-banaat ma gad shaaf-an al-filim SVO
the-girl.pl.f not gad.see.perf-3pl.f the-movie
“The girls have never seen the movie.”

(17)a and (17)b are not predicted according to the previous analyses. First, it is assumed that the subject is in a spec-head relation with the verb in T in SVO order. As the above two examples show, the verb and the subject are not in a spec-head relation. Negation and other elements like the future marker *raH* as well as the element *gad* appear between the two. Moreover, with the assumption that the future marker *raH* is under T, one might doubt that the verb moves to T at all. Again, the subject is not in the specTP since negation appears in between the tense marker *raH* and the subject.

Thus, taking (17)a as an example, the sentence would be analyzed as:



⁴ At this point, since the subject appears in a position higher than the tense, I will refer to this position as SubjP. In the same vein, since the verb is not under T, it should be in a lower position. I will refer to this position as the head of an XP.

(18) shows that the subject is not in a spec-head relation with the verb. It is even higher than the TP. The negative element *ma* appears between the two, the subject and the TP. The verb, not being in T, is the head of a lower XP.

Investigating further agreement data from Turaif Arabic reinforces the idea that the standard accounts are problematic.

- (19) a. ba9D ar-rjaal shaaf al-mubaarah
 some the-men see.perf.3sg.masc the-game
 “Some of the men saw the game.”
- b. ba9D ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-mubaarah
 some the-men see.perf-3pl.masc the-game
 “Some of the men saw the game.”

As (19)a and b show, the verb optionally agrees with the subject. If we follow Benmamoun’s assumption that the subject is always in a spec-head relation with the verb obligatorily agreeing with the verb, we would have no explanation for the above optionality.

- (20) a. shaaf ba9D ar-rjaal al-mubaarah
 see.perf.3sg.masc some the-men the-game
 “Some of the men saw the game.”
- b. shaaf-aw ba9D ar-rjaal al-mubaarah
 see.perf-3pl.masc some the-men the-game
 “Some of the men saw the game.”

As (20)a and (20)b show, even in the VSO order, the verb optionally agrees with the subject. If we follow Benmamoun’s assumption that there is a null *pro* in the specTP with a gender feature with which the verb agrees, we would not predict the optionality here.

Other data from Standard Arabic reject the existence of the null expletive *pro* too. According to Mohammad’s account, nominative case can be assigned to a post-verbal subject via transmission. In this case, the *pro* is assigned case through spec-head agreement then case is transmitted to the subject in VP.

MSA
 (21) thakara alyy-un ann-hum saafar-u aS-Sibyat-u
 mention.past.3sg.masc Ali nom that they-accu travel.past-pl.f the-boy.pl.mascu-nom
 “Ali mentioned that the boys traveled.

If, as Mohammad proposes, the case is transmitted from the overt expletive *hum* “them” to the postverbal subject, *aS-Sibyat-u*, “the boys” in the embedded clause, the subject in (21) will have accusative case not a nominative case. So, there is disagreement in case between the expletive *hum* “them” and the postverbal subject, *aS-Sibyat-u*, “the boys.”.

1.3.4 morpho-syntax

1.3.4.1 Agreement in Turaif Arabic

1.3.4.1.1 Subject-verb agreement

Subject-verb agreement varies. One time, there is full subject-verb agreement. In this case, the subject agrees with the verb in gender, person, and number. In another case, the subject partially agrees with the verb. All depends on two things, the subject being used and its internal structure and word order. When an ordinary DP subject is used, it always agrees with the verb in gender, person, and number regardless of the word order.

- (22) al-mdars-een shaf-*(aw) aT-Taalib SVO
the-teacher-masc-pl see.perf-3pl.masc. the-student.masc.sg
“The teachers saw the student.”
“As for the teachers, they saw the student.”
“THE TEACHERS saw the student.”
- (23) shaf-*(aw) al-mdars-een aT-Taalib VSO
see.perf-3pl.masc. the-teacher-masc-pl the-student.masc.sg
“The teachers saw the student.”
- (24) shaf-*(aw) aT-Taalib, al-mdars-een VOS
see.perf-3pl.masc. the-student.masc.sg the-teacher-masc-pl
“The teachers saw the student.”

In (22), the subject *al-mdars-een* “the teachers” is preverbal and in (23), it is postverbal. In (24), the subject appears finally. In all these sentences, we observe that an agreement clitic *-aw* “3pl.masc” surfaces on the verb. However, the subject-verb agreement becomes optional with the use of a quantifier like *ba9dh* “some”, *mu9dham* “most of”, and *kithiir min* “many of”.

- (25) a. ba9dh ar-rjaal shaaf al-mubaarah SVO
some the-men see.perf.3sg.masc the-game
“Some of the men saw the game.”
- b. ba9dh ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-mubaarah
some the-men see.perf-3pl.masc the-game
“Some of the men saw the game.”
- (26) a. shaaf ba9dh ar-rjaal al-mubaarah VSO
see.perf.3sg.masc some the-men the-game
“Some of the men saw the game.”
- b. shaaf-aw ba9dh ar-rjaal al-mubaarah
see.perf-3pl.masc some the-men the-game
“Some of the men saw the game.”

In (25) and (26), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” optionally agrees with the verb *shaaf* “saw” in both SVO and VSO orders. We observe that the agreement clitic *-aw* “3pl.masc” is not always on the verb when the quantifier *ba9dh* “some” is used.

When the subject appears finally in VOS order, the agreement clitic becomes obligatory:

- (27) a. shaaf-aw al-mubaarah, ba9dh ar-rjaal VOS
 see.perf-3pl.masc the-game some the-men
 “As for some of the men, they saw the game.”
- b.* shaaf al-mubaarah, ba9dh ar-rjaal
 see.perf.3sg.masc the-game some the-men
 “As for some of the men, they saw the game.”

In (27)a and b, the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” is interpreted as topic. We observe the obligatory presence of the agreement clitic *-aw* “3pl.masc”.

1.3.4.1.2 Agreement with adjectives and participials

Generally, simple DP subjects always agree with the predicate adjectives and participial in small clause.

- (28) a. ar-rajaal ta9baan
 the-man tire.part.3sg.masc
 “The man is tired.”
- b. ar-rjaal ta9ban-iin
 the-men tire.part.3pl.masc
 “The men are tired.”

In (28)a and b, the subject agrees with the participial. In (28)a, the participial *ta9baan* “tired” is in the 3sg.masc agreeing with the singular masculine subject *ar-rajaal* “the man” whereas in (28)b, the participial is in the 3pl.masc agreeing with the plural masculine subject *ar-rjaal* “the men”. When the quantifier *ba9dh* “some” is used, the subject-participial agreement becomes optional:

- (29) a. ba9dh ar-rjaal ta9baan
 some the-men tire.part.3sg.masc
 “Some of the men are tired.”

- b. *ba9dh ar-rjaal ta9ban-iin*
 some the-men tire.part.3pl.masc
 “Some of the men are tired.”

From (29)a and b, we observe that the subject *ba9dh ar-rjaal* “some men” agrees partially with the predicate *ta9baan* “tired”. When the copula *kaan* “was” is used, the subject optionally agrees with the copula whereas the predicate obligatorily agrees with the copula:

- (30) a. *ba9dh ar-rjaal kaan ta9baan*
 some the-men was.3sg.masc tire.part.3sg.masc
 “Some of the men were tired.”
- b. *ba9dh ar-rjaal kaan-aw ta9ban-iin*
 some the-men were-3pl.masc tire.part.3pl.masc
 “Some of the men were tired.”
- c. **ba9dh ar-rjaal kaan ta9ban-iin*
 some the-men was.3sg.masc tire.part.3pl.masc
 “Some of the men were tired.”

In (30)a and b, the subject *ba9dh ar-rjaal* “some of the men” optionally agrees with the copula *kaan* “was”. In both (30)a and b, the predicate *ta9baan* “tired” obligatorily agrees with the copula. This explains the ungrammaticality of (30)c. In (30)c, the copula is singular whereas the predicate is plural.

1.3.4.1.3 Agreement within DPs

Modifying adjectives always agree with the DPs in gender, person, and number as well as definiteness.

- (31) *hath-uula ar-jaal al-qaniy-iin aT-Twaal jiir-aan-i*
 This-3pl.masc the-men the-rich-3pl.masc the-tall.3pl.masc neighbor-3pl.masc-my
 “These rich tall men are my neighbors.”

- (32) ***hath-uula** ar-jaal al-**qani** aT-Twaal jiiir-aan-i
 This-3pl.masc the-men the-rich-3sg.masc the-tall.3pl.masc neighbor-3pl.masc-my
 “These rich tall men are my neighbors.”
- (33) ***hatha** ar-jaal al-qaniy-iin aT-Twaal jiiir-aan-i
 This.3sg.masc the-men the-rich-3pl.masc the-tall.3pl.masc neighbor-3pl.masc-my
 “These rich tall men are my neighbors.”
- (34) ***hath-uula** ar-jaal al-qaniy-iin aT-**Twil** jiiir-aan-i
 This.3pl.masc the-men the-rich-pl.masc the-tall.3sg.masc neighbor-3pl.masc-my
 “These rich tall men are my neighbors.”

In (31), the demonstrative pronoun *hath-uula* “these” as well as the modifying adjectives *al-qaniy-iin* “the rich” *aT-Twil* “the tall” fully agree with the subject *ar-jaal* “the men” in person, number, gender and definiteness. (32) - (34) are ruled out due to the fact that one of the adjectives or the demonstrative pronoun does not agree with the subject.

1.3.5 Morphology of DPs

1.3.5.1 Definiteness

Nouns are interpreted as definite when the definite article *al-* “the” is attached to them. Indefinite NPs are not marked.

Definite versus Indefinite nouns in Turaif Arabic

Definite Nouns		Indefinite Nouns	
a. al-walad	“the boy”	a'. walad	“a boy”
b. al-faas	“the axe”	b'. faas	“an axe”
c. al-bint	“the girl”	c'. bint	“a girl”

- d. as-sayyarah⁵ “the car” d’. syarah “a car”
 e. aT-Tayyarah “the plane” e’. Tayyarah “a plane”

Generic DPs always carry the definite article.

(35) **aT**-Tyuur tTeer
 the-bird.3pl.masc fly.imperf.3sg.f
 “Birds fly.”

(36) Tyuur tTeer
 bird.3pl.masc.indef. fly.imperf.3sg.f
 “They are birds that fly.”
 “*Birds fly.”

From the English translation of (35) and (36), one observes that only *aT-Tyuur* “the birds” in (35) is interpreted as generic. In (36), the DP *Tyuur* “bird” is interpreted as indefinite specific. Indefinite nonspecific never appears preverbally. This explains the absence of the generic translation.

1.3.5.2 Nominal inflection:

Number:

The number contrast consists of three-way number contrast involving singular, dual and plural. When referring to dual nouns regardless of whether it is masculine or feminine, the suffix /-een/ is used. Generally, plural masculine takes one of the suffixes /-iin/ or /aan/ “3pl.masc” whereas, the plural feminine takes the suffix /-aat/. There are exceptional cases where the plural suffixes are not used. In some of these cases, to form the plural ablaut is used. In this case the vowel of the singular is replaced with a different vowel as the plural *Tuus* “pots” shows. Some other cases, the

⁵ The definite article ‘al-’ always fully assimilates to the following alveolar sound.

vowel in the singular form also undergoes changes. *feer-aan* “rats” is one example given below. Examples are given in the following:

Table 3. classification of number in Turaif Arabic

Singular	Dual	Plural	gloss
sayyarah	sayyarit-een	sayyar-aat	“car”
mdaris	mdars-een	mdars-iin	“teacher”
rajaal	rajaal-een	rjaajeel/rjaal ⁶	“man”
Taasah	Taasit-een	Tuus	“pot”
faar	faar-een	feer-aan	“mouse”

Gender:

There is two-way gender-contrast, masculine and feminine. This is based on the semantic and phonological properties. For most of inanimate nouns, the gender is unpredictable. To form a feminine noun out of masculine, the suffix */-ah/* is added to the masculine noun. See the following table.

Table 4. classification of gender in Turaif Arabic

Masculine	gloss	Feminine	gloss
kalib	“a dog.indef. masc”	kalb-ah	“a dog.indef.f”
rajaal	“a man.indef.masc”	rajaal-ah ⁷	“a mannish lady.inef.f”
kaatib	“a writer.indef.masc”	kaatb-ah	“a writer.indef.f”

1.3.6 Pronouns

Strong pronouns

10 strong pronouns are used in Turaif Arabic. Those pronouns are given in the following table.

⁶ Some nouns can be formed in two different ways.

⁷ The suffix *-ah* is added to certain masculine nouns to denote feminine nouns. In this case, the feminine noun shows that the person has the attributes of a man.

Table 5. Strong pronouns

	Sg	Pl
1	anaa	Hina
2 masc	int	intam
fem	inti	intin
3 masc	hu	hum
fem	hi	hin

Strong pronouns appear in a number of contexts.

- Strong pronouns appear with conjoined DPs in subject and object positions.

(37) hu w-laila zar-uu-na
 he and-Laila visit.perf-3pl.masc-us
 “He and Laila visited us.”

(38) fahad zar-*(ih)⁸ hu w-laila
 Fahad visit.perf-3sg..masc-him he and-Laila
 “Fahad visited him and Laila.”

- Strong pronouns appear in subject and object positions for reason of focus.

(39) HUM zar-uu-na
 they visit.perf-pl.masc-us
 “THEY visited us.”
 “*They visited us.”

(40) fahad zar-*(ih) HU (mu laila)
 Fahad visit.perf-3sg..masc-him he not Laila
 “Fahad visited HIM (not Laila).”

As the English translation shows, the strong pronoun is interpreted as focus not as neutral.

- Strong pronouns can be used in the left periphery of the clause as a topic

(41) hu, shift-ih.
 he see.perf.1sg-him
 “As for him, I saw him.”

⁸ This obligatory weak pronoun appears when the object is a conjoined DPs the first of which is a pronoun.

(42) hi, shaaTrah
she, excellent.f
“As for she, she is excellent.”

- Strong pronouns surface on the left edge of the clause with yes/no questions

(43) hu jaa-k ali?
he come.perf.3sg.masc-you Ali
“Did Ali come to you?”

(44) hum j-uu-k ar-rjaal?
they come.perf-pl.masc-you the-men
“Did the men come to you?”

- Strong pronouns appear with inanimate DPs as an expletive

(45) hi ad-dinya
she the-life
“That is life.”

(46) hu ali nabee-h
he that want.imperf.1pl-it
“That is what we want.”

- Strong pronouns appear after negation in copular constructions

(47) fahad ma/mu hu al-mudair
Fahad neg. he the-manager
“Fahad is not the manager.”

(48) ar-rjaal ma/mu hum al-mdara
the-men neg. they the-manager.pl.masc
“The men are not the managers.”

Weak pronouns

There are 10 weak pronouns used in Turaif Arabic. Some of these pronouns have two variants. Weak pronouns are given in the following table.

Table 6. Weak pronouns

	Sg	Pl
1	-ni/i	-na
2 masc	-ak	-kam
fem	-k/ts	-kin
3 masc	-ah/ih	-hum
fem	-ah	-hin

Weak pronouns appear in the following cases:

- They appear on the verb as an object.

(49) shift-ih
 see.perf.1sg-him
 “I saw him.”

(50) fahad qabl-hum
 Fahad meet.perf.3sg.masc-them
 “Fahad met them.”

- The resumptive clitics surface on the verb with left and right periphery topic

DPs and strong pronoun objects.

(51) shift al-walad
 see.perf.1sg the-boy
 “I saw the boy.”

(52) al-walad shift-ih.
 The-boy see.perf.1sg-3sg.masc-him
 “As for the boy, I saw him.”

(53) shift-ih, al-walad
 see.perf.1sg-3sg.masc-him the-boy
 “As for the boy, I SAW HIM.”

In (52) and (53), the DP object *al-walad* “the boy” is interpreted as topic. We observe that it is resumed by a resumptive clitic *-ih* “3sg.masc” on the verb.

- The resumptive clitics surface on the verb when focusing the object contrastively. In this case, the object is spelled out as a strong pronoun rather than a full DP.

(54) shift fahad
 see.perf.1sg.masc Fahad
 “I saw Fahad.”

(55) shift-ih hu (mu sanad)
 see.perf.1sg.3sg.masc-him he not Sanad
 “I saw HIM (not Sanad).”

- The weak pronouns surface on the verb of definite and indefinite relative clauses.

(56) al-walad ali shift-ih saafar
 the-boy that see.perf.1sg-3sg.masc-him travel.perf.3sg.masc
 “The boy that I saw traveled.”

(57) walad shift-ih saafar
 boy.indef see.perf.1sg-3sg.masc-him travel.perf.3sg.masc
 “A boy I saw traveled.”

- The weak pronouns surface as complements of prepositions

(58) mareet bi-h
 pass.perf.1sg in-him
 “I passed by him.”

(59) safart mi9-ih
 travel.perf.1sg. with-him
 “I traveled with him.”

- The weak pronouns surface post-complementizer in the embedded clauses

(60) al-walad qaal in-ih yabi ysaafir
 the-boy say.perf.3sg.masc that-him want.imperf.3sg.masc travel.imperf.3sg.masc
 “The boy said that he wants to travel.”

- The weak pronouns occurs as possessors

(61) abuu-ha zaar-ni
father-her visit.perf.3sg.masc-me
“Her father visited me.”

- The weak pronouns surface on certain adverbs

(62) fahad taww-ih saafar
Fahad now-3sg.masc travel.perf.3sg.masc
“Fahad has just traveled.”

(63) tawwi-na jii-na
now-1pl arrive.perf-1pl.
“We have just arrived.”

(64) al-walad ma 9umr-ih saafar
the-boy ma soul-3s.masc travel.perf.3sg.masc.
“The boy has never traveled.”

- The weak pronouns surface inside of the QP when the quantifier has been floated.

(65) kil al-banaat saafar-an
all the-girls travel.perf-3pl.f
“All the girls traveled.”

(66) al-banaat, kill-hin saafar-an
the-girls all-3pl.f travel.perf-3pl.f
“As for the girls, all of them traveled.”

(67) kil-hin saafar-an
all-3pl.f travel.perf-3pl.f
“All of them traveled.”

- Only one weak pronoun appears on the lexical item whether the lexical item is a verb, a noun or a preposition.

(68) fahad 9aTa laila as-saa9-aat
Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc Laila the-watch-3pl.f
“Fahad gave Laila the watches.”

(69) fahad 9aTa -ha as-saa9-aat
Fahad give. perf.3sg.masc-her the-watch-3pl.f
“Fahad gave her the watches.”

- (70) *fahad 9aTa-ha-hin
 Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc-her-them.f
 “Fahad gave them to her.”
- (71) fahad 9aTa as-saa9-aat l-laila
 Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc the-watch-pl.f to-Laila
 “Fahad gave the watches to Laila.”
- (72) fahad 9aTa-hin l-laila
 Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc-them.f to-Laila
 “Fahad gave them to Laila.”
- (73) *fahad 9aTa-hin-ha
 Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc-them.f-her
 “Fahad gave them to her.”

We observe that in (69) and (72), one pronoun surfaces on the verb. In (70) and (73), two pronouns surface on the verb. The presence of two pronouns on the verb leads to the ungrammaticality of (70) and (73). Now, one might wonder how Turaif Arabic expresses sentences with two pronouns. It is by the use of the preposition *la* “for” and the word *ayya*:

- (74) fahad 9aTa-hin la-ha
 Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc-them.f to-her
 “Fahad gave them to her.”
- (75) fahad 9aTa-ha ayya-hin
 Fahad give.perf.3sg.masc-her ayya-them.f
 “Fahad gave them to her.”

We observe from (74) and (75) that only one weak pronoun surfaces on the verb. The second pronoun stands alone preceded by the preposition *la-* in case of the indirect object while preceded by the word *ayya* in case of the direct object.

- No other elements can appear between the weak pronoun and the hosting head.

(76) fahad shaaf-ih
 Fahad see.perf.3sg.masc-him
 “Fahad saw him yesterday.”

(77) *fahad shaaf **ams** **ih**
 Fahad see.perf.3sg.masc yesterday him
 “Fahad saw him yesterday.”

In (77), the adverb *ams* “yesterday” is between the verb *shaaf* “saw” and the weak pronoun *-ih* “him”. This leads to the ungrammaticality of (77).

- Weak pronouns can not be contrastively stressed.

(78) *shift-IH
 see.perf.1sg-him
 “I saw HIM.”

- Weak pronouns do not appear on auxiliaries.

(79) fahad kaan ykalim-hum
 Fahad was.3sg.masc talk.imperf.3sg.masc-them.masc
 “Fahad was talking to them.”

(80) *fahad kaan-hum ykalim-hum
 Fahad was.3sg.masc-them talk.imperf.3sg.masc-them.masc
 “Fahad was talking to them.”

In (80), the weak pronoun *-hum* “them” appears on the auxiliary *kaan* “was”. The sentence is ruled out.

- Finally, weak pronouns do not double a DP in a neutral sentence.

(81) *shift-ih fahad
 see.perf.1sg.masc-him Fahad
 “I saw Fahad.”

In (81), the clitic *-ih* “3sg.masc” and the DP *Fahad* appear in the object position of the sentence. Thus, the sentence is ruled out.

1.3.6.1 The analysis of weak pronouns

Since in my work I am concerned with the nature of weak pronouns, I will, in this section, review two major competing analyses of these elements in the literature Fassi's (1993) and Shlonsky's (1997) with the hope that this would help in characterizing and understanding the Turaif data. Before looking at those two analyses, I would like to mention that both works, Fassi's and Shlonsky's, divide the weak pronouns into two classes, subject weak pronouns and object weak pronouns. As for the subject weak pronouns, they are those clitics that appear on the verb. They may be prefixes or suffixes or both depending on the tense and aspect specification. The following tables show the different clitics used with both perfect and imperfect forms of the verb *katab* "write" in Modern Standard Arabic, MSA.

Table 7. Suffix clitics appear on the **perfect** verb in MSA

	Singular	Plural	Dual
1	katab- tu	katab- naa	
2 masc. fem.	katab- ta katab- ti	katab- tum katab- tunna	katab- tumaa
3 masc. fem.	katab- a katab- at	katab- uu katab- na	katab- aa katab- ataa

Table 8. Prefix and suffix clitics appear on the **imperfect** verb in MSA

	Singular	Plural	Dual
1	a -ktub	na -ktub	
2 masc. fem.	ta -ktub ta -ktub- ii	ta -ktub- una ta -ktub- na	ta -ktub- aani
3 masc. fem.	ya -ktub ta -ktub	ya -ktub- uuna ya -ktub- na	ya -ktub- aani ya -ktub- aani

- (82) al-rijaal-u HaDar-uu ad-dars-a MSA
the-men-nom attend.perf-3pl.masc the-lesson-acc
“The men attended the lesson.”
- (83) al-rijaal-u ya-Hdur-uuna ad-dars-a MSA
the-men-nom ya-attend-imperf-3pl.masc the-lesson-acc
“The men attend the lesson.”

(82) and (83) show sentences with two different aspects. In (82), the verb *HaDar* “attended” is in the perfect. In this case, the suffixal clitic *-uu* is used; in (83), the verb *ya-Hdur* “attend” is in the imperfect. In this case, both a prefix *ya-* and the suffix *-uun* are used. Thus, we observe that the shape of the verb and the prefixes or suffixes it carries shows what aspect the verb expresses.

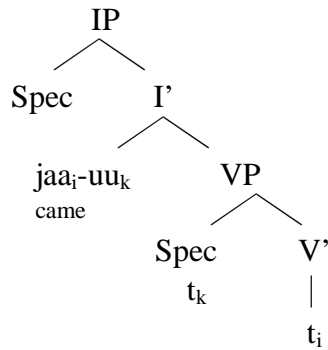
Fassi (1993) argues that in Modern Standard Arabic, the subject and object weak pronoun is a bare D that takes a NP complement. It undergoes a process of incorporation into a governor at S-structure, *pronominal incorporation* (Fassi 1993: 96). According to him, if the verb governs the weak pronoun, the weak pronoun will be incorporated onto the verb.

- (84) jaaʔ-uu⁹ MSA
come.perf-3pl.masc
“They came.”

The following tree roughly represents (84) according to Fassi’s proposal:

⁹ These examples are taken from Fassi (1993) pages 98-115.

(85)

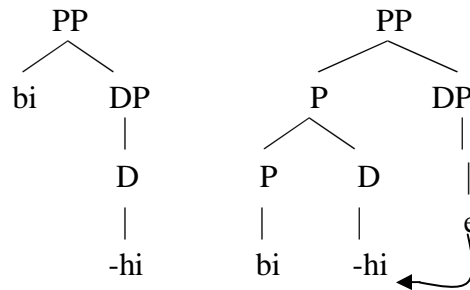


According to the incorporation analysis, the subject *-uu* being pronominal incorporates into the governing verb in I. The pronoun also incorporates into other governors like prepositions

(86) *iltaqay-tu bi-hi*
met-I with-him
“I met him.”

The following tree shows how the weak pronoun incorporates onto the preposition.

(87) ¹⁰



According to this analysis, the D incorporates into P leaving a trace behind in the base position.

¹⁰ These trees are taken from Fassi (1993) page 102.

In SVO order, Fassi assumes that the preverbal DP is a topic rather than a real subject. To support this analysis, Fassi shows that the weak pronoun is in complementary distribution with the DPs.

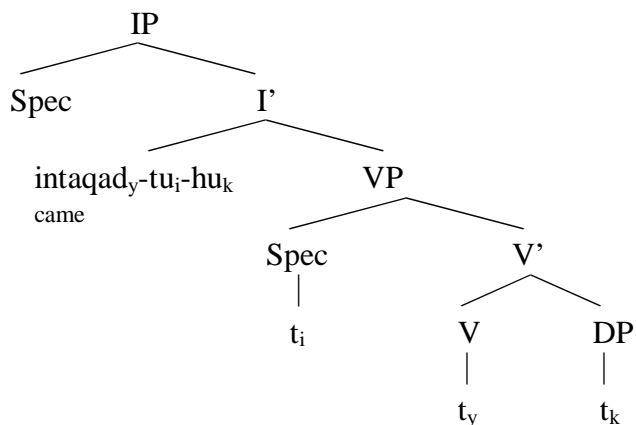
- (88) *ji?-na l-banaat-u
 came.3pl.f the-girls-nom
 “The girls came.”

Fassi assumes that this kind of incorporation is available only when the subject is not overt. That is a little *pro*. To account for dialects of Arabic like Moroccan where both the weak clitic and the subject surfaces, Fassi assumes that the clitic in this case is agreement rather than a DP.

As for the object pronoun, it incorporates onto the verb following the weak subject pronoun.

- (89) intaqad-tu-hu
 criticized-I-him
 “I criticized him.”

The following tree represents (89) according to Fassi’s analysis:
 (90)



As arguments for this analysis, Fassi shows that the incorporation analysis of the object weak pronouns accounts for the facts where the occurrence of a syntactic NP argument is in complementary distribution with the occurrence of the weak pronoun.

- (91) *darabtu-hu al-walad-a
 beat-I-him the-boy-acc
 “I beat him the boy.”

Thus, the ungrammaticality of (91) is expected if we take the weak pronoun as an argument. In other words, two DPs can not occupy the same argument position. Moreover, although government is necessary, it is not sufficient. There are situations in which the weak pronoun appears in the position of a normal DP governed by a head; yet, the clitic is not incorporated. In these situations, the clitic needs to be supported by the element *ʔyyaa*.

- (92) maa raʔy-tu ʔillaa ʔyyaa-ka
 not saw-I except ʔyyaa-you
 “I did not see but you.”

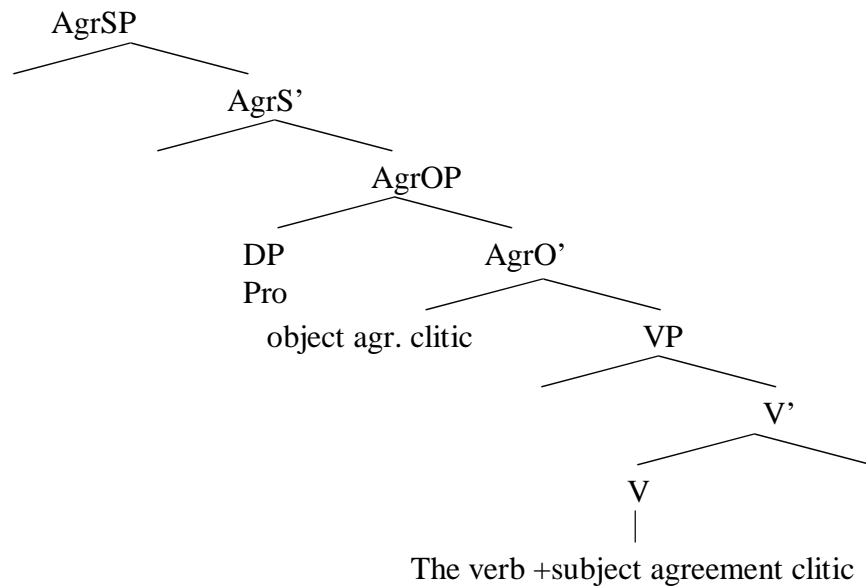
- (93) *maa raʔy-tu-ka ʔillaa
 not saw-I-you except
 “I did not see but you.”

In (92), the clitic *-ka* “you” is governed by the preposition *ʔillaa* “but, except”. Yet, it is not incorporated into the preposition. We observe that the word *ʔyyaa* to which the clitic is attached is used. (93) shows that the absence of *ʔyyaa* renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Shlonsky (1997) argues Semitic clitics to be affixal (Agr) heads. He takes the subject clitics to be base generated on the verb, *lexical affixation*. Movement of the

verb to AgrS is to check the appropriate features. For object clitics, he assumes that they are affixes appearing on the Agr heads and a referential DP, *pro*, bearing the appropriate feature appears in its spec.

(94)



To exclude Fassi's incorporation analysis, Shlonsky provides data from Hebrew showing that subject clitics are not pronouns. In Hebrew, the negative head *?eyn* can be followed by a subject pronoun or a clitic.

(95) ?eyn **hu** ?ohev xacilim¹¹
 neg. he like eggplants.
 "I do not like the eggplants."

(96) ?eyn-(**ən**)i ?ohev xacilim
 neg-1sg like eggplants.
 "I do not like the eggplants."

When the clitic corresponds to the third person pronoun, the sentence must have an overt subject.

¹¹ These examples are taken from Shlonsky 1997 page 182-184.

- (97) *ʔeyn hu ʔani ʔohev xacilim*
 neg. he like eggplants.
 “He does not like eggplants.”
- (98) *hu ʔeyn-ʔ ʔohev xacilim*
 he neg-3sg.masc like eggplants.
 “He does not like eggplants.”
- (99) **ʔeyn-ʔ ʔohev xacilim*
 neg-3sg.masc like eggplants.
 “He does not like eggplants.”

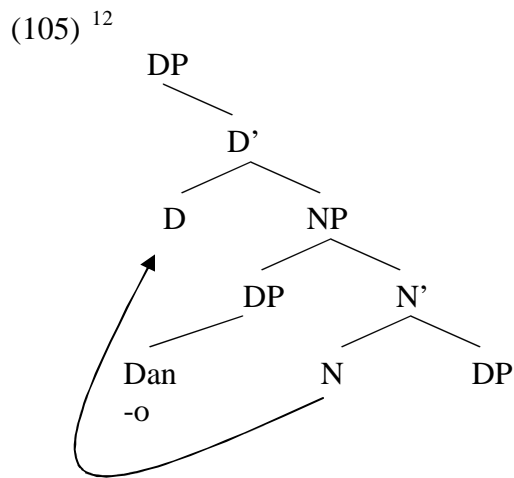
Shlonsky concludes that the suffix on *ʔeyn* should not be analyzed as a pronoun but a subject agreement marker. Moreover, he gives other data where the clitic does not cliticize onto the verb. (100) and (101) below show inversion of a nonpronominal subject and a pronominal one respectively. (102) shows that the postverbal pronoun does not cliticize onto the verb.

- (100) *bə-yaldut-o raxav Dani 9al gamal*
 in-youth-3ms ride.past-3ms Dani on camel
 “In his youth, Dani rode a camel.”
- (101) *bə-yaldut-o raxav hu 9al gamal*
 in-youth-3ms ride.past-3ms he on camel
 “In his youth, he rode a camel.”
- (102) **bə-yaldut-o raxav -o 9al gamal*
 in-youth-3ms ride.past-3ms 3ms on camel
 “In his youth, he rode a camel.”

With the assumption that clitics must be sisters to their hosts, one might conclude that (102) is ruled out because the subject clitic is not a sister to the host. To exclude this possibility, Shlonsky gives an example where this condition is not always required.

- (103) *ktivat Dan ʔet ha-maʔamar hirgiza et Miriam*
 writing Dan acc the-article anger.past.3fs acc Miriam
 “Dan’s writing of the article angered Miriam.”
- (104) *ktivat -o ʔet ha-maʔamar hirgiza et Miriam*
 writing 3ms acc the-article anger.past.3fs acc Miriam
 “His writing of the article angered Miriam.”

Shlonsky states that the order of the constituents, *ktivat-o* “his writing”, in (103) and (104) strongly favors a Noun-Raising account. Following Fassi-Fehri (1989) and Ritter (1988) assumption of the internal structure of the Construct State, he proposes that the agent of *ktivat Dan* “Dan’s writing” is the specifier of the NP in the D-structure. In the derived structure, the agent of the specifier is not the sister to N. Rather, it is exceptionally governed by it.



Shlonsky takes the structural relationship between the subject and the verb as similar to the structural relationship in the Construct State in (105). That is to say, the verb moves over the clausal subject in spec/AgrS. He concludes that there is no structural constraint on incorporation of a postverbal subject onto the verb. Thus, other explanation needs to be sought.

¹² The tree is taken from Shlonsky (1997) page 183.

Moreover, Shlonsky gives another example from a Berber language spoken in Morocco. In Berber, the clitics, not the subject agreement, occupy the second position in the clause. In embedded clauses, it appears to the right of the complementizer. If the subject agreement is a clitic, it would vary in its position as the clitic.

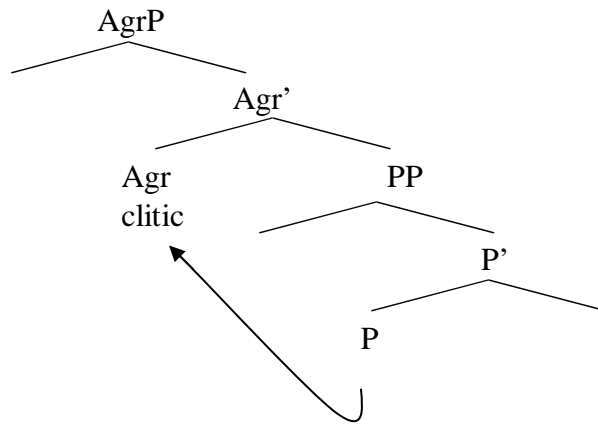
(106) **y-** **uzn** **-tt** Mohand i Tifa
 3ms send.perf. 3ms Mohand to Tifa
 “Mohand sent it to Tifa.”

(107) **ssən** **-x** is **-tt** **y-** **uzn** Mohand i Tifa
 know.perf -is that -3ms 3ms- send.perf Mohand to Tifa
 “I think that Mohand sent it to Tifa.”

In (106), the clitic *-tt* “3ms” appears after the verb *uzn* “sent” whereas the agreement clitic *y-* “3ms” appears before the verb. In the embedded clause in (107), we observe that the clitic *-tt* “3ms” appears right after the complementizer followed by the agreement clitic *y-* “3ms” and the verb *uzn* “sent”.

As for object clitics, he proposes that they are heads of AgrOP containing an affix that is overt. When the verb raises, it needs to move with its subject affixes picking up the object agreement affixes and moving further up to AgrSP for checking the subject agreement. The fact that the clitics appear on all lexical and some functional categories, indicates that all these categories have associated Agr projections. Thus, PP, NP and CP are dominated by AgrPs.

(108)¹³



Shlonsky gives an example from Moroccan Arabic where the verb and the clitic incorporate onto the negation.

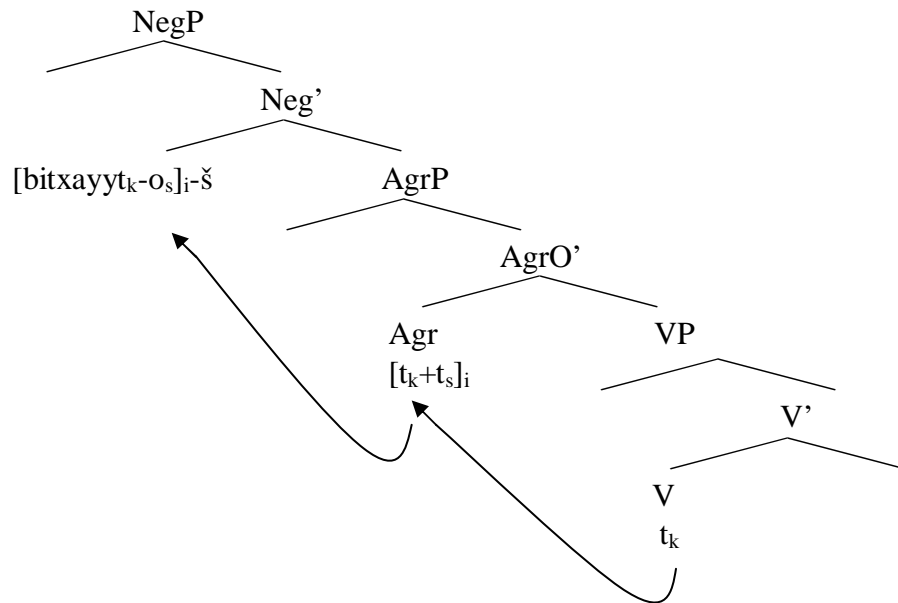
(109) bixayyt-o-š
3gd-sew.imperfect-3ms-neg
“She does not sew it.”

Shlonsky explains the above sentence by arguing that the verb first moves to AgrO on its path to negation. Then, the agreement clitic and the verb move to the negation.

According to his analysis, (109) can be represented as:

¹³ The tree is taken from Shlonsky (1997) page 190.

(110)



According to Shlonsky when two object pronominal clitics are used, one pronominal clitic cliticizes onto the verb and indicates that there is only one single AgrP above the verb. The other clitic appears on a preposition which shows that AgrP of preposition is used. This preposition is used for case marking since the case of the verb is absorbed by the clitic on the verb.

After reviewing the two competing analyses of clitics in Arabic, I want to investigate the Turaif data and see what the data tell us about the nature of these clitics. As for subjects, in Turaif Arabic, the clitic and the DP can surface in the same sentence.

(111) ja-an al-banaat
 come.perf-3pl.f the-girls
 “The girls come.”

In (111), the clitic *-an* “3pl.f” surfaces on the verb followed by the subject of the sentence *al-banaat* “the girls”. Thus, I would take these clitics as agreement rather

than any thing else as Shlonsky assumes for Standard Arabic and as Fassi assumes for Moroccan Arabic. I would also argue, following Shlonsky, that those clitics in Standard Arabic are agreement rather than pronouns. The following arguments support this view.

Fassi does not take into consideration the fact that when the subject appears between the auxiliary and the main verb, the auxiliary carries gender agreement while the verb carries full agreement:

(112) *kaan-at al-ban-aat-u ya-l9ab-na*
was-3sg.f the-girl-pl.f-nom ya-play.imperf-3pl.f
“The girls were playing.”

In (112), the auxiliary *kaan-at* “was-3sg.f” agrees with the subject *al-ban-aat-u* “the girls” only in gender whereas the main verb *ya-l9ab-na* “play” agrees fully with the subject.

Besides, Fassi’s analysis does not provide any explanation for sentences where the subject clitic appears in two verbs.

(113) *kaan-an yal9ab-in*
were-3pl.f play.pres-3pl.f
“They were playing.”

In (113), both the auxiliary verb *kaan-an* “were” and the main verb *yal9ab-in* “playing” must carry full agreement. According to Fassi’s analysis, one needs to assume that there are two pronominals in (113). According to Shlonsky’s analysis, both verbs, the auxiliary verb and the main verb, have agreement clitics base generated on them.

They are cases where the postverbal subject and the weak pronouns appear in the same sentence. I do not know how Fassi's analysis could be expanded to those cases.

- (114) qaabal-**uu**-hum ar-rijaal-u
 meet.past-pl.masc-them the-men-nom
 "The men met them."

In (114), the clitic *-uu* "3pl.masc" surfaces on the verb with the presence of the subject *ar-rijaal-u* "the men".

As for object clitics, I will adopt Fassi's analysis especially that Shlonsky does not provide any argument for his proposal. One argument we observe from Turaif data is that those pronouns are in complementary distribution with full DPs.

- (115) *shift-ih fahad
 see.perf.1sg-him Fahad
 "*I saw him Fahad."

Even if we accept the proposal to consider the object clitic as agreement clitics rather than pronouns, one would wonder why they appear with definite but not indefinite DPs especially if we take into consideration that both definite and indefinite DPs occupy the same position. That is to say, both require agreement with the verb.

- (116) ar-rajaal shift-ih
 the-man see.perf.1sg-him
 "As for the man, I saw him."

- (117) *rajaal shift-ih
 man see.perf.1sg-him
 "As for a man, I saw him."

In (116), the clitic *-ih* "him" surfaces with the definite DP *ar-rajaal* "the man". In contrast, the presence of the clitic with the indefinite DP *rajaal* "a man" leads to the

ungrammaticality of (117). As for the pronoun analysis, we know that sometimes definite DPs appear as topics resumed by a resumptive clitic but not indefinite ones. In this case, they are assumed to be base generated in the topic position and the resumptive clitics with which they are coindexed are base generated in the object position.

1.3.6.2 Reflexive pronouns in Turaif

Reflexive pronouns in Turaif Arabic are formed out of the words *nafs* or *ruuH* “soul, spirit” and a clitic attached to them. Both words are used interchangeably. The clitic must agree with the antecedent of the reflexive in person, number and gender.

(118) *fahad 9wwar nafs-ih/ruuH-ih*
 Fahad hurt.perf.3sg.masc soul.3sg.f-3sg.masc
 “Fahad hurt himself.”

(119) **fahad 9wwar nafs-ha/ruuH-ha*
 Fahad hurt.perf.3sg.masc soul.3sg.f-3sg.f
 “Fahad hurt himself.”

In (118), the reflexive pronoun *nafs-ih/ruuH-ih* “himself” agrees with the subject antecedent *Fahad*. In (119), the reflexive pronoun is *nafs-ha/ruuH-ha* “herself” a 3sg.f while the antecedent is *Fahad* a 3sg.masc. This mismatch between the antecedent and the reflexive leads to the ungrammaticality of (119). Before proceeding, the following table shows the different reflexive pronouns used in Turaif Arabic with their English translation:

Table 9. Reflexives in Turaif Arabic

Reflexives in Turaif	
nafsi-i/ruuH-i	myself
nafsi-na/ruuHa-na	ourselves
nafs-ak/ruuH-ak	yourself (masc)
nafs-ik/ruuH-ik	yourself (f)
nafsi-kam/ruuHi-kam	yourselves (pl.masc)
nafsi-kin/ruuHi-kin	yourselves (pl.f)
nafs-ih/ruuH-ih	himself
nafsa-ha/ruuHa-ha	herself
nafsi-hum/ruuHi-hum	themselves (masc)
nafsi-hin/ruuHi-hin	themselves (f)

The words *nafs*¹⁴ and *ruuH* occur as lexical items. Both mean “soul or spirit”, and can be used in ordinary sentences.

(120) an-nafs ammara b-assuu
the-soul.3sg.f order.imperf.3sg.f in-evil
“The soul is prone to evil”

(121) ar-ruuh raaHat
the-soul.3sg.f go.perf.3sg.f
“The soul is gone.”
(i.e. “The person dies.”)

In (120) and (121), the words *nafs* and *ruuH* “soul” are used as DPs.

In (118), we observed that when attaching a weak pronoun to these words, the words are interpreted as reflexive pronouns. The same words can be interpreted as possessive DPs when the clitic attached to them.

(122) nafs-ih/ruuH-ih ta9banah
soul.3sg.f-3sg.masc tired.f
“His soul feels discomfort.”

¹⁴ The word *nafsis* is used in sentences where it is interpreted as “the same”

(i) shreet nafs ali shareet-ih int
buy.perf.1sg soul that buy.perf.2sg.masc-it you
“I bought the same thing that you bought.”

In (122), the words *nafs-ih* and *ruuH-ih* “his soul” are used as possessive DPs functioning as the subject of the sentence.

The word *nafs* is used in sentences with imperfect clause verbs:

(123) *nafs-ih* *ysaafir*
soul.3sg.masc-3sg.masc travel.imperf.3sg.masc
“He wishes to travel.”

(124) **nafs-ih* *saafar*
soul.3sg.masc-3sg.masc travel.perf.3sg.masc
“*He wishes traveled.”

(123) shows that the word *nafs-ih* is used to mean “wish”. In this case, an imperfect verb *ysaafir* “travel” follows it. Using perfect verbs like *saafar* “traveled” renders the sentence ungrammatical as (124) shows.

1.3.7 Verb Morphology

Aspect and Tense

Morphologically, the verb shows the forms associated with aspect. Generally speaking, there are two main aspects in Turaif Arabic, perfect and imperfect. Future is formed by the use of the future element *raH* followed by the imperfect form of the verb. Other aspects can be formed by the use of elements like *gad* and *kaan*. Prefixes, suffixes, and ablaut, vowel changing, are three main characteristics of these forms. Imperative is formed with the use of the prefix *ʔ-*.

1.3.7.1. Imperfect

The imperfect is formed by the use of prefixal and suffixal clitics except in the case of first person and second person singular masculine where only prefixes are used. The

prefixes indicate the person feature while the suffixes express the number and the gender.

Table 10. The imperfect forms of *kitab* “write”

1sg	ʔa-ktib	“I write.”
1pl	na-ktib	“We write.”
2sg.masc	ta-ktib	“You write.”
2sg.f	ta-ktib-iin	“You write.”
2pl.masc	ta-ktib-uun	“You write.”
2pl.f	ta-ktib-in	“You write.”
3sg.masc	ya-kitab	“He writes.”
3sg.f	ta-ktib	“She writes.”
pl.masc	ya-kitab-uun	“They write.”
pl.f	ya-kitib-in	“They write.”

Semantically speaking, the imperfect expresses habitual and on going actions.

(125) an-naas ya-naam-uun ba-l-leel habitual action
the-people ya-sleep.imperf-3pl.masc in-the-night
“People sleep during the night.”

(126) al-mdaris ya-shraH ad-dars al-aan on going action
the-teacher ya-explain.imperf.3sg.masc the-lesson now
“The teacher is explaining the lesson now.”

The imperfect is used in the following cases:

- It is used past progressive after auxiliary verb *kaan* “to be”.

(127) aT-Tulaab kaan-aw (gaa9d-iin) ya-drus-uun
the-pupil.pl.masc was-3plmasc sit.pres.prog-pl.masc ya-study.imperf-3pl.masc
“The pupils were studying.”

In (127), we see the optional use of *gaa9d-iin*.

- It is used after the auxiliaries and models like *mumkin* “might”, *muHtimal* “may”, *laazim* “must”...etc.

(128) aT-Tulaab muHtimal ya-drus-uun fi h-al-madrasa
 the-pupil.pl.masc may ya-study.imperf-3pl.masc in this-the-school
 “The pupils may study in this school.”

- It is used with negated imperatives.

(129) la ya-drus-uun fi h-al-madrasa
 neg. ya-study.imperf-3pl.masc in this-the-school
 “Do not let them study in this school.”

- It is used after the future element *raH* in
- Future

(130) aT-Tulaab raH ya-drus-uun fi h-al-madrasa
 the-pupil.pl.masc fut. ya-study.imperf-3pl.masc in this-the-school
 “The pupils will study in this school.”

- Future in the past

(131) ar-rjaal kaan-aw raH ya-l9ab-uun
 the-men were.3pl.masc fut. ya-play.imperf-3pl.masc
 “The men were about to play.”

- Future perfect

(132) ar-rjaal raH y-kuun-uun (gad) l9ab-aw
 the-men fut. y-were.imperf-3pl.masc gad play.perf-3pl.masc
 “The men will have already played.”

- Future continuous

(133) ar-rjaal raH y-kuun-uun ya-l9ab-uun
 the-men fut. y-were.imperf-3pl.masc ya-play.imperf-3pl.masc
 “The men will be playing.”

- Future in the future

(134) ar-rjaal raH y-kuun-uun *(y-ab-uun) ya-l9b-uun
 the-men fut. y-were.imperf-3pl.masc y-want.imperf-3pl.masc ya-play.imperf-3pl.masc
 “The men will be about to play.”

In (134), one sees the obligatorily use of the verb *yab-uun* “want”.

(135) ar-rjaal raH y-kuun-uun *(ʕala washak) ya-l9b-uun
 the-men fut. y-were.pres-pl.masc one aboutness ya-play.pres-pl.masc
 “The men will be about to play.”

Thus, from the distribution of the imperfect, we could conclude that it appears in quite number of contexts. Let us now investigate the distribution of the perfect.

1.3.7.2 Perfect

The perfect is marked by enclitics. The suffixes indicate the person and gender, and number features.

Table 11. The perfect forms of *kitab* “write”

1sg	kitab-t	“I wrote.”
1pl	kitab-na	“We wrote.”
2sg.masc	kitab-t	“You wrote.”
2sg.f	Kitab-ti	“You wrote.”
2pl.masc	Kitab-tuu	“You wrote.”
2pl.f	Kitab-tin	“You wrote.”
3sg.masc	kitab	“He wrote.”
3sg.f	ktib-at	“She wrote.”
pl.masc	ktib-aw	“They wrote.”
pl.f	ktib-an	“They wrote.”

Semantically speaking, the perfect expresses completed actions.

(136) aT-Tilaab ktib-aw ad-dars
 the-student.pl.masc write.perf-3pl.masc the-lesson
 “The boys wrote the lesson.”

The perfect is used in the following contexts

- Past perfect

(137) ar-rjaal kaan-aw *(gad) saafar-aw
 the-men were-3pl.masc gad play.perf-3pl.masc
 “The men had already played.”

In (137), we observe the obligatorily use of *gad*.

- Future perfect

(138) ar-rjaal raH y-kuun-uun (gad) l9ab-aw
 the-men fut. y-were.imperf-3pl.masc gad play.perf-3pl.masc
 “The men will have played.”

In (138), we observe that *raH* is followed by the imperfect form of the auxiliary verb *ykuun-uun* “were” then the perfect form of the verb *l9ab-aw* “played”.

Imperative

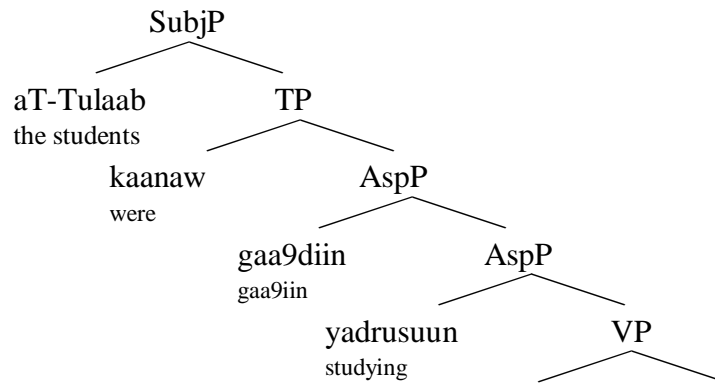
Semantically speaking, the Imperative expresses a request for an action to be carried out. It is formed by attaching the prefix “ʔ-“ to the verb. Moreover, a suffix indicating person gender, and number features is added at the end of the verb. The following table shows the imperative form of the verb *kitab* “write” with different persons.

Table 12. imperative forms of *kitab* “write”

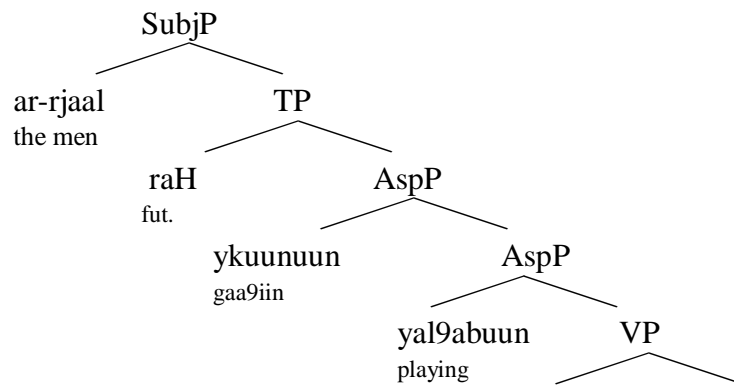
3sg.masc	ʔiktib	“(You) write.”
3sg.f	ʔiktib-i	“(You) write.”
pl.masc	ʔiktib-uu	“(You) write.”
pl.f	ʔiktib-in	“(You) write.”

(127) and (133) are represented as (139) and (140) respectively:

(139) ¹⁵ (= (127))



(140) ¹⁶ (= (133))



In both (139) and (140), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” appears in a position higher than the TP and the AspP. For now, I will call this subject position “SubjP”.

¹⁵ Following Radford (2004) I will take the auxiliary *kaan* “was” to be in TP.

¹⁶ From now on, TP is projected whenever the future marker *raH* or the auxiliary *kaan* “was” is used in the clause.

1.3.8 Negation in Turaif

The negative elements *ma* and *la* are used when negating verbal sentences. The negative element *mu* is used with copula sentences and DPs. In the following subsection, I investigate the distribution of these negative elements.

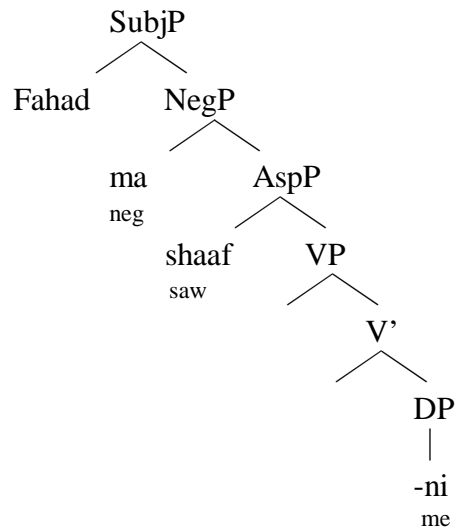
The element *ma* is used with perfect and imperfect verbs:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| (141) fahad ma ya-ktib | imperfect verb |
| Fahad not ya-write.imperf.3sg.masc | |
| “Fahad does not write.” | |
| (142) fahad ma shaafi-ni | perfect verb |
| Fahad not see.perf.1sg-3sg.masc | |
| “Fahad did not see him.” | |
| (143) *ma fahad ya-ktib | |
| not Fahad ya-write.imperf.3sg.masc | |
| “Fahad does not write.” | |

(141) and (142) show that the negative element *ma* appears preverbally with imperfect *yaktib* “write” and with the perfect *shaaf* “saw”. In both sentences, the negative element *ma* comes before the verb. (143) shows that the subject Fahad never appears between the negative element *ma* and the verb.

The following tree represents (142)

(144)



In (144), the negative element *ma* appears in the NegP higher than the AspP where the verb *shaaf* “saw” is. The subject *Fahad* appears in a higher position, SubjP.

The negative element *ma* appears with future tense and other temporal aspectual particles like *raH* “fut.”, *9umr* “never”, *gad*, and *yakuun* “is”.

(145) **ma raH** yaktib
not will write.imperf.3sg.masc
“He will not write.”

(146) **ma 9umr-i** saafart yam jiddah
not life-I travel.perf.3sg.masc to Jeddah
“I have never traveled to Jeddah.”

(147) **ma gad** saafart yam jiddah
not qad travel.perf.3sg.masc to Jeddah
“I have never traveled to Jeddah.”

(148) **ma raH akuun** gad saafart hathaak al-waqt
not fut. be.pres.cont.1sg gad travel.perf.1sg that.3sg.masc the-time
“I will not have (already) traveled at that time.”

We observe that in (145) the future marker *raH* positioned before the negative element *ma* and the verb. In (146) - (148), other aspectual elements like *ykuun* “be” and *gad* “gad” can be positioned between the negative element *ma* and the verb. That is to say that there are more functional projections in the clause.

As for the negative element *la*, it is used with imperatives. And it always precedes the verb.

(149) *la taktib*
not write.imperf.2sg.masc
“Do not write.”

(150) *la taktib-iin*
not write.imperf-3sg.f
“Do not write.”

(151) #*la raH yaktib*¹⁷
not fut. write.imperf.2sg.masc
“*He will not write.”

In (149) and (150), *la* is used with imperative *taktib* “write. (151) shows that, unlike *ma*, *la* can not appear with the future marker *raH* in ordinary sentence as the English translation shows.

The last negative element is *mu* which is used before adverbs and quantifiers and with copular constructions.

¹⁷ This sentence is only used as part of the *la.....wala* “neither nor” constructions.

(i) *la raH yaktib wa-la raH yaqra*
neg. fut. write.imperf.3sg.masc and-neg. fut. read.imperf.3sg.masc
“He will neither write nor read.”

Note that this element is not used with perfect and imperfect tenses except with *la....wala* “neither....nor” constructions. Moreover, other elements can come in between the verb and the *la*

(ii) *la gad zaari-ni wala gad shift-ih*
neg. gad visit.perf.3sg.masc-me and-neg gad see.perf.1sg-him
“He neither has visited me nor I have seen him”

- (152) fahad **mu** dayyim **ma** yiji
 Fahad not always not come.imperf.3sg.masc
 “As for Fahad, it is not the case that he does not always come.”
- (153) ar-rjaal **mu** killi-hum **ma** j-aw
 the-men not all-them not come.perf-3pl.masc
 “As for the men, it is not the case that all of them do not come.”
- (154) Ar-rajaal mu mdaris
 The-man neg. teacher.indef
 “The man is not a teacher.”
- (155) #mu yaakil¹⁸
 not eat.imperf.3sg.masc
 “He should not eat.”

In (152), the negative element *mu* appears before the adverb *daayim* “always”. In (153), it appears before the quantifier *kill* “all”. Notice the English translation of both (152) and (153); both are bi-clausal. In (154), the negative element *mu* is used with copular constructions. (155) shows that *mu* can not be used with ordinary verb.

1.3.9 Topic and focus

In this section, I provide a preliminary analysis and description of the topic and focus in Turaif Arabic.

Topic

As it is well-known, a topic is a presupposed piece of information. In other words, it has been introduced in the discourse and is known to the speaker and the hearer. Topics are generally definite. However, indefinite specific DPs can be topics too. In Turaif, the topicalized DP always receives higher pitch compared to other elements in the sentence. And it is always set off from the rest of the clause by a short pause.

¹⁸ As the translation shows, this construction is interpreted as irrealis.

Moreover, a non-subject topic is always associated with a resumptive pronoun inside the clause:

(156) *al-walad*, shift-**ih** *ams*
the-boy see.perf.1sg-him yesterday
“As for the boy, I saw him yesterday.”

(157) **walad*, shift-**ih** *ams*
boy.indef see.perf.1sg-him yesterday
“A boy, I saw him yesterday.”

In (156), we observe that the definite DP *al-walad* “the boy” appears preverbally and is resumed by a resumptive clitic on the verb. We notice the comma which represents a short pause between the topicalized DP and the rest of the sentence. In (157), the DP *walad* “a boy” is not definite. Thus, (157) is ruled out.

Compared to topicalized DPs, a PP topic does not occur with a resumptive clitic.

(158) *b-as-suuq*, *kint jaalis*
in-the-store was sit.perf.cont.1sg
“As for in the store, I was sitting.”

In (158), the topicalized preposition phrase *b-as-suuq* “in the store” is not resumed by a clitic.

Topics can iterate. In other words, multiple topics can appear in the same clause:

(159) *ar-rajaal*, *ams*, *shaaf* *al-filim*
the-man yesterday see.perf.3sg.masc the-movie
“As for the man, yesterday, he saw him.”

In (159), the object *ar-rajaal* “the man” and the adverb *ams* “yesterday” appear in the left periphery of the clause where they are interpreted as topics.

always interpreted as neutral. Focused elements can appear between the topicalized DP and the VP. In clauses with subject right topics, it is always the case that the VP preceding the topic is interpreted as focused.

- (164) *ahmad, laila kallim-it-ih*
Ahmad Laila call.perf-3sg.f-him
“As for Ahmad, Laila called him.”
“As for Ahmad, LAILA called him.”
“*As for ahmad, LAILA CALLED HIM.”

- (165) *kallim-at ahmad, laila*
call.perf-3sg.f Ahmad Laila
“As for the Laila, SHE CALLED AHMAD.”
“*As for the Laila, she called Ahmad.”

In (164), the clause has a left topic DP *Ahmad*. We notice that the rest of the sentence *laila kallim-it-ih* “Laila called him” is interpreted as neutral. Or only the subject *Laila* is focused while the VP is interpreted as neutral. In (165), the clause has a right topic DP *Laila*. In this case, the VP is interpreted as focused. A complete analysis of VOS clauses is given in Chapter four.

Focus

Focus can be either a new piece of information introduced in the discourse, contrastive, or an emphatic. DPs and adverbs as well as VPs can be focused. Focus occurs in the left of the clause. Compared to topics, focus is always associated with a gap. In Turaif Arabic, all informational focus, contrastive focus, and emphatic focus receive higher pitch compared to the other elements in the clause. Moreover, focus can be preceded by a topicalized element in the left edge of the clause.

(166) al-ban-aat shaaf-an fahad
the-girl-pl.f see.perf-3pl.f Fahad
“The girls saw Fahad.”

(167) FAHAD al-ban-aat shaaf-an
Fahad the-girl-pl.f see. perf -3pl.f
“FAHAD, the girls saw.”

(168) al-ban-aat shaaf-an fahad ams
the-girl-pl.f see. perf -3pl.f Fahad yesterday
“The girls saw Fahad yesterday.”

(169) AMS al-ban-aat shaaf-an fahad
yesterday the-girl-pl.f see. perf -3pl.f Fahad
“YESTERDAY, the girls saw Fahad yesterday.”

We observe that in (167), the DP *Fahad* is focused and in (169), the adverb *ams* “yesterday” is focused.

Foci compared to topics can not iterate. There is only one focused element in the left periphery of the clause. Two focused elements leads to the ungrammaticality of the sentence:

(170) *AS-SAYYARA FAHAD shara
the-car Fahad buy.perf.3sg.masc
“*THE CAR, FAHAD bought.”

In (170), there two focused DPs, *as-sayyara* “the car” and *Fahad*. Thus, the sentence is ruled out.

Typically, if any constituent other than the VP appears in the left edge of the clause for reason of focus, it can be preceded, but not followed, by a topicalized element.

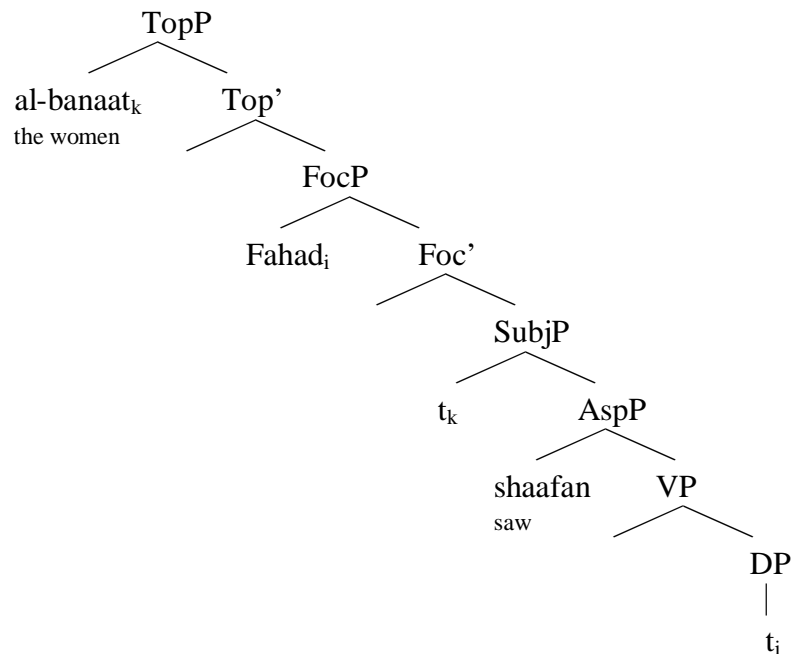
(171) fahad al-ban-aat shaaf-an
 Fahad the-girl-pl.f see.perf-3pl.f
 “FAHAD, the girls saw.”
 “*As for the girls, FAHAD, they saw.”

(172) al-ban-aat FAHAD shaaf-an
 the-girl-pl.f Fahad see.perf-3pl.f
 “As for the girls, they saw FAHAD.”
 “*FAHAD, the girls saw.”

We observe that the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” in (171) can only be interpreted as neutral. In (172) compared to the subject in (171), the subject is only interpreted as topic.

The following tree corresponds to (172):

(173)



In (173), the object *Fahad* moves to FocP and the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves to the TopP higher than the FocP.

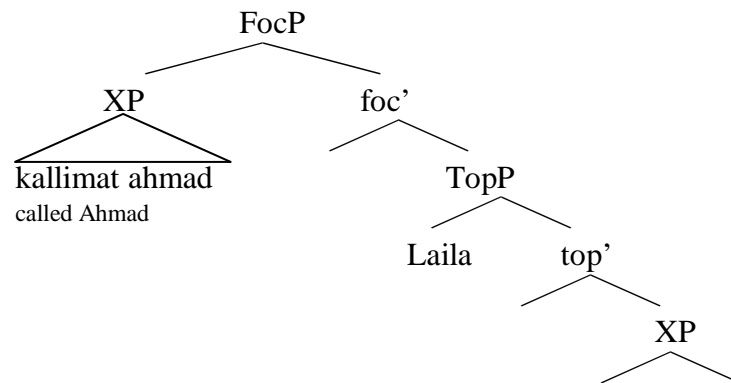
If the topicalized DP is preceded by a VP, the VP is interpreted as focus. In other words, both the focused VP and the topicalized DP appear in the left periphery of the clause.

- (174) KALLIM-AT AHMAD, laila
 call.perf-3sg.f Ahmad Laila
 “As for Laila, SHE CALLED AHMAD.”
 “*As for Laila, she called Ahmad.”

In (174), *Laila* is interpreted as a topic and the VP *kalim-at Ahmad* “called Ahmad” is interpreted as a focus. Detailed analysis of these VOS clauses is given in chapter four.

The following tree corresponds to (174):

(175) ¹⁹



In (175), *Laila* appears in TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the VP *kalim-at Ahmad* “called Ahmad” in the above example appears in FocP where it is interpreted as a focus.

¹⁹ An XP is used in the spec of FP because it will be shown in chapter four that it is not only the VP that can move to that position; but other bigger XPs can move there.

To conclude this section, the following table shows the main differences between topic and focus in Turaif:

Table 13. Properties of topics and focus in Turaif

Topic	Focus
Left or right edge	Left edge
Presupposed, known	New, contrastive
Multiple topics	Only one focus
Resumptive pronoun	gap
short pause	None
High pitch	Higher pitch

1.3.9.1 Rizzi's (1997) structure of the left periphery

This section provides a summary of Rizzi's (1997) proposal of the left periphery of the clause. In this section, I show how data from Turaif Arabic discussed under Topic and Focus section, are viewed according to Rizzi's analysis.

In his investigation of the left periphery of the clause, Rizzi (1997) investigates the following Italian data:

- (176) a. C Topic
 Credo **che** *il tuo libro*, loro apprezzerebbero molto²⁰ ✓ *che* Topic
 "I believe that your book, they would appreciate it a lot."
- b. *Credo Topic C
il tuo libro, **che** loro apprezzerebbero molto *Topic *che*
 "I believe your book, that they would appreciate it a lot."
- c. Credo, Topic C
il tuo libro, **di** loro apprezzarlo molto ✓ Topic *di*
 "I believe your book, of to appreciate it a lot."

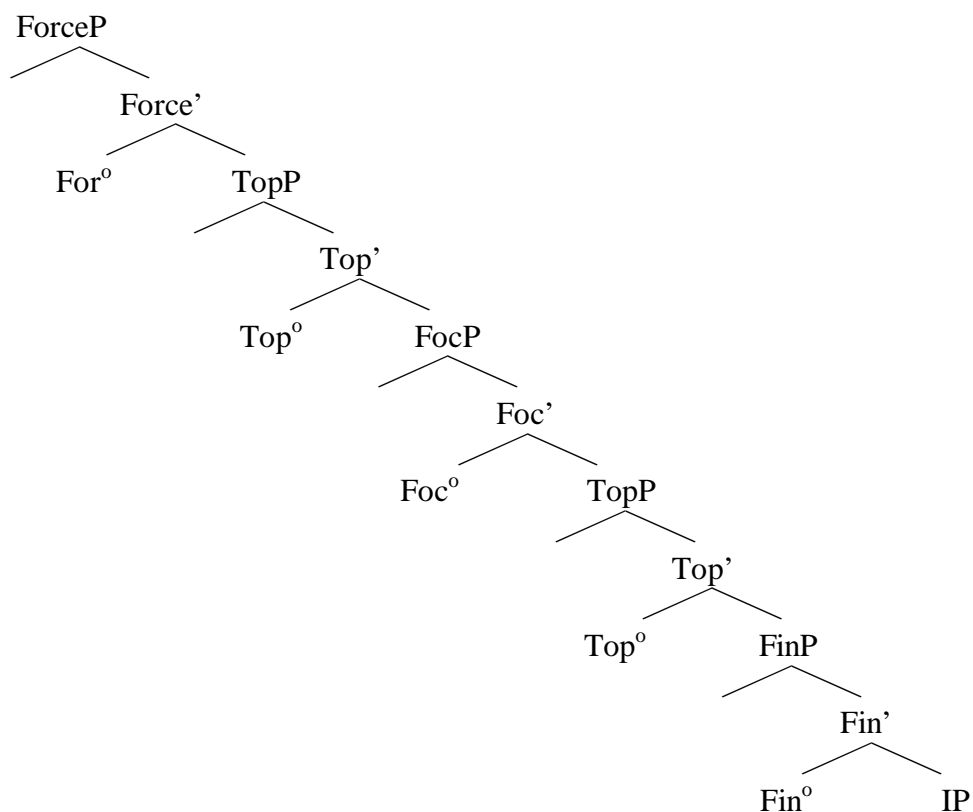
²⁰ The examples are taken from Rizzi's (1997) page 288-89.

In (177)a, the relative operator *a cui* “whom” precedes the topicalized DP *il premio Nobel* “the Nobel Prize”. (177)b, shows that opposite order, the relative operator *a cui* “whom” follows the topicalized DP *il premio Nobel* “the Nobel Prize”. This account for the ungrammaticality of (177)b. In (178)a, compared to the relative operator *a cui* “whom” in (177)a, the question operator *a chi* “whom” follows the topicalized DP *il premio Nobel* “the Nobel Prize”. The opposite order where the question operator *a chi* “whom” precedes the topicalized DP *il premio Nobel* “the Nobel Prize” renders the (178)a ungrammatical as (178)b shows. From these observations, Rizzi’s (1997) concludes that the left periphery of the clause consists of a strict hierarchal structure

Force > (TopP) > FocP > (TopP) > FinP > IP

The following tree represents Rizzi’s proposal:

(179) ²¹



In (179), there are two potential topic TopPs in the left periphery of the clause. and the FocP is sandwiched between these two topic positions.

When we take the data from Turaif Arabic discussed previously under topic and focus, we find that the interaction between topic and focus is not as simple as Rizzi views it. I have shown that the order the topicalized and focused elements take depends on the type of element being focused or topicalized. If the focused element is a DP or an adverb or even a preposition but not a VP as in (173), the topicalized element always precedes the focused element; but when the focused element is a VP

²¹ The tree is given by Rizzi (1997) page 297.

as in (175), the topicalized element must always follow the focused VP. Even when having two topicalized elements, both must precede the focused element if the focused element is a DP, adverb, or a preposition, but both must follow the focused element when it is a VP. Any other order renders the clause ungrammatical.

(180) fahad shaaf al-banaat ams
 Fahad see.perf.3sg.masc the-girl.3pl.f yesterday
 “Fahad saw the girls yesterday.”

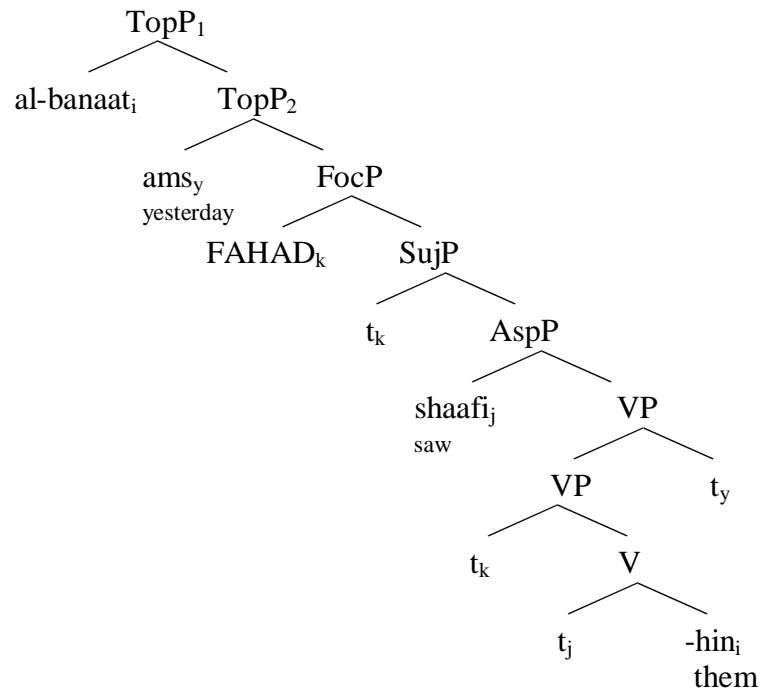
(181) al-banaat ams fahad shaafi-hin
 the-girls yesterday Fahad see.perf.3sg.masc-them.f
 “As for the girls, yesterday, FAHAD saw them.”

(182) *al-banaat fahad ams shaafi-hin
 the-girls Fahad yesterday see.perf.3sg.masc-them.f
 “As for the girls, FAHAD, yesterday saw them.”

In (181), both topicalized elements *al-banaat* “the girls” and *ams* “yesterday” precede the focused element *Fahad*. In (182), the topicalized element *al-banaat* “the girls” precedes the focused element *Fahad* and the topicalized element *ams* “yesterday” follows the focused element *Fahad*. Thus, (182) is ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality is unexpected under Rizzi’s analysis since according to Rizzi’s analysis topics can follow and precede focused elements. Now, let us see how (181) and (182) are derived.

The following tree represent(181):

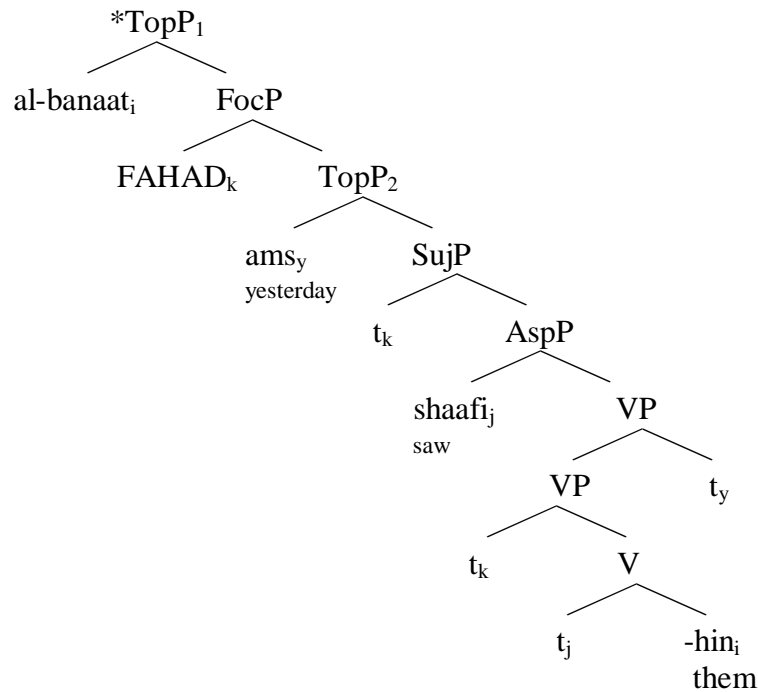
(183)



In (183), the subject *Fahad* is in the FocP and the adverb *ams* “yesterday” is in TopP₂. as for the object *al-banaat* “the girls”, it is in TopP₁. As I have established earlier, topicalized objects are always resumed by a resumptive clitic. Thus, we see that *al-banaat* “the girls” is coindexed with a resumptive clitic *-hin* “3pl.f.”. Now, let us see how (182) is derived.

The following tree represents (182):

(184)



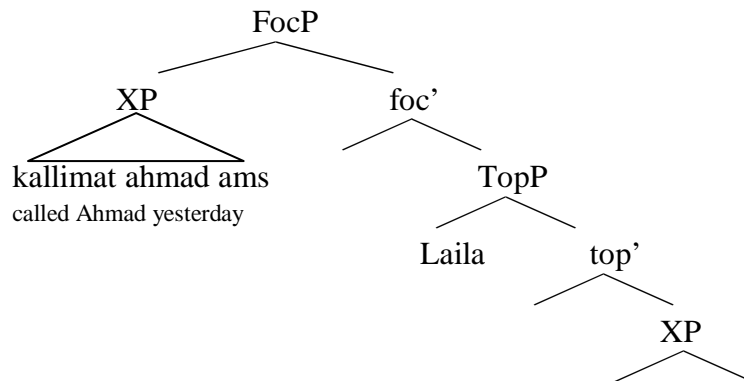
In (184), the adverb *ams* “yesterday” is in TopP₂ and the subject *Fahad* is in FocP. As for the object *al-banaat* “the girls”, it is in TopP₁. Again, *al-banaat* “the girls” is coindexed with a resumptive clitic *-hin* “3pl.f.”. Having the focused element *Fahad* sandwiched between the two topicalized elements *al-banaat* “the girls” and the adverb *ams* “yesterday” rules out the clause. At this point, I would say that I can not propose any explanation why the TopP can not follow the FocP in (184). However, the FocP > TopP order is attested in Turaif only when the FocP is a constituent like a VP or bigger than a VP; see below.

As I have shown under (174) and (175) repeated below, topics can only follow focused elements if the focus element is an XP like AspP.

(185) KALLIM-AT AHMAD AMS, laila
 call.past-3sg.f Ahmad yesterday Laial
 “As for Laila, SHE CALLED AHMAD YESTERDAY.”
 “*As for Laila, she called Ahmad yesterday.”

In (185), *Laila* is interpreted as a topic and the VP *kalim-at Ahmad* “called Ahmad” is interpreted as a focus. The following tree corresponds to (185):

(186)



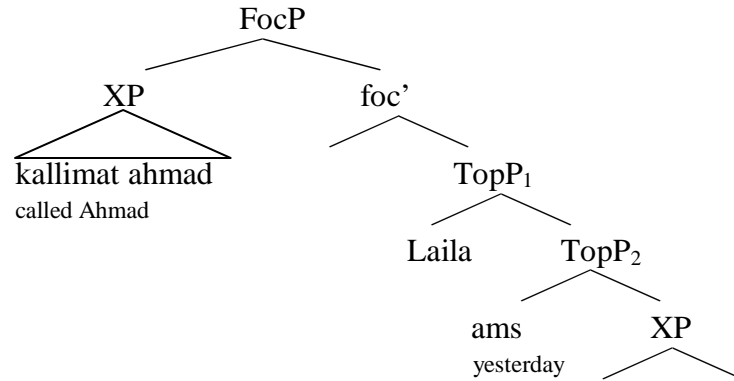
In (186), the DP *Laila* is in the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the VP *kalim-at Ahmad ams* “called Ahmad yesterday” is in the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. Thus, compared to (184), in (186), the TopP follows the FocP. Again, I would say that I have no account of the difference between (184) and (186).

As I have shown under (183) where two topics appear before the focused DP, two topics can follow the focused VP.

(187) KALLIM-AT AHMAD, laila ams
 call.past-3sg.f Ahmad Laial yesterday
 “As for Laila, yesterday, SHE CALLED AHMAD.”
 “*As for Laila, yesterday, she called Ahmad.”

In (187), both *Laila* and *ams* “yesterday” are interpreted as topics and the VP *kalim-at Ahmad* “called Ahmad” is interpreted as a focus. The following tree corresponds to (187):

(188)



In (188), the adverb *ams* “yesterday” is in TopP₂ and the DP *Laila* is in the TopP₁ where both are interpreted as topics and the VP *kalim-at Ahmad* “called Ahmad” is in the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus.

To conclude, in this chapter, I have provided an introduction to the dialect and the background necessary for the core discussion of this dissertation. I have also gone over previous works done on word order in Arabic. Making use of Rizz’s (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause, I have briefly investigated the left periphery of the clause in Turaif Arabic. In the following chapters, SVO, VSO and VOS clauses are investigated.

CHAPTER TWO SVO CLAUSES

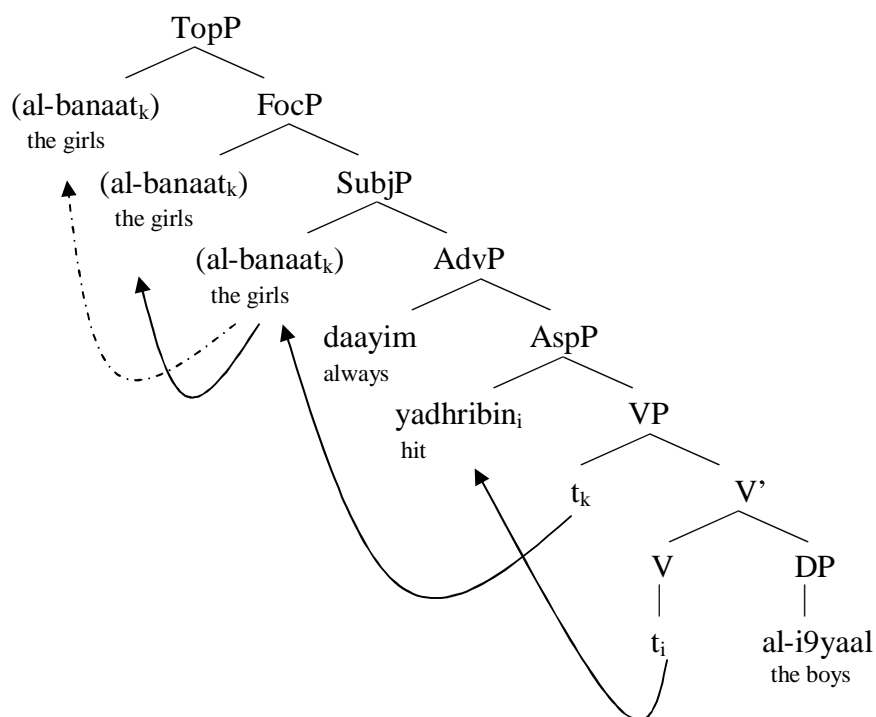
2.1 Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with the syntax of SVO clauses. First, let us consider how the subject of the SVO clause is interpreted:

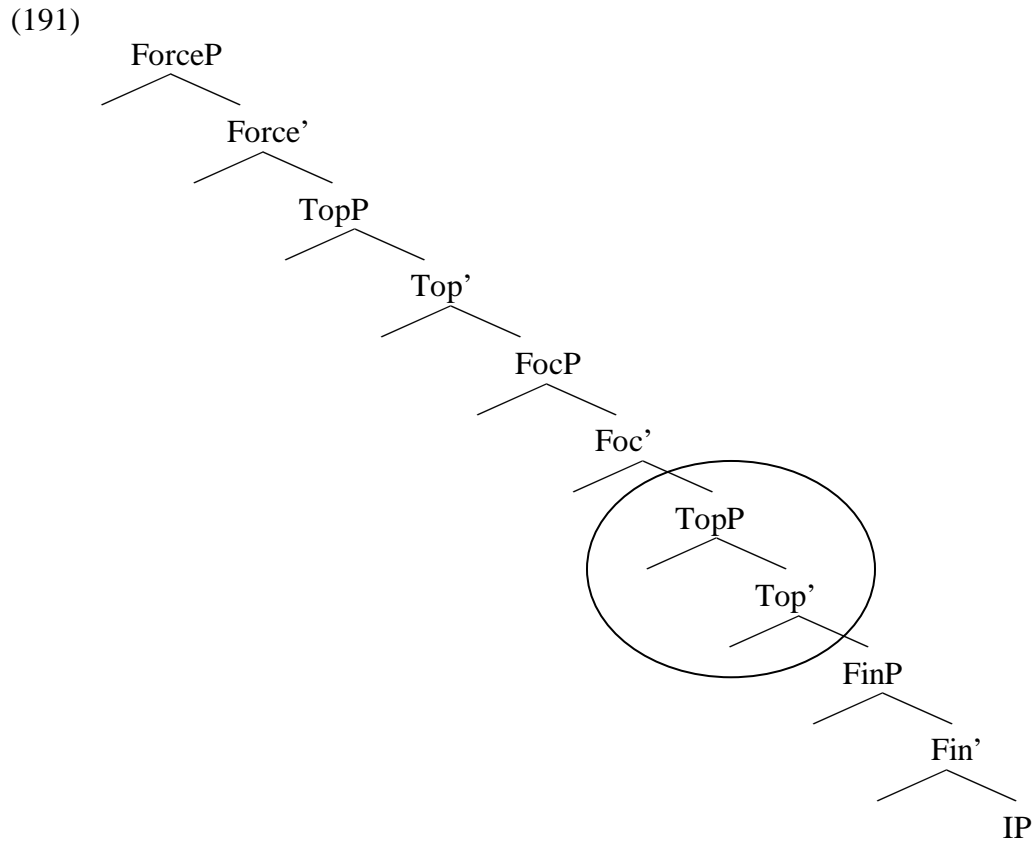
- | | |
|---|---------|
| (189) al-ban-aat daayim ya-dhrib-in al-i9yaal | |
| the-girl-pl.f always ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc | |
| “The girls always hit the boys.” | Neutral |
| “As for the girls, they always hit the boys.” | Topic |
| “THE GIRLS always hit the boys.” | Focus |

In (189), the subject, *al-banaat* “the girls” can be interpreted as a neutral preverbal subject or as a topic or as a focus. The pitch is higher when the subject is interpreted as focus than when it is interpreted as topic. I will argue that the SVO clauses should be analyzed as the following tree shows:

(190)



As (190) shows, taking into account the Internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche 1988) where it is assumed that the subject first originates at the spec of VP, I will argue that the subject of the SVO clause successively moves from its base position to a higher neutral subject position, SubjP, higher than AspP. Presumably on its way up, the subject lands in the spec of AspP and AdvP. Moreover, I will argue that the subject, depending on the interpretation, can appear in a focus position, FocP, at the left periphery of the clause when it is interpreted as a focus and it can appear in a topic position, TopP, when it is interpreted as topic. Moreover, certain adverbs appear in a position between the SubjP and the AspP. Under section 2 below where adverbs will be discussed, I will show that there are other adverbs that appear clause final as VP adjuncts. The left periphery of the clause holds topics and the foci; topics are always higher than the foci. However, topics can iterate but foci can not; only one focused element appears at the left periphery of the clause. My analysis of the left periphery of the SVO clauses departs slightly from Rizzi's (1997) analysis discussed in the previous chapter. In his analysis of the left periphery, Rizzi proposes that topics can precede and follow the focus element. The following tree is proposed by Rizzi (1997) given in Chapter 1 is repeated here for convenience.



Comparing the internal structure of the left periphery of my analysis of the SVO clause under (190) with Rizzi's analysis under (191), we observe that, in the tree I propose, there is no topic position lower than the FocP.

My analysis of the SVO clause is motivated by three pieces of evidence. The first piece of evidence comes from the distribution of adverbs. The second piece of evidence comes from the distribution of quantifier float and the agreement clitic surfacing on the quantifier. The third evidence comes from the scope interaction between the quantifier and negation.

The rest of this chapter is divided into three sections. In section 2.2, I investigate the distribution of the adverbs in which I will show that there is a higher subject position in the clause, SubjP, higher than the AspP; and that there are two types of adverbs; those that appear in a preverbal position, those that appear clause final as VP adjuncts. In section 2.3, I discuss quantifier float. Following the standard assumption of QF (Sportiche 1988, Shlonsky 1991 and Benmamoun 1992), I show that although the subject appears high in SVO clauses, it actually originates in a position lower than the AspP, and from there, it successively moves until it ends in the SubjP. Section 2.4 investigates scope interaction between the quantifier and negation. I show that scope interaction between these two elements relies on the surface position of the quantifier in the clause which shows that there are multiple subject positions in the clause.

2.2 Adverb positions

2.2.1 Introduction

This section concerns adverbs in Turaif Arabic. With neutral interpretation, adverbs are classified into three main groups: preverbal adverbs like, *daayim* “always” and *aHyaanan* “sometimes” and postverbal adverbs like, *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly”. Postverbal adverbs always appear clause final as VP adjuncts. Both types can appear in the left periphery of the clause for reason of topic or focus. The third group is the *ma*-adverbs that are always preceded by the negative element *ma* like, *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma 9ad* “no longer” which always appear preverbally. This type of adverbs never appears in the left periphery of the clause without being followed by the verb. All these properties are addressed in the following subsections.

2.2.2 Preverbal adverbs

This subsection discusses mainly the preverbal adverbs like *daayim* “always” and *aHyaanan* “sometimes”. These adverbs can appear in a position higher than the AspP and lower than the SubjP in the SVO clauses (192). The ungrammaticality of (193) and (194) shows that these adverbs never appear between the verb and the object or clause final.

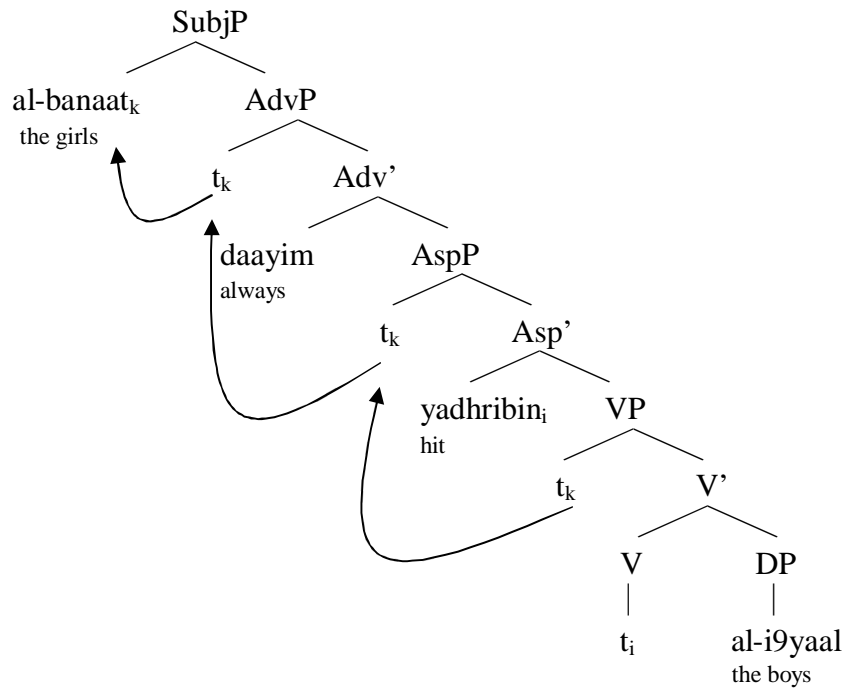
(192) al-ban-aat daayim yadhrib-in al-i9yaal
the-girl-pl.f always hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
“The girls always hit the boys.”
“As for the girls, they always hit the boys.”
“As for the girls, they ALWAYS hit the boys.”

(193) *al-ban-aat yadhrib-in al-i9yaal daayim
the-girl-pl.f hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc always
“The girls always hit the boys.”

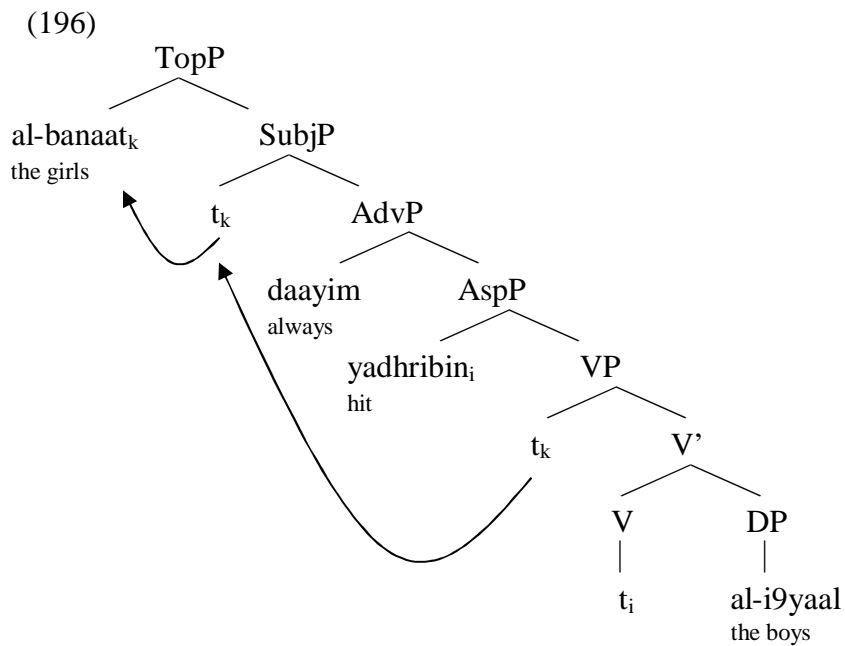
(194) *al-ban-aat yadhrib-in daayim al-i9yaal
the-girl-pl.f hit.imperf-3pl.f always the-boy.pl.masc
“The girls always hit the boys.”
“As for the girls, they always hit the boys.”

In (192), the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” could be interpreted as neutral or as a focus; however, when it is interpreted as a focus, the subject must be interpreted as a topic. (192) with neutral interpretation of both the subject and the adverb is represented as:

(195)

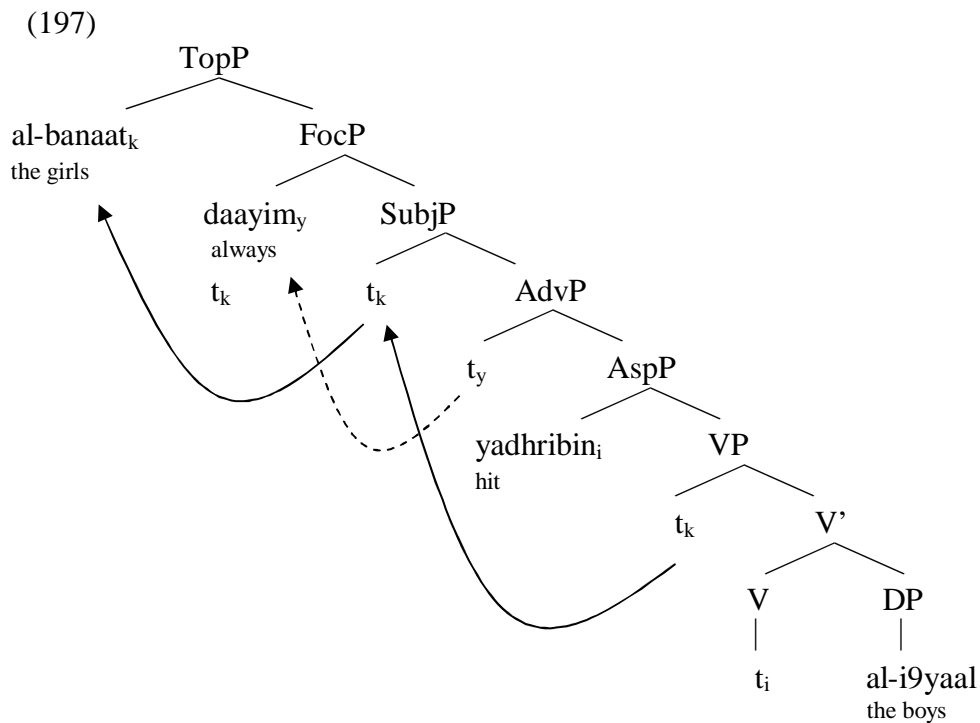


As (195) shows, the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves successively from its base position at the spec of VP to the SubjP. On its way up, it lands in the spec of AspP and AdvP. From now on, I will not draw the subject landing positions on the tree unless they are relevant to the discussion. As for the verb *yadhribin* “hit”, it moves from the V to the AspP. As for the adverb *daayim* “always”, I will assume that, in the neutral interpretation, it occupies an AdvP position between the SubjP and AspP. However, when the subject is interpreted as a topic, (192) is represented as:



In (196), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves successively from its base position in the spec of VP to the SubjP. From there, it moves to TopP where it is interpreted as topic. Note the derivation of the verb *yadhribin* “hit” and the adverb *daayim* “always” are the same as in (195). (195) and (196) fits exactly with the my proposed analysis of the SVO clauses given under (190).

Now, when the adverb is interpreted as a focus, the subject preceding it must be interpreted as a topic. This is predicted from my analysis of the SVO clauses in (190); that is to say topics can only appear in a position higher than FocP. Thus, the topicalized subject can only appear higher than the focused adverb. That is The following tree represents (192) with this interpretation:



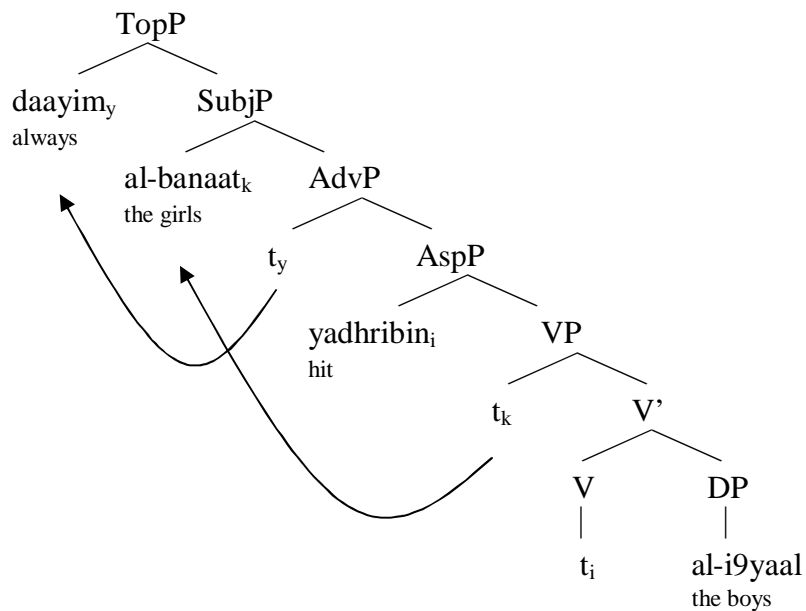
In (197), the adverb *daayim* “always” moves from its base position in AspP to a FocP; and the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” successively moves from its base position to the SubjP; from there, it moves to the TopP higher than the FocP where it is interpreted as a topic.

However, the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” can appear in a position higher than the subject. In this case, it is only interpreted either as a focus or as a topic.

- (198) *daayim al-ban-aat yadhrib-in al-i9yaal*
 always the-girl-pl.f hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
 “As for always, the girls hit the boys.”
 “ALWAYS, the girls hit the boys.”
 “As for always, THE GIRLS hit the boys.”
 “As for girls, always, they hit the boy.”
 “*As for the girls, they ALWAYS, hit the boy.”

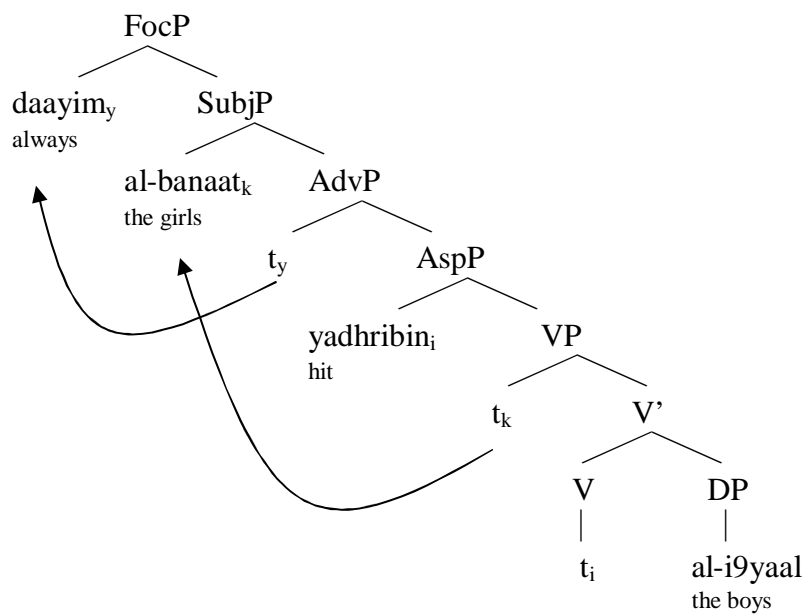
We observe that the adverb *daayim* “always” in (198) is always interpreted as either a focus or a topic. When it is interpreted as a topic, the subject following it could either be interpreted as a focus or as a neutral; however, when the adverb is interpreted as a focus, the subject following it must be neutral rather than a topic. The distribution of adverbs actually follows exactly from my analysis of the SVO clauses in (190); that is to say, as I propose under (190), the topics can iterate and that there is no topic position below the FocP. This is not expected under Rizzi’s (1997) analysis of the left periphery in which topics appear before and after the focused element. This analysis follows exactly from my proposed tree of the SVO clause under (190). The following tree represents (198) where the adverb is interpreted as a topic and the subject is interpreted as neutral:

(199)



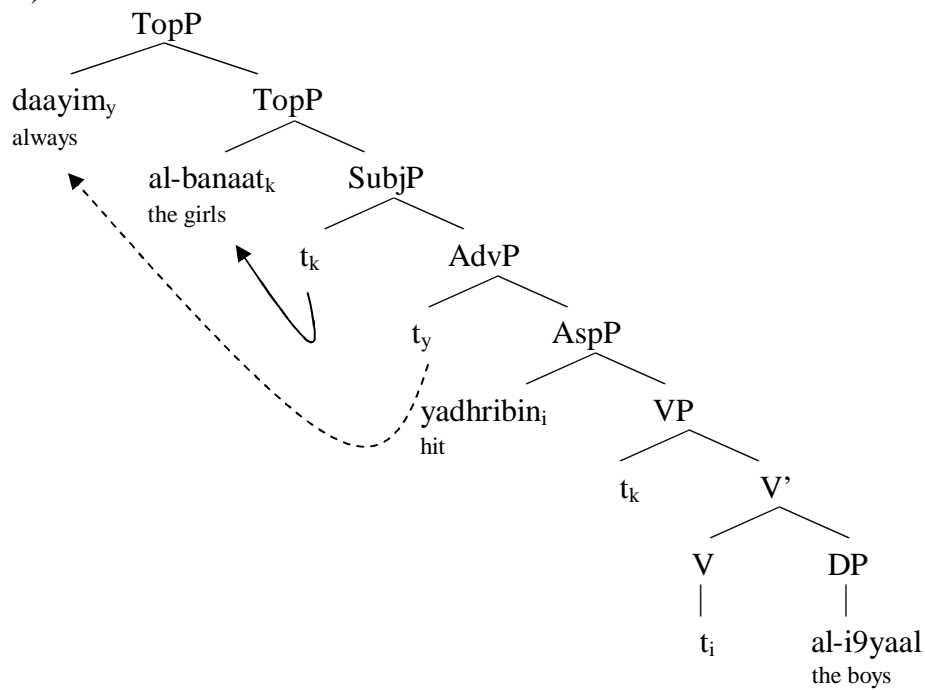
The adverb *daayim* “always” in (199) moves from its base position AdvP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. The subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves successively from the spec of VP to the SubjP and the verb *yadhribin* “hit” moves from the V to the AspP. With the focus interpretation of the adverb, (198) is represented as:

(200)



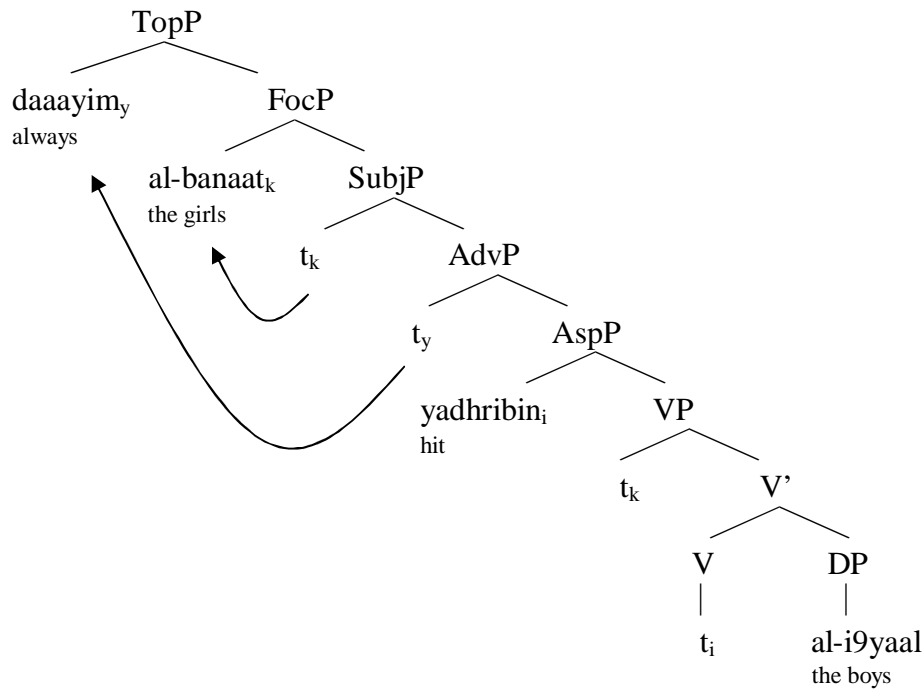
In (200), the adverb *daayim* “always” moves from its base position AdvP to the surface position FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. The derivation of the subject and the verb are the same as in (199). Now, with the topic interpretation of both the adverb and the subject, (198) is represented as:

(201)



In (201), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic, and the adverb *daayim* “always” moves from its base position to the TopP where it is also interpreted as a topic. This follows exactly from Rizzi’s (1997) analysis; topics can iterate in the left periphery of the clause. Finally, with the focus interpretation of the subject and a topic interpretation of the adverb, (198) is represented as:

(202)



In (202), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from SubjP to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus, and the adverb *daayim* “always” moves from its base position to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. The trees (199) - (202) follows exactly from my proposed tree of the SVO clause under (190).

In this subsection, I have shown that the subject can appear in three different positions higher than AspP depending on the interpretation; the subject can appear in the SubjP when it is interpreted as neutral and it can appear in the TopP or the FocP where it is interpreted as a topic or a focus respectively. Moreover, I have shown that the preverbal neutral adverb position is between the SubjP and AspP. And that the adverb can appear at the left periphery of the clause for reason of focus or topic. More importantly, I have shown that it is not always true that there is a TopP below the

FocP at the left periphery of the clause as Rizzi (1997) proposes. Next, I will investigate the postverbal adverbs.

2.2.3 Postverbal adverbs

This subsection concerns the postverbal adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly”. These adverbs can only appear clause final, as VP adjuncts when are interpreted as neutral.

(203) al-ban-aat dhrib-an al-i9yaal b-sir9ah²²
 the-girl-pl.f hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc in-speed
 “The girls hit the boys quickly.”
 “As for the girls, they hit the boys quickly.”
 “THE GIRLS hit the boys quickly.”

(204) *al-ban-aat dhrib-an b-sir9ah al-i9yaal
 the-girl-pl.f hit.perf-3pl.f in-speed the-boy.pl.masc

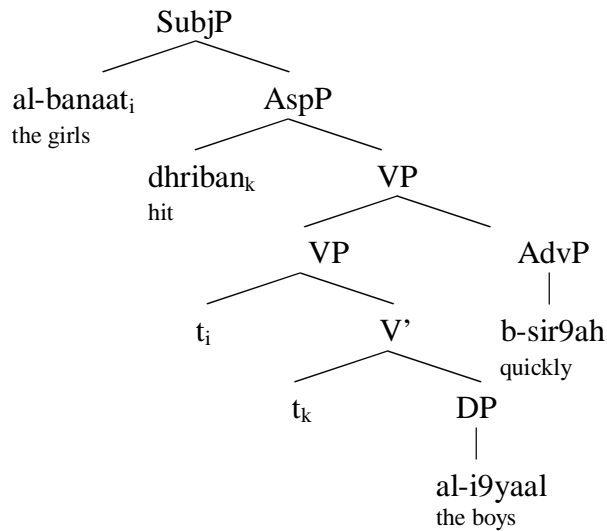
(203) shows that the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears clause final. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (204) is not surprising; it is excluded because the adverb appears in between the object and the verb. Thus, (203) is represented as:

²² There is a homophonous *b-sir9ah* “immediately” which always appears preverbally.

(i) al-banaat b-sir9ah ftah-an al-baab
 the-girl.pl.f in-speed open.perf-3pl.f the-door
 “The girls immediately opened the door.”

Since in my work I am concern with *b-sir9ah* “quickly” which always appears clause finally, I will not say from now on any more about the preverbal one *b-sir9ah* “immediately.”

(205)



In (205), the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears clause final as a VP adjunct. The subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in the SubjP after moving successively from the spec of VP and the verb *dhriban* “hit” moves from V to the AspP.

Before proceeding, something to mention here is that the internal structure of these adverbs seems to be complex; they are formed out of the preposition *b-* “in” followed by a noun. Both of these elements, the preposition and the noun, can be used in other sentences in Turaif Arabic:

(206) *al-walad saafar b-Tayyarah*
the-boy travel.perf.3sg.masc in-plane.indef
“The boy traveled by a plane.”

(207) *Hathi sir9ah jnuuniyyah*
this.3sg.f speed.indef crazy.part.3sg.f
“This is a crazy speed.”

In (206) and (207), the preposition *b-* “in” is used before the noun *Tayyarah* “a plane” and that the noun *sir9ah* “speed” is used as a DP modified by a participial adjective *jnuuniyyah* “crazy”.

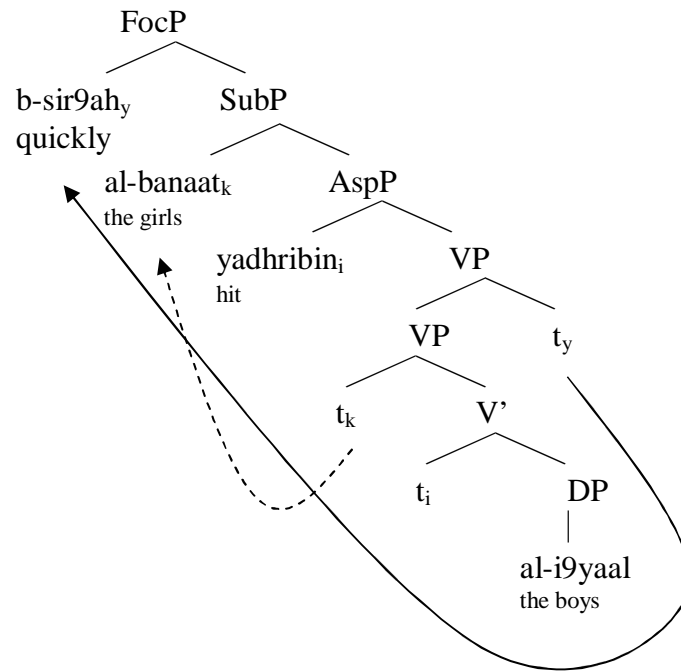
These postverbal adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” can also appear preverbally, in the left periphery of the clause, when it is interpreted as a focus. However, these adverbs contrast with the preverbal adverb like *daayim* “always” in that they never appear in the left periphery of the clause for reason of topic. I will not say for sure why this is the case; but, I would say that it is just difficult to have an “an adverb of manner” as a topic of conversation.

- (208) *b-sir9ah al-ban-aat dhrib-an al-i9yaal*
 in-speed the-girl-pl.f hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
 “QUICKLY, the girls hit the boys.”
 “*As for quickly, the girls hit the boys.”
 “*As for the girls, QUICKLY, they hit the boys.”

- (209) *al-ban-aat b-sir9ah dhrib-an al-i9yaal*
 the-girl-pl.f in-speed hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
 “As for the girls, they QUICKLY hit the boys.”

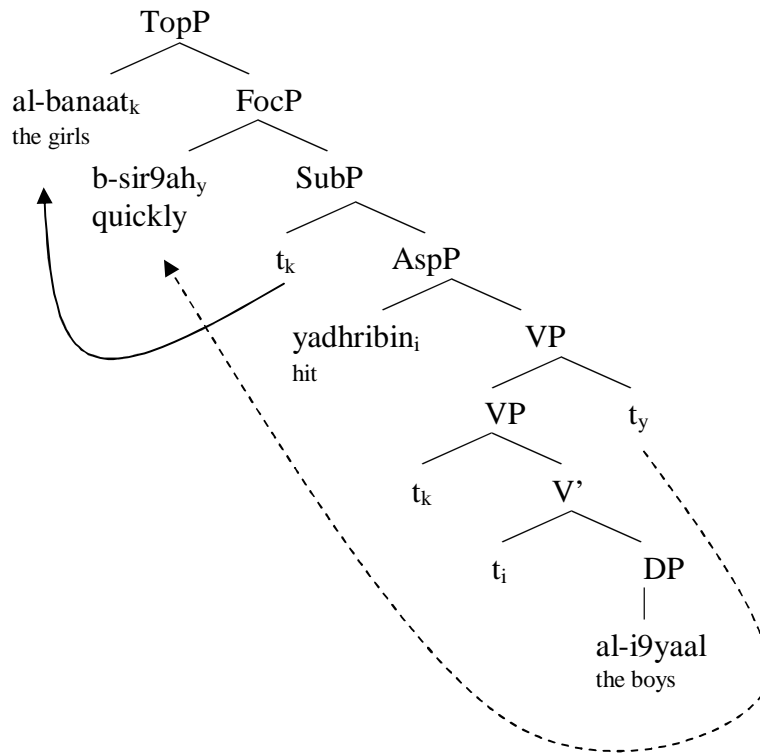
In (208), the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” is interpreted as a focus. In this case, the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” can only be interpreted as neutral. In (209), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” can only be interpreted as a topic. The following tree represents (208):

(210)



In (210), the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” moves from its base position as a VP adjunct to the FocP in the left periphery of the clause. The subject moves from the spec of VP to the surface position SubjP where it is interpreted as neutral. This is not surprising; knowing what I have established so far; the subject can not interpreted as a topic in (210) due to the fact that there it no TopP below the FocP. This analysis follows exactly from my proposed tree of the SVO clause given under (190). With the topic interpretation of the subject *al-banaat* “the girls”, (209) is represented as:

(211)



(211) shows that the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” moves from its base position as a VP adjunct to the FocP for reason of focus. As for the subject *al-banaat* “the girls”, it moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. Again, this tree follows exactly from my analysis of the SVO clauses under (190). Under (190), I propose that topicalized elements always appear in a position higher than the focused elements in the left periphery of the clause. In other words, there is no TopP below the FocP.

In this subsection, I have shown that the postverbal adverb like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appear clause final where they are interpreted as neutral. When they are interpreted as foci, they surface at the left periphery of the clause. Topics can only precede those

adverbs when they are focused. This actually follows from what my analysis of the SVO clauses under (190). In the next subsection, preverbal *ma*-adverbs will be discussed.

2.2.4 *ma*-adverbs

This subsection concerns the distribution of *ma*-adverbs like, *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma 9ad* “no longer”. These preverbal adverbs seem to be internally complex. They are formed out of a negation element *ma* and a noun. The noun used in these adverbs can be separately used in an ordinary sentence. Since I will devote my discussion in this subsection on the adverb *ma 9umr* “never”, the noun *9umr* is used to mean “age, or life, or spirit”.

(212) 9umr-i thalath-iin sniin
 age-1sg three-pl.f year.pl.f
 “My age is 30 years.”

(213) dhaa9 9umr-ha
 lose.perf.3sg.masc life.3sg.f
 “She lost her life.”

The fact that there is no element that can come in between the *ma* and the noun after it in these adverbs shows that the two elements constitute one complex constituent in which the adjacency requirement must be respected.

(214) ***ma** al-ban-aat **9umr**-(**hin**)] qaal-an al-Haq
 ma the-girl.pl.f life-3pl.f say.perf-3pl.f the-truth
 “The girls have never said the truth.”

(214) shows that an element like the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” can not appear in a position in between the *ma* and *9umr*. I will not say any thing more about the internal structure of the *ma*-adverbs since this is not germane to the essence of my work. The

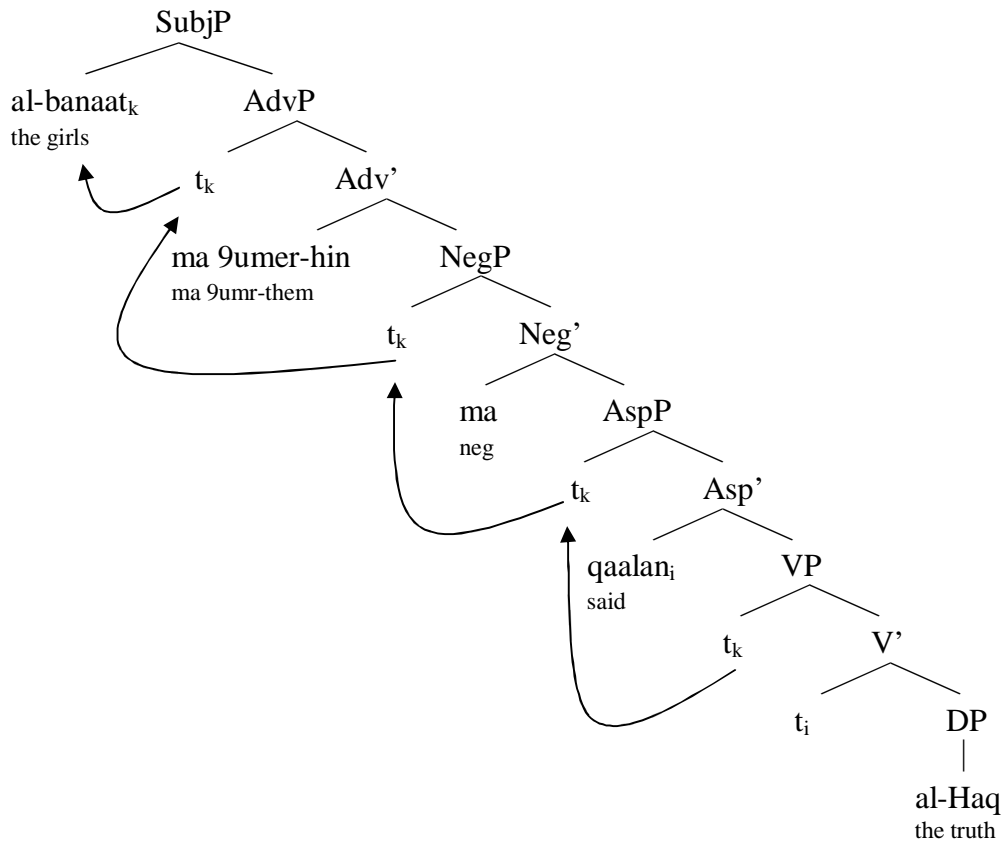
adjacency requirement and being homophonous with the sentential negation *ma* might make someone conclude that *ma* used with these adverbs is just the *ma* used with sentential negation. However, both can appear in the same clause.

(215) al-ban-aat [ma 9umr-*(hin)] ma qaal-an al-Haq
the-girl.pl.f ma life-3pl.f neg. say.perf-3pl.f the-truth
“The girls have not never said the truth.”
(i.e. The girls always tell the truth.)”

In (215), the sentential negation *ma* cooccurs with the *ma* in the *ma*-adverb *ma 9umr* “never” in the same sentence. Thus, for avoiding confusion, from now on, I will be glossing the *ma* appearing with the *ma*-adverbs as “*ma*” and the sentential negation *ma* as “neg”.

(215) is represented as:

(216)



In (216), we observe that the *ma*-adverb appear between the neutral subject position, SubjP, and the NegP. The subject successively moves from its base position in the spec of VP to the SubjP. On its way to the spec of SubjP, the subject lands in the specs of AspP, NegP, and AdvP. Because the subject, *al-banaat* “the girls” is being in a spec-head relation with the adverb *ma 9umer* “never”, the agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” surfaces on the adverb.

Now, let us turn to the distribution of the *ma*-adverbs. As (216) above shows, these adverbs always appear in a position higher than the verb with only neutral interpretation. Any other position leads to the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

(217) *al-ban-aat qaal-an **ma 9umr-(hin)** al-Haq
 the-girl.pl.f say.perf-3pl.f ma life-3pl.f the-truth
 “The girls have never said the truth.”

(218) *al-ban-aat qaal-an al-Haq **ma 9umr-(hin)**
 the-girl.pl.f say.perf-3pl.f the-truth ma life-3pl.f
 “The girls have never said the truth.”

(217) and (218) show that the *ma*-adverb *ma 9umr* “never” never appears postverbally.

What is more interesting about these adverbs as (215) shows is the fact that there is an obligatorily presence of a resumptive clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” on the *ma*-adverb when the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” precedes it. We also observe that it is not only the resumptive clitic obligatory but it also fully agrees with the subject. The agreement mismatch leads to the ungrammaticality of the sentence:

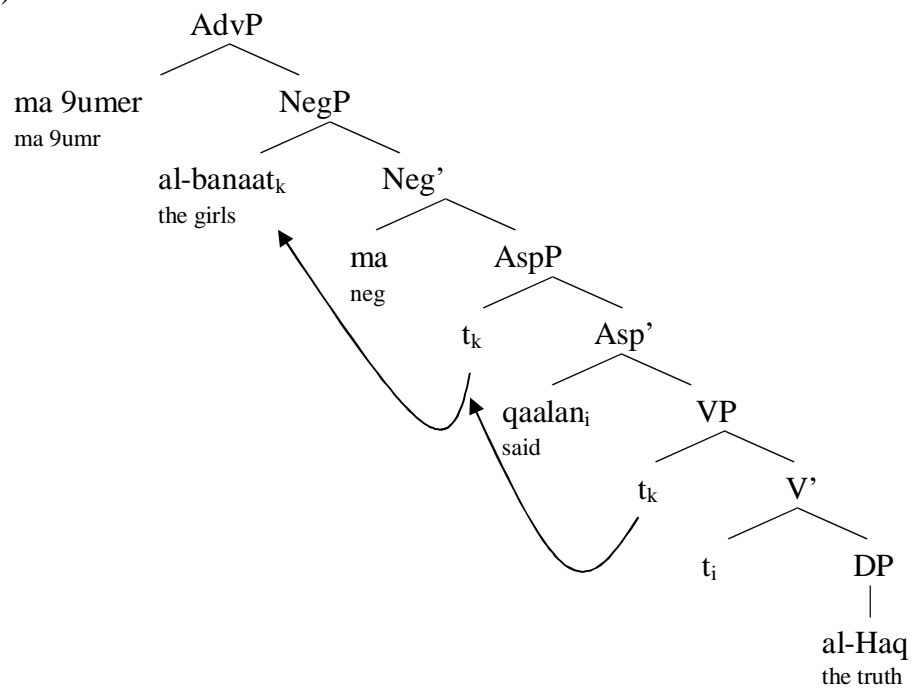
(219) ***al-ban-aat** ma 9umri-**hum** qaal-an al-Haq
 the-girl.pl.f not life-3pl.f say.perf-3pl.f the-truth
 “The girls never say the truth.”
 “As for the girls, they have never said the truth.”
 “THE GIRLS have never said the truth.”

In (219), the resumptive clitic does not agree in gender with the subject *al-banaat* “the girls”. Thus, the sentence is ungrammatical. However, this resumptive clitic becomes obligatorily absent when the subject follows the *ma*-adverb.

(220) ma 9umr-(*hin) al-ban-aat ma qaal-an al-Haq
 ma life-they.f the-girl.pl.f neg. say.perf-3pl.f the-truth
 “The girls never have not said the truth.”

(220) shows that the resumptive clitic is obligatorily absent when the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears after the *ma*-adverb. This observation leads me to the conclusion that this clitic is just an agreement clitic. That is to say, when the subject moves to a position higher than the *ma*-adverb, it agrees with the *ma*-adverb on its way up. Thus, the following tree represents (220):

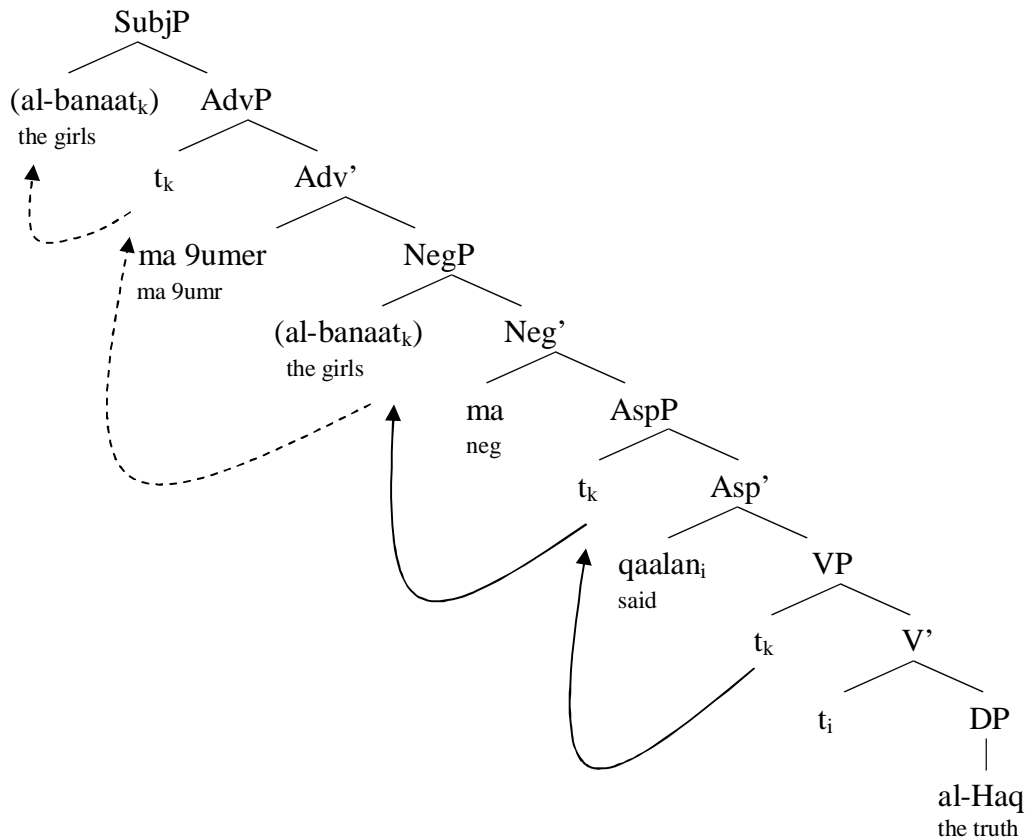
(221)



We observe from (221) that the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves successively from its base position in the spec of VP to the spec of AspP then to the spec of NegP. I will assume that it will remain in the spec of NegP in the surface. That is to say, it does not reach the spec of AdvP which accounts to the obligatory absence of the agreement clitic on the adverb. Compared to (221), in (216) above, we have seen that the subject, on its way up to the SubjP, lands in the Spec of AdvP where it gets in a spec-

head relation with the *ma*-adverb; therefore, the agreement clitic surfaces. I would conclude that, as far as *ma*-adverbs are concerned, there are two neutral subject positions in the SVO clause. One is the SubjP and the other is the spec of NegP. The following tree shows the neutral subject positions in SVO clauses:

(222)



In (222), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from its base position in the spec of VP to the spec of AspP; then it moves to the spec of NegP where it can remain there; or it may keep moving to the SubjP. On its way to the SubjP, the subject lands in the spec of AdvP agreeing with it.

In this subsection, I have shown that the *ma*-adverb like *ma 9umr* “never” appear only preverbally. And that the neutral subject can appear higher than these adverbs in the SubjP or lower than these adverbs in the spec of NegP. When the subject appears higher than the *ma*-adverb, a clitic surfaces on the adverb. I take the clitic to be an agreement clitic surfaces due to the subject, on its way to the SubjP, lands in the spec of AdvP where the agreement takes place. This actually fits exactly with my proposed analysis of the SVO clauses under (190).

To conclude, in this section, I have shown that the subject can appear in a number of positions higher than the AspP, it can appear in, SubjP, when it is interpreted as neutral, in TopP when it is interpreted as topic and in FocP when it is interpreted as focus. Moreover, I have shown that there are two types of adverbs in the SVO clause; adverbs like *aHyaanan* “sometimes” and *ma-9umr* “never” that only appear preverbally and adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” that only appear clause final as VP adjuncts. Adverbs like *aHyaanan* “sometimes” and *b-sir9ah* “quickly” can appear in the left periphery of the clause for reason of topic or focus. Contrary to Rizzi’s (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause, I have shown that it is not true in all languages that there is a TopP position below FocP. These findings constitute the first piece of evidence for my analysis of the SVO clauses given under (190). In the next section, I will investigate second piece of evidence, quantifier float.

2.3 Quantifier Float

2.3.1 Introduction

This section concerns Quantifier float, QF, in Turaif Arabic. First, let us take the following English examples:

- (223) a. [**All** the children] have handed in the assignment.
b. The children have **all** handed in the assignment.

In (223)a, the quantifier all surfaces adjacent to the DP “the children” in the subject position of the clause; in (223)b, the quantifier all appears nonadjacent to the DP “the children”; it surfaces in a lower position in the clause right before the main verb in the sentence. Taking into account that both sentences have almost the same interpretation in which the quantifier all quantifies over the set denoted by the DP in both sentences, one might ask about the relationship between the quantifier “all” and the DP “the children” the quantifier modifies; and what this relationship tells us about the structure of the sentence. Various analyses have been proposed to explain the QF. In the next subsection, I will review the standard analyses of QF in English and French done by Sportiche (1988) and McCloskey (1997) hoping to see how these analyses tell us about the QF in Turaif Arabic.

2.3.2 QF in French and English

Sportiche (1988) discusses the following French data:

- (224) a. [**tous les enfants**] ont vu ce film²³
all the children have seen this movie

²³ The example under (224) is taken from Sportiche (1988) page 426.

b. **les enfants** ont **tous** vu ce film
 the children have all seen this movie

In (224)a, the quantifier *tous* “all” appears in position preceding the DP *les enfants* “the children”. In (224)b, the quantifier appears to the right of the DP. Sportiche argues that the relationship between the DP and the quantifier obeys the condition that the antecedent-anaphor relationship obeys. First, the quantifier must be c-commanded by the DP.

(225) a. [_{DP} l’auteur de tous ces livres] a vu ce film²⁴
 the-author of all these books has seen this movie

b. * [_{DP} l’auteur de **ces livres**] a **tous** vu ce film
 the-author of these books has all seen this movie

(225)b shows that the antecedent of the quantifier *tous* “all” *ces livres* “these books” does not c-command the quantifier as being inside a complex subject. Second, the relationship needs to be local.

(226) ***les enfants** l’ont persuade [de **tous** acheter ce livre].
 The children him-have persuaded Comp all buy this book

In (226), the quantifier *tous* “all” and the antecedent are not found in the same clause which lead to the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

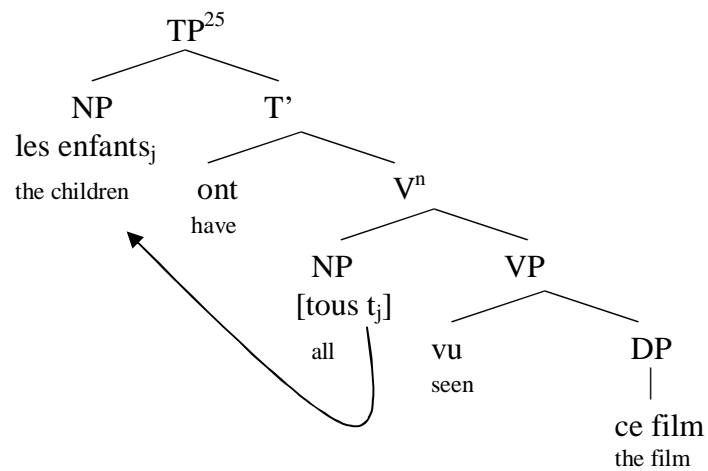
Sportiche proposes that the properties above are explained if there is a syntactic dependency between the quantifier and the DP; the quantifiers form a constituent with the DP they modify in the D-structure. In other words, he argues that there is movement relation between the subject *les enfants* “the children” and the quantifier *tous* “all” in (224). Sportiche utilizes the theory developed by Koopman and

²⁴ Examples (225) and (226) are taken from Sportiche (1988) page 432.

Sportiche (1988) according to which the subject is generated in a position internal to VP at the D-structure, specifically, as subjects of a small clause complement of Infl. According to Sportiche’s analysis, the quantifier *tous* “all” is a stranded element that is part of the projection containing NP where the subject is base generated.

On implementation of Sportiche’s analysis sentence like (224)b above would roughly be:

(227)



Since the exact derivation of (227) is not the main focus of this section, it is enough to observe that the subject *les enfants* “the children” moves to the specTP leaving a trace behind in V^n where the stranded quantifier *tous* “all” appears.

McCloskey (1997) states that the English examples below can only be explained if one adopts Sportiche’s analysis of QF.

²⁵ The V^n is used by Sportiche to mark the position in which the subject is base generated.

English data from:

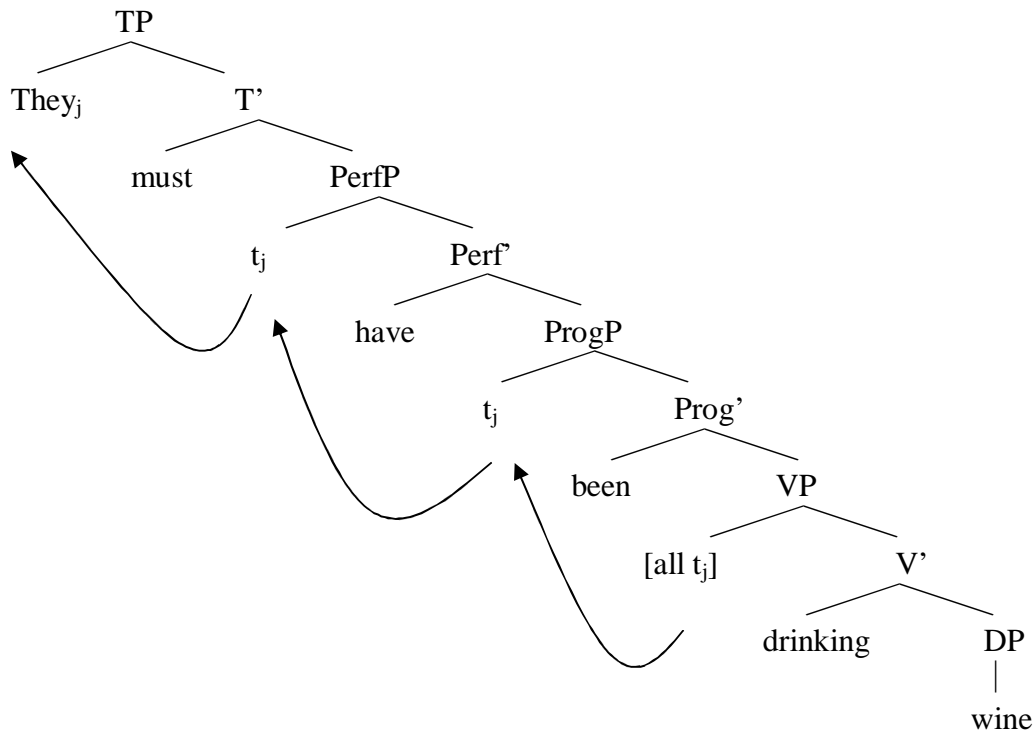
- (228) a. They **all** must have been drinking wine²⁶.
b. They must **all** have been drinking wine.
c. They must have **all** been drinking wine.
d. They must have been **all** drinking wine.
e. *They must have been drinking **all** wine.
f. ?*They must have been drinking wine **all**.

With the assumption that both the pronoun “they” and the modifying quantifier “all” start as one constituent in the spec of VP before the pronoun “they” successively moves upward, the grammaticality of (228)a-d is not surprising. All these grammatical sentences show that the modifying quantifier “all” can be stranded in any of the positions the pronoun lands in. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (228)e and f is also not surprising. We know that in English the verb does not raise to T; it is always in its base position as the head of VP and that the subject originates in the spec of VP; thus, the stranded quantifier can not appear in a position lower than the spec of VP.

Following Radford’s (2004) analysis of English, (228)d is represented as:

²⁶ These examples are taken from McCloskey (1997) page 205.

(229)



In (229), the subject pronoun “they” successively moves from its base position in the spec of VP next to the quantifier to the specTP. On its way, the subject can strand the modifying quantifier “all” in any of its landing positions, in the spec of VP, or in the spec of ProgP, or in the spec of PerfP, or even the spec of TP.

The essential point of Sportiche’s and McCloskey’s analyses is that the subject, on its way to the specTP, lands in the spec of multiple XPs. In other words, the subject can appear in a number of positions in the clause. This proposal is useful for my analysis of the SVO clauses in Turaif Arabic; as we have seen above from investigating the distribution of adverbs that the subject lands in multiple XPs before reaching its surface position. In the next subsection, I will investigate quantifier float

in Turaif Arabic; QF will be further evidence of the presence of the multiple landing XPs.

2.3.3 Quantifier float and SVO clauses.

This subsection concerns QF in SVO clauses. First, the following examples show the distribution of the quantifier in SVO clauses:

(230) *killi-*(hum) ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-bint*
all-3pl.masc the-men saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
“All the men saw the girl.”
“As for all the men, they saw the girl yesterday.”
“ALL THE MEN saw the girl yesterday.”
“As for all of them, the men saw the girls yesterday.”

(231) *ar-rjaal killi-*(hum) shaaf-aw al-bint*
the-men all-3pl.masc saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
“As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”
“As for the men, ALL OF THEM saw the girl.”

(232) *ar-rjaal shaaf-aw killi-*(hum) al-bint*
the-men see.perf-3pl.masc all-3pl.masc the-girl
“As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”

(233) * *ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-bint killi-hum*
the-men saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl all-3pl.masc
“As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”

(234) **killi-hum ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-bint*
all-3pl.masc the-men saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
“As for all of them, the men saw the girl.”

In (230), the quantifier *kill* “all” appears right before the DP, *ar-rjaal* ‘the men’ in the subject position. In this case, we note the obligatorily absence of the resumptive clitic, *-hum* “3pl.masc”. (231) - (232) show that when the quantifier surfaces in positions lower than the subject, the resumptive clitic becomes obligatorily present. The ungrammaticality of (233) and (234) shows that the quantifier and its resumptive

clitic can not appear clause final or in the left periphery of the clause preceding the subject. Thus, I conclude that the resumptive clitic surfaces on the quantifier whenever the subject has moved away from the quantifier. That is to say, the clitic appears on the quantifier whenever the subject in a position c-commanding the quantifier.

The following templates show where the quantifier with or without the resumptive clitic can or can not appear in the SVO clause:

(235)

(kill) **S** (*kill) **V** (*kill) **O** (*kill)
 (*kill-cl) **S** (kill-cl) **V** (kill-cl) **O** (*kill-cl)

Before analyzing (230) (234), it is necessary to investigate the nature of the resumptive clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc” surfacing on the quantifier *kill* “all”. To do this, I will overview two well-cited works; Shlonsky’s (1991) analysis of *kol* “all” in Hebrew and Benmamoun’s (1993) analysis of *kull* “all” in Standard Arabic in which the researchers argue that the resumptive clitics are agreement clitics which surface whenever the DP moves to a position higher than the quantifier in the clause.

Shlonsky (1991) investigates the following Hebrew data:

(236) a. kol ha-yeladim ?ohavim le-saxek²⁷
 all the-children like to-play
 “All the children like to play.”

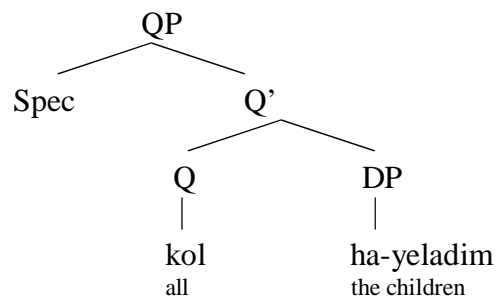
²⁷ The data is taken from Shlonsky (1991) page 161.

- b. ha-yeladim kol-*(am) ?ohavim le-saxek
 the-children all-[3MPL] like to-play
 “All the children like to play.”
- c. *ha-yeladim kol-o ?ohavim le-saxek
 the-children all-[3MS] like to-play
 “All the children like to play.”

In (236)a the quantifier *kol* “all” appears right before the subject *ha-yeladim* “the children”. When the subject appears preceding the quantifier as in (236)b, the quantifier obligatorily hosts a clitic pronoun which must agree with the subject in number and gender. The agreement mismatch leads to the ungrammaticality of (236)c.

From the fact that only heads like verbs, nouns, prepositions, and the negative particle *?eyn*, can host pronominal clitics in Hebrew, Shlonsky takes the quantifier *kol* “all” to be a head which selects a DP complement headed by the definite determiner:

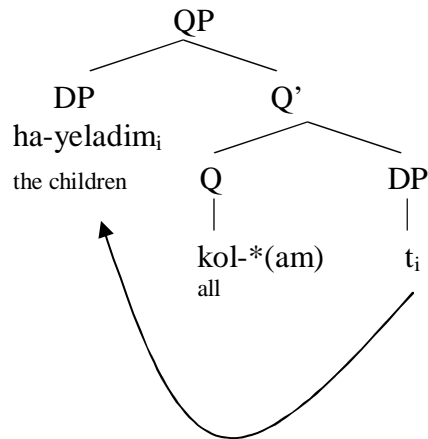
(237)



To derive the order in which the DP *ha-yeladim* “the children” precedes the quantifier *kol* “all”, Shlonsky uses the operation Move Alpha, which preposes the DP complement of the quantifier into the specifier position of the quantifier. Both, the DP

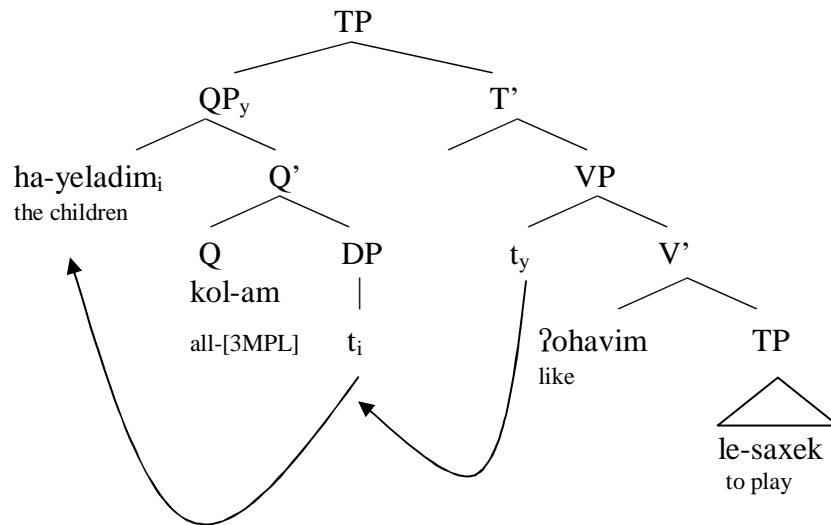
ha-yeladim “the children” and the quantifier *kol* “all”, being in a spec-head relation, an obligatorily agreement clitic appears on the quantifier:

(238)



Implementing Shlonsky’s analysis of the quantifier (236)b should be represented as:

(239)



In (239), the quantifier phrase *kol ha-yeladim* “all the children” first moves from the spec of VP to the specTP. Then, the DP *ha-yeladim* “the children” moves from the

complement position of the quantifier *kol* “all” to its spec. Being at the spec-head relation, the pronominal clitic *-am* “3MPL” surfaces on the quantifier.

After reviewing Shlonsky’s analysis, now, let us see how Benmamoun (1993) analyzes the quantifier *kull* “all” in Standard Arabic.

Investigating the quantifier *kull* “all” in Standard Arabic, Benmamoun (1992) considers the following data:

- (240) a. *zaa9a kull-u l-ʔawlaad-i*²⁸
came all-nom the-children-Gen
“All the children came.”
- b. *kull-u l-ʔawlaad-i zaa9a*
all-nom the-children-Gen came
“All the children came.”
- c. *raʔaytu kull-a l-ʔawlaad-i*
I saw all-nom the-children-Gen
“I saw all the children.”

In (240)a-c, the quantifier *kull* “all” and the DP *l-ʔawlaad* “the children” form a complex constituent. The quantifier carries the case assigned to the whole projection, a nominative case-marker *-u* in (240)a-b and an accusative case-marker *-a* in (240)c, and the DP following it carries the genitive case-marker *-i*. Benmamoun shows that the same characteristics are shown by the Construct State in Arabic.

- (241) a. *zaaʔa 9amm-u l-ʔawlaad-i*
came uncle-Nom the-children-Gen
“The children’s uncle came.”

²⁸ The examples are taken from Benmamoun (1993) page 32.

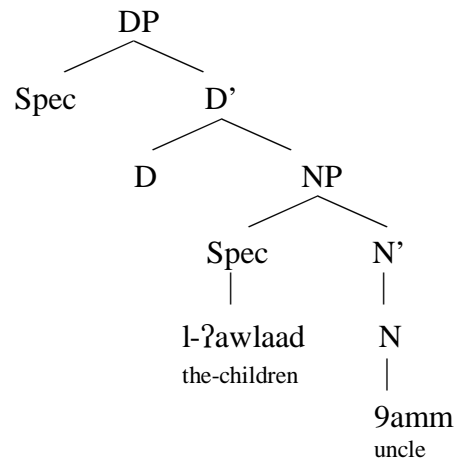
b. 9amm-**u** l-ʔawlaad-**i** zaaʔa
uncle-Nom the-children-Gen came
“The children’s uncle came.”

c. raʔaytu 9amm-**a** l-ʔawlaad-**i**
saw uncle-Acc the-children-Gen
“I saw the children’s uncle.”

As in the case of quantifier, in (241)a-c, the head noun *9amm* “uncle” carries the case assigned to the whole projection, a nominative case in (241)a-b and an accusative case in (241)c. The noun DP *l-ʔawlaad* “the children” following the head always carries genitive case; presumably this genitive case is assigned by the head *9amm* “uncle”. Because of the similarity in case assignment, Benmamoun proposes that both the constituent *kull l-ʔawlaad* “all the children” and the construct state have a similar internal structure.

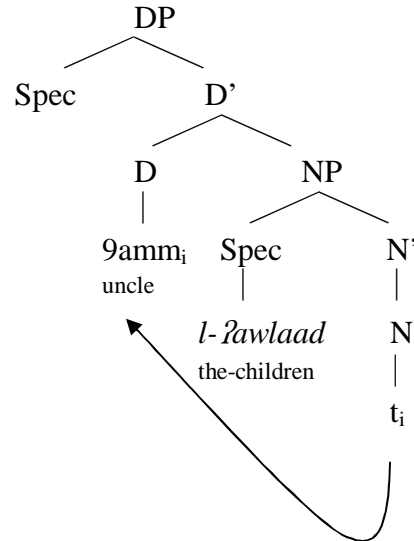
Benmamoun adopts Mohammad’s (1988) and Fassi’s (1993) analysis of the construct state in Arabic. As (242) below shows, Benmamoun takes the first member of the construct state, *9amm* “uncle” to be base generated as a head of the complement of D, namely NP and the genitive noun *l-ʔawlaad-i* as the specifier of this complement.

(242)



To get the surface order of the construct state in which *9amm* precedes *l-ʔawlaad*, the head noun, *9amm*, moves to the head of DP leaving the possessor, *l-ʔawlaad*, within the lexical NP projection.

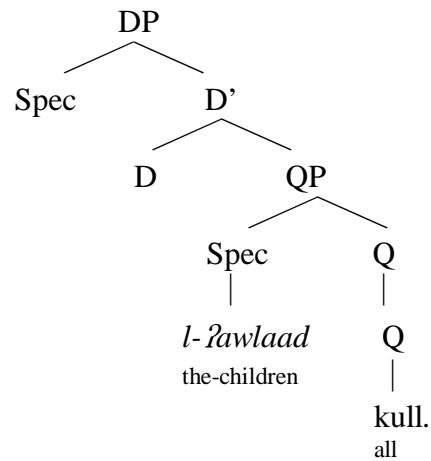
(243)



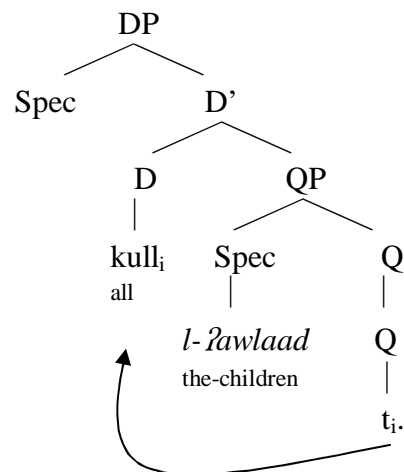
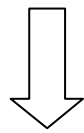
In (243), the head of the NP of the complement of D *9amm* “uncle” moves to D leaving a trace in the base position.

Given that the quantifier *kull* “all” and the noun *l-ʔawlaad* “the children” following it show the same case properties of the construct state, Benmamoun proposes that *kull* and the noun following it in (240) have the same syntactic representation as the construct state:

(244) a.



b.



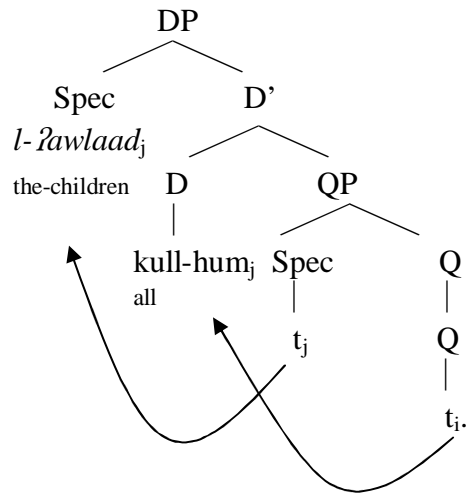
In (244)a-b, the quantifier *kull* “all” is the head of the QP the complement of D and the noun *l-ʔawlaad* “the children” is its spec. We observe that as the head, *kull* “all” moves to D leaving behind a trace in its base position.

To derive a sentence where the noun *l-ʔawlaad* “the children” appears before the quantifier *kull* “all”,

(245) *l-ʔawlaad-u kull-u-hum zaaʔ-uu*
 the-children-nom all-nom-them come.past-3mp
 “All the children came.”

Benmamoun following Shlonsky’s (1991) analysis discussed above proposes that the noun *l-ʔawlaad* “the children” moves from the spec of the QP to the spec of DP. Thus, being in a spec-head relation, the agreement clitic surfacing onto the quantifier is explained.

(246)



In (246), the quantifier *kull* “all” moves from the Q to D and the noun *l-?awlaad* “the children” moves from the spec of QP to the spec of DP. We observe the appearance of the agreement clitic on the quantifier.

After reviewing Shlonsky’s and Benmamoun’s analyses of QF, I would say that the essential point of both analyses is that the presence of the agreement clitic on the quantifier which results from the NP is being is a specifier-head relation with Q.

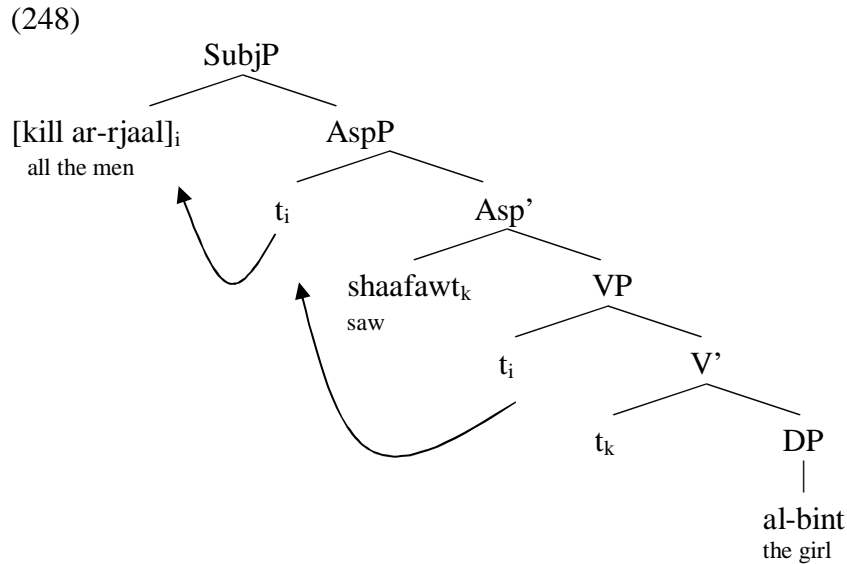
Let us now turn to (230) - (232); I have shown that the resumptive clitic is obligatorily present whenever the subject is in a position preceding the quantifier. Thus, this goes exactly with Shlonsky’s and Benmamoun’s analyses. That is to say, when the noun moves to a higher position preceding the quantifier, it first moves to the spec of QP; being in a spec-head relation with the quantifier; the agreement clitic surfaces.

Adopting Shlonsky’s (1991) and Benmamoun’s (1993) analyses of the resumptive clitic, below is how (230) - (232) are derived.

(247) *killi-(*hum) ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-bint (=230)*
 all-3pl.masc the-men saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
 “All the men saw the girl.”
 “As for all the men, they saw the girl.”
 “ALL THE MEN saw the girl.”

In (247), we observe the obligatory absence of the agreement clitic on the quantifier *kill* “all”. This is not surprising given what I have explained above. The subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” is never in a spec-head relation with the quantifier.

The following tree represents the derivation of (247) when the subject is interpreted as neutral.



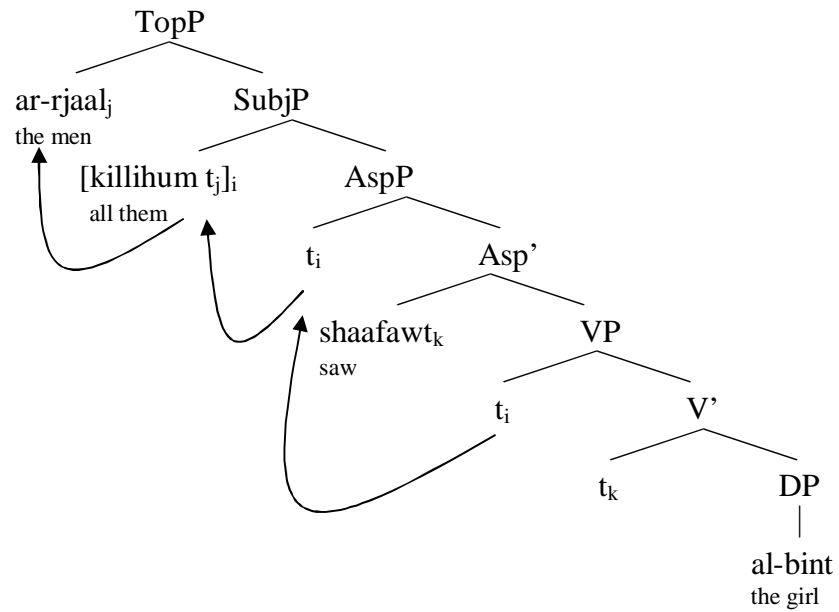
In (248), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” with the quantifier *kill* “all” originates in the theta-position at the spec of VP; from there, pied piping the quantifier, the subject moves to the spec of SubjP which is higher than the AspP. On its way, it lands in the spec of AspP.

Now, let us see how the sentences in which the quantifier appears in a position following the subject are derived.

- (249) ar-rjaal killi-*(**hum**) shaaf-aw al-bint (=231))
 the-men all-3pl.masc saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
 “As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”
 “As for the men, ALL OF THEM saw the girl.”

In (249), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears before the quantifier *kill* “all”. We notice the obligatory presence of the agreement clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc” on the quantifier. (249) with neutral interpretation of the quantifier is represented as:

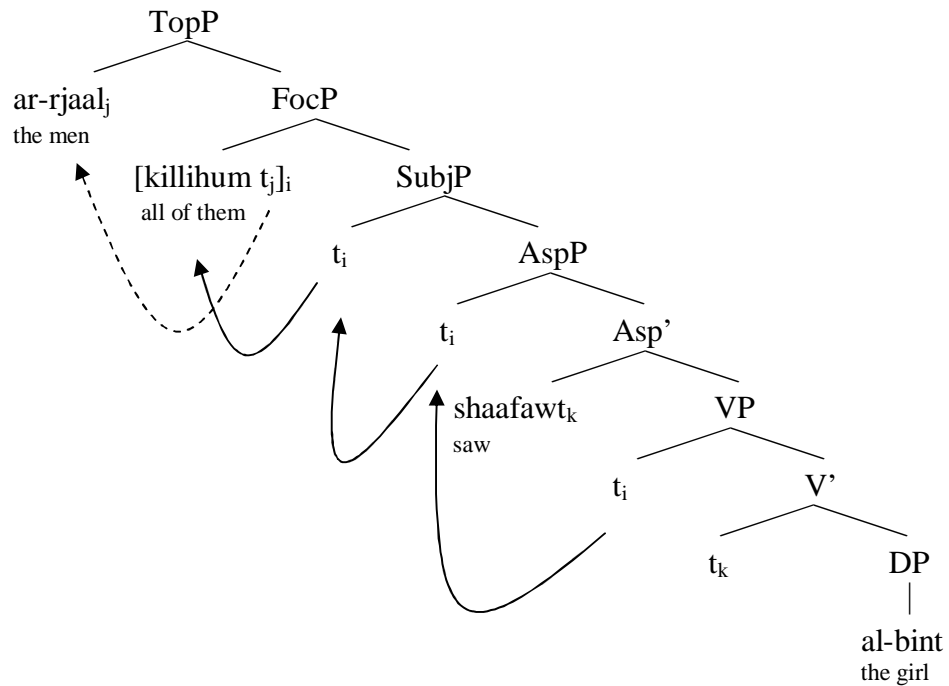
(250)



In (250), the QP [*kill ar-rjaal*] “all the men” moves from its base position in the spec of VP to the SubjP; on its way, it lands in the spec of AspP. Then, the subject stranding the quantifier in the spec of SubjP moves upwards to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. Following Shlonsky’s and Benmamoun’s analyses of QF, I argue that, before moving to the TopP, the subject first moves to the spec of Q agreeing with it; thus, an obligatory agreement clitic appears on the quantifier.

(249) with focus interpretation of the quantifier is represented as:

(251)



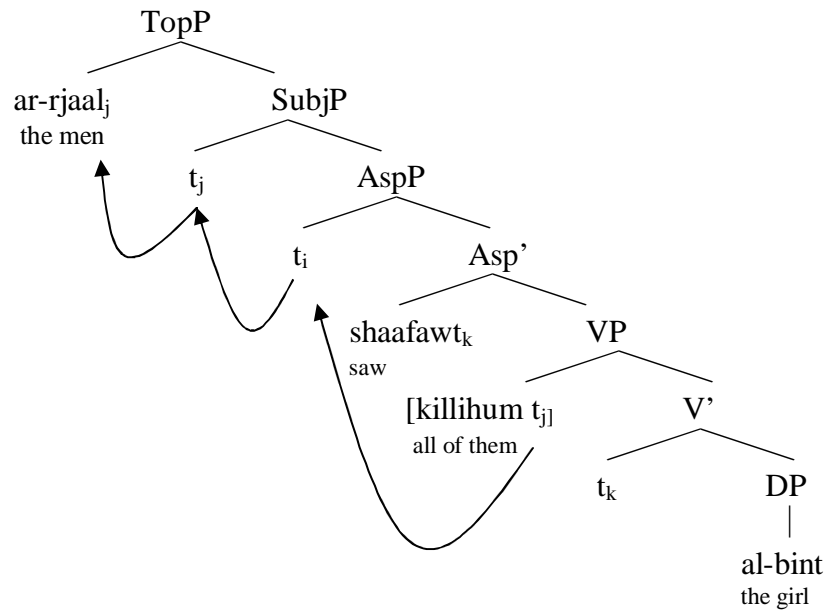
In (251), the QP [*kill ar-rjaal*] “all the men” moves from spec of SubjP to the spec of FocP. Then, the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves upwards to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. Again, following Shlonsky’s and Benmamoun’s analyses of QF, I argue that, before moving to the TopP, the subject first moves to the spec of Q agreeing with it; thus, an obligatory agreement clitic appears on the quantifier.

The quantifier with the agreement clitic can also surface in a position lower than the AspP.

(252) *ar-rjaal shaaf-aw killi-*(hum) al-bint* (= (232))
the-men see.perf-3pl.masc all-3pl.masc the-girl
“As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”

The following tree represents (252):

(253)



In (253), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” originates in the Spec of VP inside the QP; then it moves from there to the Spec of SubjP stranding the quantifier; on its way up, it lands in the Spec of AspP. From the Spec of SubjP, the subject moves to the TopP at the left periphery of the clause where it is interpreted as a topic. What is important here is the agreement clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc” surfaces on the quantifier *kill* “all” in the Spec of VP. This shows that the subject was in a spec-head relation with the quantifier.

At this point, it is of relevance to the discussion to review Bošković’s (2004) analysis of the position of the stranded quantifier in (253). Bošković (2004) gives the following ungrammatical English examples:

- (254) a. *The students arrive all²⁹.
b. *The students were arrested all.
c. *Mary hates the students all.

In (254)a, the stranded quantifier “all” can not appear lower than the unaccusative verb “arrive”. In (254)b, the stranded quantifier “all” can not appear lower than the passive verb “were arrested”. Given that the theta-position of the subject in passive and unaccusative constructions is lower than the verb, this shows that the stranded quantifier is not in a theta-position as it is assumed. Bošković give (254)c to back his argument. We observe that the quantifier can not appear in the theta-position of the object.

To support his argument, Bošković presents data from a number of languages like Spanish, Swedish, Italian, Japanese and English. In English, he shows that the floated quantifier *all* must precede low manner adverb, *completely*.

- (255) a. The students all completely understood.
b. *The student completely [_{VP} all understood].

Bošković argues that in the standard assumption when preceding the verb, even the low adverb like *completely* must be in a position above the subject theta-position. Thus, from the ungrammaticality of (255)b, he concludes that the stranded quantifier is not the theta-position.

Bošković cites Holmberg’s (1999) claim in which Holmberg argues that a FQ modifying a subject can not occur between an auxiliary and the participle in Swedish

²⁹ The examples are taken from Bošković (2004) page 682 and 686.

embedded clauses. Given the fact that auxiliaries in Swedish embedded clause do not move overtly, Bošković concludes that the FQ is not in a subject theta-position.

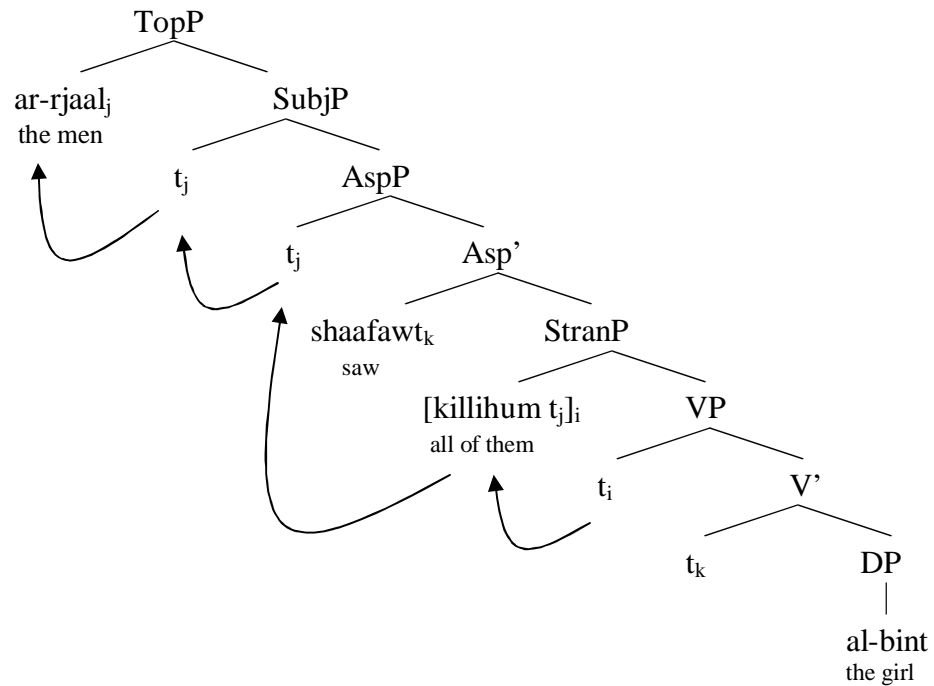
(256) Jag undrar varför studenterna inte (alla) har (*alla) läst boken
I wonder why the-students not all have all read the.book

From the data above, Bošković concludes that the FQ is adjoined to the NP they modify after the subject moves from its theta-position. To put it differently, he gives the following descriptive generalization of the FQ:

Quantifiers can not be floated in theta-positions. (Bošković 2004:685)

Going back to (252), following Bošković's (2004) assumption, one might represent (253) as:

(257)



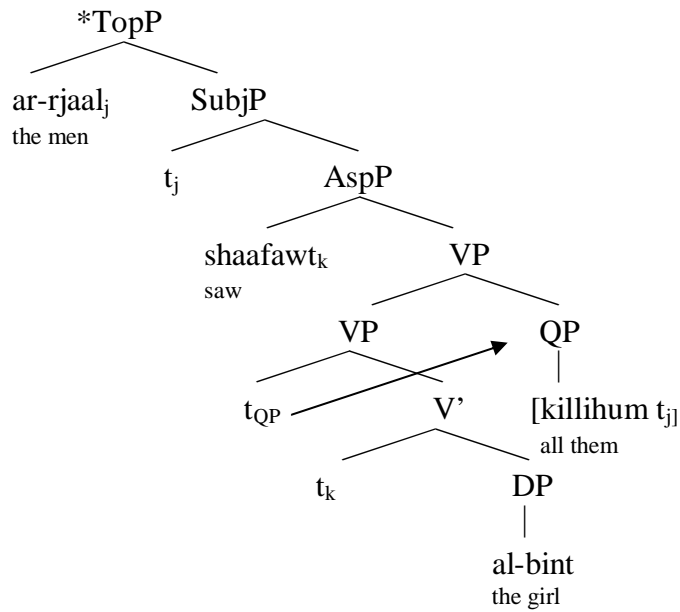
In (257), the subject *kill ar-rjaal* “all the men” first moves to a position higher than VP; let us call it a StranP; from there the subject moves up stranding the quantifier. Since the exact position of the stranded quantifier is not germane to my main concern in this work, I will, from now on, take the stranded quantifier to be in the spec of VP. What is important here is the appearance of the agreement clitic on the stranded quantifier; that is to say, the subject, *al-banaat*, at a point in the derivation was a spec-head relation with the Quantifier.

Let us now turn to the ungrammatical (233) and (234) (repeated below) and see how we can account for their ungrammaticality.

(258) * ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-bint killi-hum (=233))
the-men saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl all-them.masc
“As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”

We observe that the quantifier can not appear clause finally. (258) is represented as:

(259)

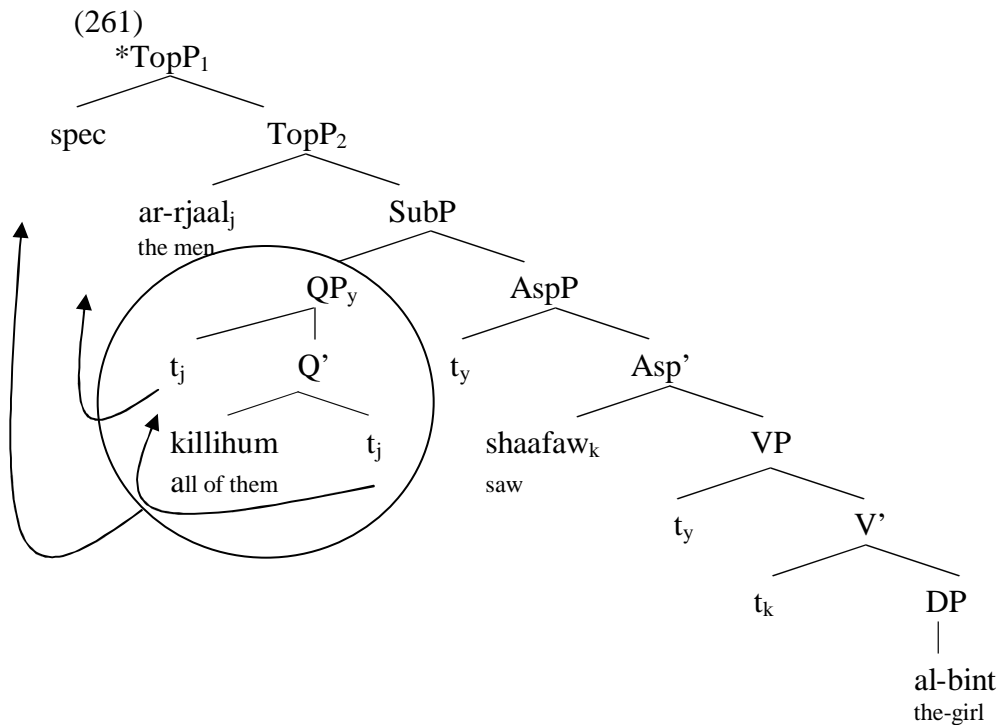


As (259) shows; given the general assumption that the first position for the stranded quantifier is the spec of VP (or even higher than the spec of VP according to Boskovic's (2004)), to get the order of elements in (258), the stranded quantifier moves to a VP adjoining position. This movement leads to the ungrammaticality of the sentences.

Let us now see the sentence where the quantifier appears in a position preceding the subject.

(260) *killi-**hum** ar-rjaal shaaf-aw al-bint (=234))
 all-them.masc the-men saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
 "As for all of them, the men saw the girl."

(260) is represented as:



In (261), while the subject *QP kill ar-rjaal* “all the men” is in the spec of SubjP, the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves to the spec of QP. The subject is being in the spec-head relation with the quantifier, the agreement clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc” surfaces on the quantifier. The subject then moves to TopP₂. The entire QP, then, moves to the higher TopP₁. It is not obvious why this order leads to the ungrammaticality of the sentence. There is no harm in having more than one topic in the left periphery of the clause; recall that I have shown under (201), in which the subject and the adverb appear as topics in the left periphery of the clause. Thus, one might conclude that topics in Turaif Arabic are not equal with regard to what elements can surface as topic with what element in the left periphery of the clause. The ungrammaticality of (261) could be ascribed to something wrong with the binding. In other words, one might say that the trace of the subject inside the QP is not antecedent-governed by the

subject since it is higher than the subject in this configuration. Thus, the ungrammaticality of the sentence could be explained by a number of ways. I would say that the reason behind the exclusion of (260) is not obvious.

In this subsection, making use of quantifier float, I have shown that the subject lands in a number of positions, Spec of AspP, Spec of NegP and Spec of AdvP, before it reaches its surface position in the SVO clauses. While moving to the surface position, the subject can strand the quantifier in any of the landing positions. When doing so, an obligatory agreement clitic surfaces on the stranded quantifier; this is due to the fact that the subject gets into a spec-head relation with quantifier. These findings constitute a second strong piece of evidence of my analysis of the SVO clause. Next, I will discuss the third piece of evidence that is the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation.

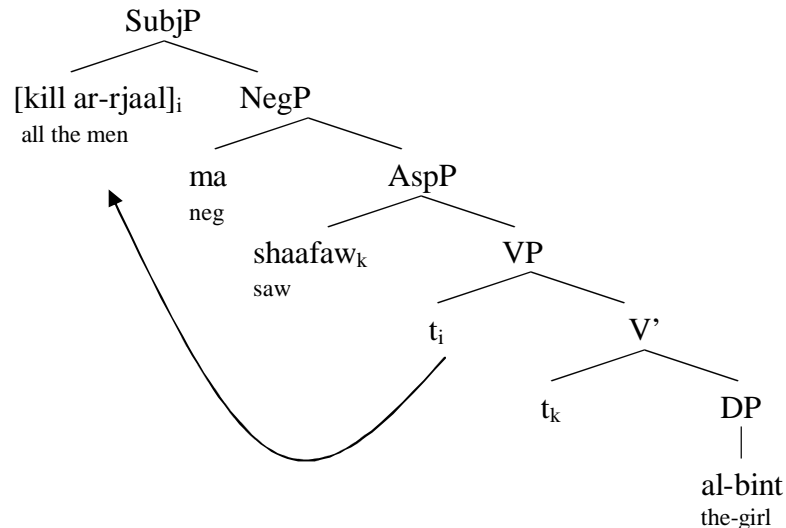
2.4 Floated quantifiers and negation

In this subsection, I will investigate how the floated quantifier interacts with negation. The main motivation behind this subsection is to show that there are a number of subject positions in the clause. First, let us take a sentence in which the quantifier surfaces right before the subject:

- (262) kill ar-rjaal ma shaaf-aw al-bint $\forall > \neg / * \neg > \forall$
 all the-men neg. see.perf.3pl.masc the-girl
 “All the men did not see the girl.”
 “As for all of the men, they did not see the girl.”
 “ALL OF THE MEN did not see the girl.”

(262) could be truthfully said in a situation where there are a number of men and a girl and none of the men saw the girl; but it can not be said in a situation where some of the men did not see the girl. (262) can be represented as:

(263)



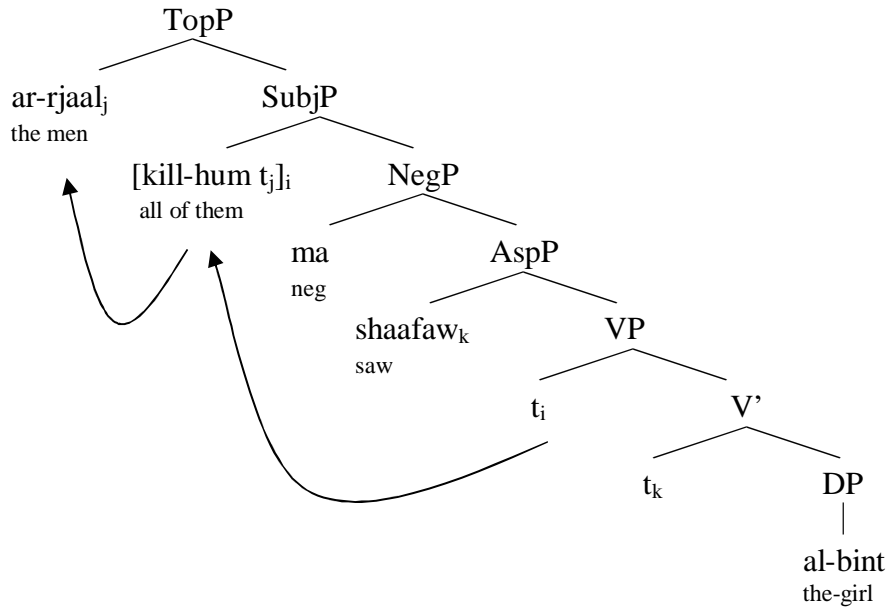
In (263), the subject QP *kill ar-rjaal* “all the men” is in a position higher than negation. In other words, negation does not c-command the quantifier on the surface. While moving to the SubjP, it presumably lands into the Specs of AspP and NegP. We know that the only interpretation available in which all the men did not see the girls, this interpretation follows from the structure. We conclude that the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation is calculated on the surface position of the subject.

Let us take another sentence where the subject is interpreted as a topic and the stranded quantifier appears before the negation.

(264) ar-rjaal killi-hum ma shaaf-aw al-bint $\forall > \neg / * \neg > \forall$
 the-men all-them neg. see.past.pl.masc the-girl
 “As for the men, all of them did not see the girl.”

Again, (264) could be truthfully said in a situation where there are a number of men and a girl and none of the men saw the girl; but it can not be said in a situation where some of the men did not see the girl. That is to say, the quantifier *kill* “all” scopes over the negation but not vice versa. (264) can be represented as:

(265)



Again, in (265), we observe that the quantifier *kill* “all” is in a position higher than the negation. That is to say, the negation does not c-command the quantifier in the surface. From the SubjP, subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic stranding the quantifier. As I said, the only interpretation available for this sentence is in which none of the men saw the girls; this follows from the tree. Again, the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation is calculated on the surface position of the subject.

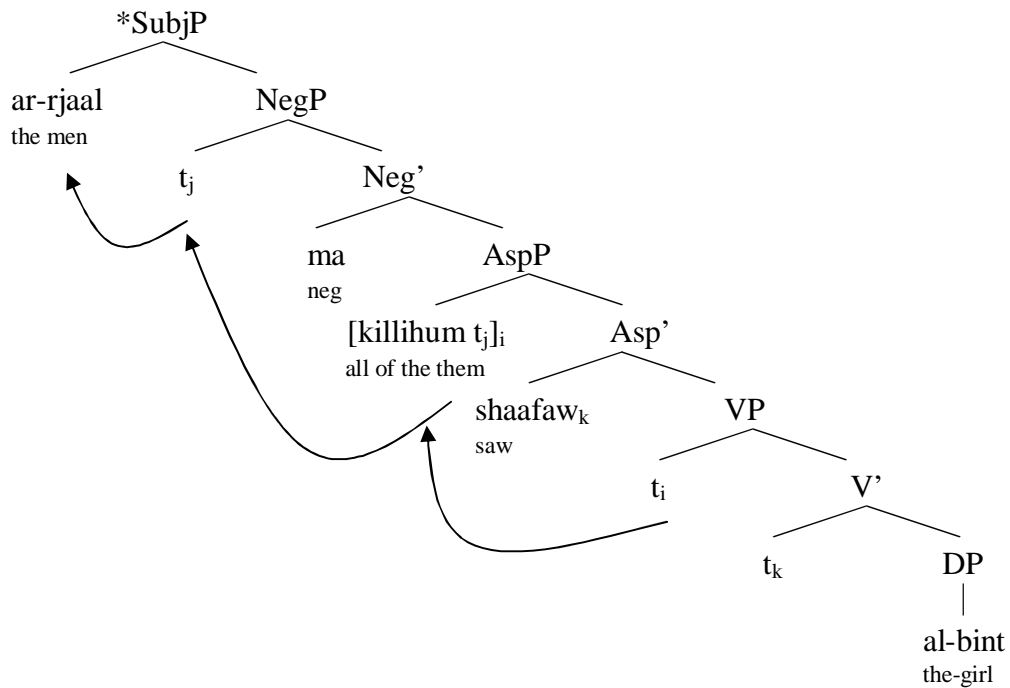
So far in this subsection, I have shown that the scope interaction between the quantifier and the subject is calculated on the surface position of the subject. That is to say, the negation never scopes over the quantifier if it does not c-command the quantifier in the surface position.

Before proceeding, it seems that not all the subject landing positions are a place for the stranded quantifier.

- (266) *ar-rjaal ma kill-hum shaaf-aw al-bint
 the-men neg. all-them see.past.pl.masc the-girl
 “Not all of the men saw the girl.”

We observe in (266) that the stranded quantifier can not surface between the negation and the verb. The following tree represents (266):

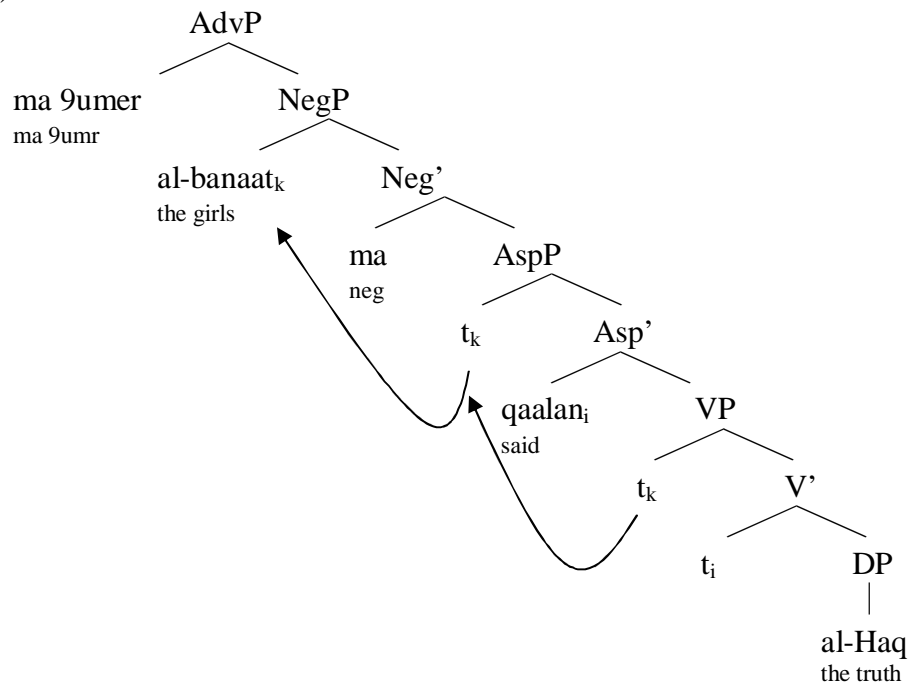
(267)



The ungrammaticality of (267) shows that the quantifier can not be stranded in the spec of AspP. As the tree shows, the subject starts at the spec of VP then moves successively to the SubjP. On its way, it lands in the spec of AspP and NegP. This shows that the subject landing positions are not equal; that is to say, some of the landing positions can host the stranded quantifier and some do not. Recall that under section 2, where the distribution of adverbs is discussed, I have shown that the subject can appear in a position lower than the AdvP, in the spec of NegP.(220) and (221) discussed under that section are repeated below for convenience:

(268) ma 9umer-(*hin) al-ban-aat ma qaal-an al-Haq
 ma life-they.f the-girl.pl.f neg. say.perf-3pl.f the-truth
 “The girls never have not said the truth.”

(269)

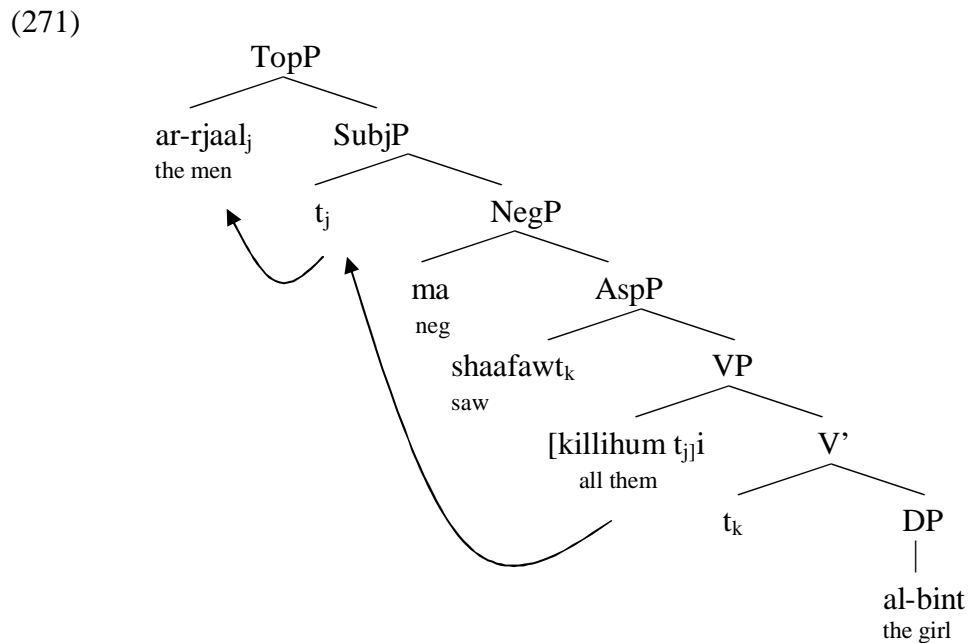


We observe that the subject *al-bannat* “the girls” surfaces in the spec of NegP. Thus, (269) contrasts with (267) in which the subject can not surface in the spec of AspP. Therefore, the generalization given by Sportiche (1988) and McCloskey (2004) in which they assume that the quantifier can be stranded in all the positions in which the subject lands in does not seem to be correct for Turaif Arabic.

We have shown that the stranded quantifier can appear in the spec of VP (or higher than the spec of VP if one adopts Bošković (2004)).

(270) ar-rjaal ma shaaf-aw kill-hum al-bint $\neg > \forall/*\forall > \neg$
 the-men neg. see.perf-3pl.masc all-them the-girl
 “As for the men, not all of them saw the girl.”

(270) could be truthfully said in a situation where there are a number of men and a girl and some of the men saw the girl; but it can not be said in a situation where all of the men did not see the girl. (270) can be represented as:



In (271), the subject strands the quantifier in the spec of VP and moves to the SubjP. From there, it moves to TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. On its way up, the subject presumably lands in the spec of AspP, and NegP. What is important here is that the negation scopes over the stranded quantifier *kill* “all”. This follows from what I have established so far; the interaction between the negation and the quantifier calculates the surface position of the quantifier.

To conclude, I have shown that the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation is calculated on the surface position of the quantifier. That is to say, the negation scopes over the quantifier only if it c-commands it in the surface position.

To conclude this chapter, making use of the distribution of adverbs, quantifier float and the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation, I have supported my analysis of the SVO clause given under (190). I have shown that the SVO clauses have a higher subject position, SubjP, higher than the AspP; in between these two positions, two types of adverbs can surface. The first type is the preverbal adverbs like *aHyaanan* “sometimes” and *daayim* “always” and the second type is the *ma*-adverbs like *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma-9ad* “no longer”. Moreover, I have distinguished between these adverbs and adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly” which only appear clause finally. As for the subject, I have shown that although it appears preverbally in its surface position in the SVO clauses, it actually originates lower in the clause and moves successively upwards landing on its way up in the spec of AspP, NegP. The appearance of the agreement clitic on the stranded

quantifier and the scope interaction between the negation and the quantifier which depends on the surface position of the quantifier support my argument that there are multiple subject positions in the clause. Finally, although I support Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause in which topics and foci appear, I have slightly deviated from his analysis of the internal structure of the left periphery. Contrary to what he assumes, I have shown that there is no TopP position lower than FocP in Turaif Arabic. By now, I finish discussing the SVO clauses and start investigating VSO clauses. Thus, in the following chapter, 3, I will investigate VSO clauses.

CHAPTER THREE VSO CLAUSES

3.1 Introduction

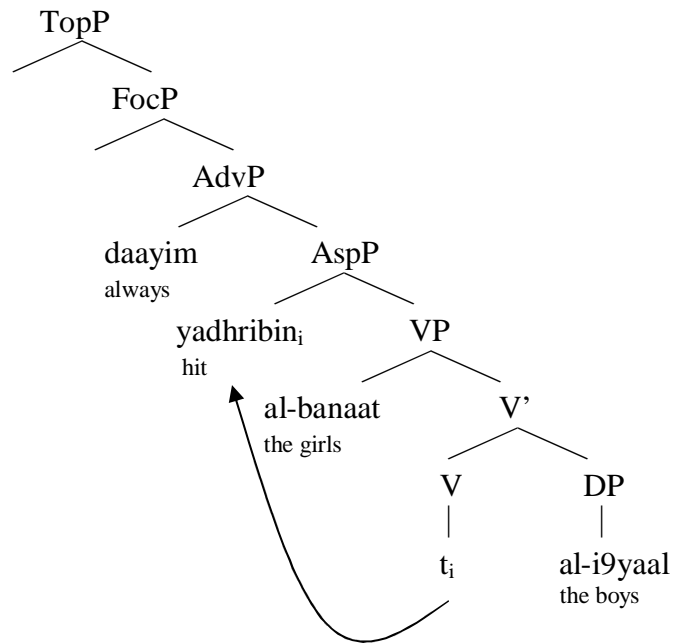
This chapter is primarily concerned with the syntax of VSO clauses. First, let us consider how the subject of the VSO clause is interpreted:

(272) *ya-dhrib-in* *al-ban-aat* *al-i9yaal*
ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f the-girl-pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
“The girls hit the boys.”

(273) *daayim ya-dhrib-in* *al-ban-aat* *al-i9yaal*
always hit.imperf-3pl.f the-girl-pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
“The girls always hit the boys.”
“As for always, the girls hit the boys.”
“The girls ALWAYS hit the boys.”

In (272) and (273), the subject, *al-banaat* “the girls” is always interpreted as a neutral postverbal subject. The three elements, the verb *yadhrib-in* “hit”, the subject *al-ban-aat* “the girls” and the object *al-i9yaal* “the boys” are all uttered with the same pitch. The preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” in (273), depending on the pitch, can be interpreted as neutral, or as a topic or as a focus. I will argue that the VSO clauses should be analyzed as the following tree shows:

(274)



As (274) shows, taking into account the Internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche 1989), I will argue that the subject of the VSO clause always appears in its base position in the spec of VP. It is only the verb that moves from the V to the AspP. Moreover, as I have established in chapter 2, certain adverbs appear preverbally while others appear clause final as VP adjuncts. The left periphery of the clause holds preposed adverbs for reason of topic or focus.

My analysis of VSO clauses is motivated first by the distribution of the adverbs. Then, it is motivated by the distribution of quantifier float and the agreement clitic surfacing on the quantifier. The third piece of evidence comes from scope interaction between the quantifier and negation. My last two pieces of evidence come from the distribution of indefinite subjects and the distribution of NPIs.

The rest of this chapter is divided into three Sections. In section 3.2, I investigate the distribution of the adverbs in which I will show that the subject always appears in a position between the verb and object, lower than the preverbal adverbs and higher than the clause final adverbs. In Section 3.3, I discuss quantifier float. I will show that the subject always appears in the spec of VP in VSO clauses lower than the AspP. Section 3.4 investigates the scope interaction between the quantifier and negation. I will again show that the scope interaction between these two elements relies on the surface position of the quantifier in the clause which shows that the subject of the VSO clauses is always c-commanded by negation. In Section 3.5, I investigate the distribution of indefinite subjects and negative polarity items, NPIs.

3.2 Adverb positions in VSO clauses

3.2.1 Introduction

This section concerns adverbs in VSO clauses. as I have established in chapter 2, there are three main types of adverbs, preverbal adverbs like, *daayim* “always” and *aHyaanan* “sometime” which always appear preverbally and postverbal adverbs like, *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly” which always appear clause finally as VP adjuncts. Both types can appear in the left periphery of the clause for reason of topic or focus. The third group is the *ma*-adverbs that are always preceded by the negative element *ma* like, *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma 9ad* “no longer” which always appear preverbally.

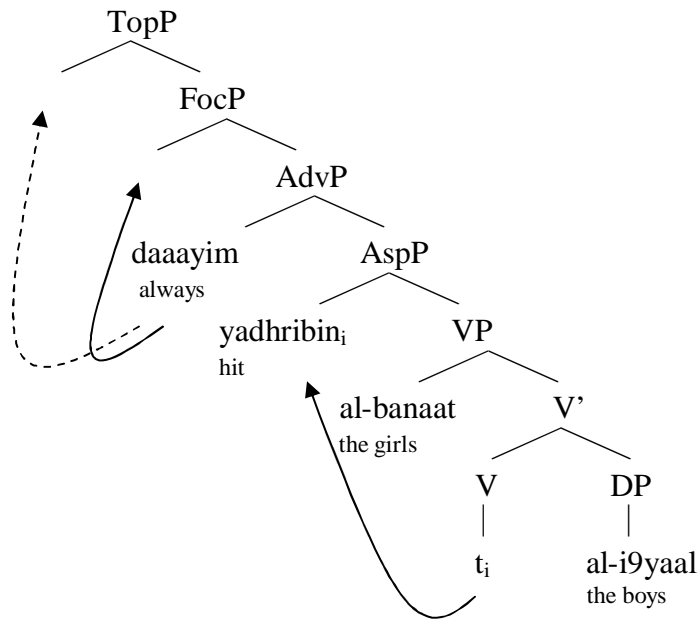
3.2.2 Preverbal adverbs

This subsection discusses mainly the preverbal adverbs like *daayim* “always” and *aHyaanan* “sometimes”. These adverbs always appear in a position higher than the AspP in the VSO clauses.

- (275) *daayim* *ya-dhrib-in* *al-ban-aat* *al-i9yaal*
always *ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f* *the-girl-pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc*
“The girls always hit the boys.”
“As for always, the girls hit the boys.”
“The girls ALWAYS hit the boys.”
- (276) **ya-dhrib-in* *daayim* *al-ban-aat* *al-i9yaal*
ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f always *the-girl-pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc*
“The girls always hit the boys.”
- (277) **ya-dhrib-in* *al-ban-aat* *daayim* *al-i9yaal*
ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f *the-girl-pl.f* always *the-boy.pl.masc*
“The girls always hit the boys.”
- (278) **ya-dhrib-in* *al-ban-aat* *al-i9yaal* *daayim*
ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f *the-girl-pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc* always
“The girls always hit the boys.”

In (275), the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” could be interpreted as neutral or as a topic or as a focus. The ungrammaticality of (276) - (278) show that the adverb never appears between the verb and the subject or between the subject and the object or even clause finally. What is important here is that in (275) while the adverb can be interpreted as neutral or as a topic or as a focus, the rest of the sentence, including the subject, is always interpreted as neutral. (275) is represented as:

(279)



As (279) shows, the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in its base position as the spec of VP and the verb *yadhribin* “hit” moves from the V to the AspP. The subject is never in a spec-head configuration with the verb; it never reaches the spec of AspP. Following Chomsky (1995), I will take the verb to be fully inflected when it comes from the numeration. As for the adverb *daayim* “always”, it occupies a position higher than the AspP. From there, the adverb, depending on the interpretation, may move to the FocP or to the TopP.

In this subsection, I have shown that the subject always appears in the spec of VP, lower than the AspP; and it is always interpreted as neutral. Moreover, I have also shown that the preverbal neutral adverb in the AdvP can appear at the left periphery of the clause for reason of focus or topic. In the next subsection, I will investigate postverbal adverbs.

3.2.3 Postverbal adverbs

This subsection concerns the postverbal adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly”. These adverbs appear only clause finally, as VP adjuncts, when they are interpreted as neutral.

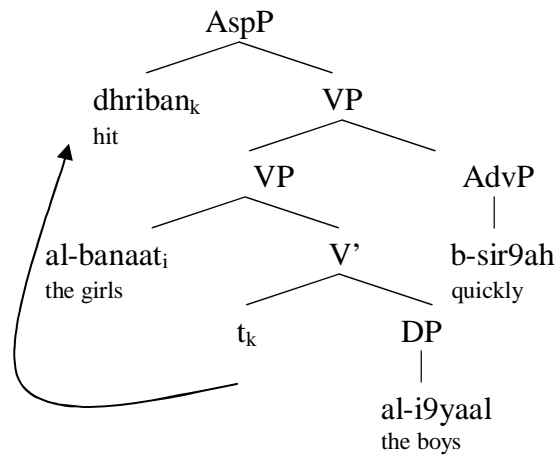
(280) dhrib-an al-ban-aat al-i9yaal b-sir9ah
hit.perf-3pl.f the-girl-pl.f the-boy.pl.masc in-speed
“The girls hit the boys quickly.”

(281) *dhrib-an al-ban-aat b-sir9ah al-i9yaal
hit.perf-3pl.f the-girl-pl.f in-speed the-boy.pl.masc
“The girls hit the boys quickly.”

(282) *dhrib-an b-sir9ah al-ban-aat al-i9yaal
hit.perf-3pl.f in-speed the-girl-pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
“The girls hit the boys quickly.”

(280) shows that the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears clause finally. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (281) and (282) is not surprising; they are excluded because the adverb appears in a position between the subject and the object and in a position between the verb and the subject respectively. What is important here is that in (280) the sentence including the subject is grammatical. The following tree represents (280):

(283)

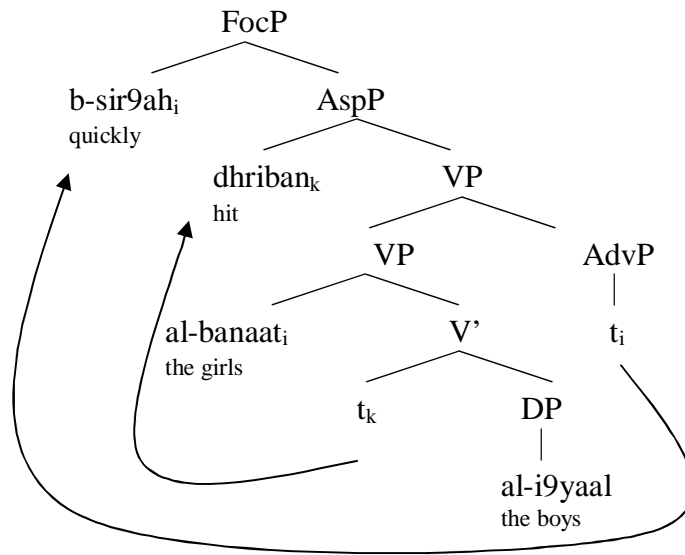


In (283), the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears clause final as a VP adjunct. The subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in its base position in the spec of VP. The verb *yadhribin* “hit” moves from the V to the AspP. Recall that under SVO clauses I have established that the topic interpretation is not available for this postverbal adverb when it appears in the left periphery of the clause. The same interpretation is not available in VSO clauses. The adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” can only appear preverbally, in the left periphery of the clause, when it is interpreted as a focus.

(284) *b-sir9ah dhrib-an al-ban-aat al-i9yaal*
in-speed hit.perf-3pl.f the-girl-pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
“QUICKLY, the girls hit the boys.”

In (284) every thing after the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” including the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” is interpreted as neutral. The following tree represents (284):

(285)



In (285), the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” moves from its base position as a VP adjunct to the FocP in the left periphery of the clause. The derivation of the rest of the sentence is still the same as in (283); the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” is in its base position in the spec of VP and the verb *yadhribin* “hit” moves from the V to the AspP.

In this subsection, I have shown that the postverbal adverb like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appear clause final where they are interpreted as neutral. When they are interpreted as foci, they surface at the left periphery of the clause. In both cases, the sentence including the subject is interpreted as neutral. This follows exactly from what my analysis of VSO clauses under (190) in which I propose that the subject of VSO clauses is always interpreted as neutral and that other elements like adverbs can appear at the left periphery of the clause for reason of topic or focus.

3.2.4 *ma*-adverbs

This subsection concerns the distribution of *ma*-adverbs like, *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma 9ad* “no longer”. As I have shown in Chapter 2, these adverbs appear in a position higher than the NegP and the AspP.

(286) *ma 9umr*-(**hin*) *ma qaal-an* *al-ban-aat al-Haq*
not life-3pl.f neg say.perf-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f the-truth
“The girls never have not said the truth.”

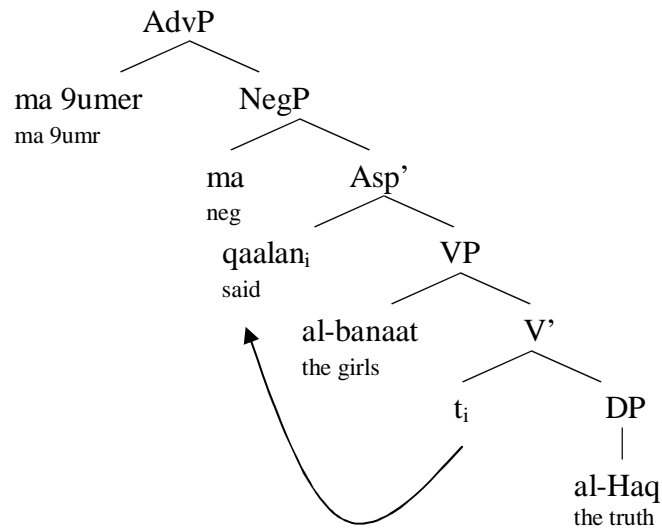
(287) **ma qaal-an* *ma 9umr*-(*hin*) *al-ban-aat al-Haq*
neg say.perf-3pl.f not life-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f the-truth
“The girls never have not said the truth.”

(288) **ma qaal-an* *al-ban-aat ma 9umr*-(*hin*) *al-Haq*
neg say.perf-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f not life-3pl.f the-truth
“The girls never have not said the truth.”

(289) **ma qaal-an* *al-ban-aat al-Haq ma 9umr*-(*hin*)
neg say.perf-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f the-truth not life-3pl.f
“The girls never have not said the truth.”

(287) and (288) show that the *ma*-adverb *ma 9umr* “never” never appears in a position between the verb and the subject or in a position between the subject and the object or even clause final. What is important here is that (217) can only be interpreted as neutral. (217) is represented as:

(290)



In (290), we observe that the *ma*-adverb appears preverbally in the AdvP higher than AspP. The subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in its base position in the spec of VP. As for the verb *yadhribin* “hit”, it moves from V to the head of AspP. What is more interesting about (286) is an obligatory absence of the agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” on the *ma*-adverb when the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” follows it. This is not surprising taking into account what I have established in chapter 2. I have established that the agreement clitic only surfaces when the subject is in a spec-head relation with the *ma*-adverb. Looking at (290), the subject is in a position lower than the *ma*-adverb; in other words, the subject is never in a spec-head configuration with adverb *ma 9umr* “never”; this fact accounts for the absence of the agreement clitic.

To conclude, in this section, I have shown that the subject always appears in its base position in the spec of VP in the VSO clauses; and it is always interpreted as neutral. Moreover, I have shown that adverbs like *aHyaanan* “sometimes” and *ma-*

ʕumr “never”, which only appear preverbally, always appear preceding the verb and the subject in the VSO clause. What is interesting about the preverbal *ma*-adverb is that the agreement clitic never surfaces on them; which shows that the subject never gets into a spec-head relation with these adverbs. These findings constitute the first piece of evidence for my analysis of the VSO clauses given under (190). In the next section, I will investigate second piece of evidence, quantifier float.

3.3 Quantifier Float

This subsection concerns QF in VSO clauses. First, let us take the following two examples:

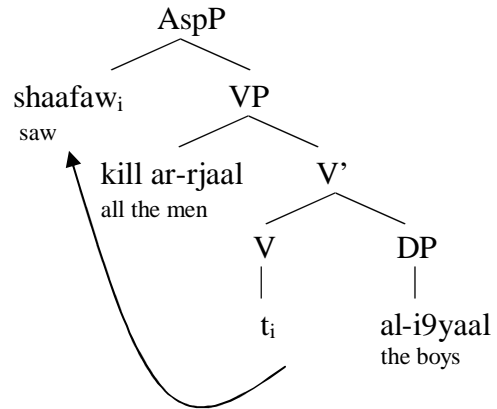
(291) shaaf-aw killi-(***hum**) ar-rjaal al-bint
 saw.perf-3pl.masc all-3pl.masc the-men the-girl
 “All the men saw the girl.”

(292) *shaaf-aw ar-rjaal killi-(**hum**) al-bint
 see.perf-3pl.masc the-men all-3pl.masc the-girl
 “All of the men saw the girl.”

In (291), the quantifier *kill* “all” appears right before the DP, *ar-rjaal* ‘the men’ in the spec of VP. In this case, we notice the obligatory absence of the agreement clitic -*hum* “3pl.masc”. That is to say, it is never in the spec of QP. What is important is that this sentence is only interpreted as neutral. The appearance of the agreement clitic on the quantifier in (292) shows that the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” must be in the spec of the QP or to in a position higher than the QP. In either case, the sentence is ungrammatical. Thus, I would conclude that the spec of QP is not a surface position for the subject and that there is no surface position for the subject below the AspP; the only surface position for the subject below the AspP when the quantifier is used is as

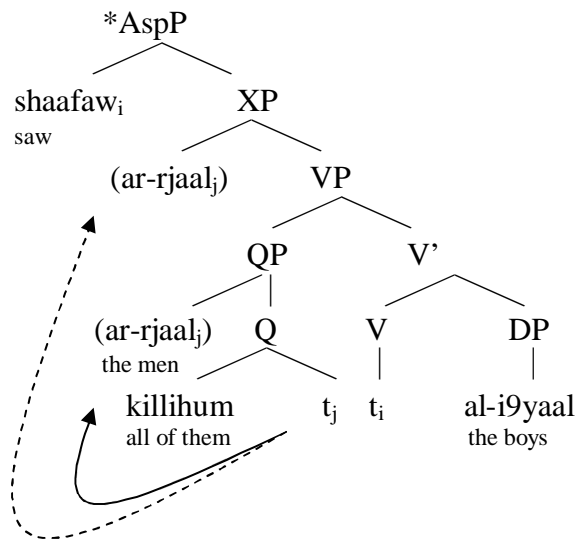
a complement of the Quantifier, as the grammaticality of (291) shows. (293) represents (291) whereas (294) represents (292)

(293)



In (293), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” with its modifying quantifier *kill* “all” appears in its base position in the spec of VP. The subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” never gets into a spec-head relation with the quantifier, which account for the absence of the agreement clitic.

(294)



In (294), whether the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves to the spec of QP or to a position higher than the QP, the sentence is ungrammatical.

The stranded quantifier can not surface postverbally or as a topic in the left periphery of the clause in VSO clauses:

(295) * *shaaf-aw* *ar-rjaal al-bint killi-(hum)*
saw.perf-3pl.masc the-men the-girl all-3pl.masc
“All of the men saw the girl.”

(296) **killi-(hum)* *shaaf-aw* *ar-rjaal al-bint*
all-3pl.masc saw.perf-3pl.masc the-men the-girl
“As for all of them, the men saw the girl.”

In (295) and (296), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” is in a position after the verb *shaaf-aw* “saw-3pl.masc” while the stranded quantifier appears in the right or in the left periphery of the clause. Taking into consideration that the subject, moving to the spec of QP, never surfaces in the spec of QP or in a position lower than the verb; the ungrammaticality of (295) and (296) is not surprising. In both sentences, the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves from its base position as the complement of QP in the spec of VP to the spec of QP or to a position below AspP. The QP moves from its base position in the spec of VP to a position clause finally adjoining to the VP or to a position in the left periphery of the clause.

In this subsection, making use of quantifier float, I have shown that the subject does not move from its base position in the spec of VP in the VSO clauses. This fact accounts for the absence of the agreement clitic on the quantifier. These findings constitute a second strong piece of evidence for my analysis of the VSO clause. Next,

I will discuss the third piece of evidence that is the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation.

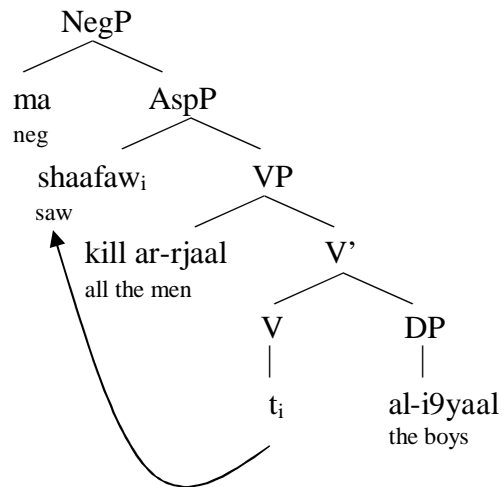
3.4 The scope interaction between the quantifier and negation

In this subsection, I will investigate how the quantifier interacts with negation. The main motivation behind this subsection is to show that the subject in the VSO clauses is always in a position lower than negation.

(297) *ma shaaf-aw kill ar-rjaal al-bint* $\neg > \forall / * \forall > \neg$
 neg see.perf-3pl.masc all the-men the-girl
 “Not all of the men saw the girl.”

(297) could be truthfully said in a situation where there are a number of men and a girl and some of the men did not see the girl; but it can not be said in a situation where none of the men saw the girl. (297) can be represented as:

(298)



In (298), the subject QP *kill ar-rjaal* “all the men” is in a position lower than the negation. In other words, the negation c-commands the quantifier. We know that the only interpretation available in which some of the men saw the girls, this

interpretation follows exactly from the tree. Again, this emphasizes my conclusion in chapter 2; that is to say, the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation calculate only the surface position of the subject.

So far in this subsection, I have shown that the negation always scopes over the quantifier in the VSO clauses; which shows that the subject is always c-commanded by the negation being in lower place in the tree, the spec of VP. This finding follows from my analysis of VSO clauses; as I have argued there are multiple subject positions in the clause and that the subject in VSO clauses is in the spec of VP.

3.5 The distribution of indefinite subjects and NPIs

3.5.1 The distribution of indefinite subjects.

This subsection concerns indefinite subjects in Turaif Arabic. First, let us take the following English example:

(299) Firemen are available ³⁰ .	
[_{IP} Firemen [_{VP} e are available]]	Generic reading
[_{IP} [_{VP} Firemen are available]]	Existential reading

The bare plural “firemen” in (299) is ambiguous. It has at least two distinct readings, an existential reading and a generic reading. According to Diesing (1992), the existential reading in which there are some firemen in the context are available and the generic reading in which it is stated that firemen in general are available depend on the position of the indefinite subject in the sentence. The indefinite subject is interpreted as existential if it appears within the VP. In other words, although the

³⁰ The example is taken from Diesing (1992) page 17 and 131.

indefinite subject “firemen” appears at the surface in the IP layer, according to Diesing, the indefinite subject lowers to the VP layer at LF. However, the indefinite subject is interpreted as generic if it is within the IP.

Diesing presents data from German that shows the subject position within the VP and the subject position within the IP are two distinct syntactic positions. In German, the subject Ameisen “ants” can appear either to the left or to the right of the sentential particle *ja* and *doch* which marks the left-hand boundary of the VP.

- (300) a.[_{CP} weil [_{IP} **Ameisen** *ja doch* [_{VP} einen Postbeamten gebissen haben]]].
 since ants indeed a postman bitten have
- b.[_{CP} weil [_{IP} *ja doch* [_{VP} **Ameisen** einen Postbeamten gebissen haben]]].
 since indeed ants a postman bitten have

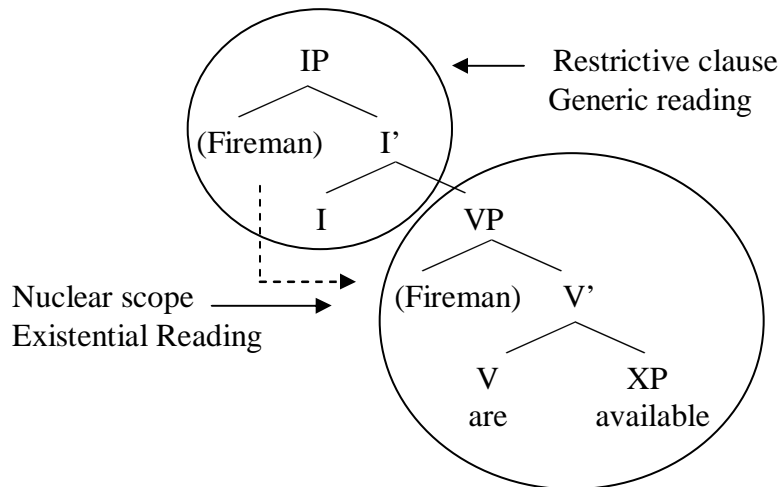
According to Diesing, the subject in (300)a can only be construed as generic; in contrast, Ameisen “ants” occupies a lower position in (300)b presumably specVP and can only be construed as existential, non-generic nonspecific. I will not give a detailed discussion of Diesing’s argument. The main point of her discussion is that to account for the semantic interpretation of the data, Diesing following Heim 1(982), proposes the Mapping Hypothesis in which different portions of the sentence are mapped into restrictor and nuclear scope depending on their syntactic position:

- (301) Mapping Hypothesis³¹:
Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.
Material from IP is mapped into the restrictive clause.

³¹ The Hypothesis and the trees following it are taken from Diesing (1992) page 8-9.

According to the Mapping Hypothesis, the following tree shows the two positions the indefinite subject “Firemen” in (299) can appear in:

(302)

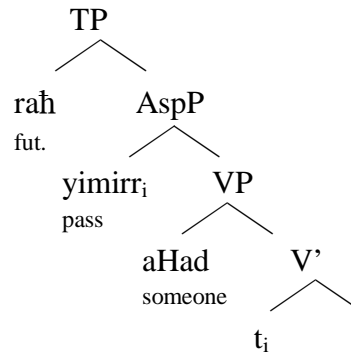


(302) shows that the indefinite plural “Firemen” can appear in the spec of IP within the IP layer and it can appear in the spec of VP within the VP layer. When the indefinite subject is in the spec of IP, it is interpreted as generic whereas when it is in the spec of VP, it is interpreted as existential. Notice that the indefinite subject lowers from the spec of IP to the spec of VP at LF when the indefinite is interpreted existentially. It is assumed that existential closure takes place at VP level, nuclear scope, and that the indefinites plural introduce a free variable. Thus, at LF, the indefinite plural “Firemen” within the VP layer will have its variable bound by an existential quantifier.

(303) $[_{IP} \exists [_{VP} \text{Firemen } (x), \text{are available } (x)]]$ (existential reading)

to the indefinite subject *aHad* “someone”, we observe that the definite subject can appear preverbally and postverbally. The following tree represents (305)a:

(307)



In (307), the indefinite subject *aHad* “someone” appears in its base position in the spec of VP. I can conclude following Diesing that there are two distinct syntactic subject positions in the clause; one within the VP layer and the other within the TP layer. This conclusion follows from my analysis of the VSO clauses in which I propose that the subject of VSO clauses is in a lower subject position and it is always interpreted as neutral.

3.5.2 The distribution of NPIs

This subsection concerns the distribution of negative polarity items, NPIs, in Turaif Arabic. It is well-known that NPIs are those lexical items whose distribution is contingent on the presence of negation. In other words, they need to occur at LF in the local context of a polarity licenser (the negation). Let us take the following English example:

- (308) a. John did not see anything.
 b. *John saw anything.

We observe that the NPI “anything” only occurs in a sentence if there is an instance of negation. The absence of the negative marker renders the sentence ungrammatical as in (308)b. Now, let turn to the distribution of NPIs in Turaif and see what these tell us about the subject position in the VSO clauses.

In Turaif Arabic, there are the NPI *ayy*DPs which must appear in a position lower than the verb c-commanded by negation:

- (309) a. al-walad *(ma) shaaf ayy marah
 the-boy neg. see.perf.3sg.masc any women
 “The boy did not see any woman.”
 “The boy saw no women.”
- b. * ayy mara al-walad ma ?ahan-ha
 any woman the-boy neg insult.perf.3sg.masc-her
 “*As for any/no women, the boy did not insult her.”
- c. *al-walad ma ?ahan-**ha** ayy mara
 the-boy not insult.perf.3sg.masc-her any woman
 “The boy did not insult no women.”

In (309)a, the NPI *ayy mara* “any women” appears lower than the obligatory negative element *ma*. In (309)b, the NPI *ayy mara* “any women” appears in a preverbal position resumed by a clitic-*ha* “3sg.f”. Yet, (309)b is ungrammatical. This indicates that *ayy*DPs can not move into the left periphery of the clause. Moreover, (309)c, shows that the postverbal *ayy mara* “any women” can not be clitic-doubled. Besides, in (309)a, *ayy mara* “any women” is used as the object of the sentence. However, this NPI *ayy mara* “any women” can not be used in the preverbal or postverbal subject positions:

(310) **ayy mara ma ?ahan-at al-walad*
any woman neg insult.perf-3sg.f the-boy
“*Any woman did not insult the boy.”

(311) **ma ?ahan-at ayy mara al-walad*
neg insult.perf-3sg.f any woman the-boy
“*Any woman did not insult the boy.”

In (310), *ayy mara* “any women” appears in a preverbal subject position. In (311), it appears in a postverbal position. With this use, both (310) and (311) are ruled out. Thus, we have a subject-object asymmetry. Now, one might wonder how speakers of Turaif Arabic say something like the following:

(312) No woman insulted the boy.

In Turaif Arabic, there is the word *wala* “no” which can only appear in the preverbal subject position:

(313) a. *wala mara aHaan-at al-walad*
no woman insult.perf-3sg.f the-boy
“No woman insulted the boy.”

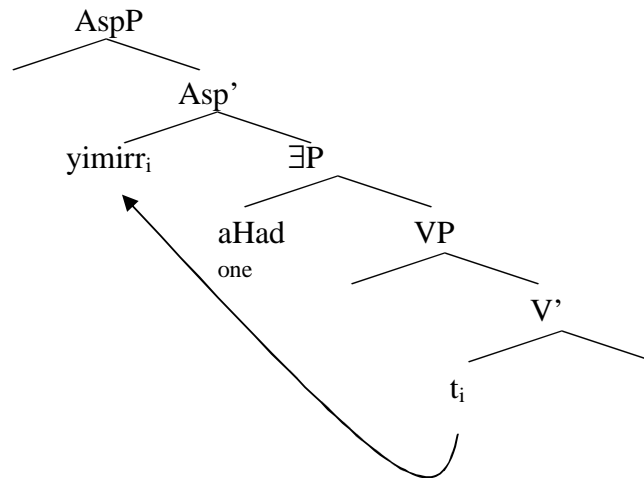
b. **aHaan-at wala mara al-walad*
insult.perf-3sg.masc no woman the-boy

In (313)a and b, we observe that *wala mara* “no woman” appears preverbally but not postverbally.

Now, let us go back to the NPI *ayy mara* “any woman”. The fact that *ayyDP* only appears in the object position and not the subject position and that it is never resumed by a clitic or used with clitic doubling suggests that it is very low in the structure. It seems that *ayyDPs* must stay very low in the structure. If a subject *could* stay low in the structure, we would expect that an *ayyDP* should be able to be a low subject. That

is: *ma V ayyDP O* should be OK, because the *ayyDP* subject would still in VP. The fact that *ma V ayyDP O* is impossible makes sense if subjects must always move out of VP. Thus, there is *some* subject position which I will refer to as “ $\exists P$ ” that is higher than VP, but lower than the ordinary landing site of V(P) movement.

(314)



As (314) shows, the subject position, “ $\exists P$ ”, is available for indefinite subjects.

To conclude this section, via the distribution of indefinite subjects and the NPIs, I have shown that the subject of the VSO clauses is in a lower neutral subject position. Again, this finding follows from my analysis of VSO clauses. As I have argued there are multiple subject positions in the clause and that the subject in VSO clauses is in the spec of VP.

To conclude this chapter, making use of the distribution of adverbs, quantifier float, the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation, and the distribution of indefinite subjects and the NPIs, I support my analysis of VSO clauses given under (274). I have shown that the subject in the VSO clauses is in lower neutral subject

position. Taking into account what I have established in chapter 2 along with what I have established in this chapter, I can conclude that there are multiple subject positions in the clause. By now, I finish discussing SVO clauses and start investigating VSO clauses.

CHAPTER FOUR VOS CLAUSES

4.1 Introduction

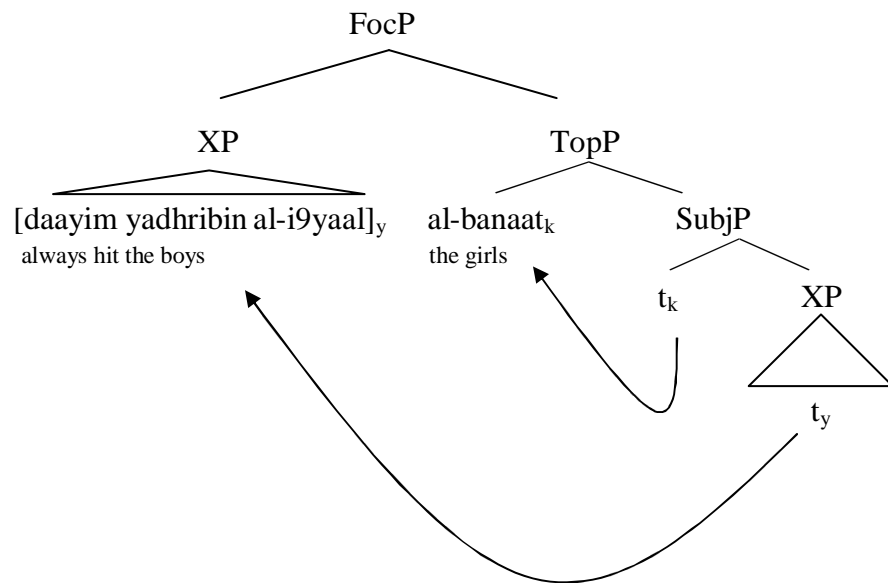
This chapter is primarily concerned with the syntax of VOS clauses. First, let us consider how the subject of the VOS clause is interpreted:

- (315) *daayim ya-dhrib-in al-i9yaal, al-ban-aat*
always ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc the-girl-pl.f
“As for the girls, THEY ALWAYS HIT THE BOYS.”
“*The girls always hit the boys.”
“*As for the girls, they always hit the boys.”
“*As for the girls, they ALWAYS hit the boys.”

In (315), the subject, *al-banaat* “the girls” always interpreted as a topic. The rest of the sentence the adverb *daayim* “always” and the VP *yadhribin al-i9yaal* “hit the boy” is always interpreted as a focus; it is always uttered with high pitch; a pitch that is higher than of the subject. The comma right after the object indicates a short pause before uttering the subject. I will argue that the VOS clauses should be analyzed as the following tree shows³³:

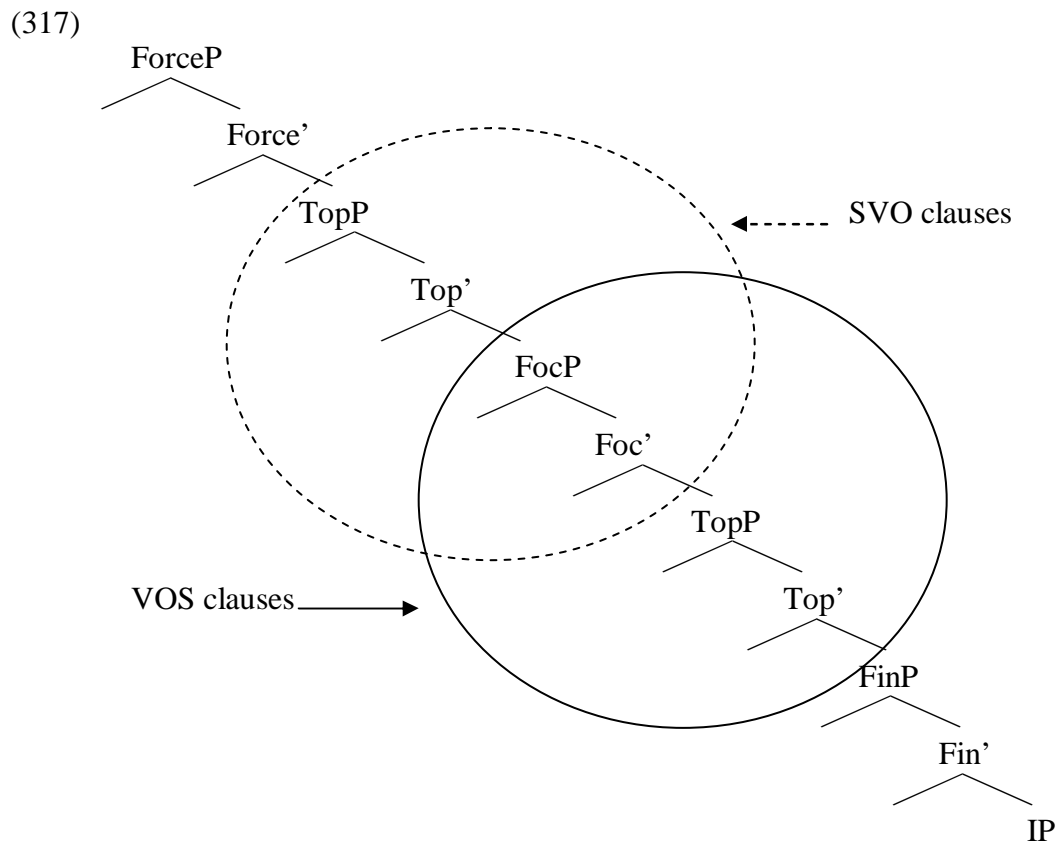
³³ One might describe VOS clauses as a PF phenomenon rather as an effect of syntax. It is another potential description of those clauses.

(316)



As (316) shows, the subject of the VOS clause is in the TopP in the left periphery of the clause after moving from the SubjP; while the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” and the VP *yadhribin al-i9yaal* “hit the boy” is in the FocP higher than the subject; I label this constituent as an “XP” because I will show that it is not only the AdvP and all the XPs that it c-commands, the AspP and the VP, can move to the FocP but other bigger or smaller constituents can move to that position. Thus, I would say the the left periphery of the VOS clauses consists of a strict hierarchical structure in which TopPs appear lower than the FocP. Recall that I have shown in chapter 2 that the left periphery of the SVO clauses consists of a strict hierarchal structure in which TopPs appear higher than the FocP. Thus, I propose the following tree for the structure of the left periphery of the clause in Turaif Arabic.

The left periphery of Turaif Arabic:



In my analysis of the left periphery of the clause in Turaif Arabic, I slightly depart from Rizzi's (1997) analysis. Recall that according to Rizzi's, TopPs can precede and follow the FocP in the Italian clause. This order is not motivated in the clause of Turaif Arabic. The order of the items in the left periphery of the clause in Turaif Arabic seems to differ according to the kind of the items that is being moved there; in SVO clauses, DPs and Adverbs move to the left periphery of the clause; therefore, TopPs can appear higher but not lower than the FocP; in VOS clauses, big XPs like AdvP or AspP and any other elements they c-command can move to the left periphery of the clause for reason of focus, therefore, TopPs appear below the FocP. Thus, my

investigation of the left periphery of the clause in Turaif Arabic provides a new picture of the structure of the left periphery of the clause.

The following pieces of evidence motivate my analysis of the VOS clauses. First, to show that the subject of these clauses is a topic appearing in the TopP, I will show that only definite subjects can occupy the subject of these clauses. Via investigating the distribution of adverbs and quantifier float, I will show that the XP preceding the subject is a big constituent that is being moved from below the subject to a higher position, the FocP. Further evidence for the analysis in (190) comes from the interaction between the quantifier and negation and the binding of the reflexives and reciprocals.

The rest of this chapter is divided into five sections. In Section 4.2, I look at the definite-indefinite asymmetry and the subject of the VOS clauses. In Section 4.3, I investigate the distribution of adverbs and show that the VO is in a FocP higher than the subject. Section 4.4 discusses quantifier float. I will show that despite the fact that the subject appears in a position lower than the VO in the surface, the subject was actually in a spec-head relation with the quantifier before it ends in the TopP. Section 4.5 investigates the scope interaction between the quantifier and negation. I will again show that the scope interaction between these two elements shows that the subject of the VOS clauses, at one stage in the derivation, c-commands negation. Finally, in Section 4.5, binding of reflexives and reciprocal are discussed. The same conclusion

will be reached; that is to say the subject is in a c-commanding position before all constituents reach their surface position in the VOS clauses.

4.2 Definite-indefinite asymmetry and the subject of VOS clauses

As I have shown in chapter 3, the definite and indefinite subjects can occupy the same position in the clause:

(318) *daayim ya-dhrib-in* **al-ban-aat** *al-i9yaal,*
 always *ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f* *the-girl-pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc*
 “The girls always hit the boys.”

(319) *daayim ya-dhrib-in* **ban-aat** *al-i9yaal,*
 always *ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f* *girl-pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc*
 “Girls always hit the boys.”

(318) and (319) show that both the definite subject *al-banaat* “the girls” and the indefinite subject *banaat* “girls” can occupy the subject position of the neutral VSO clause. (318) and (319) contrast with the following VOS sentences:

(320) *daayim ya-dhrib-in* *al-i9yaal,* **al-ban-aat**
 always *ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc* *the-girl-pl.f*
 “As for the girls, THEY ALWAYS HIT THE BOYS.”

(321) **daayim ya-dhrib-in* *al-i9yaal,* **ban-aat**
 always *ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f* *the-boy.pl.masc* *girl-pl.f.indef.*

In the grammatical sentence (320), the definite subject *al-banaat* “the girls” is interpreted as a topic and the rest of the sentence *daayim yadhrib-in al-i9yaal* “always hit the boys” is interpreted as a focus. Using the indefinite subject *banaat* “girls” instead of the definite one renders the sentence ungrammatical, (321). It is well-known that only definite subjects are used as topics. The fact that only definite subjects can be used in (320) fits with my analysis of the left periphery of the VOS

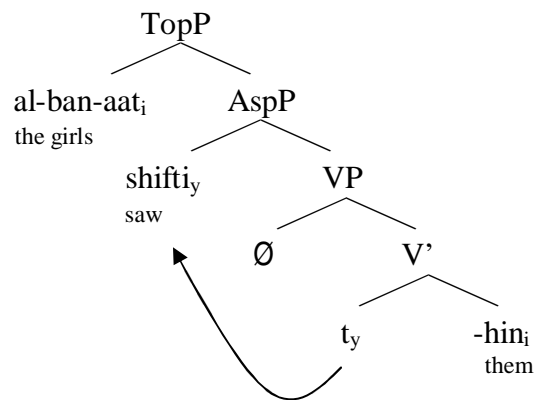
clauses under (316).. In other words, the subject of VOS clauses is in a TopP below the FocuP. Moreover, recall that in chapter 1, I have shown that there are two types of topics in Turaif Arabic, the right and the left periphery topics; and that topicalized object are always co-indexed with resumptive clitics.

(322) al-ban-aat, shifti-hin
 the-girl-pl.f. see.perf-1sg-3pl.f
 “As for girls, I saw them.”

(323) shifti-hin, al-ban-aat
 see.perf-1sg-3pl.f the-girl-pl.f..
 “As for girls, I SAW THEM.”

In (322), the object *al-banaat* “the girls” is interpreted as a topic while the rest of the sentence *shifti-hin* “saw them” is interpreted as neutral. We observe the appearance of a resumptive clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” on the verb. In (323), the object *al-banaat* “the girls” is also interpreted as a topic and it is also co-indexed with the resumptive clitic *-hin* “3pl.f”. The only difference is that in (323) compared to (322) the rest of the sentence *shifti-hin* “saw them” is interpreted as a focus. The following represents (322):

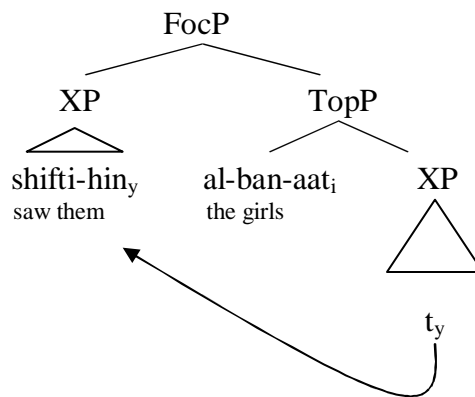
(324)



In (324), the object *al-banaat* “the girls” is in the TopP co-indexed with the resumptive clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” in the object position. I will assume that the object is

base generated in the TopP. The subject of the sentence is the first person singular *anaa* “I” which is always silent. I will not say anything about how the clitic gets cliticized on the verb since this is not the main point of the discussion. Thus, I will take (324) as the underlying representation of (323). Thus, the following represents (323):

(325)



In (325), the big XP, the AspP and the VP below it, *shifti-hin* “saw them” moves from the below the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” in the TopP to the FocP higher than the TopP. This follows from my analysis of the VOS clauses under (316) in which I propose that the subject of the VOS clauses is in a TopP in the left periphery of the clause; and the rest of the sentence preceding the subject is an XP in the FocP. In the next sections, I will investigate other supporting evidence of my analysis of the VOS clauses. To begin with, next, I will investigate the adverb positions in the VOS clause.

4.3 Adverb positions in VOS clauses

4.3.1 Introduction

This section concerns the distribution of adverbs in VOS clauses. As I have established in chapter 2 and 3, there are three main types of adverbs. The first type of adverbs is the preverbal adverbs like, *daayim* “always” and *aHyaanan* “sometime”; which always appear preverbally. The second type is the postverbal adverbs like, *b-sir9ah* “quickly” and *b-biTa* “slowly” which always appear clause finally as VP adjuncts. Both types can appear in the left periphery of the clause for reason of topic or focus. The third group is the *ma*-adverbs that are always preceded by the negative element *ma* such as, *ma 9umr* “never” and *ma 9ad* “no longer” which always appear preverbally. Now, I will investigate the distributional properties of these adverbs in VOS clauses.

4.3.2 Preverbal adverbs

This subsection discusses mainly the distribution of the preverbal adverbs like *daayim* “always” in VOS clauses.

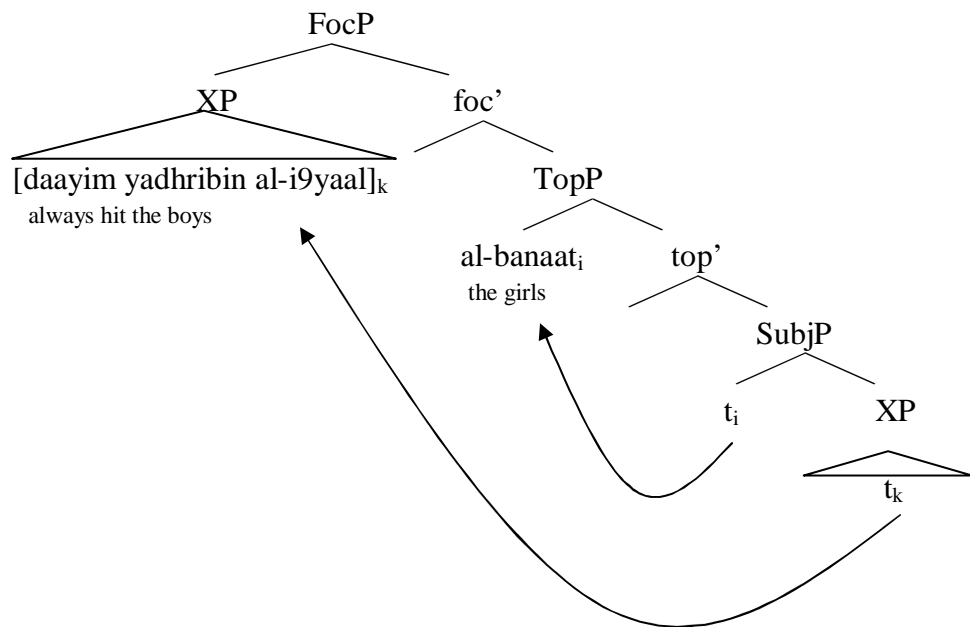
(326) *daayim ya-dhrib-in al-i9yaal, al-ban-aat*
always ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc the-girl-pl.f
“As for the girls, THEY ALWAYS HIT THE BOYS.”

(327) *ya-dhrib-in al-i9yaal. al-ban-aat daayim*
ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc the-girl-pl.f always
“As for the girls, always, THEY HIT THE BOYS.”

In (326), the adverb *daayim* “always” appears preverbally, whereas in (327), it appears postverbally. Given that *daayim* “always” appears only preverbally in neutral sentences, (326) is expected. However, the grammaticality of (327) is surprising.

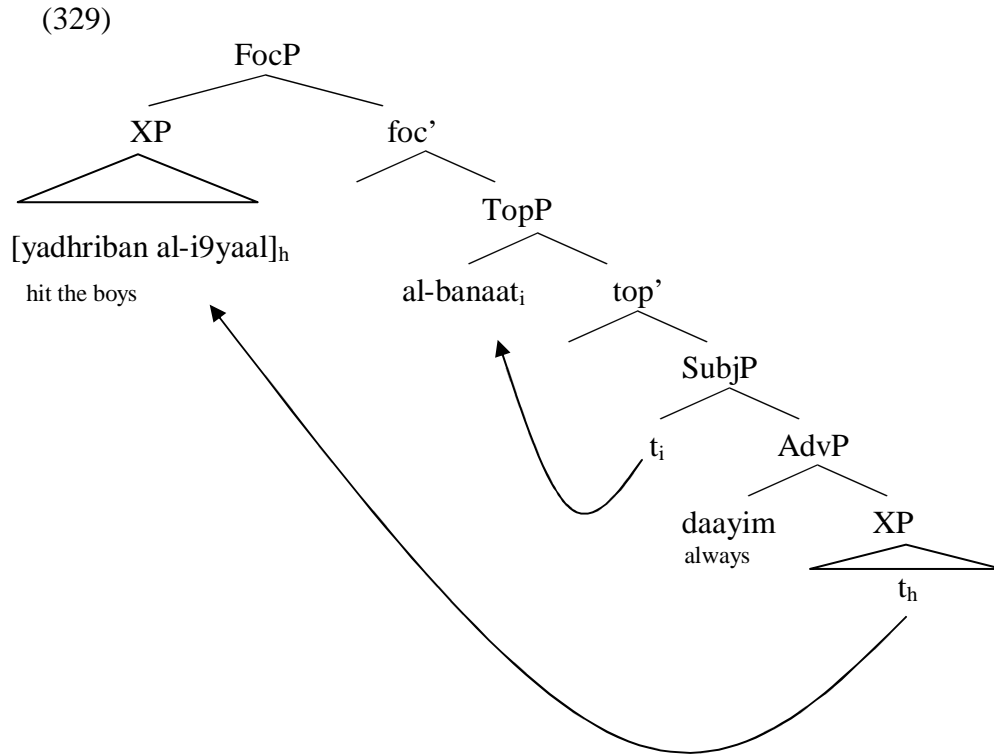
Recall that I have established that the preverbal adverbs never appear postverbally in both SVO and VSO clauses and that the verb and the object in those clauses always interpreted as neutral. In (326) and (327), the verb and the object are interpreted as foci and the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” appears postverbally and is interpreted as neutral or as a topic in (327). (326) is represented as:

(328)



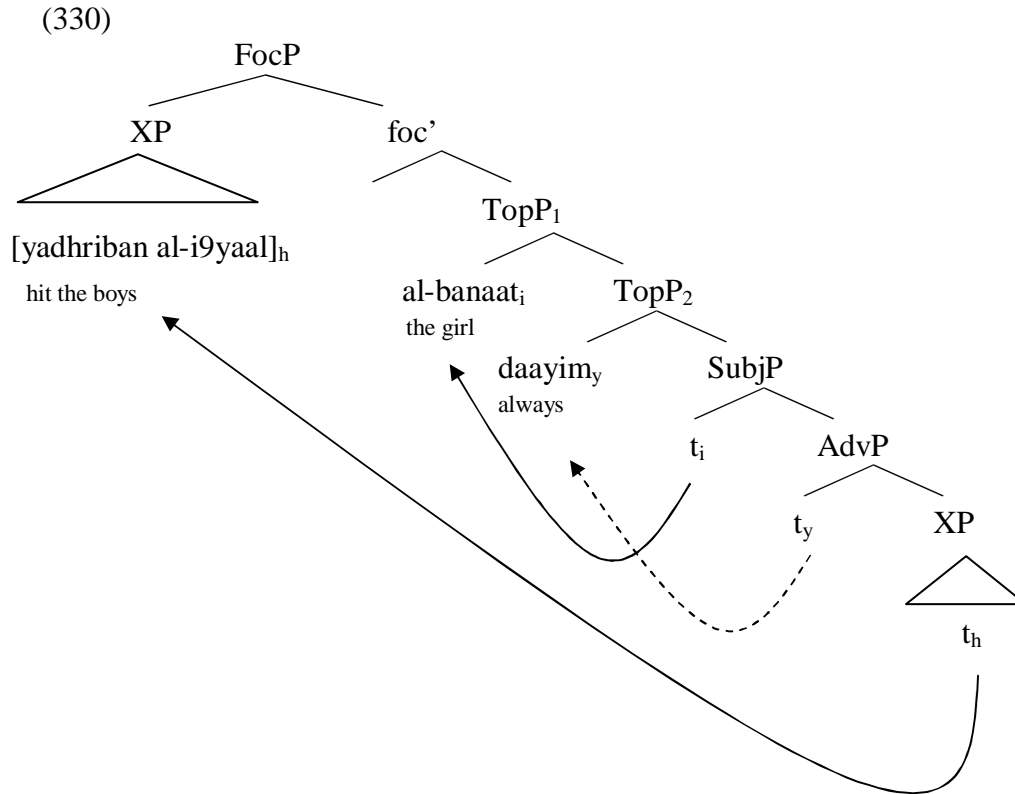
In (328), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the rest of the sentence the advP *daayim* “always” and the XPs below the AdvP, the VP, *yadhribin al-i9yaal* “hit the boys” as one big XP moves to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. This follows from my analysis of the VOS clauses I proposed under (316). I have proposed that the VOS clauses are derived by moving the subject from the SubjP to the TopP and a big or small XP including the VP from a position below the SubjP to the FocP.

The following represents (327) where the adverb *daayim* “always” is interpreted as neutral:



In (329), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the VP *yadhribin al-i9yaal* “hit the boys” as one XP moves to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. As for the adverb *daayim* “always”, it remains in its base position lower than the SubjP where it is interpreted neutrally. Thus, from (328) and (329), we observe that the XP that moves to the FocP could be a big XP in which the VP including the preverbal adverb move or it could be a smaller one where only the VP moves.

Let us see how (327) is derived when the adverb *daayim* “always” is interpreted as a topic:



In (330), the adverb *daayim* “always” moves from the AdvP to the TopP₂ where it is interpreted as a topic and the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from the SubjP to the TopP₁ where it is interpreted as a topic. As for the VP *yadhribin al-i9yaal* “hit the boys”, it moves from below the AdvP to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. Again, this fits with my analysis of the VOS clause under (316). In that tree, I have proposed that some sort of XP, whether small or big, can move to a FocP higher than the topicalized subject. More interestingly, in (330), we observe that the topics can iterate below the FocP. Recall that TopPs can iterate in the left periphery of the SVO

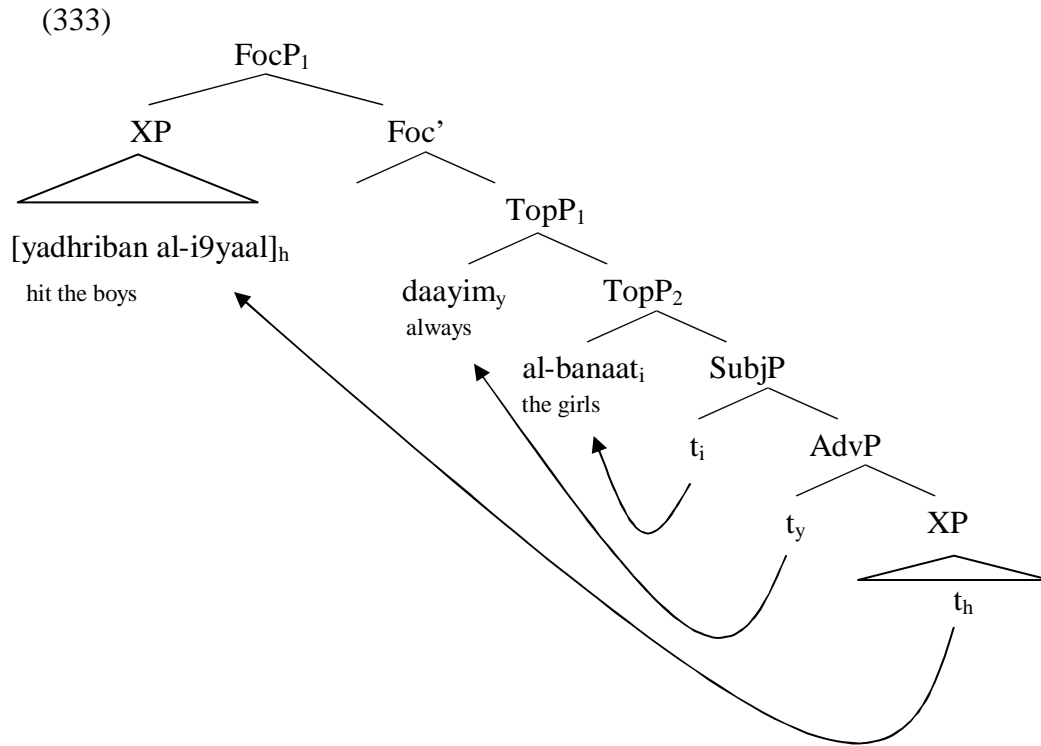
clauses higher than the FocP; the same thing is observed with VOS clauses; TopPs can iterate below the FocP.

To complete the picture, let us see if the preverbal adverb can surface in any position in the VOS clauses other those in (326) and (327):

(331) *ya-dhrib-in* *al-i9yaal*, *daayim al-ban-aat*
 ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f *the-boy.pl.masc* *always the-girl-pl.f*
 ‘‘As for the girls, always, THEY HIT THE BOYS.’’

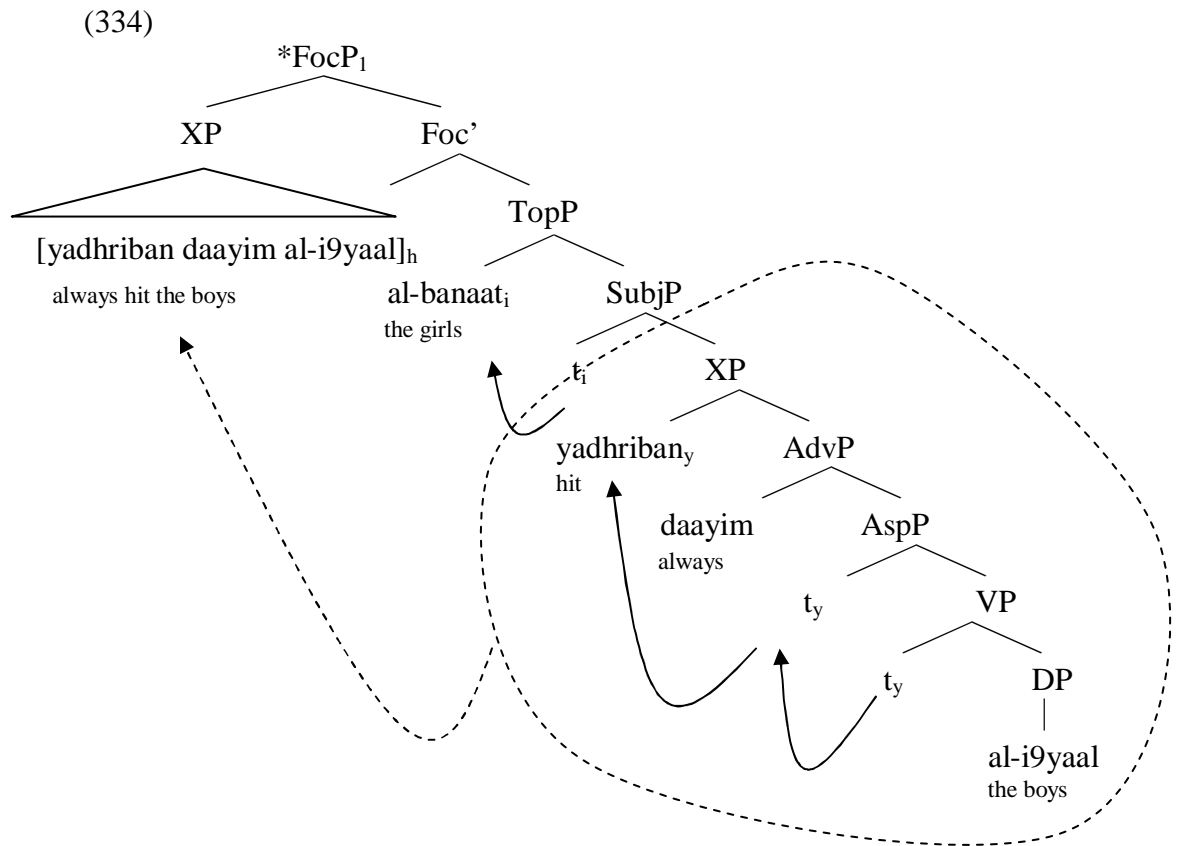
(332) * *ya-dhrib-in* *daayim al-i9yaal*, *al-ban-aat*
 ya-hit.imperf-3pl.f *always the-boy.pl.masc* *the-girl-pl.f*
 ‘‘As for the girls, THEY ALWAYS HIT THE BOYS.’’

In both (331) and (332), the preverbal adverb *daayim* ‘‘always’’ appears postverbally. In (331), it appears in a position right after the verb and its object *yadhrib-in al-i9yaal* ‘‘hit the boy’’; whereas in (332), it appears in a position between the verb and its object. Given that the preverbal adverb *daayim* ‘‘always’’ always appear preverbally, the ungrammaticality of (332) is expected, but, the grammaticality of (331) is surprising. Before investigating how (331) is derived, notice that the adverb *daayim* ‘‘always’’ in this sentence is interpreted as a topic. The following represents (331):



In (333), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” first moves from the SubjP to the TopP₂ where it is interpreted as a topic. Then, the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” moves from the AdvP to the TopP₁ where it is interpreted as a topic. Then, the VP *yadhriban al-i9yaal* “hit the boys” moves from as a big XP from a position below the AdvP to the FocP higher than the two TopPs. Thus, it is not surprising that the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” appears lower than the verb. In other words, it moves to the TopP₂ before the VP moves to the FocP. Thus, (333) follows from my analysis of VOS clauses. The subject is a TopP lower than the FocP in which an XP moved for reason of focus appears.

Let us see how we can account for the ungrammaticality of (332). The following tree represents (332):



In (334), before the big XP *yadhribin daayim al-i9yaal* “always hit the boys” raises to the FocP, the verb *yadhribin* “hit” first moves from its base position as the head of VP to AspP in which the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” appears; then, it moves from there to a position higher than the AdvP and lower than the SubjP. However, we know that the verb raises as high as the AspP and it is never in a position below the SubjP and higher than the AspP. Thus, this movement accounts for the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

In this subsection, I have shown that the subject of the VOS clauses always appears in the TopP in the left periphery of the clause where it is interpreted as a topic. Moreover, I have also shown that any XP whether a big one that includes the

AdvP and the AspP or a small one which only includes the AspP can move to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. In the latter case, the preverbal adverb may remain in its base position AdvP lower than the SubjP where it is interpreted as neutral or it may move to a TopP next to the TopP where the subject appears below the FocP. This shows that TopPs can iterate in the left periphery of VOS clause. This finding fits exactly with my analysis of the VOS clause under (316). I have proposed that the subject is in a topic position and the rest of the sentence preceding the subject as small or big XP is in a FocP. In the next subsection, I will investigate postverbal adverbs.

4.3.3 Postverbal adverbs

This subsection concerns the distribution of postverbal adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” in VOS clauses.

(335) dhrib-an al-i9yaal b-sir9ah, al-ban-aat
hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc in-speed the-girl-pl.f
“As for the girls, THEY HIT THE BOYS QUICKLY.”

(336) *dhrib-an al-i9yaal. al-ban-aat b-sir9ah
hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc the-girl-pl.f in-speed
“As for the girls, THEY HIT THE BOYS QUICKLY.”

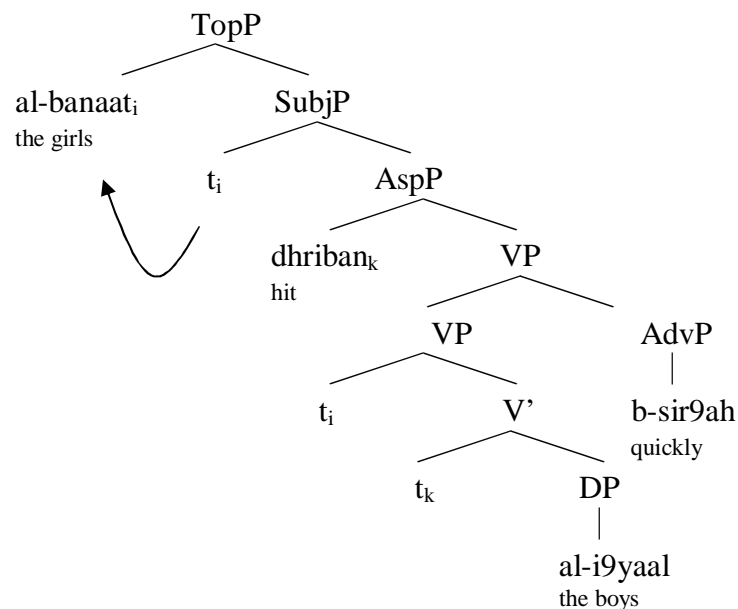
In (335) and (336), the subject *al-ban-aat* “the girls” is interpreted as a topic and the rest of the sentence is interpreted as a focus. We observe that in (335), the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears postverbally and in (336), the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears in a position right below the subject. Given what I have shown in the previous chapters, both sentences should be grammatical. Let us start first with the grammatical sentence, (335). Recall that in SVO clauses the subject can

be in a TopP and the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears postverbally where it is interpreted as neutral. Let us see how I have derived a SVO clause like the following:

- (337) *al-banaa-at dhrib-an al-i9yaal b-sir9ah*
 the-girl-pl.f hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc in-speed
 “As for the girls, they hit the boys quickly.”

I have represented (337) as:

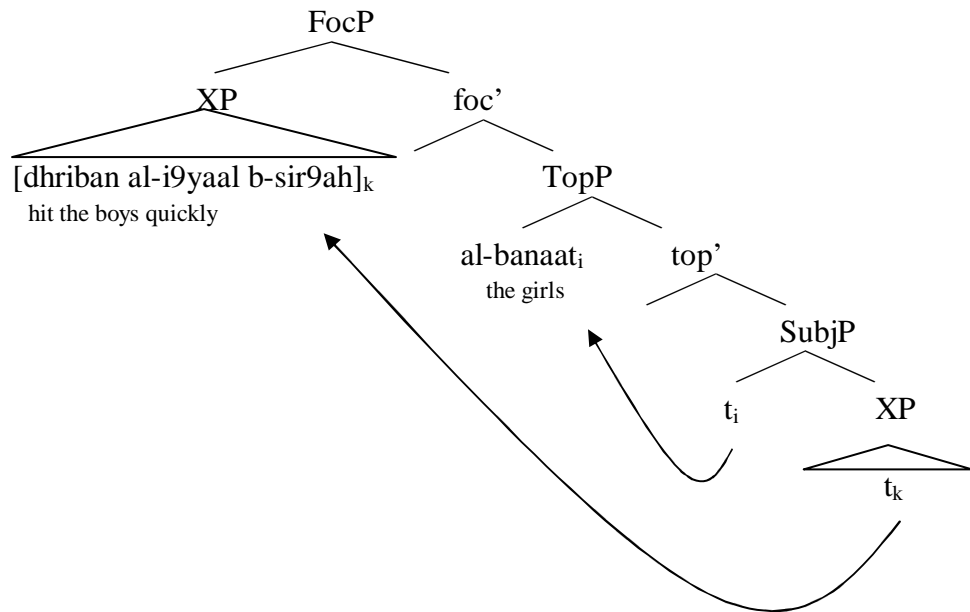
- (338)



In (338), the subject *al-banaa-at* “the girls” moves from the spec of SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. The rest of the sentence the AspP and other XPs below it including the postverbal adverb *dhrib-an al-i9yaal b-sir9ah* “hit the boys quickly” is interpreted as neutral.

Now, taking (338) as the underlying structure of (335), (335) is represented as:

(339)



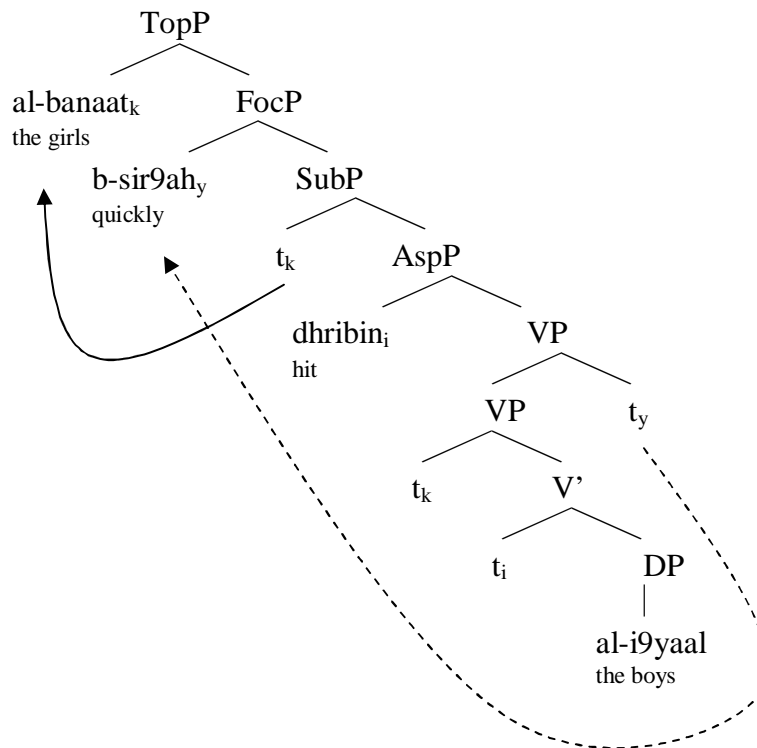
In (339), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the VP *dhriban al-i9yaal* “hit the boys” including the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” move to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. This follows from my analysis of VOS clauses in (190) in which I propose that the subject is in a TopP and the rest of the sentence preceding the subject is in a FocP.

Now, let us turn to (336). This sentence should be grammatical given what I have shown in the previous chapters. Recall that I have shown that the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” can appear in a position below the subject for reason of focus. Let us take the following sentence:

(340) al-ban-aat b-sir9ah dhrib-an al-i9yaal
the-girl-pl.f in-speed hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc
“As for the girls, they QUICKLY hit the boys.”

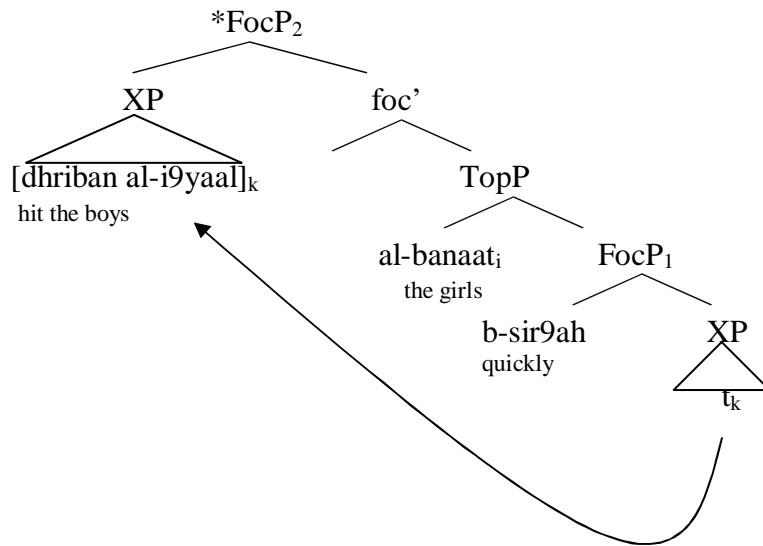
In (340), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” is interpreted as a topic and the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears preverbally in a position between the subject and the verb. In this position, *b-sir9ah* “quickly” is interpreted as a focus. In chapter 2, I have represented (340) with the following tree:

(341)



(211)(341) shows that the adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” moves from its base position as a VP adjunct to the FocP for reason of focus. As for the subject *al-banaat* “the girls”, it moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic. Thus, from (341) one concludes that there is nothing wrong with having the postverbal adverb in a focus position below the subject. Now, let us see how (336) is derived. Taking (341) as the underlying structure of (336), (336) is represented as:

(342)



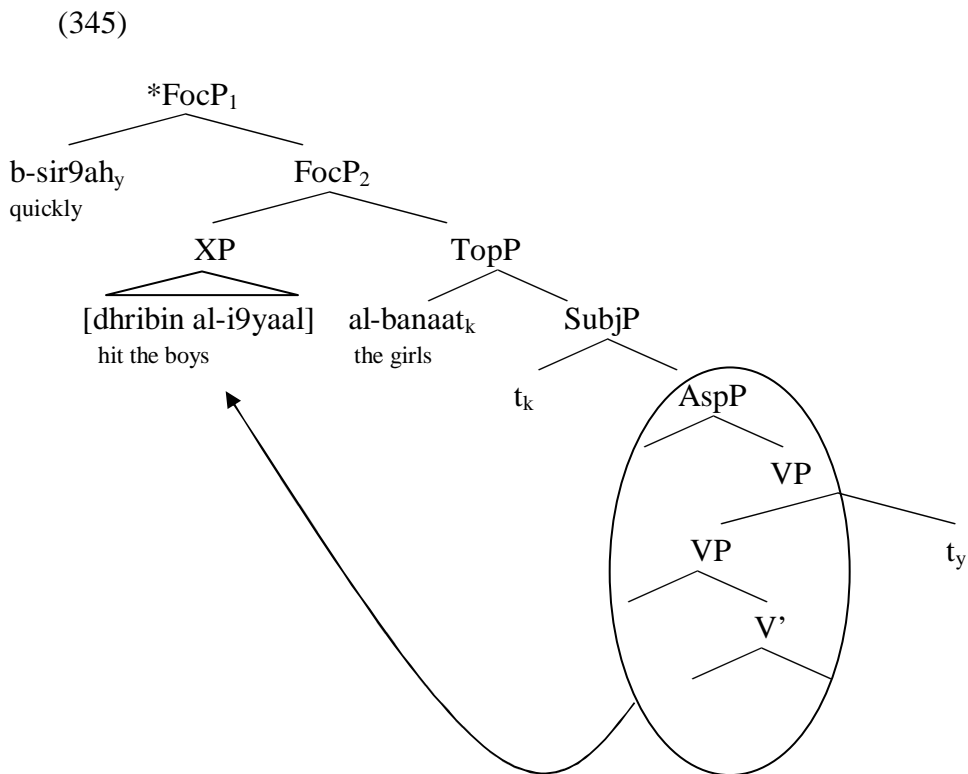
In (342), as in (341), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in the TopP and the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears in the FocP₁ below the subject. Now, to get the order in (336), the big XP, the AspP and other XPs below the AspP, *dhriban al-i9yaal* “hit the boys” moves from below the FocP₁ to FocP₂ where it is interpreted as a focus. As it is well-known, foci can not iterate in the left periphery of the sentence; therefore, having two Foci in the left periphery of (342) renders the sentence ungrammatical. (341) and (342) follows from my analysis of VOS clauses in (316); under that tree, I propose that the subject is in a TopP and the elements preceding it as one XP is in a FocP.

Now, let us see if the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” can appear in any other position in VOS clauses:

- (343) *dhrib-an b-sir9ah al-i9yaal, al-ban-aat
hit.perf-3pl.f in-speed the-boy.pl.masc the-girl-pl.f
“As for the girls, THEY HIT THE BOYS QUICKLY.”

(344) *b-sir9ah dhrib-an al-i9yaal, al-ban-aat
 in-speed hit.perf-3pl.f the-boy.pl.masc the-girl-pl.f
 “As for the girls, THEY HIT THE BOYS QUICKLY.”

In (343), the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears between the verb *dhriban* “hit” and the object *al-i9yaal* “the boys”. In (344), *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears preverbally. Recall that I have shown in the previous chapters that there is no position between the verb and the object that can hold the postverbal adverb; the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” appears only in a postverbal position when it is interpreted as neutral or in a position lower than the subject in the left periphery of the clause when it is interpreted as a focus. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (343) is not surprising. Let us now see how we can account for the ungrammaticality of (344). The following tree shows how (344) is derived.



In (345), the big XP, the AspP and all other XPs below it excluding the postverbal adverb, moves to the FocP₂; and the postverbal adverb *b-sir9ah* “quickly” adjoined to the VP then moves to the FocP₁. We know that this movement is illegitimate; that is to say, moving the AspP as one big XP without moving the postverbal adverb is not allowed. Thus, the ungrammaticality of the clause is not surprising. Even with the assumption that this movement is legitimate; (344) is excluded due to having two Foci in its left periphery.

In this subsection, making use of what I have established in the previous chapters about the legitimacy of having the postverbal adverbs like *b-sir9ah* “quickly” in the left periphery of the clause SVO clauses for reason of focus, I have shown that the postverbal adverb can not appear in the left periphery of the VOS clauses for reason of focus. This finding follows from my analysis of the VOS clauses under (316). In (316), I have proposed that the subject of VOS clauses is in a topic position and the rest of the sentence preceding the subject as small or big XP is in a FocP. Therefore, having two foci in the left periphery of the clause, the big XP and the postverbal adverb, is not allowed.

4.3.4 *ma*-adverbs

This subsection concerns the distribution of preverbal *ma*-adverbs like, *ma 9umr* “never”, in VOS clauses.

- (346) *ma ʕumr*-(hin) *qaal-an al-Haq, al-ban-aat*
 not life-3pl.f say.perf-3pl.f the-truth the-girl.pl.f
 “As for the girls, THEY HAVE NEVER SAID THE TRUTH.”

(347) * qaal-an al-Haq, al-ban-aat ma ʕumr-*(hin)
 say.perf-3pl.f the-truth the-girl.pl.f not life-3pl.f
 “As for the girls, THEY HAVE NEVER SAID THE TRUTH.”

(348) *qaal-an al-Haq, ma ʕumr-*(hin) al-ban-aat
 say.perf-3pl.f the-truth not life-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f
 “As for the girls, THEY HAVE NEVER SAID THE TRUTH.”

In (346), the *ma*-adverb *ma ʕumr* “never” appears preverbally and the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in a position lower than the *ma*-adverb. In both (347) and (348), the *ma*-adverb appears postverbally. Given that the *ma*-adverb *ma ʕumr* “never” never appears postverbally, the ungrammaticality of (347) and (348) is not surprising. What is surprising is the grammaticality of (346). We observe that there is an obligatory presence of the agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” on the *ma*-adverb in (346) despite the fact that the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” is in a position lower than the *ma*-adverb. Recall that I have established in the previous chapters that the agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” becomes obligatory only if the subject passes through the spec of the *ma*-adverb. Let us see the following SVO and VSO sentences:

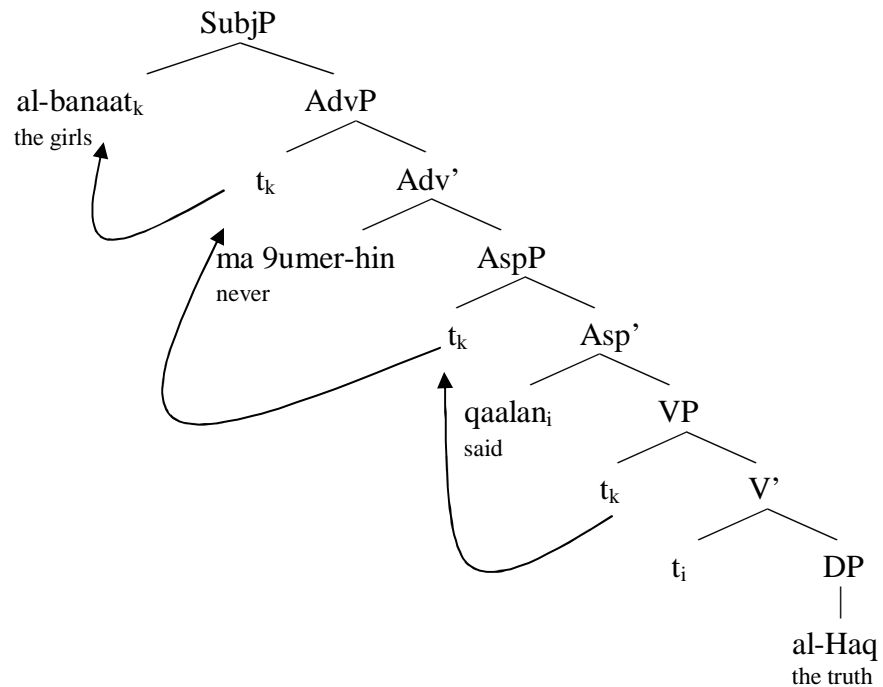
(349) al-ban-aat [ma ʕumr-*(hin)] qaal-an al-Haq (SVO)
 the-girl.pl.f ma life-3pl.f say.perf-3pl.f the-truth
 “The girls never said the truth.”
 (i.e. The girls always tell lies.)

(350) ma ʕumr-*(hin) ma qaal-an al-ban-aat al-Haq (VSO)
 not life-3pl.f neg say.perf-3pl.f the-girl.pl.f the-truth
 “The girls never have not said the truth.”

In (349), we observe that obligatory presence of the agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” on the *ma*-adverb when the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” surfaces in a position before the *ma*-adverb. In (350), the agreement clitic is obligatorily absent. In this sentence, the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” is in a position after the *ma*-adverb.

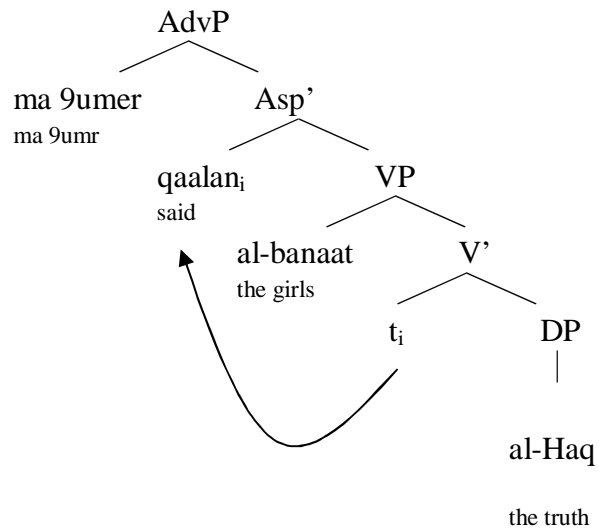
(215)(349) represented as:

(351)



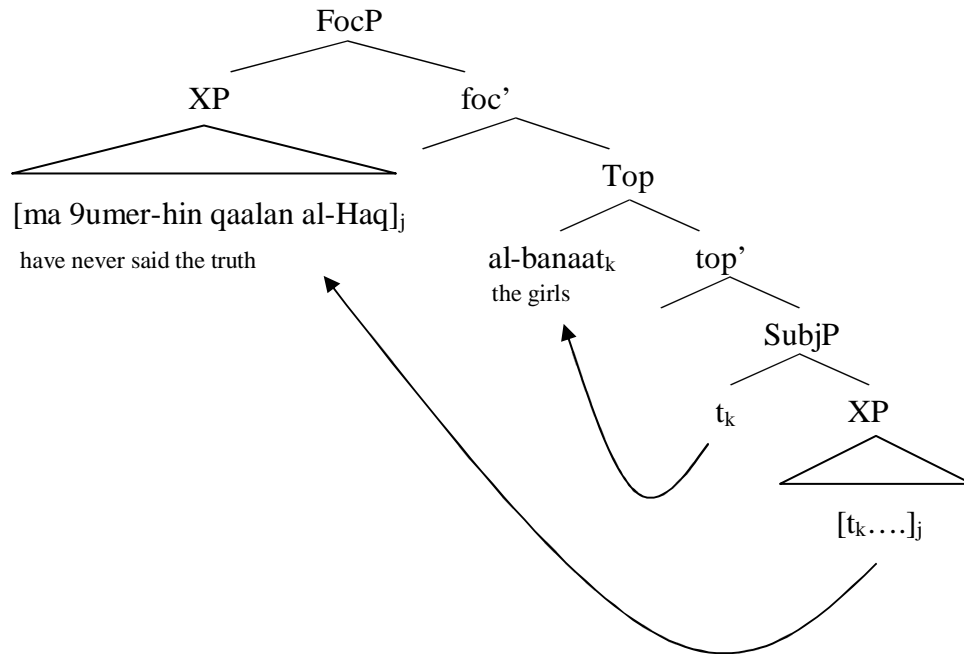
In(351), the subject successively moves from its base position in the spec of VP to the SubjP. On its way to the spec of SubjP, the subject lands in the specs of AspP and AdvP. Because the subject, *al-banaat* “the girls” is being in a spec-head relation with the adverb *ma 9umr* “never”, the agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” surfaces on the adverb. Now, let us see how (350) is derived:

(352)



In (352), we observe that the *ma*-adverb appears preverbally in the AdvP higher than AspP and the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears in its base position in the spec of VP. That is to say, the subject is in a position lower than the *ma*-adverb and it never is never in a spec-head configuration with adverb *ma 9umr* “never”; this fact accounts for the absence of the agreement clitic. Now, let us turn to (346). The agreement clitic *-hin* “3pl.f” surfaces on the *ma*-adverb despite the fact that the subject is in a position below the *ma*-adverb. Thus, (346) is apparently problematic. Let us see how (346) is derived:

(353)



In (353), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic; and the big XP *ma 9umer-hin qaalan al-Haq* “have never said the truth” moves from below the SubjP to the FocP. I will take (351) to be the underlying representation of (353). Before the subject moves to TopP and the big XP, including the *ma*-adverb *ma 9umer* “never”, moves to the FocP, the subject was a spec-head relation with the *ma*-adverb. Therefore, it is at that point of the derivation where the appearance of the agreement clitic becomes obligatory. This follows exactly from my analysis of VOS clause under (316). I have proposed that the subject is in a TopP and the rest of the sentence preceding the subject is in a FocP.

In this subsection, via the obligatorily presence of the agreement clitic on the preverbal *ma*-adverb in the VOS clauses, I have shown that the *ma*-adverb including

the VP as one big XP, at one point of the derivation, was lower than the subject before the big XP moves to the FocP. It is in that stage where the *ma*-adverb gets into a spec-head relation with the subject and the appearance of the agreement clitic becomes obligatory. This finding follows from my analysis of the VOS clauses in which I have proposed that the subject is in a TopP and the XP preceding the subject is in a FocP.

To conclude, in this section, via investigating the distribution of the adverbs, I have shown that the subject in the VOS clauses is in a TopP at the left periphery of the clause. Moreover, I have shown that the elements that precede the subject constitute an XP; this XP moves from a position below the neutral position of the subject to a position higher than the TopP for reason of focus. These findings constitute the first piece of evidence for my analysis of the VOS clauses given under (316) in which I propose that the subject is in a TopP after moving from the SubjP and that the XP preceding the subject is in a FocP after moving from below the neutral subject position. In the next section, I will investigate second piece of evidence supporting my analysis of the VOS clauses, quantifier float.

4.4 Quantifier Float

This subsection concerns the distribution of quantifier float and the agreement clitic surfacing on the stranded quantifier in VOS clauses.

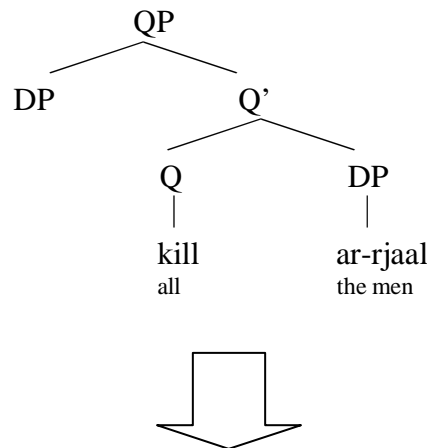
- (354) shaaf-aw al-bint kill-(*hum) ar-rjaal
 see.perf-3pl-masc the-girl all-3pl.masc the-men
 ‘‘As for all the men, THEY SAW THE GIRL.’’

(355) kill-*(hum) shaaf-aw al-bint ar-rjaal
 all-3pl.masc see.perf-3pl-masc the-girl the-men
 “As for the men, ALL OF THEM SAW THE GIRL.”

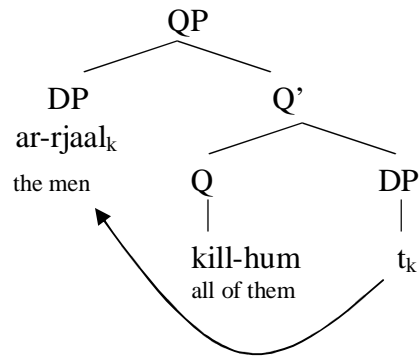
In the grammatical sentence (354), the quantifier *kill* “all” appears right before the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men”. In this case, there is an obligatory absence of the agreement clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc”. In (355), the quantifier appears preverbally; we observe the obligatory presence of the agreement clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc” on the quantifier, and the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” appears in a position after the verb.

Now, let us discuss the derivation of these sentences with reference to what I have established in the previous chapters. First, let us take (354). The grammaticality of this sentence is not surprising. Recall that I have established in previous chapters that the subject is a complement of the quantifier and the agreement clitic surfaces on the quantifier only when the subject moves from its position as the complement of the quantifier to the spec of QP.

(356) a.

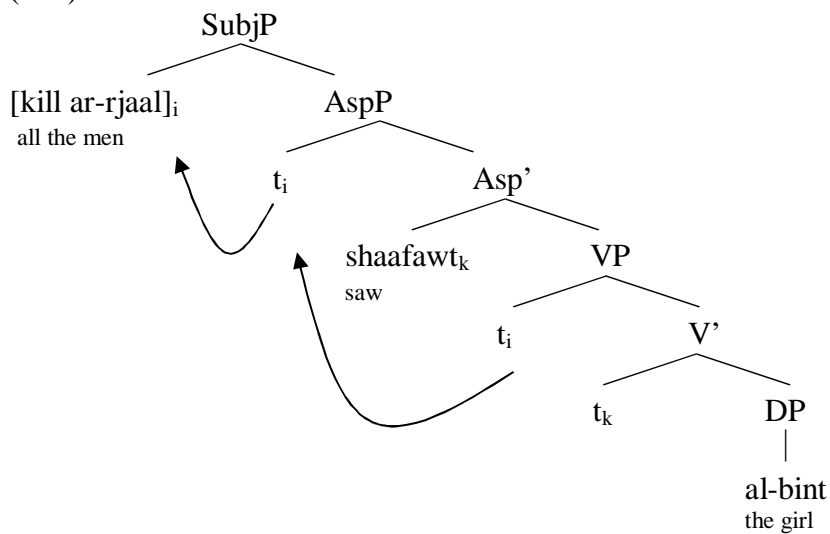


b.



Thus, when I discussed SVO, I took the QP to be in the SubjP as the following tree shows:

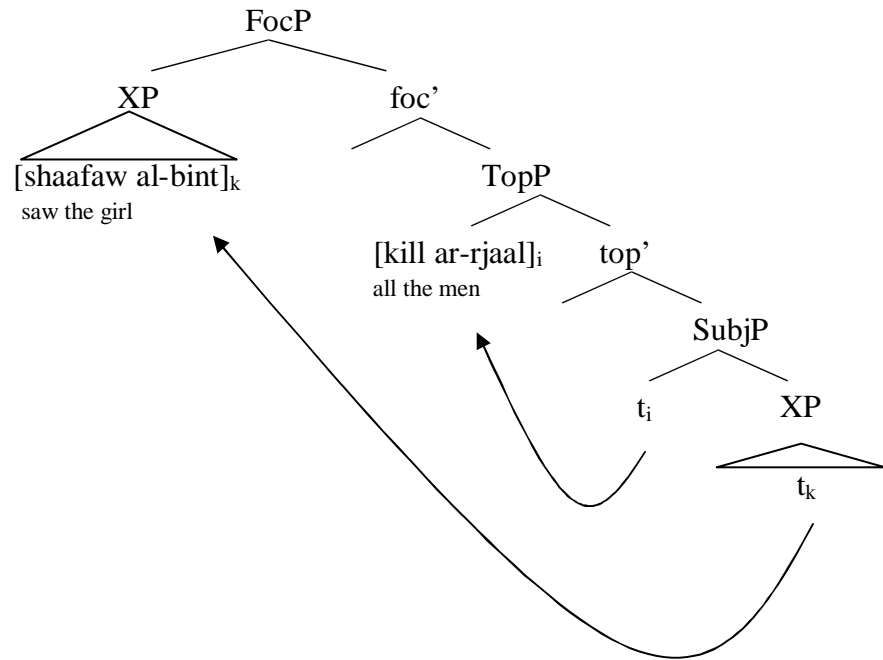
(357)



In (357), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” with the quantifier *kill* “all” originates in the theta-position at the spec of VP; from there, pied piping the quantifier, the subject moves to the spec of SubjP which is higher than the AspP. On its way, it lands in the spec of AspP. We observe that the subject never passes over the Quantifier. In other words, it is never in the spec of the QP.

Now, turning back to (354), we observe that the same order arises; the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” appears after the quantifier *kill* “all”; Thus, the subject it is never in the spec of QP. Therefore, taking (357) as the underlying representation, (354) is represented as:

(358)



In (358), the subject *kill ar-rjaal* “all the men” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the VP *shaafaw al-bint* “saw the girl” as one big XP moves to FocP where it is interpreted as focus. This follows from my analysis of VOS clauses in (316); these clauses have a subject in a TopP preceded by an XP in a FocP.

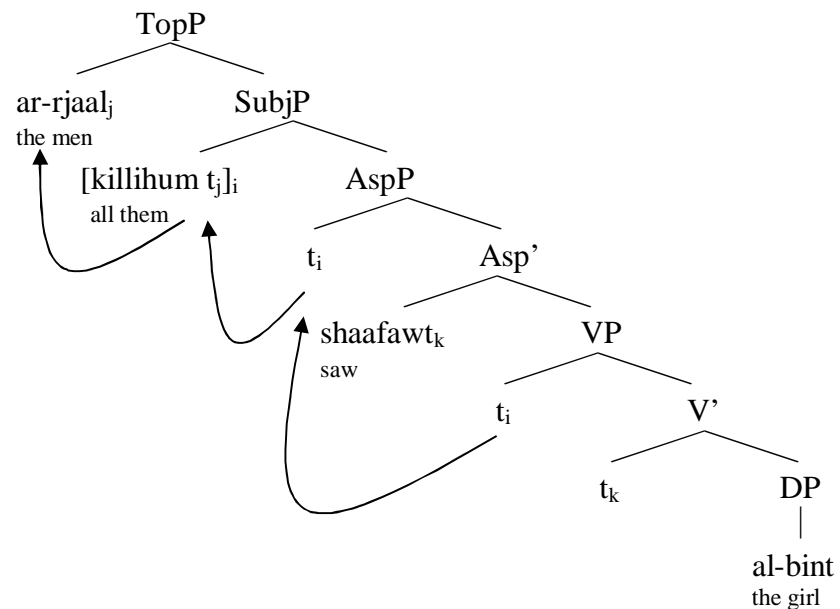
Let us investigate (355). We observe the obligatory presence of the agreement clitic on the stranded quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” although the stranded

quantifier appears preverbally and the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” appears postverbally. I have just explained that the agreement clitic only surfaces when the subject is in the spec of the Quantifier. Thus, the grammaticality of this sentence is surprising with this order. Recall that I have shown under SVO clauses that the subject can be interpreted as a topic and the stranded quantifier as neutral.

- (359) *ar-rjaal killi-*(hum) shaaf-aw al-bint*
 the-men all-3pl.masc saw.perf-3pl.masc the-girl
 “As for the men, all of them saw the girl.”

In (359), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” appears before the quantifier *kill* “all”. We observe the obligatory presence of the agreement clitic *-hum* “3pl.masc” on the quantifier. (359) is represented as:

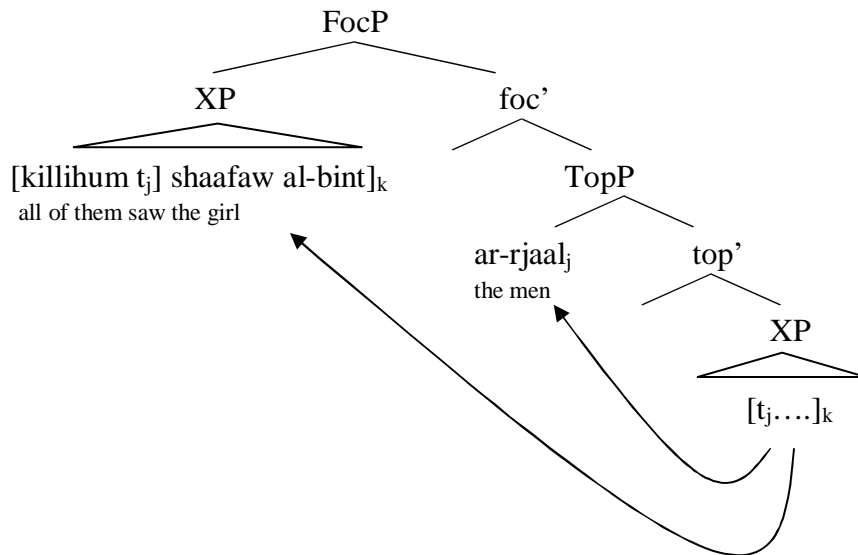
(360)



In (360), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves from its base position as the complement of the quantifier to TopP. While moving to TopP, the subject lands in the spec of QP; with this configuration the agreement clitic surfaces.

Now, taking (360) as the underlying representation of (355), (355) can be derived as the following:

(361)



In (361), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” is in the TopP after passing through the spec of QP. The big XP, the stranded quantifier and XPs below it, moves to the FocP above the subject where it is interpreted as a focus. The tree follows from my analysis of VOS clauses in (190) in which I propose that the subject is in a TopP and an XP preceding the subject is in a FocP.

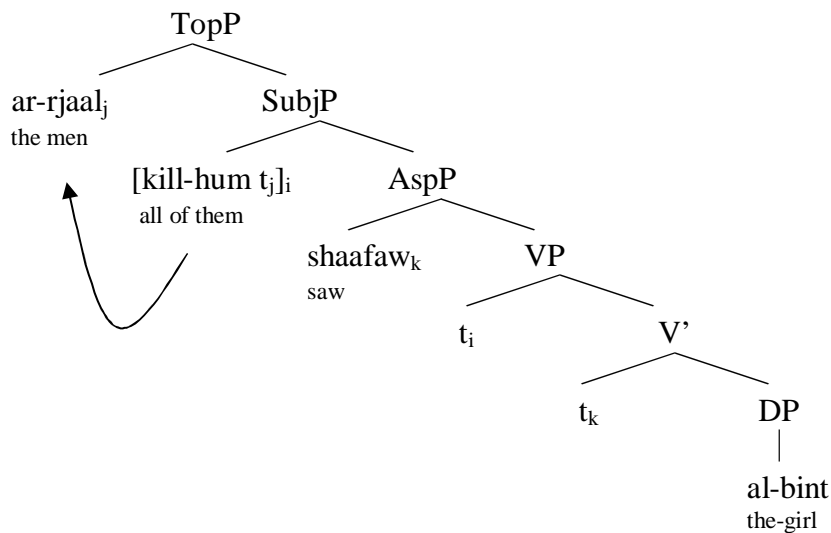
Let us see if the stranded quantifier can appear in any other position in VOS clauses.

- (362) *shaaf-aw al-bint ar-rjaal kill-hum
 see.perf-3pl-masc the-girl the-men all-3pl.masc
 “As for the men all, THEY SAW THE GIRL.”
 “As for the men, ALL OF THEM SAW THE GIRL.”

- (363) *shaaf-aw al-bint kill-hum ar-rjaal
 see.perf-3pl-masc the-girl all-3pl.masc the-men
 “As for the men all, THEY SAW THE GIRL.”
 “As for the men, ALL OF THEM SAW THE GIRL.”

In (362), the stranded quantifier *kill-hum* “all of them” appears at the end of the sentence preceded by the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” and in (363), it appears postverbally right before the subject. Surprisingly, both sentences are ungrammatical. Let us first start with (362). We observe that in (362), the neutral and focus interpretation of the quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” are not available. Recall that I have shown that in SVO clauses, that there is nothing wrong with having a neutral interpretation of the stranded quantifier and a topic interpretation of the subject; see the following tree representing an SVO clause:

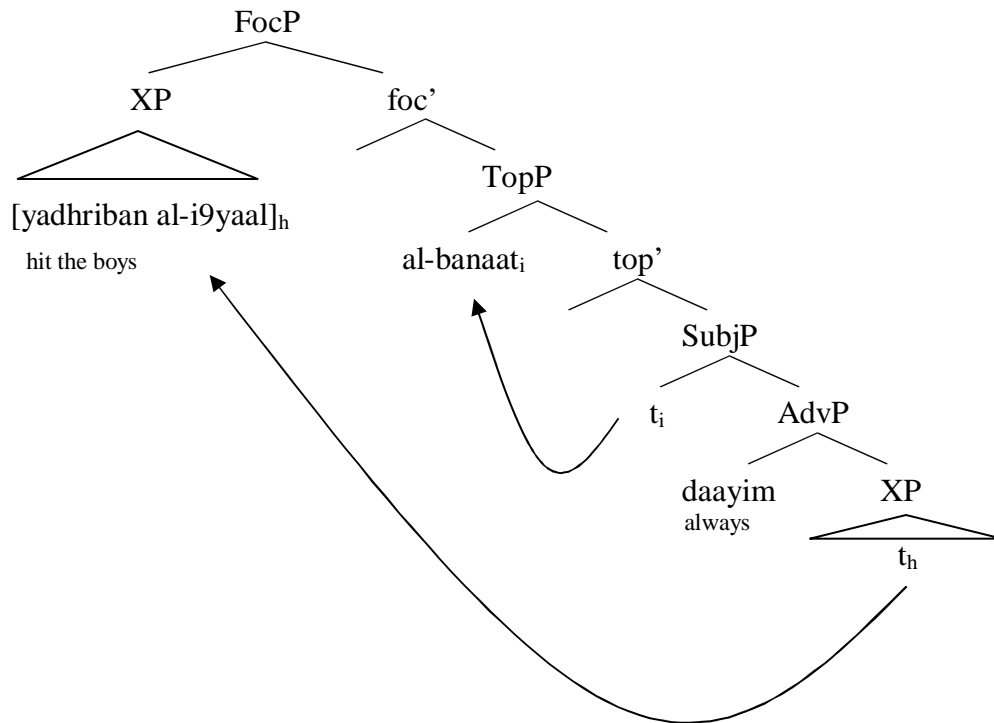
(364)



In (364), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves to TopP and the quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” remains under the SubjP.

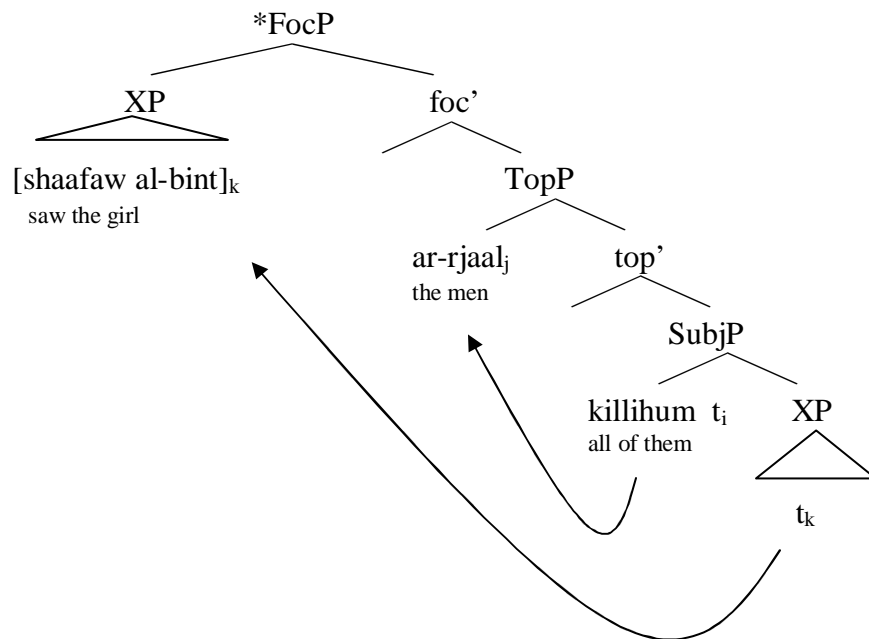
Moreover, recall that I have shown under (329) that the preverbal adverb *daayim* “always” which appears lower than the subject can remain in situ where it is interpreted neutrally. (329) is repeated here:

(365)



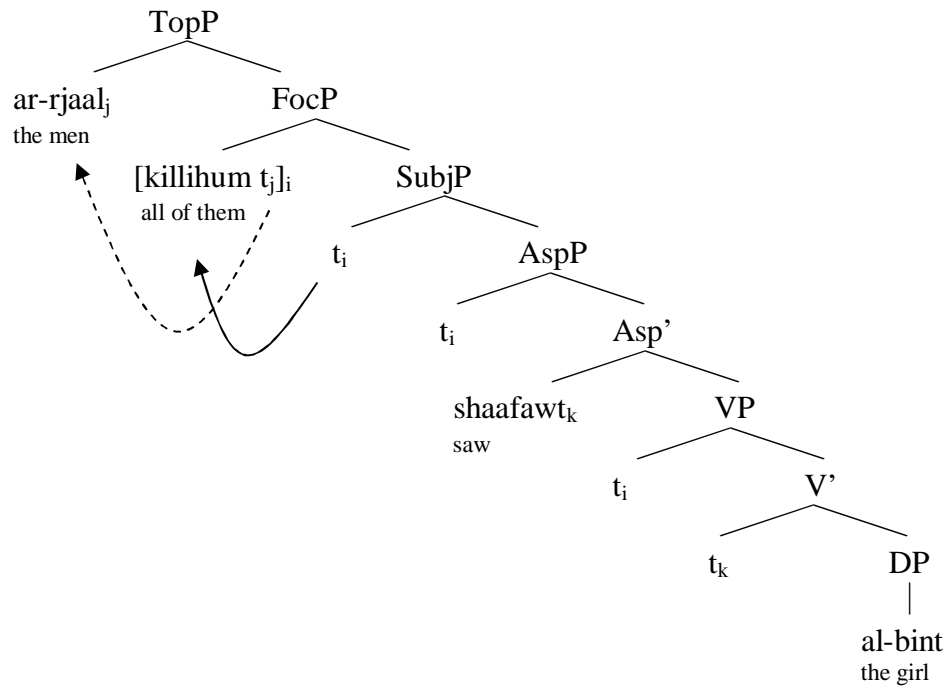
In (365), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic and the VP *yadhribin al-i9yaal* “hit the boys” as one XP moves to the FocP where it is interpreted as a focus. As for the adverb *daayim* “always”, we observe that it remains in its base position lower than the SubjP where it is interpreted neutrally. Taking into account the above two facts, we would assume that grammaticality of (362). The following tree represents (362) with neutral interpretation of the quantifier:

(366)



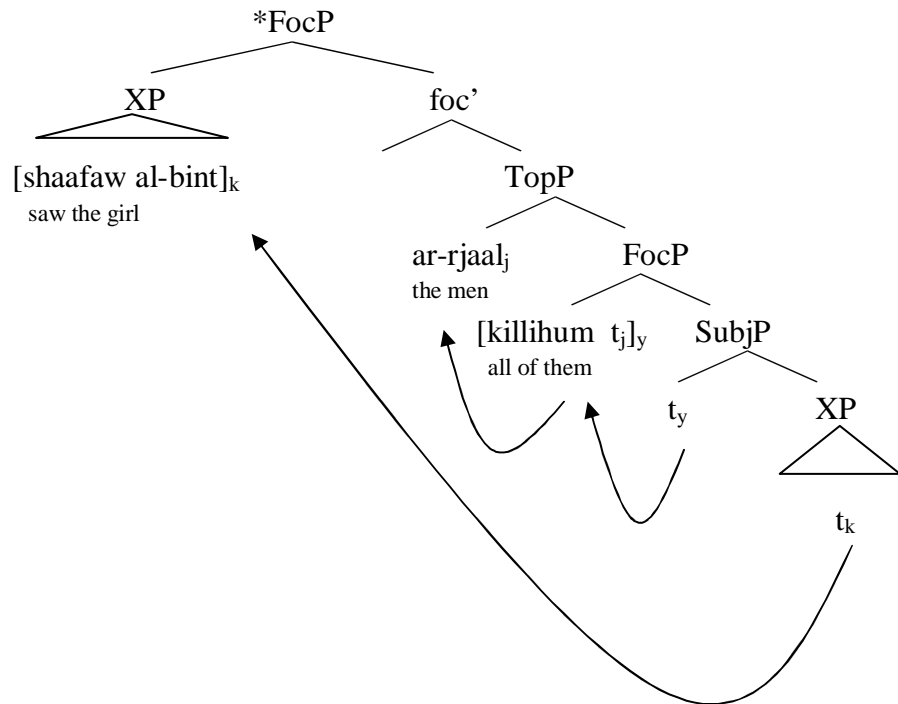
As (366) shows, the subject *ar-rajaaal* “the men” moves to TopP and the stranded quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” remains in the SubjP. The big XP, *shaafaw al-bint* “saw the girl” moves to the FocP higher than the subject. Thus, with the data discussed above I would conclude that it is not obvious why this order is excluded. Now, let us see why the sentence is excluded with the focus interpretation of *killi-hum* “all of them”. Recall that in SVO clauses, the quantifier can move to the left periphery of the clause below the topicalized subject for reason of focus.

(367)



In (367), the quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” moves from the SubjP to FocP. Then, the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves from FocP to the TopP higher than the quantifier. Taking (367) as the underlying representation of (362), (362) where the quantifier is interpreted as a focus is represented as:

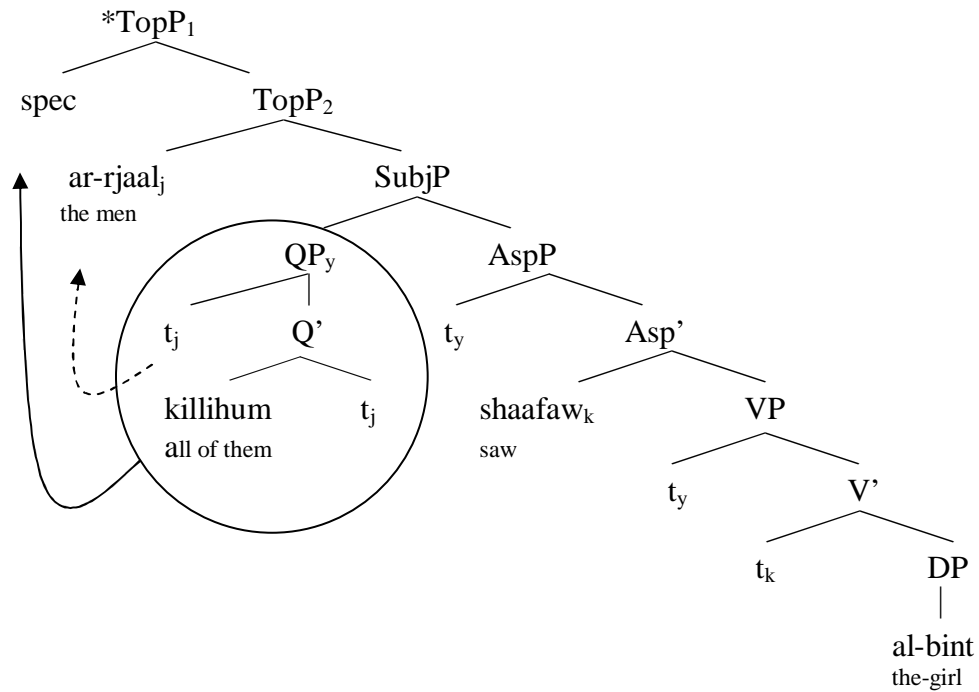
(368)



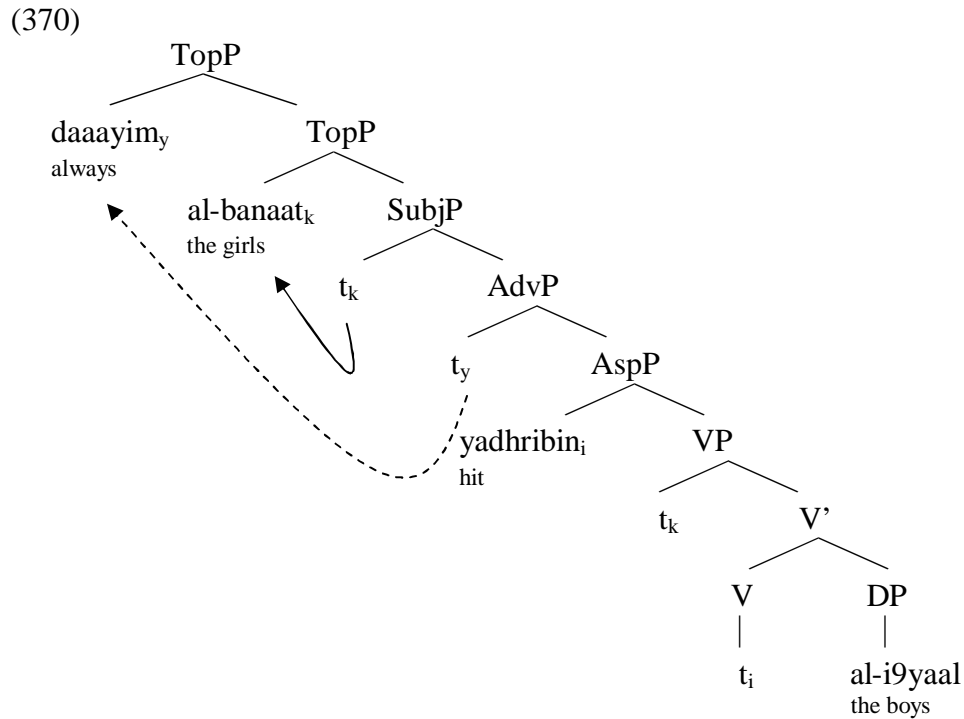
As (368) shows, the stranded quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” moves to *FocP* and the subject *ar-rajaal* “the men” moves to *TopP*. Then, the big *XP*, *shaafaw al-bint* “saw the girl” moves to the *FocP* higher than the subject. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (362) with focus interpretation of the quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” is expected. Having two foci, the big *XP* and the quantifier, in the left periphery of the clause ruled the sentence out.

Now, let us turn to (363). Let us see why the sentence is ruled out with the topic interpretation of the quantifier. Recall that I have shown that this order is ruled out too:

(369)

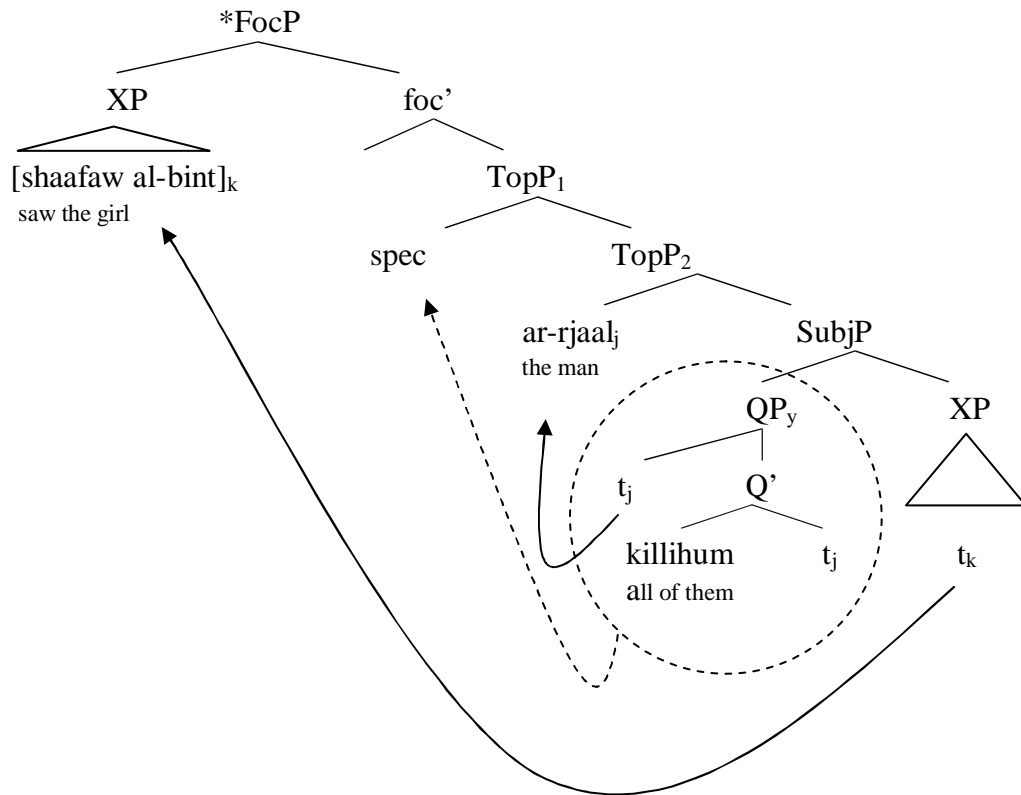


In (369), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves to the spec of QP to TopP_2 . Then, the entire QP moves to the higher TopP_1 . I have said that it is not obvious why this order leads to the ungrammaticality of the sentence. There was no harm to have more than one topic in the left periphery of the clause; I have shown that a topicalized subject and a topicalized adverb can appear as topics in the left periphery of the clause.



In (370), the subject *al-banaat* “the girls” moves from SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic, and the adverb *daayim* “always” moves from its base position to the TopP where it is also interpreted as a topic. Thus, I have concluded that the ungrammaticality of the sentence could be explained in different ways. It might be that topics in Turaif Arabic are not equal with regard to what elements can surface as topic with what element in the left periphery of the clause. The ungrammaticality of (369) (261) could be ascribed to something wrong with the binding. In other words, one might say that the trace of the subject inside the QP is not c-commanded by the subject since it is higher than the subject in this configuration. Thus, I have said that the reason behind the exclusion of (369) is not obvious. Now, turning to (363), I will take it to be derived out of (369). Thus, the following tree represents (363):

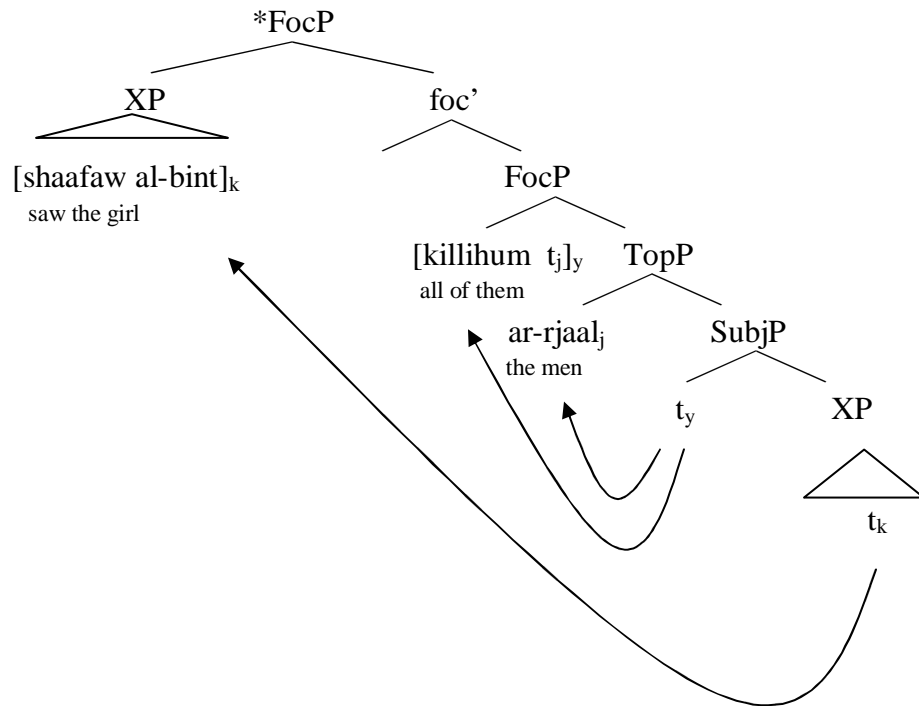
(371)



In (371), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” moves to the spec of QP to TopP₂. Then, the entire QP moves to the higher TopP₁. The big XP, *shaafaw al-bint* “saw the girl” then moves to FocP. Thus, the ungrammaticality of this sentence is not obvious; and as I have mentioned under (369), different explanations may arise.

Now, with the focus interpretation of the quantifier, (363) is represented as:

(372)



As (372) shows, the subject *ar-rajaal* “the men” moves to TopP and the stranded quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” moves to FocP. Then, the big XP, *shaafaw al-bint* “saw the girl” moves to the FocP higher than the subject. Thus, as in (368), the ungrammaticality of (362) with focus interpretation of the quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” is expected. Having two foci, the big XP and the quantifier, in the left periphery of the clause rules the sentence out.

In this subsection, via investigating the obligatory presence of the agreement clitic on the stranded quantifier in the VOS clauses, I have shown that these clauses are derived from the SVO clauses in which the subject moves to the TopP and an XP lower than the neutral subject position moves to FocP higher than the subject. These findings follow from my analysis of the VOS clauses under (316). Next, I will

investigate the third piece of evidence supporting my analysis of the VOS clauses, the interaction between the quantifier and the negation.

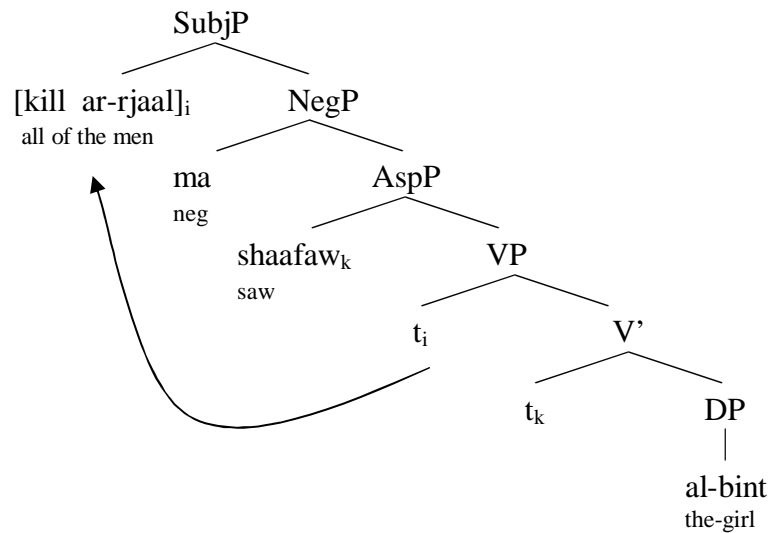
4.5 The interaction between the quantifier and negation

In this subsection, I will investigate how the quantifier interacts with negation. The main motivation behind this subsection is to show that the subject despite where it appears in the surface in the VOS clauses was at one point of the derivation in a position higher than negation. Let us see a negated VOS clause:

(373) *ma shaaf-aw al-bint kill ar-rjaal* $\forall > \neg / * \neg > \forall$
 neg. see.past.pl.masc the-girl all the-men
 “All the men did not see the girl.”
 “*Not all of the men saw the girl.”

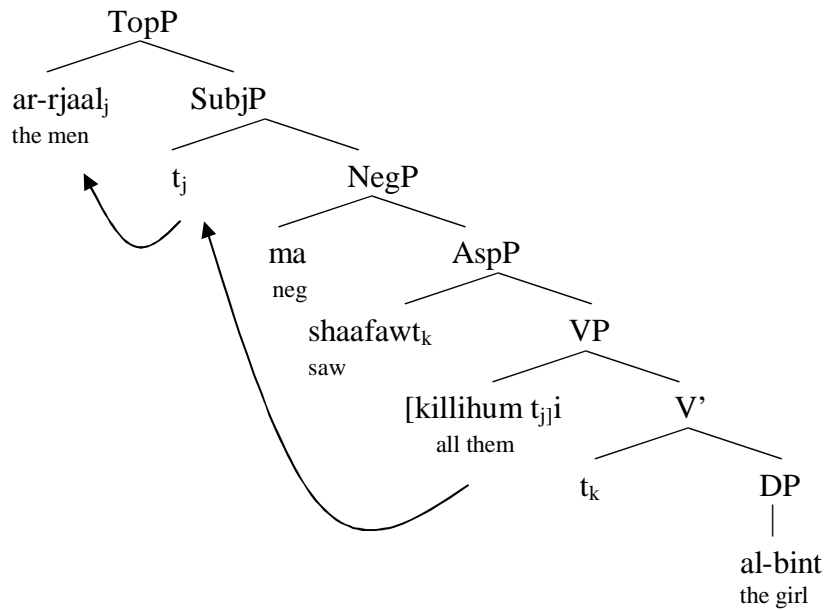
In (373), the negative element *ma* appears preverbally while the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” appears postverbally at the end of the sentence. (373) could be truthfully said in a situation where there are a number of men and a girl and none of the men saw the girl; but it can not be said in a situation where some of the men did not see the girl. Given what I have shown about the scope interaction between negation and the quantifier, the grammaticality of sentence is very surprising. Recall the generalization about the interaction between the negation and the quantifier I have come up with; I have concluded that the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation is calculated on the surface position of the quantifier. In SVO, when the quantifier appears higher than the negation, the only interpretation available is where the quantifier scopes over negation but not visa versa.

(374)



In (374), we observe that the subject QP *kill ar-rjaal* “all of the men” is in a position higher than the negation *ma*. The only interpretation available for this sentence is that all of the men did not see the girls. That is to say, the quantifier scopes over negation.

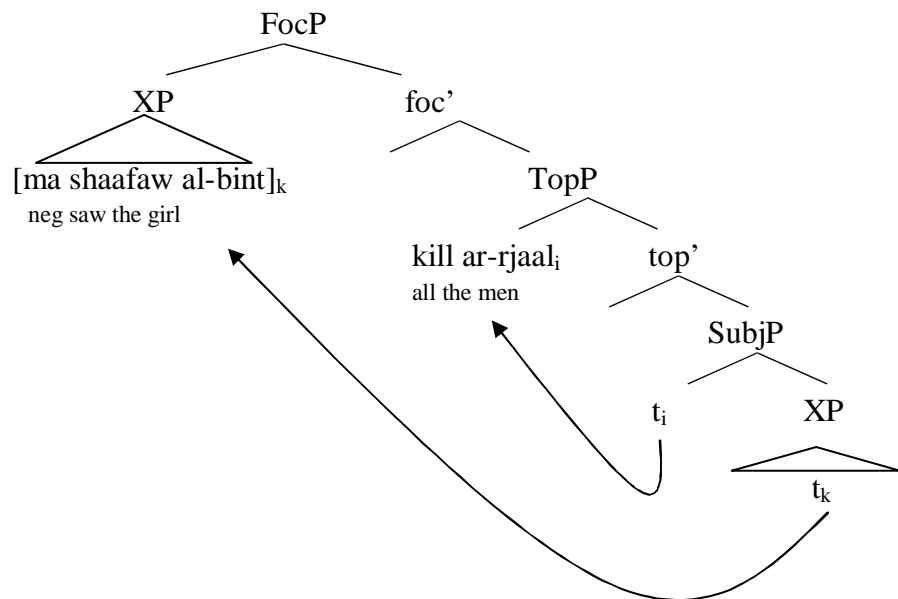
(375)



In (375), the negation element *ma* appears in a position higher than the quantifier *killi-hum* “all of them” which appears in the spec of VP. With this order, the only interpretation available is that some of the men saw the girl. That is to say, the negation scopes over the stranded quantifier *kill* “all” not vice versa.

Let turn back to (373); surprisingly, the only interpretation available is where all the men did not see the girls. Let us see how the sentence is derived. The following tree represents (373):

(376)



In (376), the subject QP *kill ar-rjaal* “all the men” moves from the SubjP to the TopP where it is interpreted as a topic; and the big XP *ma shaafaw al-bint* “did not see the girl” moves to the FocP higher than the subject. In this order, neither the negation nor the quantifier c-commands one another; however, at one point of the derivation before

the big XP moves to FocP, the quantifier was scoping over negation. It is at that stage where the scope is calculated. This follows from my analysis of VOS clauses in (316); these clauses have a subject in a TopP preceded by an XP in a FocP.

In this subsection, making use of the interaction between the quantifier and negation, I have shown that despite the fact that the subject appears lower than the negation in the surface, the subject scopes over the negation and not vice versa. I have shown that this is not surprising taking into account my analysis of the VOS clause. That is to say, the negation is c-commanded by the subject before it moves to the FocP higher than the TopP where the subject is. Next, further pieces of evidence of my analysis of the VOS clauses, binding of reflexives and reciprocal, are discussed.

4.6 Binding of reflexives and reciprocals

4.6.1 Binding of reflexives

In chapter 1, I discussed the distribution of the reflexives. There, I showed that reflexives are formed out of the noun *nafs* “soul, spirit, age” and a resumptive clitic that agrees in person, number and gender with the reflexive antecedent. The following sentences shows the distribution of the reflexives:

(377) ar-rjaal_i 9wwar-aw nafsi-hum_i
 the-men hurt.perf-3pl.masc soul-3pl.masc
 “The men hurt themselves.”

(378) *ar-rjaal_i tiwaqa9-aw in al-i9yaal 9wwar-aw nafsi-hum_i
 the-men expect.perf-3pl.masc that the-boys hurt.past-pl.masc soul-3pl.masc
 “The men expected that the boys hurt themselves.”
 (“i.e. the men_i expect the boys to hurt the men_i”)

(379) *nafsi-hum 9wwar-aw ar-rjaal
 soul-3pl.masc hurt.perf-3pl.masc the-men
 “*themselves hurt the men.”

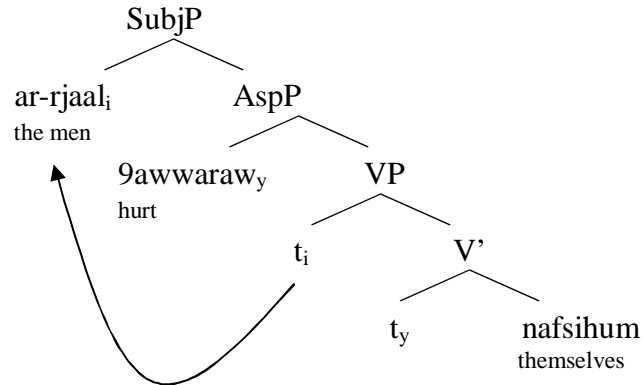
(380) *ar-rjaal_i 9wwar-aw-hum_i
 the-men hurt.perf-3pl.masc-3pl.masc
 “*The men hurt them.”

In (377), we observe that the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” appears postverbally coindexed with and c-commanded by the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” in the same clause on the surface. In (378), again, the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” is coindexed with and c-commanded by its antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men” on the surface. Compared to (377), the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” and its antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men” in (378) appear in different clauses; the reflexive appears in the embedded clause while its antecedent appears in the matrix clause. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (378) is ascribed to the fact that the reflexive and its antecedent are not in the same clause. Thus, from (377) and (378), I could conclude that the reflexive must be c-commanded by its antecedent and both the reflexive and its antecedent must be in the same clause on the surface. In (379), the reflexive is used as the subject of the sentence. The reflexive is not c-commanded by an antecedent and the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” binds the DP, *ar-rjaal* “the men”. This type of binding is a violation of principle C. Thus, (379) is ruled out. (380) shows that the pronoun *-hum* “them” can not be used instead of *nafsi-hum* “themselves”. Using the pronoun *-hum* “them” leads to a violation of principle B. From these observations, I conclude that *nafsi-clitic* functions like an anaphor; it must be bound locally. In other words, they must obey principle A.

An anaphor is bound in its governing categories.

The following represents (377):

(381)



In (381), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” is the spec of SubjP c-commanding the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” which appears in a lower position.

Now, let us turn to VOS clauses:

(382) 9wwar-aw nafsi-hum ar-rjaal
 hurt.perf-3pl.masc soul-3pl.masc the-men
 “As for the men, THEY HURT THEMSELVES.”

(383) *9wwar-aw ar-rjaal nafsi-hum³⁴
 hurt.perf-3pl.masc the-men soul-3pl.masc
 “As for the themselves, THEY HURT THE MEN.”

In (382), the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” appears in a position before its antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men”. Yet, the sentence is grammatical. The grammaticality

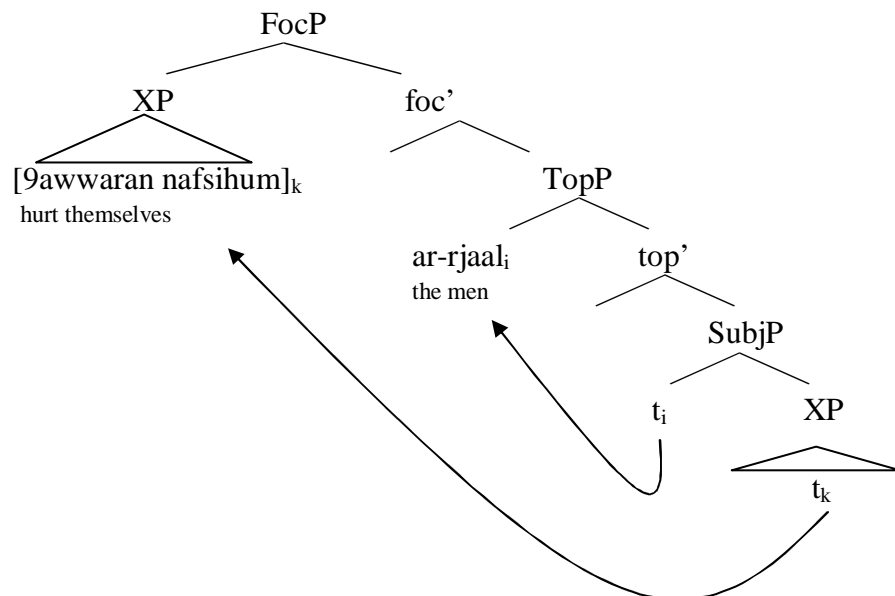
³⁴ Notice that the same sentence is grammatical when the noun *ar-rjaal* “the men” is the subject of the sentence:

(i) 9awwar-aw ar-rjaal nafsi-hum (VSO)
 hurt.past-3pl.masc the-men soul-3pl.masc
 “The men hurt themselves.”

of (382) is unexpected taking into account what I have established under (377) - (380). In (382), neither the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” nor its antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men” is c-commanded by one another on the surface. The grammaticality of (382) shows that the surface c-commanding between the reflexive and its antecedent is not really a condition for the grammaticality of the sentence. Thus, to get the c-commanding relation in (382), the reflexive *nafsi-hum* must reconstruct to a position below its antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men”. In (383), the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” appears in a position after *ar-rjaal* “the men”. Again, neither the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” nor *ar-rjaal* “the men” is c-commanded by the other on the surface. Compared to (382), reconstructing *ar-rjaal* to a position below the reflexive *nafsi-hum* does not save (383). Now, let us see how both sentences are derived.

(382) can be represented as:

(384)



In (384), the subject *ar-rjaal* “the men” is in a TopP position and the reflexive pronoun *nafsi-hum* “themselves” is in the FocP. In other words, neither the antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men” nor the reflexive *nafsihum* “themselves” is c-commanded by the other on the surface. However, taking into account my proposed analysis of VOS clauses, we observe that the VO including the reflexive was in a position below the subject before it moved to the FocP higher than the subject. That is to say, the reflexive at one point of the derivation was c-commanded by its antecedent. Thus, to get the interpretation where the reflexive *nafsihum* “themselves” is c-commanded by its antecedent *ar-rjaal* “the men” in (384), the reflexive needs to reconstruct to its position below the subject. This fits with my proposed analysis of the VOS clause. The focused element XP is moved from a position lower than the subject. It is in that stage in which the c-commanding between the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent takes place. A supporting piece of evidence of my analysis of (316) comes from the scope of the quantifier. In Turaif Arabic, the quantifier in both of the following sentences has the same scope:

(385) *kill al-i9yaal shaaf-aw bint* $\forall > \text{indef} / * \text{indef} > \forall$
 all the-boy.3pl.masc see.perf-3pl.masc girl.indef
 “All the boys saw a girl.”

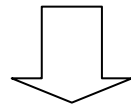
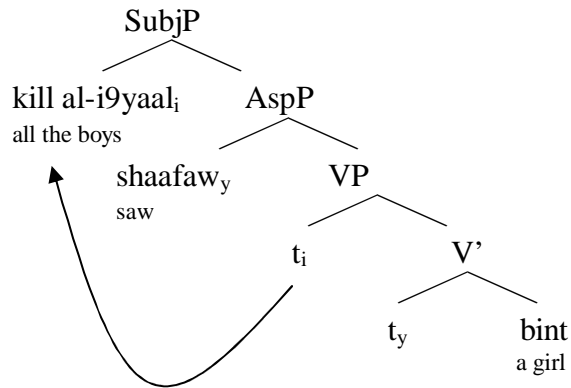
(386) *shaaf-aw bint kill al-i9yaal* $\forall > \text{indef} / * \text{indef} > \forall$
 see.perf-3pl.masc girl.indef all the-boy.3pl.masc
 “As for all the boys, THEY SAW A GIRL.”

In both (385) and (386), the only interpretation available is that all the boys saw a potentially a different girl, Khalaf saw Mary, Saad saw Laila, Fahad saw Khady, and

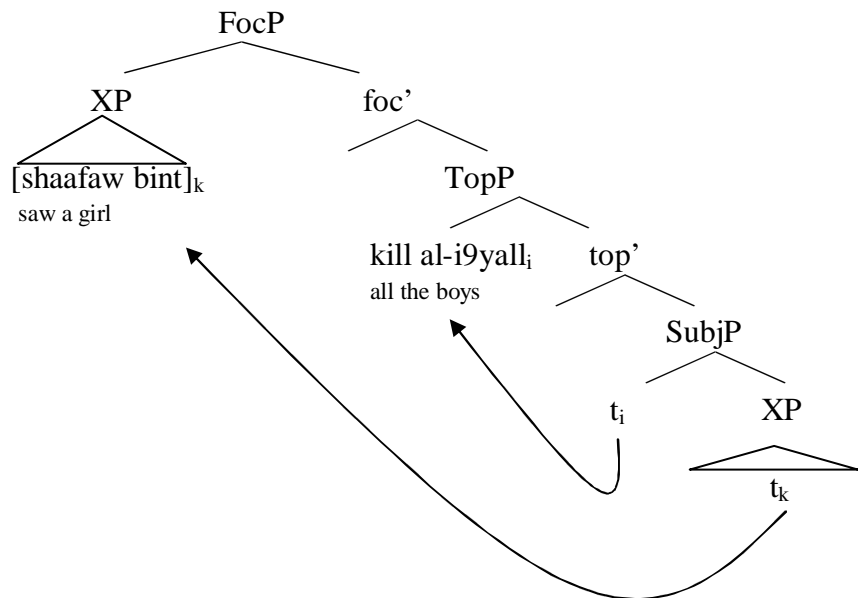
so on. Neither (385) nor (386) means that all the boys saw the same girl. That is to say, the universal quantifier *kill* “all” scopes over the indefinite *bint* “a girl”.

Thus, the following trees show how (385) and (386) are derived:

(387) a.



b.

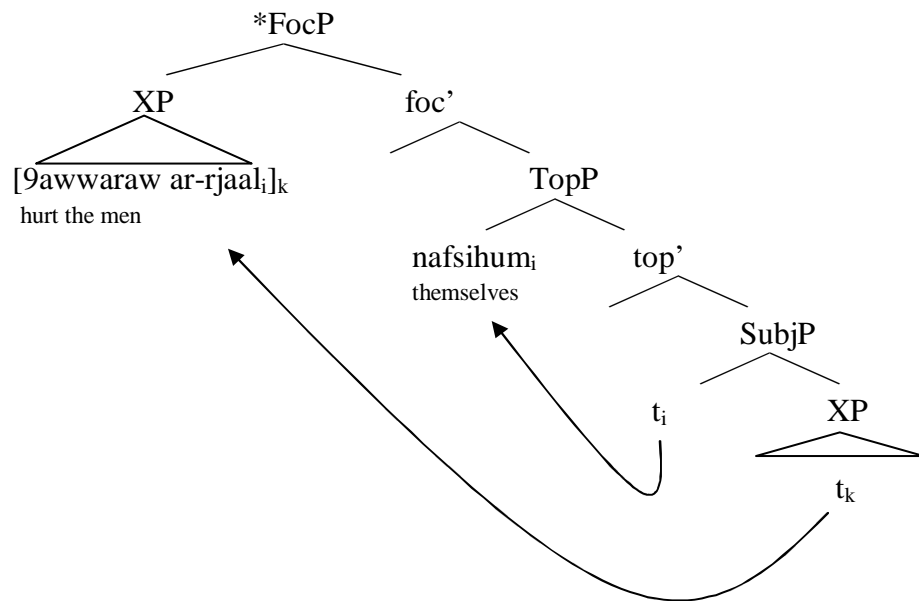


In (387)a, the subject *kill al-i9yaal* “all the men” is in the SubjP c-commanding the indefinite object *bint* “a girl”. Therefore, the universal quantifier scopes over the indefinite. In (387)b, the subject *kill al-i9yaal* “all the men” appears in the FocP and the indefinite object *bint* “a girl” appears in the TopP. Neither the universal quantifier *kill* “all” nor the indefinite *bint* “a girl” c-commands the other on the surface. I have said that the only interpretation available for (387)b is that the universal quantifier scopes over the indefinite. Thus, taking into account my proposed analysis of VOS clauses, we observe that the VO including the indefinite *bint* “a girl” was in a position below the subject before it moved to the FocP higher than the subject. That is to say, the indefinite at one point of the derivation was c-commanded by the quantifier. Thus, to get the interpretation where the indefinite *bint* “a girl” could be c-commanded and scoped over by the universal quantifier in (387)b, the indefinite needs to reconstruct to its position below the subject. This fits with my proposed analysis of the VOS clause. The focused element XP is moved from a position lower than the subject. It is in that stage in which the scope interaction between the universal quantifier and the indefinite takes place.

Now, let us investigate the ungrammaticality of (383).

The following tree represents (383):

(388)



In (388), the subject *nafsi-hum* “themselves” moves from the SubjP to the TopP and the big XP, *9awwaw ar-rjaal* “hurt the men” moves from below the SubjP to the FocP higher than the reflexive. With this order, neither *ar-rjaal* “the men” nor the reflexive *nafsi-hum* “themselves” c-commands the other on the surface. Taking into account my proposed analysis of VOS clauses, even reconstructing the XP, the VO including *ar-rjaal* “the men” to its position below the subject does not save the construction. That is to say, when the object *ar-rjaal* “the men” appears lower than the reflexive pronoun *nafsi-hum* “themselves”, there will be a principle C violation. Thus, the reflexive pronoun can not occupy the subject position of the sentence.

4.6.2 Binding of reciprocals

As I explained in chapter 1, one of the uses of the word *ba9h* is as a reciprocal pronoun. In this case, there is an optional presence of a clitic attached to *ba9h*.

- (389) [ar-rjaal w-al-walad]_i shaaf-aw ba9adh-(hum)_i
the-man and-the-boy see.perf-3pl.masc some-3pl.masc
“The men saw each other.”
- (390) *[ar-rjaal w-al-walad]_i tiwaqa9-aw in [fahad w-khalid]
the-man and-the-boy expect.past-3pl.masc that Fahad and-Khalid
shaaf-aw ba9adh-hum_i
see.perf.3pl.masc some-3pl.masc
“The man and the boy expected that Fahad and Khalid saw each other.”
- (391) * ba9adh-hum_i shaaf-aw [ar-rajaal w-al-walad]_i
some-3pl.masc see.perf-3pl.masc the-man and-the-boy
“*Each other saw the man and the boy.”
- (392) *[ar-rajaal w-al-walad]_i shaaf-aw-hum_i
the-man and-the-boy see.perf-3pl.masc-3pl.masc
“*The man and the boy saw them.”

As in the case of reflexives, in (389), we observe that, on the surface, the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” appears postverbally coindexed with and c-commanded by its antecedent the subject *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” in the same clause. In (390), again, the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” is coindexed with and c-commanded by its antecedent the subject *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” on the surface. Compared to (389), the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” and its antecedent *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” in (390) are different clauses. The reciprocal appears in the embedded clause while its antecedent is in the matrix clause. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (390) is ascribed to the fact that the reciprocal and its antecedent are not in the same clause. Thus, from (389) and (390), I could conclude that the reciprocal must be c-commanded by its antecedent and both the reciprocal and its antecedent must be in the same clause on the surface. In (391), the reciprocal is used as the subject of the sentence. The reflexive is not c-commanded by an antecedent and the reflexive binds the DP, *ar-rjaal* “the men”.

This type of binding is a violation of principle C. Thus, (391) is ruled out. (392) shows that the pronoun *-hum* “them” can not be used instead of *ba9dh-hum* “each other”. Using the pronoun leads to a violation of principle B. From these observations, I conclude that *ba9dh-clitic* functions like an anaphor; it must be bound locally. In other words, they must obey principle A.

Now, let us turn to VOS clauses:

(393) shaaf-aw ba9adh-hum ar-rajaal w-al-walad
 see.perf-3pl.masc some-3pl.masc the-man and-the-boy
 “As for the man and the boy, THEY SAW EACH OTHER.”

(394) *shaaf-aw ar-rajaal w-al-walad ba9adh-hum³⁵
 see.perf-3pl.masc the-man and-the-boy some-3pl.masc
 “*As for each other, THEY SAW THE MAN AND THE BOY.”

In (393), the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” appears in a position before its antecedent *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy”. Yet, the sentence is grammatical. The grammaticality of (393) is unexpected taking into account what I have established under (389) - (392). In (393), neither the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” nor its antecedent *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” is c-commanded by the other on the surface. The grammaticality of (393) shows that the surface c-commanding between the reciprocal and its antecedent is not really a condition for the grammaticality of the sentence. To get the c-commanding relation in (393), the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” must reconstructs to a position below

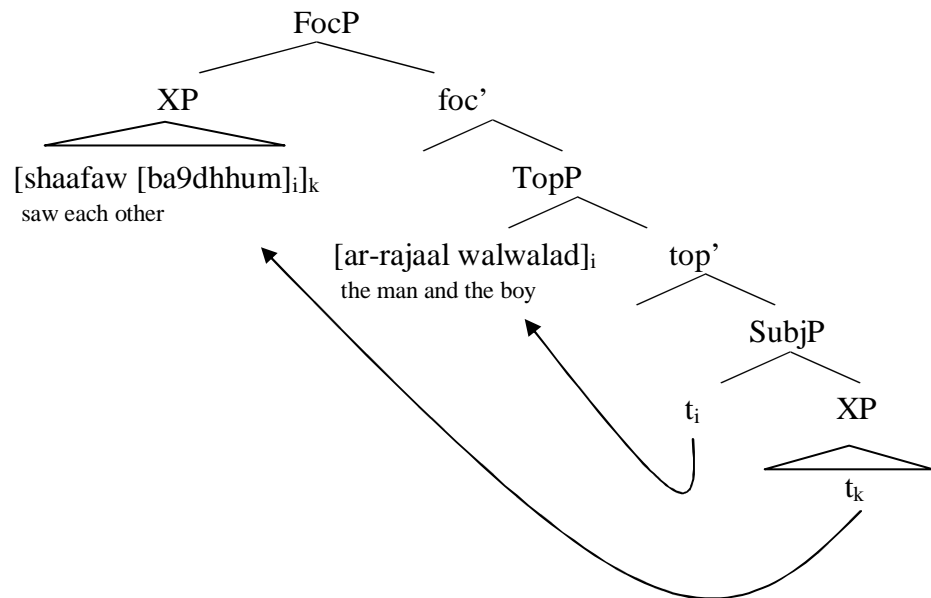
³⁵ Notice that the same sentence is grammatical when the noun *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” is the subject of the sentence:

(i) 9awwar-aw ar-rjaal w-al-walad ba9dh-hum (VSO)
 hurt.perf-3pl.masc the-man and-the-boy some-3pl.masc
 “The men hurt themselves.”

its antecedent *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy”. In (394), the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” appears in a position after *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy”. Again, neither the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” nor *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” is c-commanded by the other on the surface. Compared to (393), reconstructing *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” to a position below the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” does not save the sentence. Now, let us see how both sentences are derived.

(393) can be represented as:

(395)

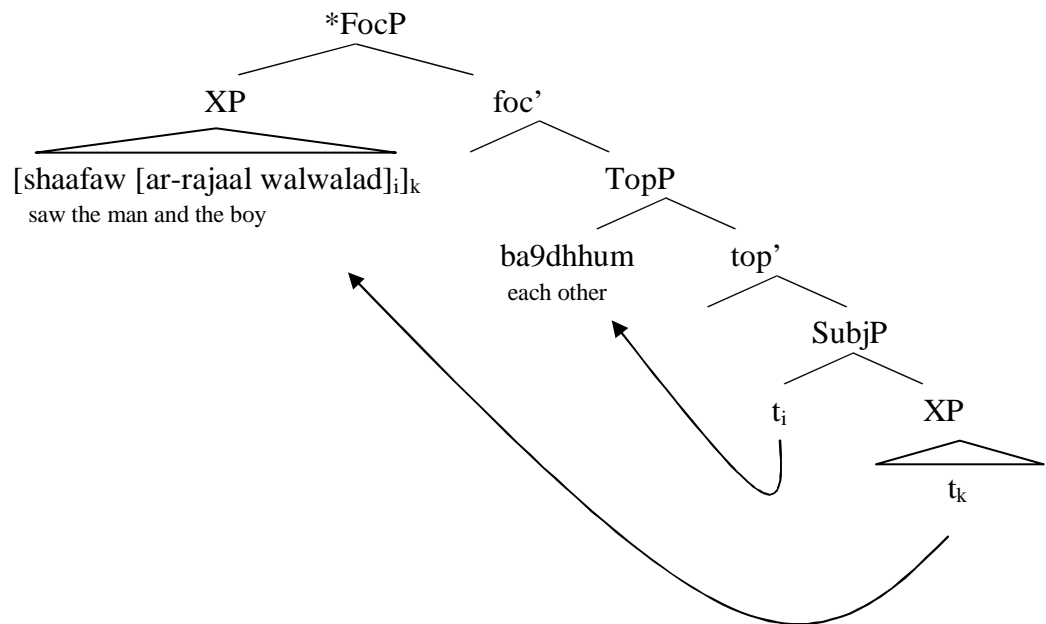


In (395), the subject *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” is in a TopP position and the reciprocal pronoun *ba9dh-ihum* “each other” is in the FocP. In other words, neither the antecedent *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” nor the reciprocal pronoun *ba9dh-ihum* “each other” is c-commanded by the other on the surface.

However, taking into account my proposed analysis of VOS clauses, we observe that the VO including the reciprocal was in a position below the subject before it moved to the FocP higher than the subject. That is to say, the reciprocal at one point of the derivation was c-commanded by its antecedent. Thus, to get the interpretation where the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” is c-commanded by its antecedent *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” in (395), the reciprocal needs to reconstruct to its position below the subject. This fits with my proposed analysis of the VOS clause. The focused element XP is moved from a position lower than the subject. It is in that stage in which the c-commanding between the reciprocal pronoun and its antecedent takes place.

Now, let us see how can we account for the ungrammaticality of (394). The following tree represents (394):

(396)



In (396), the subject *ba9dh-hum* “each other” moves from the SubjP to the TopP and the big XP, *9awwaw ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “hurt the man and the boy” moves from below the SubjP to the FocP higher than the reflexive. With this order, neither *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” nor the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other” is c-commanded the other on the surface. Taking into account my proposed analysis of VOS clauses, even reconstructing the XP, the VO including *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” to its position below the subject does not save the construction. That is to say, when the object *ar-rajaal w-al-walad* “the man and the boy” appears lower than the reciprocal *ba9dh-hum* “each other”, there will be a principle C violation. Thus, the reciprocal pronoun can not occupy the subject position of the sentence.

In this section, I have shown that reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are always c-commanded by their antecedents. When appear in VOS clause, they must reconstruct to a position below their antecedent to get c-commanding relation. These findings support my analysis of VOS clauses under 2; a VOS clause has a subject in the TopP and an XP in the FocP.

To conclude, in this chapter, I have shown via the definite-indefinite asymmetry that the subject of the VOS clauses is in a topic position in the left periphery of the clause. Only definite subjects can occupy that position. Moreover, making use of the distribution of adverbs, quantifier float, the scope interaction between the quantifier and the negation, and the distribution of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, I support

my analysis of the VSO clause given under (316). I have shown that the subject in the VOS clauses is in a TopP at the left periphery of the clause; and an XP moves from below the neutral subject position to the FocP higher than the subject. In my analysis of the VOS clauses, I add something new to Rizzi's (1997) analysis of the left periphery of the clause. I have shown that the left periphery of the clause holds XPs bigger than DPs, AdjP, PPs and wh-items; it actually holds XPs that have other smaller XPs within them. Moreover, I have also shown that the order of the items moved to the left periphery of the sentences in Turaif Arabic seems to differ according to the kind of the items that moved to it; as we have seen under the SVO clauses, a topicalized DPs or AdvPs can not appear below the focused element; whereas in the VOS clauses, as I have shown, a topicalized element can appear below the focused element.

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