ʔɪnnə and Her Sisters of Arabic and That-Clause Phenomenon

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Abstract

ʔɪnnə and her sisters of Arabic are five elements called "particles" by the traditional Arabic grammarians. These so-called particles have the nature of a transitive verb of some type in that they assign accusative Case to their complements. Further, their semantic meaning is more like verb than whatever they might be. Compare between the set of sentences in 1 and 2 in the following examples:

(1)   ʔʌl   wʌlʌd- u   yʌlʕʌb-u
       the   boy- **Nom.** Prog.play.CM
           "The boys (is)[1] playing"
(2)   ʔɪnnə -1 wʌlʌd- **a**   yʌlʕʌb-u
    …   the boy **Acc**.   prog.play.CM
           "... The boy (is) playing"

Regardless of what "ʔɪnnə" might mean, it is clear that it gives accusative Case to its complement, more precisely, to the subject of its complement. This paper therefore, argues that "ʔɪnnə and her sisters" are transitive verbs of some type, not just particles, as stated by traditional Arabic grammarians. It examines the nature of the complementizers in Arabic. We propose a modification of ECM as to cover both tensed and tenseless clauses in the way that Arabic that-clause is not violating a principle of language. It follows Rizzi's (1990) ECP formulation.

Keywords: that-clause, complementizer, governer/governee, accusative Case, particles.

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[1]Arabic does not show verb to be visibly when it is in the present tense form.

1. Introduction

When a finite clause is introduced by a type of verb which only takes a 'finite' clause complement, for example *think*, usually the subject is given nominative Case by [+tense] in the inner clause. However, the situation in Arabic seems to be different from that of English.
Compare between the English sentences in (a) with their Arabic counterparts in (b) in the pairs of sentences below:

> (3)   a. I think [CP [IP he is reading]]   English
>
>   b. * ?ʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u [CP [IP huwa yʌqra?]]   Arabic
>
>   1s.think.pres   he   read.3sm.pres.
>
> (4)   a. I think [CP that [IP he is reading]]   English
>
>   b. ?ʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u [CP?ʌnnə [IP **hu**   yʌqra?   Arabic
>
>   1s.think.pres   that   **him** read.3sm.pres.

While English allows the presence of the "that-head clause" optionally, (3a &4a), Arabic on the other hand necessitates it obligatorily (4b). Therefore the absences of the "that-head", i.e.?ʌnnə makes the sentence ungrammatical (3b). Moreover, the subject of the inner clause in (4b) is marked accusative Case, while normally it should have been marked nominative Case by [+tense] in the inner clause for the fact that the head of CP, i.e. ?ʌnnə "that" should have blocked an outside governor from giving Case to the subject inside the that-clause.   Well, if one assumes that the CP head allows for the transitive verb ʕtqd "think" to assign accusative Case to the subject of the subordinate clause, this would be violating one of the principles of language. If this is not a case of violation, then there are four justifications for the grammaticality of this sentence. Each justification leads to the next one for which only one will be believed to be the strongest justification:

i) Perhaps this is another phenomenon of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) idiosyncratic to Arabic where the barrier?ʌnnə *"that"* can be crossed, in which case we need to modify   the notion of ECM as to cover this phenomenon as well. (4b) above is repeated here in (5) to examine this justification:

> (5)   ?ʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u [CP?ʌnnə [IP **hu**   yʌqra?]]
>
>   1s.think.pres   that   **him** read.3sm.pres.
>
>   Literally: "I think that **him** (is) reading."
>
>   "I think that he is reading."

The transitive verb ʕtqd "think" crosses the barrier head of CP?ʌnnə "that" and gives accusative Case to the subject of the inner [+tense] clause, exceptionally. This assumption may work, but there are three violations in question which one has justify instead of just one. That is to say, - the justification for giving Case to an NP2 subject of a tensed clause whereas this NP could have been assigned a nominative Case by the infl; -the justification for crossing a head barrier by an

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[2]In many of today analysis of phrases on the x-bar format, the noun phrase position is referred to as Determiner Phrase (DP) instead of NP. In this paper we refer to this position as noun phrase (NP), since this does not harm our investigation.

outsider governor; -the reasoning for giving accusative Case exceptionally to a nominative Case position. For all of these reasons we are forced to abandon this justification.

ii) Perhaps ʔʌnnə "that" is not a blocking category (BC) in Arabic, in which case the notion of barrier and BC should be modified as to cover this phenomenon s well. This justification might sound reasonable this element has to come only in the inner clause. The fact is thatʔʌnnə can come as the head of a simple sentence, this time in a form of *ʔɪnnə3*. (1b) above is repeated here in (6) to examine how far this justification can be reasonable:

> (6)   ʔɪnnə -1 walad- **a**   yalʕabu
> …   the boy **Acc**. is play.prog
>
>   "... The boy (is) playing"

The sentence in (6) clearly shows that the so-called "particle" *ʔɪnnə* doesn't always come in the subordinate clause. It can come as an independent clause. At this point we are hesitant to gloss it as "that-clause head" simply because if it were just "that", the structure would have been a matrix clause which needs a subordinate clause for the sentence to have a complete thought. It is now clear that this justification cannot be tested either.

iii) Perhaps the verb *ʕtqd* "think" +ʔʌnnə club together to form a kind of extraordinary ECM which might be stronger than the structural Case assigner, i.e. [+tense] infl. In this case the nominative Case assigned by infl is superseded by the accusative Case given by this combination. The fact of the matter is such verbs like *ʕtqd* "think", *ʕrf* "know", *ħsb* "think" have to take ʔʌnnə in "any complex sentence" structure in Arabic:

> (7)   a. *ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u* [$_{CPʔʌnnə}$ [$_{IP}$ **hu**   yʌqraʔ
>   1s.think.pres   that   **him** read.3sm.pres.
>
>   "I think that him (is) reading."
>
>   b. *ʔʌ-ʕrɪf-u* [$_{CPʔʌnnə}$ [$_{IP}$ **hu**   yʌqraʔ
>   1s.know.pres that   **him** read.3sm.pres.
>
>   "I know that him (is) reading."
>
>   c. *ħʌsɪbt-u*   [$_{CPʔʌnnə}$ [$_{IP}$ **hu**   qʌrʌʔ   əl-kɪtaab
>   think.1s.past that   **him** read.3sm.past the book
>
>   "I thought that him read the book."

A question arises here. Can these verbs come alone in a simple sentence formation? If so, can they also give accusative Case to their objects? If this can happen, then, obviously, they do not need to club with the particleʔʌnnə to assign Case to their complements. The examples in (7) are repeated here in (8) without inserting the particle ʔʌnnə to find out if the sentence can still be grammatical, and the complement is also marked with accusative Case:

> (8)   a. *ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u* [$_{IP}$ **hu**   yʌqraʔ
>   1s.think.pre   **him** read.3sm.pres.

3The words ʔʌnnə and *ʔɪnnə* are exactly the same thing. The only difference is that the former always comes in the beginning of a subordinate clause whereas the latter comes in the beginning of a simple sentence, like (6).

"I think him (a) reader."

b. ʔʌ-ʕrɪf-u [CP ʔʌnnə [IP **hu** yʌqraʔ
   1s.know.pres that **him** read.3sm.pres.

"I know him (a) reader."

c. ħʌsɪbt-u   [CP ʔʌnnə [IP **hu** qʌrʌʔ   əl-kɪtaab
   think.1s.past   that **him** read.3sm.past the book

"I thought him read the book."

Regardless of whether the meaning has a slight change, the fact that these verbs give accusative Case to their complements without clubbing with ʔʌnnə reveals that the justification proposed here is not strong enough.

iv) Perhaps ʔʌnnə itself is a proper head-governor and Case assigner in Arabic. In this case it has to cross the potential governor, i.e. [+tense] infl 'exceptionally', which is strange because ECM is usually applied to [-tense] infl. Even if we take this as a fact of Arabic, we need to prove how a "particle" can give accusative Case. Under this assumption, if we can prove thatʔʌnnə and her sisters can be 'proper governors', then this justification can be dependable.

This paper is organized as follows: In section 2 we give the current hypothesis of what ʔɪnna and her sisters are supposed to be; in subsection 3 we discuss the characteristics of ʔɪnna and her sisters in which we criticize the current hypothesis. We demonstrate how the current hypothesis undermines the paradigm of universal grammar (UG).   In subsection 4 we introduce the proposed hypothesis in which the meanings of these so-called 'particles' will dramatically change depending on their functions in the sentence.

2. ʔɪnnə and her Sisters: Current Hypothesis

By definition, all traditional Arabic grammarians, for instance, Hassan (1981), Yaaquub (1988), and others would say that there are five 'particles' called ʔɪnnə and her sisters, or in Arabic *ʔɪnnə wə ʔəxʌwatʊha*, which have a unique functional capability in that they come preceding a nominal sentence (i.e., an SVO order) and change the nominal Case of the subject into accusative Case. These are4:

(9)   i) ʔɪnnə / ʔʌnnə   =   "indeed" OR "indeed that"
      ii) lʌytə   =   "wish"
      iii) ləʕʌllə   =   "hope"
      iv) kəʔʌnnə   =   "as if"
      v) laakɪnnə   =   "but"

Before we go into the analysis of how these words affect the syntactic structure, we would like to clarify that whereas *ʔɪnnə* and *ʔʌnnə* could mean "indeed" only, i.e., two forms of the same meaning, cf. Britt (1980), Wright (1984); actually, *ʔʌnnə* alone has the meaning of the cmplementizer *that* in addition to what it means. One significant piece of evidence is that *ʔɪnnə* usually precedes a simple sentence whereas *ʔʌnnə* only precedes a subordinate clause in a complex sentence formation. Compare the sentences in (a) with those in (b) in the example below:

4The meaning of each 'particle' here is what the current grammarians have thought to be. However, later in our outcome of the investigation, each of these will have what we have thought to be their correct meaning.

(10)   a. ʔɪnnə hu ʕɪṣaam
           indeed him Esam

               "Indeed him (is) Esam."

       b. *ʔʌnnə   hu ʕɪṣaam
           indeed that him Esam

               "Indeed that him (is) Esam."

(11)   a. *ʕʌ-ʕrɪf-u   **ʔɪnnə** hu ʕɪṣaam
           1s.know.pres indeed him Esam

               "Indeed him (is) Esam."

       b. ʕʌ-ʕrɪf-u   **ʔʌnnə** hu ʕɪṣaam
           1s.know.pres indeed him Esam

               "Indeed that him (is) Esam."

It is clear now that the word *ʔʌnnə* is similar to the complementizer (COMP) *that* of English in addition to what it means.

Turning now to the analysis of the effect of the particles on the sentence structure, compare between (a), (b) and (c) in the following data5:

(12)   a. ʔʌl-ǰʌmʌl-**u**   ṣʌbuur-un
           the camel.Nom long-suffering.CM

               "(A) Camel (is) a long-suffering (animal)."

       b. ***ʔɪnnə** l- ǰʌmʌl-**u**   ṣʌbuur-un
           indeed the camel.Nom long-suffering.CM

       c. **ʔɪnnə** əl-ǰʌmʌl-**a**   ṣʌbuur-un
           indeed the camel.Acc. long-suffering.CM

               "Indeed (A) Camel (is) a long-suffering (animal)."

(13)   a. ʔʌl-mʌriiḍ-**u**   qʌd šʊfɪyə
           the patient.Nom perf.recover.3sm

               "The patient has recovered."

       b. *ʔʌʕlʌm-u   **ʔʌnnə** -l-mʌriiḍ-**u**   qʌd šʊfɪyə
           1s.know.pres. that   the patient.Nom perf.recover.3sm

       c. ʔʌʕlʌm-u   **ʔʌnnə** -l-mʌriiḍ-**a**   qʌd šʊfɪyə
           1s.know.pres.   that   the patient.Acc perf.recover.3sm

               "I know that the patient has recovered."

(14)   a. ʔʌl-ʕʊmmaal-**u** yʌ-ʔmaluun

5We will accept the meanings of these words temporarily as they are received from the traditional grammarians. We will have what we believe their meanings should be later in section 4.

the laborers.Nom 3sm.work.CM

"The laborers are working."

  b. *lʌytə əl-ʕʊmmaal-**u** yʌ-ʔmaluun
     wish the laborers.Nom 3sm.work.CM
  c. **lʌytə** -l-ʕʊmmaal-**a** yʌ-ʔmaluun
     wish the laborers.Acc 3sm.work.CM

"I wish the laborers are working."

(15)   a. **hɪyə** rʌʔʌt   əl- lɪṣṣ-a
        she see.past.3sf the thief.Acc

"She saw the thief."

  b. ***lʌʕʌllə hɪyə** rʌʔʌt   əl- lɪṣṣ-a
     hope   she see.past.3sf the thief.Acc

"(I) hope she saw the thief."

  c. **lʌʕʌllə ha** rʌʔʌt   əl-lɪṣṣ-a
     hope   her see.past.3sf the thief.Acc

"I hope her saw the thief."

(16)   a. **ʔʌnt-ɪ**   əl- qʌmʌr-u
     you.f Nom the moon-CM

"You.f (are) the moon."

  b. *kəʔʌnnə**ʔʌnt-ɪ**   əl- qʌmʌr-u
     as if   you.f.Nom the moon-CM

"As if you.f.Nom (are) the moon."

  c. kəʔʌnnə**k-ɪ**   əl- qʌmʌr-u
  as if   you.f.Acc the moon-CM

"As if you.f.Acc (are) the moon."

(17)   a. ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   jʌdiid-un wə l- ʔʌθaaθ-**u**   qʌdiim-un
        the house.Nom new- CM and the furuniture-Nom old-   CM

"The house (is) new and the furniture (is) old."

  b. *ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   jʌdiid-un laakɪnnə l- ʔʌθaaθ-**u**   qʌdiim-un
     the house.Nom new- CM but   the furuniture-Nom old-   CM

"The house (is) new but the furniture.Nom (is) old."

  c. ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   jʌdiid-un laakɪnnə l- ʔʌθaaθ-**a**   qʌdiim-un
     the house.Nom new- CM but   the furuniture-Acc old-   CM

"The house (is) new but the furniture.Acc (is) old."

To conclude this part, in a situation where ʔɪnnə or one of her sisters precedes a sentence or a clause, the subject of that sentence or clause must be case marked (CM) by accusative Case (12c, 13c, 14c, 15c, 16c & 17c).   The sentence becomes ungrammatical whenever that subject is marked with nominative Case (12b, 13b, 14b, 15b, 16b & 17b). Before we move on to the next subsection, we point out the fact that and her sisters never appear in a sentence of a VS order, and they appear otherwise. The following data will make it clear:

(18) a. ʔɪnnə mʊħʌmmʌd-**an** yʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   ɪs- sɪyaasah
          indeed Mohamed.   Acc 2sm.love.pres the politics

   b. *ʔɪnnə   yʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   ɪs- sɪyaasah mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
       indeed 2sm.love.pres the politics Mohamed Acc

      "Mohamed indeed loves politics."

(19) a. ʔɪnnə   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an** fɪ ɪd- daar-ɪ
       indeed Mohamed.Acc in the house.CMa.

   b. ʔɪnnə   fɪ ɪd- daar-ɪ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
       indeed in the house.CM Mohamed.Acc

      "Mohamed (is) indeed in the house."

The data in (18 & 19) show that in a sentence where the particle ʔɪnnə is inserted, it comes preceding the sentence of an SV order of which the complement is an action verb (18a). When the order is VS, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (18b). On the contrary, when the verb is stative, ʔɪnnə appears preceding the sentence whether the order is S+LV+Subject complement (19a) or Subject complement+LV+S (19b).

3. Reexamining the Current Hypothesis

This section is divided into subsections. In 3.1 we will discuss the illogicality of the current hypothesis, where we demonstrate that the term 'particle' is not an appropriate one looking into what particle words are. In 3.2 we present enough evidence for these words to be seen as transitive verbs of some kind.

3.1 The Illogicality of the Current Hypothesis

Traditionally, there are only three parts of speech in Arabic: noun, verb and particle. It seems what is believed to be neither a noun nor a verb is put under the category of particle. We assume this is the reason why ʔɪnnə wə ʔəxʌwatʊha or "ʔɪnnə and her sisters" have been categorized under this part of speech. Yet, some of the traditional grammarians state the fact that these elements have the nature of verb. In fact, Yaaquub (1988:161), among others, believes that that they are like "verbs", in that they assign accusative Case to their complements, though he never categorically says that they are real verbs neglecting the serious syntactic change on the subject. All the same, taking similar linguistic phenomenon from Latin, Wright (1984:78D-79D), thinks that in all these so-called particles, the verb 'see' is embodied, and that forces the particle to give accusative Case to its complement. Well, this is a clear contradiction to what the characteristics of a particle supposed to be as a word different from the characteristics of a verb.

If one has to accept the traditional view of what ʔɪnnə wə ʔəxəwatʊha or "ʔɪnnə and her sisters" are categorized to be particle of some kind, then one will end up undermining the whole paradigm of UG as proposed by Chomsky (1981) and the further developments in the theory in the last three decades.

Nonetheless, we must accept the argument that these elements, whatever they may be, they give accusative Case to their 'complements'. Yet, for a head of a phrase to assign Case, it must be a 'proper governor'. Case is assigned under conditions of 'c-command' and government within the X-bar structure. Let us begin with the definition of c-command as adopted from Chomsky. (The term *iff* means 'if and only if':

(20)   α c-commands β iff α does not dominate β and
          every γ that dominates α dominates β"
                                                            (Chomsky 1986:8)

Further, Kayne proposes 'antisymmetric' linear order of a head and its complement. He modifies the concept of c-command as in (21):
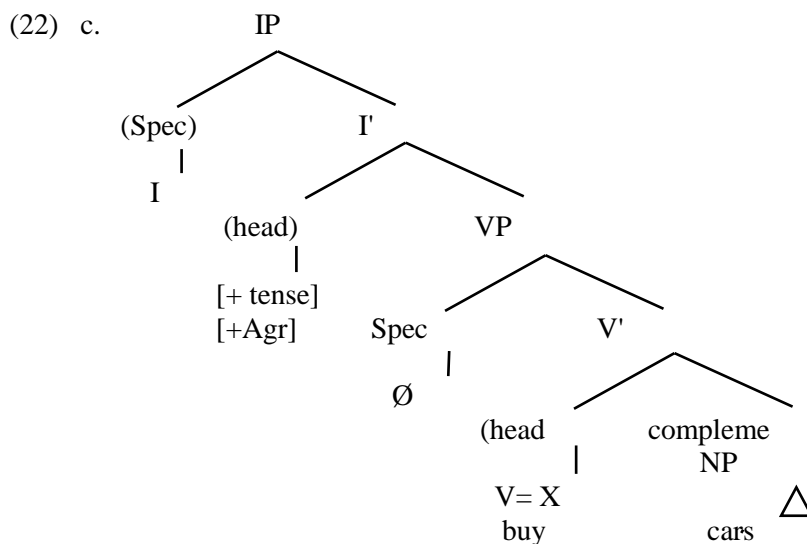
(21)   "X asymmetrically c-commands Y iff
          X c-commarnds Y and Y does not c-command X"
                                                                        (Kayne 1994:4)

Let us apply the definitions of c-command and asymmetrical c-command on the X-bar using the English sentence in (22a) and its representation in (22b):

(22)   a. I bought cars.

(22)   b. *IP
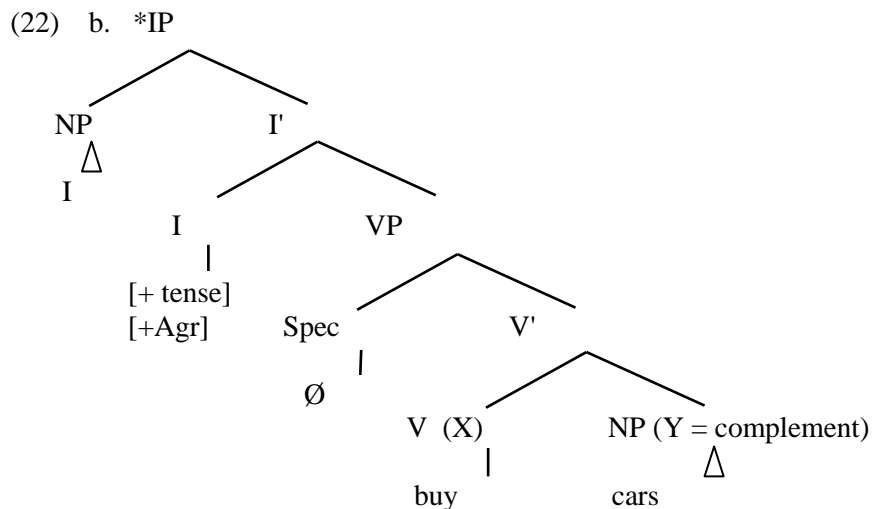
In (22b), taking the head as X and the complement as Y, X and Y being in symmetrical c-command, X cannot asymmetrically c-command Y. Then the definitions in (20 & 21) cannot work. The representation then will have to be as in (22c) below:

(22)   c.

In (22c) the head verb *buy* c-commands the noun *cars*, but the noun *cars* cannot c-command the head *buy* virtually by the terminal category N *cars* being dominated by other nodes (i.e., N' & NP). Therefore, the head *buy* asymmetrically c-commands the noun *cars*.

Let us now move on to the concept of government. We introduce Rizzi's definition of Head-Government, his (69), and Relativized Minimality, his (15):

    (23) a. <u>Head-Government</u>
         "X head governs Y iff
         (i) a. X is a head
       X m-commands Y
         (ii) X = {[± V± N], Agr, T}
         (iii) a. no barrier intervenes
       Relativized Minimality is respected"

                                    (Rizzi 1990:25)

        b. <u>Relativized Minimality</u>
         "X α governs Y only if there is no Z such tha
         (i) Z is a typical potential α governor for Y
         (ii)Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X
   (Rizzi 1990:7)

By m-command is meant 'maximal command. Rizz's model can be described as follows: For the governor A to govern the governee B, A has to be a head, i.e., noun, adjective, preposition, verb or a tensed infl (inflectional head), and the governor has to m-command its governee. Any intervening potential governor X which c-commands the governee of the same type, i.e., head governor or antecedent governor is a barrier which blocks it form being governed by A, and this is what is meant by Relativized Minimality.

Simply, then only a proper governor can give Case to its governee. To find out whether ʔɪnnə is a proper governor and there is no other intervening potential governor which can give Case to the subject NP, we use the Arabic sentence in (24a) and its representation in (24b):

    (24) a. ʔɪnnə **ha** saafʌr-ʌt
             indeed her past.travel.3sf

            "Indeed her traveled."

Obviously, the sentence begins from the 'subject' *ha* "her", and therefore the word *ʔɪnnə* "indeed" comes in a position higher than the sentence, namely, CP (Complementizer Phrase) position. For this, the representation will be as it is shown in (24b) below:

    (24) b.
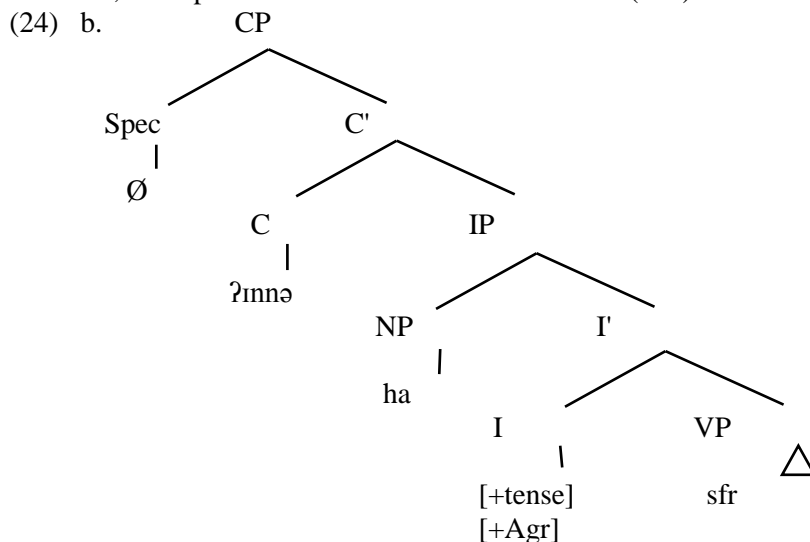
Fair enough, C is a governor, but not a proper governor for the fact that the maximal projection IP intervenes between the head *ʔɪnnə* in C and its governee in Spec-IP, since the head I is potential governor and Case assigner to the Spec-IP. The bottom line is that whenever the head of the IP is marked with [+tense], it becomes a potential governor and Case assigner to the subject. Moreover, if the word *ʔɪnnə* really means "indeed", then the question of Case assigning should not rise, because the word "indeed" is an adverb, and adverbs do not give Case at all.

Since C is a head of COMP position, it is the typical position of a head of a close in the form of "that-close phenomenon" in addition to what it means, originally. The meaning, therefore, will be as follows:

(25)   ʔɪnnə   **ha** saafʌr-ʌt
        indeed that her past.travel.3sf

        "Indeed that her traveled."

Here, the head "that" will be a barrier for the word "indeed" to assign Case, even if the word *ʔɪnnə* "indeed" of Arabic can give Case "exceptionally". In short, ʔɪnnə and her sisters, with their meanings given by traditional grammarians can never give Case to their complement. One, therefore, has to investigate and find out their real meanings in a convincing manner. In the next section, we give our understanding and explanation for what these words must mean.

3.2 The Functional Meanings of ʔɪnnə and her Sisters

By functional meaning is meant what we believe to be the exact meanings of these words depending on their functions in the sentence. Looking into the nature of ʔɪnnə and her sisters, it is not far off the mark to say that these group of words are actually a certain type of transitive verb. We will have to give a good amount of accountable reasoning for this assumption by reassigning new meanings to these words, other than those given by the traditional grammarians. First, let us recall their current meanings as shown in (9) above, repeated here in (26):

(26)   i)   ʔɪnnə / ʔʌnnə   =   "indeed" OR "indeed that"
        ii) lʌytə   =   "wish"
        iv) kəʔʌnnə   =   "as if"
        v)   laakɪnnə   =   "but"

At first sight, we can tell that except for the words *kəʔʌnnə* "as if" and *laakɪnnə* "but", which might look like some type of particle, the rest of the meanings, as given by the traditional grammarians, embody the a verbal meaning as well. We keep these two as they are for the time being, and we will go on to investigate what we think will be the real meanings of the others. Let us begin with the words *ʔɪnnə / ʔʌnnə*. Any Arabic grammar book, for example Bahmani (1998), states that both of them are particles of *tʌwkiid,* a term in Arabic grammar roughly equal to the word "affirmation" or "confirmation" of English. For example, a speaker would say:

(27) ʔʊ-riid-u   taʔkiid   əl- ħʌǰz
      1s.want.pres confirm.prog the reservation

      "I want confirming the reservation."
                         OR
      "I want to confirm the reservation."
Thus, the meanings of these two words will turn out to be:

(28) i) *ʔɪnnə*   =   "confirm"
      ii) *ʔʌnnə*   =   "confirm that"

If this is the case then, we are obliged to change the meanings we gave in (12c) and (13c) above to read as in (29) and (30) below respectively:

(29) **ʔɪnnə**   əl- ǰʌmʌl-**a**   ṣʌbuur-un
       confirm the camel.Acc. long-suffering.CM

      "(I) confirm (a) camel (is) a long-suffering (animal)."

(30) ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-u   **ʔʌnnə**   -l- mʌriiḍ-**a**   qʌd šʊfɪyə
       1s.know.pres. **confirm that** the patient.Acc perf.recover.3sm

      "I know (I) confirm that the patient has recovered."

The reader must have independently noticed that the concept of 'confirmation' is not the phenomenon of only the Arabic COMP *ʔʌnnə*. It is believed that, though the COMP *that* is a dummy element, it has some kind of connotation with the meaning *confirm* in any given language. For example, in English when a speaker says:

(31) That she has passed the exam made her fortunate.

The COMP *that* here asserts/confirms the statement that follows it, i.e., *she has passed the exam.* This fact is important for our analysis of the Arabic complementizer (COMP) *ʔʌnnə* throughout this paper.

We now take up the next two words of the so-called particles, *lʌytə* "wish" and *ləʕʌllə* "hope". (14c) and (15c) are repeated here as in (32) and (33) respectively:

(32) **lʌytə** -l- ʕʊmmaal-**a**   yʌ-ʔmal-uun
       wish the laborers.Acc 3sm.work.CM

      "I wish the laborers are working."

(33) **ləʕʌllə ha**   rʌʔʌt   əl-liṣṣ-a
       hope   her see.past.3sf the thief.Acc

      "I hope her saw the thief."

These two words are self-explanatory. They are transitive verbs. Thus, their meanings will remain as they are:

(34) iii) lʌytə   =   "wish"
       iv) ləʕʌllə   =   "hope"

Turning now to the two 'problematic' words, *kəʔʌnnə* "as if" and *laakɪnnə* "but", we begin with *kʌʔʌnnə*. (16c) is repeated here as in (35):

(35) **kəʔʌnnək-ɪ**   əl- qʌmʌr-u
       as if   you.f.Acc the moon-CM

      "As if you.f.Acc (are) the moon."

As can be observed, there is an ill formed glossing of the Arabic sentence in this sentence. Simply, the translation does not imply that this Arabic sentence is of a complete thought in the way that every sentence should have been. Rather, it is a fragment of a sentence, certainly because if one insists that the Arabic word *kəʔʌnnə*means the adverb *as if* of English, then

naturally this word presupposes a piece of information uttered at the beginning of the sentence. For example, a speaker of English would say:

(36)   **You treat me** as if I were a child.

Since this is the case, then the glossing of the Arabic sentence in (35) above becomes incorrect, forcing us to search for what the word *kəʔʌnnə* means actually.

Let us split this word into two morphemes, *kʌ* and *ʔʌnnə*. We know from the previous discussion that *ʔʌnnə* means "confirm that". But does the morpheme *kʌ* have a meaning by itself? Yes, it does. It means "like". For example, a speaker would say:

(37)   ʔʌntɪ   **kʌ**   l- qʌmʌr-ɪ
        you.s.f **like** the moon-Obl.

        "You.f (are) like the moon."

A close at the NP *l-qʌmʌr-ɪ* "the moon" which comes as the complement of the preposition *kʌ* "like" in this sentence is marked with the oblique Case [-ɪ].

The fact remains that *kəʔʌnnə* is a combination of two words. This combination will have the glossing "confirm that like", which means "(I) confirm that (someone) (is) like". Ultimately, the correct glossing of the word will be as this:

(38)   v) kəʔʌnnə   =   confirm that like (confirm that (someone) (is) like"

The exact translation of the Arabic sentence in (16c) and (35) above will be as follows:

(39)   **kəʔʌnnə**   **k-ɪ**   əl- qʌmʌr-u
        confirm that like you.f.Acc the moon-CM

        "(I) confirm that you.f.Acc (are) the moon."

It is now clear that the word *kəʔʌnnə* is not a particle, rather a transitive verb. But, before we come to this conclusion, we would like to raise the question of Case assignment in this combination of words. *kʌ* being a preposition head, it gives an oblique Case to its complement (see (37) once again). *ʔʌnnə* is also Case assigner. It gives accusative Case to its complement. The question is, under which rule does the NP that follows this combination, in this case the NP *k-ɪ* "you.f.Acc" get accusative Case, not oblique Case? The answer is simple. In the hierarchical order the word *ʔʌnnə* comes immediately governing the NP *k-ɪ* blocking the governor *kʌ*. Naturally, *ʔʌnnə* becomes proper governor and Case assigner to the NP that follows it. Also see Rizzi's definition of proper governor re-written in (23) above.

So far we have done with all the words in question except for one, that is the word *laakɪnnə* translated as "but" by traditional grammarians. It is interesting to know that in Arabic there is a word much similar to this word which has the same meaning. It is the word *laakɪn* "but". More interesting to know that although both come in exactly the same position, as a conjoiner of two clauses, they differ in that whereas the NP that follows changes it Case depending on which conjoiner is used in that particular sentence. To make it clear, we use three sentences of similar type having three different conjunction heads. We repeat the sentences which include the conjunction *wə* "and" in (17a) above and the 'conjunction' *laakɪnnə* in (17c) above as in (40a) and (40b) respectively. Then, we give the same sentence, this time with the conjunction *laakɪn,* shown in (40c):

(40) a. ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   ǰʌdiid-un wə l- ʔʌθaaθ-**u**   qʌdiim-un
       the house.Nom new- CM and the furuniture-**Nom** old-   CM

       "The house (is) new and the furniture (is) old."

     b. ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   ǰʌdiid-un laakɪnnə l- ʔʌθaaθ-**a**   qʌdiim-un
        the house.Nom new- CM but   the furuniture-**Acc** old-   CM

        "The house (is) new but the furniture.Acc (is) old."

     c. ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   ǰʌdiid-un laakɪn -ɪl- ʔʌθaaθ-**u**   qʌdiim-un
        the house.Nom new- CM but   the furuniture-**Nom** old-   CM

        "The house (is) new but the furniture.Nom (is) old."

When the conjunction wə "and" (40a) and the conjunction *laakɪn* "but" (40c) are used to relate the two clauses, the subject of the second clause, i.e., *l-ʔʌθaaθ-u* "the furniture" remains with its proper Case marker. That is to say, the nominative Case [-**u**] is given by its proper governor the head *I* [+tense] of the inflectional phrase (IP). This means that a bare conjunction element in Arabic does not affect the Case marking at all.

If this is the case, then the word *laakɪnnə* must not be just a conjunction. It must be something else in addition to the word "but". We may need to split this word into two morphemes, *laakɪn* and *nə* since, as we have seen, the word *laakɪn* by itself means "but" (look at (40c) again. What we need is now what the word *nə* can mean. Our assumption is that this is yet again the COMP *ʔʌnnə* which has undergone phonological process whereby the syllable *ʔʌ* is deleted because of the merging with another word which ends in the same sound, i.e., the last sound [n] of *laakɪn*. So, the merging of these two morphemes   *laakɪn* + *ʔʌnnə* = *laakɪnnə*. The point is, it is a language fact that when there is a word ending in a consonant followed by a word beginning with an identical consonant, these two consonants are pronounced as one, in a form of phonological process known as 'gemination'. The nearest linguistic phenomenon in English which is similar to this will be the togetherness of the sound [n] in an NP like this:

     (41) "one night" [wʌ**nn**aɪt]

The two sounds are merged together to make one 'stressed' sound. This is known as gemination. Although linguists would say that there are no geminated consonants in English, Arabic uses geminated consonants, and this is one such a situation. Putting it differently, it will be difficult to the speaker to pronounce *laakɪnʔʌnnə* or *laakɪnʌnnə* because of the similarity of the last syllable of the first word with the fist syllable of the second word. The glossing of this word, therefore, will be:

     (42) laakɪnnə   =   "but (I) confirm that"

Hence, the correct meaning of the Arabic sentence in (40b) above will be as follows:

     (43) ʔʌl-bʌɪt-u   ǰʌdiid-un laakɪnnə   l- ʔʌθaaθ-**a**   qʌdiim-un
           the house.Nom new- CM but confirm that the furuniture-**Acc** old-   CM

           "The house (is) new but (I) confirm that the furniture.Acc (is) old."

Following the discussion and data in this subsection, one evidently can argue that ʔɪnnə and her Sisters are not particles of any kind, rather transitive verbs of a special kind, where the whole

word usually incorporates the subject as the first person singular (1s)6. The real meanings of these special type of transitive verbs are repeated here for convenience:

(44)   i) *ʔɪnnə*   =   "confirm"
        ii) *ʔʌnnə*   =   "confirm that"
        iii) lʌytə   =   "wish"
        iv) ləʕʌllə   =   "hope"
        v) kəʔʌnnə   =   confirm that like (confirm that (someone) (is) like"
        vi) laakɪnnə =   "but (I) confirm that"

To summarize this part, looking into the function each word of ʔɪnnə and her Sisters, we argued, with enough evidence, that these so-called 'particles' by the traditional grammarians are actually transitive verbs of some kind in that they assign accusative Case to their complements. For this we gave in (44) above what we believe to be their actual meanings. In the next section, we will show how these verbs govern and give Case to their complements as the rules of government and Case assigning defined in (23) above.

4.0 The Characteristics of *ʔɪnnə*

This section forms the core of the paper that is 'that-trace phenomenon in Arabic. It all starts from 'Case filter' rule as stated by Chomsky:

(45)   *NP if NP phonetic content and has no Case.

                                                                      Chomsky (1981; 49)

In simple words, every NP that is uttered, be it a noun or pronoun must be Case marked. Before we move on, we want to inform the reader that whatever is applicable to ʔɪnnə is should be applicable to the rest of the group. We believe that the precise functions of these words can be analyzed by examining their capability to govern an NP-trace in the complement position. But there are prior stages which have to be tackled before we reach our ultimate goal.

We first examine the grammaticality of a sentence which contains a COMP when a wh-movement takes place. This will be tackled in subsection 4.1. In subsection 4.2, we try to find out the reason for the ungrammaticality of the Arabic 'ʔʌnnə-trace phenomenon' by comparing the same situation with other 'pro-drop' languages. In 4.3 we briefly clarify how all sisters of ʔʌnnə incorporate ʔʌnnə as a COMP as well.

4.1.1 The *ʔʌnnə*-Trace Effect

When a constituent moves from some position to another, it leaves a trace. That language principle which constrains this movement is known as the Empty Category Principle, in short, ECP.   In this subsection we discuss the phenomenon of wh-element extraction from subject/object position when the COMP ʔʌnnə is present. In this respect, we introduce Rizzi's model of subject/object extraction (argument movements):

(46)   i) An empty category must be properly governed.

---

[6]This is not absolutely correct, though. There are cases where the subject can be other than first person singular (1s). For example, one can say:

yʌ-ʕlʌm-u   **ʔʌnnə**   -l- mʌriiḍ-**a**   qʌd šʊfɪyə
    3sm.know.pres. **confirm that** the patient.Acc perf.recover.3sm

        "He knows (he) confirms that the patient has recovered."

ii)   α properly governs β iff
        a. α head governs β and
        b. α antecedent-governs β
        c. no barrier interferes
        d. relativized minimality is respected

Rizzi 1990:6 & 25)

Rizzi's rules of governing in (46) can be applied when the governee is an empty pronoun (PRO). However, he has also defined rules for overt NP's as in (47) below:

(47)   α properly governs β iff

There is no node Z such that
    i) Z is a potential governor for β
    ii) Z m-commands β
    iii)Z does not m-command α

Rizzi (1990:6-7)

We examine Rizzi's statements in (46c) ""no barrier interfere" and in (47i) "Z is a potential governor for β and also in (47ii) "Z m-commands β" using the English examples below:

(48)   a. *[$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ believe [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ **PRO**[$_{VP}$ to kill John]]]]].
                        i   i
       b. [$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ believe [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ **her**[$_{VP}$ to kill John]]]]].

       c. *[$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ believe [$_{CP}$ for [$_{IP}$ **her** [$_{VP}$ to kill John]]]]].

       d. [$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ believe [$_{C_p}$ that [$_{IP}$ **she** [$_{VP}$ has killed John]]]]].

(49) a. [$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ prefer [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ **PRO** [$_{VP}$ to kill John]]]]].
                        i   i
      b. *[$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ prefer [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ **her** [$_{VP}$ to kill John]]]]].

      c. [$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ prefer [$_{C_p}$ for [$_{IP}$ **her** [$_{VP}$ to kill John]]]]].

      d. [$_{IP}$ I [$_{VP}$ know [$_{C_p}$ that [$_{IP}$ **she** [$_{VP}$ killed John]]]]].

Notice that except for part (d) of the two sets of sentences, the verb in the inner clause is infinitive (i.e., IP with [-tense] on the head *I*). Since [-tense] Infl cannot give Case, the NP has to be Case marked by an outsider potential governor, namely either by the transitive verb in the higher clause which can give accusative Case (48b), or by a potential head-governor on the CP (49c). However, if the the head of IP in the inner clause has [+tense], this head prevents an outsider from governing and Case assigning (48d & 49d). Finally, the question of why identical sentences become ungrammatical when the verb in the matrix clause changes, is simply becausse Case marking by an outsider depends on the verb type.   That is to say, while *believe-type* verbs give accusative without the interference of the head *for* (48b), *prefer-type* verbs, on the other hand, necessitate the 'insertion' of the prepositional head *for* on the head of CP of the subordinate clause (49b).

[-tense] functional head such as the ones in (48a-c) and (49a-c) are not barriers, according to the rules in (46 & 47) above. And the verbs *believe* and *prefer*, as well as the preposition *for* become 'potential governors' in the way these sentences are constructed. The NPs being properly governed and Case assigned, they escapes 'Case filter', and the sentences, therefore, become grammatical. This type of Case assigning is known as Exceptional Case Marking,

henceforth (ECM).   Furthermore, if an empty category is co-indexed with an NP in the higher position, it has to be properly governed both by the head governor and antecedent governor to escape Case filter (49a).

4.1.2 Revising the Exceptional Case Marking Rules

All languages, including Arabic, comply with the rules of ECM as stated in (46 & 47) above. Nonetheless, the case of ʔʌnnə-NP relationship is remarkably different. ʔʌnnə gives accusative Case to the subject of [+tense] *I*. The rules as they are in (46 & 47) above cannot hold the 'that-trace phenomenon' of Arabic. A slight modification of the rules can handle the Arabic case, simply by defining what is meant by 'barrier'. We propose the following modification:

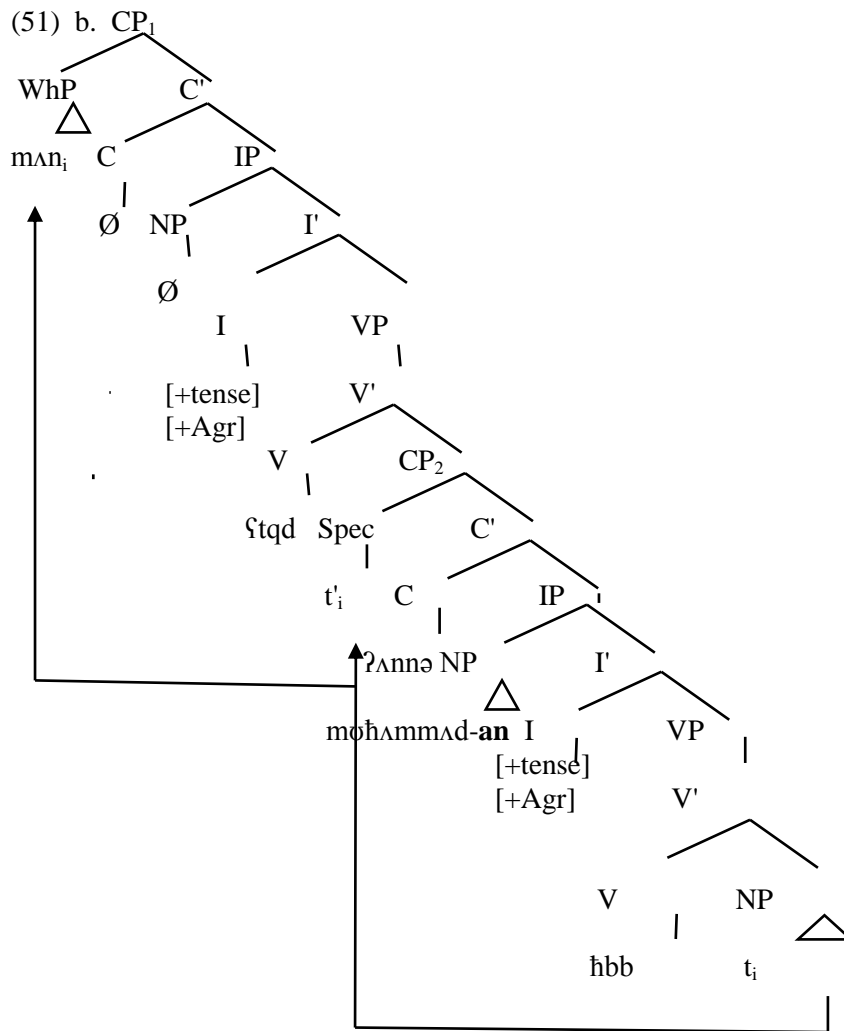(50) Empty Category Principle and Case assigning rule; Modified Proposal:

     a.   i) An empty category must be properly governed.

          ii) α properly governs β iff
           a. α head governs β and
           b. α antecedent-governs β
           c. no barrier interferes
           d. functional heads are not barriers
           e. relativized minimality is respected

     b.   α properly governs β iff

          There is no node Z such that
          i)   Z is a potential governor for β
          ii) Z m-commands β
          iii) Z does not m-command α

According to the proposed modification of government in (50), since *I* of IP is a functional head, it remains not a barrier whether it is with [+ or − tense] feature. Let us clarify this notion here: If an element moves from A-governed position (argument position), the other governors such as Ā-governor and head-governor are not counted. And if an element moves from Ā-governed position (non-argument position), A-governor and head-governor do not count as barrier. And of course, if an element moves from a head did not govern position, A nor Ā-governor can be barrier. The notion of 'relativized minimality' crucially uses the idea of X-government, where X is a variable ranging over A, Ā and head. Nonetheless, we do not deal with A-governor, rather with Ā-governor (wh-movement) here. We start with the phenomenon of object extraction, followed by subject extractions. Consider the sentence in (51a) and its representation in (51b):

(51)   a. mʌn tʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   ʔʌnnə[7]   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an** yʊ-ħɪbb-ʊʔ
        who 2sm.think.pres.CM confirm that Mohamed.Acc   3sm.love.pres.CM

        "Who do you think that Mohamed loves?"

---

[7]Remember that the meaning of the Arabic *ʔʌnnə* is the combination of the transitive verb "confirm" and the complementizer "that". So, *ʔʌnnə* = "confirm that". (Aso see (44) above).

(51) b. CP₁

WhP   C'

mʌnᵢ   C   IP

Ø   NP   I'

Ø

I   VP

[+tense]   V'
[+Agr]

V   CP₂

ʕtqd Spec   C'

t'ᵢ   C   IP

ʔʌnnə NP   I'

mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**   I   VP

[+tense]   V'
[+Agr]

V   NP

ħbb   tᵢ

In this sentence, the WhP (Wh Phrase) moves from the object position in the lower clause to the Spec-CP₁ via Spec-CP₂. *t* is head-governed by the verb *ħbb* and antecedent-governed by *t'* at Spec-CP₂ and *t'* is head-governed by the verb *ʕtqd* and antecedent-governed by the wh-element at Spec-CP₁. Minimality is respected and there is no barrier between the governors and the governees. Therefore, the sentence is grammatical. What is more important to notice is that the NP *mʊħʌmmʌd-an* at Spec-IP position is head-governed and Case assigned by the COMP *ʔʌnnə*. It is worth mentioning also that unlike *that* of English, the Arabic COMP is a verb and therefore a potential Case assigner to its complement.

We now examine the phenomenon of subject extraction. Consider the sentence in (52a) and its representation in (52b):

(52) a. *mʌn tʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   ʔʌnnə   yʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
           who 2sm.think.pres.CM confirm that 3sm.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

           "Who do you think that loves Mohamed?"

(52) b. *CP$_1$
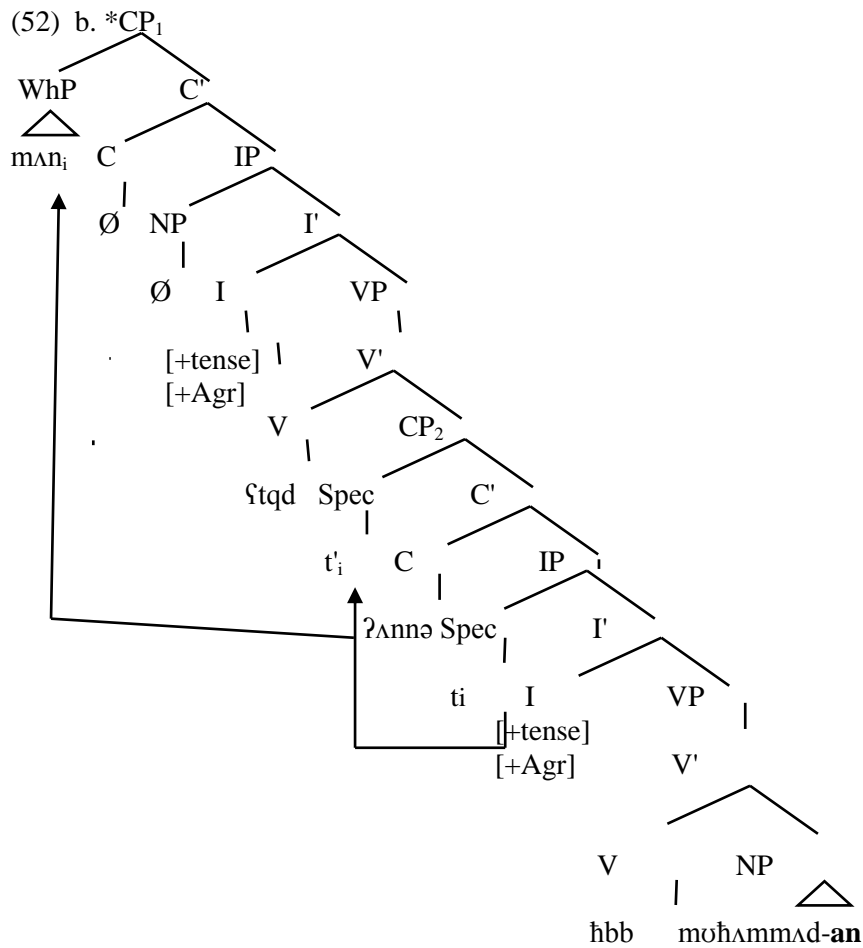
In this sentence *t* and *t'* share the same feature (index). For this, *t* is head-governed by C (i.e., the head *ʔʌnnə* and antecedent-governed by *t'*, whereas *t'* is head-governed by the verb *ʕtqd* at the matrix clause and antecedent-governed by the wh-element *mʌn* at the Spec-CP$_1$. No barrier interferes between the verb and the trace. Following this notion, the sentence should have been grammatical by virtue of the fulfillment of all ECP requirements, but it is not. The bottom line is, since we have considered *ʔʌnnə* as a transitive verb, it should have given Case to the presumably moved NP on the Spec-IP position 'exceptionally' before it had moved to Ā position at the Spec-CP. Obviously, had this sentence been of English, there would have been a satisfactory explanation for its ungrammaticality. Let us present similar sentence in English to explain its ungrammaticality. Look at the sentence in (53a) and its representation in (53b):

(53)   a. *Who do you think that loves John?

(53) b. *CP₁

[Tree diagram:]

- *CP₁
  - WhP
    - whoᵢ
  - C′
    - C
      - doj
    - IP
      - NP
        - you
      - I′
        - I
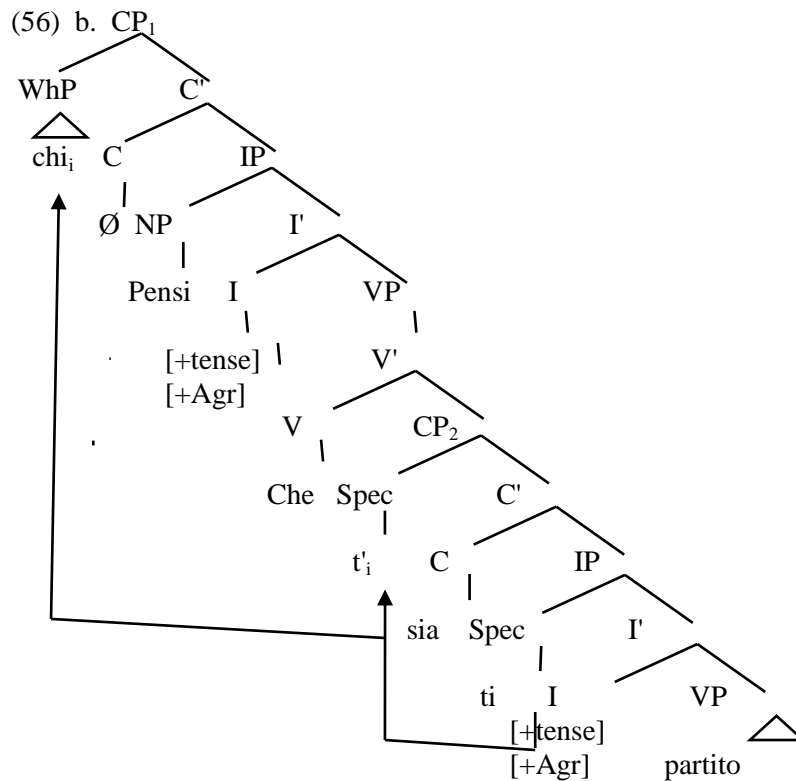   - [+tense]
          - [+Agr] j
        - VP
          - V′
            - V
              - think
            - CP₂
              - Spec
                - t′ᵢ
              - C′
                - C
                  - that
                - IP
                  - Spec
                    - ti
                  - I′
                    - I
                      - [+tense]
                      - [+Agr]
                    - VP
                      - V′
                        - V
                          - love
                        - NP
                          - John
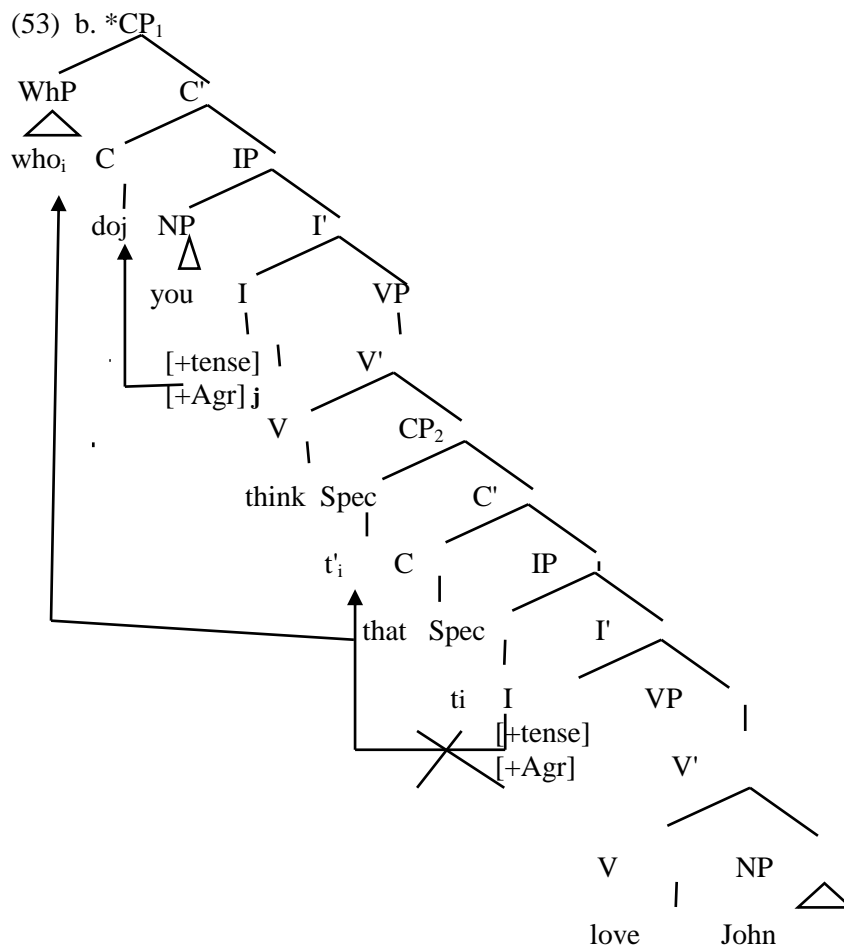
Here, *t′* is head-governed by the verb *think* at the matrix clause and antecedent-governed by the wh-element at Spec-CP₁. And *t* is antecedent-governed by *t′* at the Spec-CP₂ position, but it **is not** head-governed by the COMP *that,* because *that* of English is dummy, in that it is not a proper governor. And it (i.e., *t* of Spec-IP) cannot be properly governed by the verb *think* because of the barrier *that* at C which interferes between the verb and the trace. So, the trace *t* remains ungoverned resulting in ungrammaticality of the sentence. Before we end this part, we would like to mention that the Aux (auxiliary verb) *do* moves from the head *I,* which is [+tense, +Agr] functional head, to the head C by the analogy of head-to-head movement rule. While this is the reason for the ungrammaticality of the English sentence in (53), there is no convincing reason for the ungrammaticality of the Arabic sentence in (52), although the moved elements are properly governed. This is what is going to be speculated in the next subsection.

4.2. The Justification for the Ungrammaticality of ʔʌnnə-trace in Arabic

In the previous subsection we discovered what seems to entail the defectiveness of ECP for its failure to handle the Arabic ʔʌnnə-trace phenomenon where the trace of the subject position moves to the Spec-CP of the main clause crossing the complementizer ʔʌnnə after fulfilling the ECP requirements as formulated by Rizzi (1990) (See (46 & 47), and the proposed modification formulated in (50). The ungrammaticality of this type of sentences in English, see (53) above, was justified by virtue of not having a proper governor at base, which is not the case in the Arabic example. We are forced to think that there must be another reason for this

ungrammaticality. In the following two subsections we try to investigate the reason of the ungrammaticality in a principled way. In 4.2.1 we discuss some of the properties of pro-drop languages which are relevant for our topic of discussion, and in 4.2.2 we provide the reason for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (52) above.

4.2.1 Some of the Characteristics of Pro-Drop Languages

There are languages, for example, Italian, Swahili, Amharic, Arabic, Hebrew, and others which have (+) value for the parameter of subject pronoun deletion. This is made possible because of the subject agreement features on the verb. The following conversation in Arabic shows the pro-drop value:

> (54)   A: ʔʌynə ʔʌħmʌd?
>   Where Ahmed
>
>   "Where (is) Ahmed.
>
>   B: saafʌr
>   stravel.**3sm**
>
>   "(He) traveled."

In (54b) the verb *sfr* "travel" incorporates the features of the subject *huwa* "he", and therefore, this subject pronoun is dropped. This is called 'pro-drop'. Then, let us assume that perhaps the ungrammaticality of (52) above has to do with the nature of the pro-dropp parametric choice in Arabic. In this subsection we examine two of the main properties of pro-drop languages that are related to ECP. Chomsky lists five characteristics, among which are these two:

> (55)   i) Apparent violation of *that-t filter.
>   ii) Empty resumptive pronouns in embedded clause.

> (Chomsky 1981:253-4)

We begin with (55i). What Chomsky thought to be a violation of 'that-t filter' has also been observed by Kayne (1984) among others. It is one of the properties of pro-drop languages that the sentence apparently becomes grammatical without the trace being properly governed. The following Italian example will illustrate the idea:

> (56) a. chi pensi che   sia partito   Italian
>   who you   think that has left
>
>   "Who do you think that has left"

For all practical purposes, this sentence resembles the Arabic sentence in (52) and the English sentence in (53) above. It will have the following representation:

(56) b. [tree diagram]

```
              CP₁
          /        \
       WhP          C'
       /\         /    \
    chiᵢ         C        IP
                 |      /    \
                 Ø    NP      I'
                      |      /  \
                   Pensi    I    VP
                            \     \
                        [+tense]   V'
                        [+Agr]    /  \
                                 V    CP₂
                                 \   /   \
                               Che Spec   C'
                                    |    /   \
                                   t'ᵢ  C      IP
                                        |    /   \
                                       sia Spec   I'
                                            |    /  \
                                           ti   I    VP
                                            [+tense]   \
                                            [+Agr]   partito
```

Let us examine whether the ECP facts are fulfilled. *chi* "who" moves from Spec-IP position to Spec-CP₂, its first landing site, leaving a trace *t* there. Then it moves to Spec-CP₁, its final landing site. As for *t'*, it is properly head-governed by the verb *che* "think" and antecedent governed by the wh-element *chi* at Spec-CP₁. However, as for the *t*, it is antecedent-governed by *t'* at Spec-CP₂ but it is not head-governed by the COMP *sia* "that" at C, because, like the English COMP, *sia* of Italian is not a proper head-governor. Yet, the sentence is grammatical because this trace is head-governed by the functional head [+tense, +Agr] at *I* of IP, which immediately dominates the trace. This is made possible in Italian because of the rich agreement on the verb which contains the features of its subject. In this case, as Chomsky and Kayne suggest, it has a closer governor than the outside governor. That is to say, the [+tense, +Agr] on the head *I* of the inflectional phrase (IP) in the inner clause m-commands and head-governs the trace. This is one of the properties of pro-drop languages.

Surprisingly enough, though Arabic is a pro-drop language, and it is like Italian, in that there are agreement features on the verb, as we have seen throughout this study, the language does not allow this type of sentence (See (52) once again). So, Chomsky's statement on properties of pro-drop languages as stated in (55i) above is not applicable to the Arabic that-trace phenomenon.

We now move on to the second property of pro-drop languages as stated by Chomsky repeated here in (55ii). By definition, "a presumptive pronoun is a pronoun that is operator bound"8. This will be elaborated in the following examples:

(57) a. hais   [_CP se   [_IP pagasti **loto**]]   Hebrew
       the man   that   met   **him**

"The man that I met him."
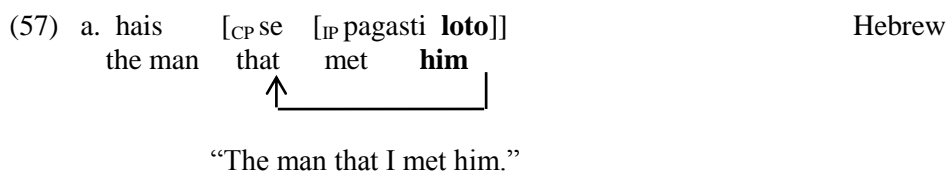
8This definition and the Hebrew example are drawn from Sells (1984) pages 16 and 64 respectively.

b. ʔʌr-rʌǰul-u   [CP l-lði [IP qaabʌlt-u   **hu**]]   Arabic
‹the man.Nom   whom met.1s.CM **him**

"The man whom I met him."

c. The man [CP whom_i [IP I met **t**_i]]   English

The object pronoun in the embedded clause *loto* "him" in Hebrew (57a) and *hi* "him" in Arabic (57b) are resumptive pronouns, which refer to the subject in the main clause, which is *hais* in Hebrew and *ʔʌrrʌǰulu* in Arabic. This pronoun occupies the position of a trace, just like the English *t*, as we can see in (57c). Since it is a trace, it should comply with the ECP. Hence *t* of (57c) is head-governed by the verb *met* and antecedent-governed by the moved element at Spec CP, i.e., *whom*. The same thing applies to the resumptive pronouns in Hebrew and Arabic (57a & b) respectively. Thus, a resumptive pronoun can be defined as an overt trace that occupies the position of a moved element. In other words, it is the repetition of the moved element.

If this is the case, then resumptive pronouns are not pronouns as such. Rather, they are 'fillers' of an empty position *t*. The fact is pronouns normally are replaced by an R-expression, that is a noun that has a referent in the real world. The condition for this is that the R-expression which replaces the pronominal has to be free within its c-command domain. Look at this English example:
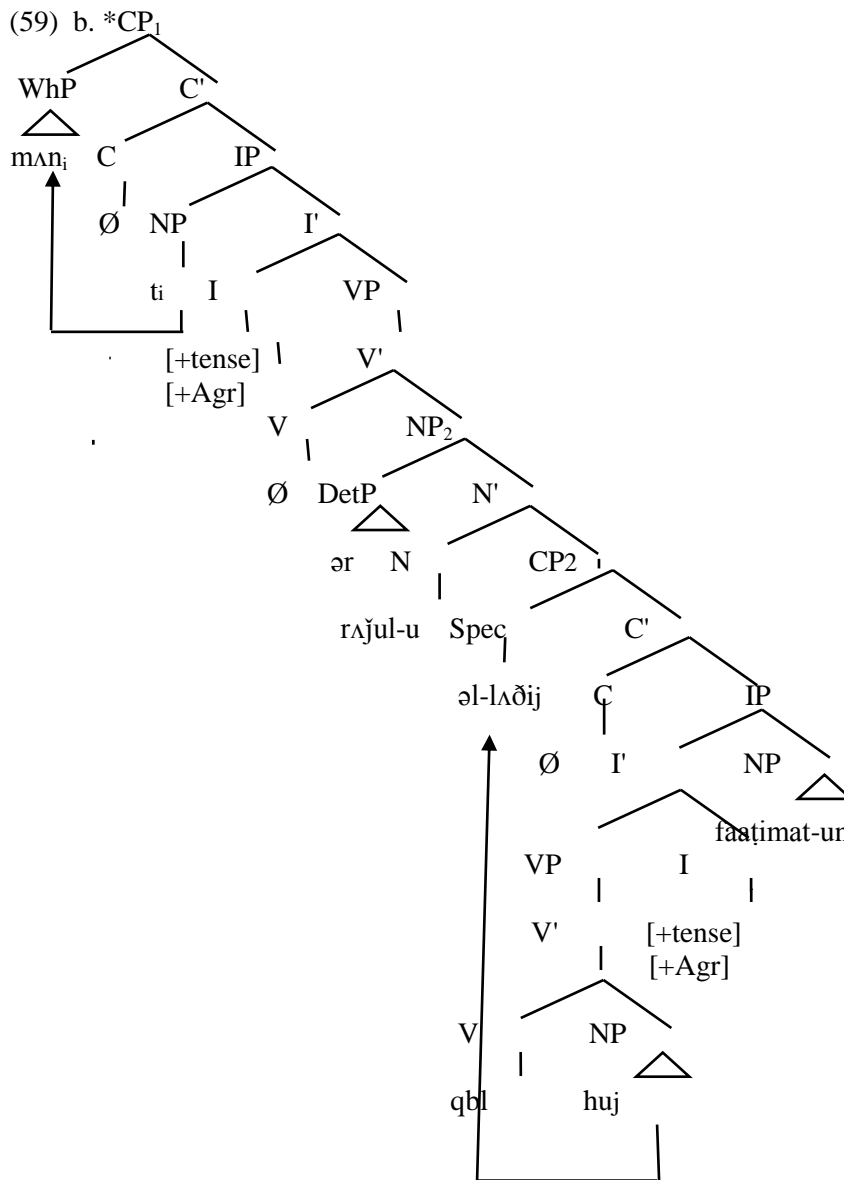
(58) a. She loves him.

b. Michelle loves Obama.

The pronouns in (58a) are replaced by the R-expressions in (58b). To check as to whether a resumptive pronoun can be replaced by an R-expression, we refer to (57b), this time with a slight change in the characters, since this does not harm our investigation:

(59) a. [CP1 mʌn [IP ər-rʌǰul-u   [CP2 əl-lʌði [IP qaabʌlʌt -**hu** faaṭimat-un]]]]
            who   the man.Nom   whom met.1s.CM **him** Fatima.Nom

"Who (is) the man whom Fatima met him."

The sentence will have the following representation:

\

(59) b. *CP₁

WhP
mʌnᵢ

C'
C
Ø
NP
tᵢ
I
[+tense]
[+Agr]

IP
I'
VP
V'
V
Ø

NP₂
DetP
ər
N
rʌjul-u

CP2
Spec
əl-lʌðij

C'
C
Ø

IP
I'
VP
V'
V
qbl

NP
huj

I
[+tense]
[+Agr]

NP
faaṭimat-un

The main purpose of giving this representation is to have a clear manifestation of the resumptive pronoun occupying trace position rather than a usual pronoun position. Let us see now whether this trace complies with the ECP rule. The 'trace' *hu* "him" is head-governed by the verb *qbl* "meet" and antecedent-governed by the wh-element *əllʌði* "whom" at Spec-CP₂. So, it is a trace, actually. To double check this fact, let us repeat the sentence in (58), with changing the resumptive pronoun into an R-expression:

(59) c. *[CP₁mʌn [IP ər-rʌjul-u   [CP2 əl-lði [IP qaabʌlʌt **ʔʌħmʌd-an** faaṭimat-**un**]]]]
          who   the man.Nom   whom met.1s.CM **Ahmed.Acc** Fatima.Nom

          "Who (is) the man whom Fatima met Ahmed."

The replacement of the resumptive pronoun *hu* by the noun *ʔʌħmʌd-an* results in ungrammaticality entailing that a resumptive pronoun is not a normal pronoun. Unlike a pronoun, it substitutes a trace, but not a noun.

Another crucial fact is that while a trace is classified as [+anaphoric, -pronominal], which is exactly the same classification of a resumptive pronoun; a normal pronoun is classified as

[-anaphoric9., +pronominal]. In other words, a trace and a pronoun occur in complementary distribution. The fact that a resumptive pronoun is usually co-indexed with an element at a higher position 'within the same governing domain', tells us that it is not a pronoun as such; it is actually an 'overt-trace'. That is why Chomsky (1981:254) repeated here in (55ii) calls it "Empty resumptive pronoun...". This point is very important for us when we justify the ungrammaticality of the Arabic sentences with 'that-trace' effect in the next subsection.

The nature of a resumptive pronoun is not as easy as we have tested here. Nevertheless, this bit of information will satisfy our inquiry about it. The reader is referred to Sells (1984) for comprehensive account of the resumptive pronoun.

4.2.2 The Uniqueness of ʔʌnnə-Trace Effect

In the previous subsection we saw that a resumptive pronoun is but a trace where it has to be co-indexed with an NP in the higher clause. With this in mind, in this subsection we try to examine whether the NP which follows the COMP ʔʌnnə is a pronominal or a resumptive pronoun. The absence of the resumptive pronoun results in ungrammaticality. So, if the trace in ʔʌnnə-trace relationship turns out to be a resumptive pronoun, then we plainly justify that the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (52) is because of the disappearance of the resumptive pronoun. If not, we will try to look for another solution. The following data will test the ʔʌnnə-NP relationship in a wider range:

(60) a. [IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u [CP ʔʌnnə   [IP faaṭimat-**an** tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
      1s.think.pres.CM confirm that   **Fatima.Acc 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

    "(I) think (I) confirm that Fatima.Acc loves Mohamed." .

    b. [IPʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə   [IP**ha tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-an**]]]
      1s.think.pres.CM confirm that   **her 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

      "(I) think (I) confirm that her loves Mohamed."

    c. [IPʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə **hu** [IP faaṭimat-**un**   tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
      1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **him Fatima.Nom3sf**.love.pres.CMMohamed.Acc

      "(I) think (I) confirm that **him** Fatima.Nom loves Mohamed."

    d. [IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə   **hu**   [IP **hiyə** tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
      1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **him   she 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

      "(I) think (I) confirm that him she loves.**3sf** Mohamed."

---

[9]But, there are cases where a pronoun can also be classified as [+anaphoric] provided that it is 'free' within its governing domain. For example:
  i) John like him.
     i   *i/j
  ii) John knows that Bill likes him
     i   j   i/*j
In (i) the pronoun *him* cannot be have J*ohn* as its antecedent (anaphora), but in (ii) it can. This is because in (ii) the pronoun *him* is in another governing domain than that of *John*. So, it 'free' within its governing category. The bottom line is that like a trace, or a resumptive pronoun , it is always co-indexed with an antecedent NP (anaphora) within the same domain.

      e. [IPʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə **hu** [IP tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ faaṭimat-**un** mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
       1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **him 3sf**.love.pres.CM **Fatima.Nom**Mohamed.Acc

         "(I) think (I) confirm that **him** Fatima.Nom loves Mohamed."

      f. [IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə   **hu** [IP tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
       1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **him**   **3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

         "(I) think (I) confirm that him loves.**3sf** Mohamed."

      g. *[IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə [IP tʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
       1s.think.pres.CM confirm that   **3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

         "(I) think (I) confirm that loves**3sf** Mohamed."

Once again, let us recall the fact that the NP that follows ʔʌnnə the COMP is consistently marked with accusative Case. Also let us remind ourselves that a pronoun can be replaced by an R-expression 'as long as it is not co-indexed with another c-commanding R-expression'. (See footnote 9 above for more details). This proposition should work if this is a pronoun. (See the discussion in subsection 4.2.0 once again for the differences between a pronoun and a trace). Thus the fact that this NP can be either an R-expression (60a) or a pronoun (60b-f) is clear that it is not a resumptive pronoun, rather a pronoun of some kind, which we are yet to investigate.

A close look at the sentence in (60f) demonstrates that there is no visible subject in the inner clause, rather the verb embodies the features of the subject (i.e., the features 3sf), and the subject is deleted. This sentence resembles the Italian sentence in (56) above. This means, as a pro-drop language, Arabic also shows the dropping of the subject of the inner clause that follows ʔʌnnə the COMP. What we are ought to investigate is that following this assumption, sentences such as the one in (60g) (and of course in (52) above), would have been grammatical by virtue of the the fact that the verb embodies the features of the subject, in this case, the features 3sf (third person singular feminine) on the verb just like the sentence in (60f). Why is it then this sentence is ungrammatical?

If one looks at the sentences in (60c-f), they will find that in these sentences, the NP that follows the COMP ʔʌnnə is different from the subject of the inner clause, and yet the sentence remains grammatical. This crucial fact entails that the Arabic COMP is unique in that it always necessitates the presence of the pronoun *hu* "he" all the time, to which it has to give accusative Case.

It is significant to observe that when the pronoun *hu* is present the order of the inner clause can be SVO (60c&d), or VSO (60e), like any normal Arabic sentence. In the absence of this pronoun, however, the COMP 'forces' the subject of the inner clause to appear visibly adjacent to the COMP (60a&b), so that it gives it accusative Case 'exceptionally'. Consequently, nonappearance of either the pronoun *hu* or the subject of the inner clause, results in ungrammaticality. We now have a good answer for why the sentence in (60g) is ungrammatical although the verb in the inner clause shows the features of the subject.

Finally, since the pronoun *hu* "him" doesn't have a referent in the real world, we assume that it is an expletive pronoun, and naturally an expletive pronoun must be Case assigned to survive Case filter. We also assume that since it refers to no entity in the sentence, it is more like the expletive *it* of English than it is the pronoun *him*. For this, the meaning of the Arabic COMP should include the expletive *it*. If this is the case then, ʔʌnnə the COMP will mean "I confirm it that". Therefore, there will be a slight change in the glossing of the above sentences. The sentences are repeated here with their reasonable meaning of ʔʌnnə the COMP:

(61) a. [IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə [IP faaṭimat-**an** t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
         1s.think.pres.CM confirm that   **Fatima.Acc 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm **it** that Fatima loves Mohamed." .

   b. [IPʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə [IP**ha** t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
        1s.think.pres.CM confirm that   **her 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm **it** that she loves Mohamed."

   c. [IPʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u [CP ʔʌnnə **hu** [IP faaṭimat-**un**   t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
       1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **it Fatima.Nom 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm **it** that Fatima loves Mohamed."

   d. [IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə   **hu**   [IP **hiyə** t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
        1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **it**   **she 3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm **it** that she loves Mohamed."

   e. [IPʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u [CP ʔʌnnə **hu** [IP t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ f   faaṭimat-**un** mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**]]]
       1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **it**   **3sf**.love.pres.CM **Fatima.Nom** Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm **it** that Fatima loves Mohamed."

   f. [IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə   **hu** [IP t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
       1s.think.pres.CM confirm that **it**   **3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm **it** that she loves.**3sf** Mohamed."

   g. *[IP ʔʌ-ʕtʌqɪd-u   [CP ʔʌnnə Ø   [IP t̪ʊ-ħɪbb-ʊ   mʊħʌmmʌd-**an**
        1s.think.pres.CM confirm Ø that   **3sf**.love.pres.CM Mohamed.Acc

   "(I) think (I) confirm Ø that loves Mohamed."

We may summarize this linguistic phenomenon as follows:

(62)

   (i)   The complementizer *ʔʌnnə* of Arabic is a transitive verb in addition to its function as complementizer.
   (ii)   Unlike many languages in the world, the complementizer *ʔʌnnə* necessitates expletive pronoun *hu* "it' as its complement.
   (iii) When the expletive *hu* is present, the order of the embedded clause can be SVO or VSO like any normal sentences of Arabic.
   (iv)   In the absence of the expletive *hu* the COMP force the subject of the embedded clause to appear visibly adjacent to the it to assign it with accusative Case exceptionally.

4.4 ʔɪnnə's Sisters as Complementizers

We have to present one more essential piece of information before we conclude the paper. If we have a look at the meanings of the group of words known as "ʔɪnnə and her sisters" as stated in (44), one may say that except for the words *lʌytə* "wish" and *lʌʕʌllə* "hope", they all embody the COMP *ʔʌnnə*. This is true because of the fact that these words function alike. Thus, one can

argue that even *lʌytə* and *lʌʕʌllə* embody the COMP *ʔʌnnə,* too. To support our assumption we give the following examples:

(63) a. lʌʕʌllə   -l-   mʌdiinʌt-ə ǰʌmiil-at-un
              hope that the city.f.Acc   beautiful.f.CM

       b. *lʌʕʌllə ʔʌnnə -l-   mʌdiinʌt-ə ǰʌmiil-at-un
              hope   that   the city.f.Acc beautiful.f.CM

              "(I) hope that the city (is) beautiful."

(64) a. *lʌytə*   -l-   mʌdiinʌt-ə ǰʌmiil-at-un
              wish the city.f.Acc   beautiful.f.CM

              "(I) wish the city (is) beautiful."

       b. *lʌytə* ʔʌnnə -l-   mʌdiinʌt-ə ǰʌmiil-at-un
              wish that   the city.f.Acc beautiful.f.CM

              "(I) wish that the city (is) beautiful."

Except for the word *lʌytə* "wish" all of these words do not allow the insertion of *ʔʌnnə* the COMP. Nonetheless, even this word uses it optionally, just like the case in English. Therefor, the fact remains that all of the members of *ʔɪnnə* and her sisters definitely embody *ʔʌnnə* the COMP in any sentential structure.

4.5 Residue

In as much as the meanings of *ʔɪnnə* and her sisters, and their actual functions go, the data in (60 and 61), and the discussion there reasonably demonstrate that these are not just words, rather full-fledged clauses having subject verb and complement in addition to the function of a complementizer. In spite of this fact, there are other facts yet to investigate. One such facts is that when *ʔɪnnə* has to be followed by the expletive *hu* "it" obligatorily regardless of whatever the type the embedded clause may be. Some of these cases are announcement of declaration or decision or publication, etc. Consider the following announcement of duty completion:

(65) a. ʔɪnnə hu   fi haðə -l-yʌm ʔʌnhʌt   əl- lʌǰnə   mʌhaammə-ha
              confirm it that in this   the date complete.past.3sf the committee.3sf duties of her

              "(We) confirm it that in this date the committee completed her duties."

       b. *ʔɪnnə   fi haðə -l-yʌm ʔʌnhʌt   əl- lʌǰnə   mʌhaammə-ha
              confirm that in this the date complete.past.3sf the committee.3sf duties of her

              "(We) confirm that in this date the committee completed her duties."

       Literally: "That the committee has completed its duties today".

Although it is true that this data supports our assumption that *ʔɪnnə* is not just a COMP, but a whole clause, we feel that there must be a further study which explicitly investigates and presents in a convincing way as to how one can consider *ʔɪnnə* the COMP can be better understood. In other words, if one has to believe that the rest of the group also function alike, then there must be an answer as to why is the sentence such as the one in (65) cannot be headed by the other group. This is left for further studies of the matter.

Another fact is that the case when *ʔɪnnə* is preceded by the preposition lɪ, the meaning changes. The example below clarifies the idea:

> (66)   ʔʌkrʌh-u-hu **lɪ-ʔʌnnə hu** kʌððaab-un
>   1s.hate.CM him because him liar.CM
>
>
>   "(I) hate him because that him is a liar."

Fair enough, the fact the NP that follows the word *ʔʌnnə* is marked with accusative Case, another piece of supportive evidence that we are really dealing with a verb in addition to what it means. If one has to believe that *ʔʌnnə* is a verb, then naturally a verb doesn't allow to be preceded by a preposition. Not only that, but the meaning is now changed to a conjunction head and a complementizer simultaneously. The question which needs to be answered is how can we theorize the presence of a conjunction with a COMP? In other words, is *lɪʔʌnnə* really what we have thought to be or is it another word another homophony? Well, we don't have any answer to this phenomenon. This should also be left for further studies.

5. Conclusion

According to the traditional Arabic grammarians, the group of words of Arabic known *ʔɪnnə and her Sisters* are particles which come as a head of a nominal sentence changing the Case of the subject to accusative. Consider the following examples:

> (67)   a. ʔʌl-mudiira-t-**u**   fʌşʌlʌ-t   əl- mu ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-a
>   the headmistress.Nom. terminated.past.3sf the teacher.3sm.Acc
>
>
>   "The headmistress terminated the teacher."
>
>   b. [IP ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-u   [CP ʔʌnnə [IP -l- mudiira-t-**a**   [VP fʌşʌlʌt   əl- mu ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-a]]]]
>   1s.know.CM   that the headmistress.Acc terminated.past.3sf theteacher.3sm.Acc
>
>
>   "I know that the headmistress terminated the teacher."

What they would say is that the nominative Case [-**u**]   on the subject *ʔʌl-mudiira-t-**u*** "headmistress" in (67a) is changed to the accusative Case [-**a**] by the word *ʔɪnnə* in (67b), but they wouldn't say 'why' and 'how' this group assigns accusative Case if it is a particle, as they claim it to be.

Looking into the meanings and functions of these words, this paper argued that these are a combination of a transitive verb of some kind and a complementizer, and that is why they give accusative Case to the NP that follows them 'exceptionally'. The meanings of these words are repeated here:

> (68)   i) ʔɪnnə   =   "confirm that"
>   ii) ʔʌnnə   =   "confirm that"
>   iii) lʌytə   =   "wish"
>   iv) lʌʕʌllə =   "hope"
>   v) kəʔʌnnə =   confirm that like (confirm that (someone) (is) like"
>   vi) laakɪnnə =   "but (I) confirm that"

It is a language fact that a head in the higher clause can give Case to the subject of the embedded clause exceptionally, under the rule of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), as part of Empty Category Principle (ECP). We followed the rule which is stated by Rizzi (1990), his definition is repeated here for convenience:

(69) Empty Category Principle and Case assigning rule stated by Rizzi (1990:6-7):

    A. i) An empty category must be properly governed.

      ii) α properly governs β iff
        a. α head governs β and
        b. α antecedent-governs β
        c. no barrier interferes
        d. relativized minimality is respected

    B. α properly governs β iff
      a. there is no node Z such that
          i) Z is a potential governor for β
          ii) Z m-commands β
       iii)   Z does not m-command α

According to this rule, the sentence in (67b) should have been ungrammatical because the [+tense] feature on the head of IP will be an intervening barrier for the COMP ʔʌnnə to give Case to the subject of the inner clause. Therefore, we proposed a modification for this rule to be able to handle the phenomenon of Arabic as well. The proposal is as follows:

(70) Empty Category Principle and Case assigning rule; Modified Proposal:

    A. i) An empty category must be properly governed.
      ii) α properly governs β iff
        a. α head governs β and
        b. α antecedent-governs β
        c. no barrier interferes
        d. functional heads are not barriers
        e. relativized minimality is respected

    B. α properly governs β iff
      i) there is no node Z such that
      ii) Z is a potential governor for β
      iii) Z m-commands β
      iv) Z does not m-command α

According to the proposed modification in (70) no matter whether the head *I* in the IP domain is marked with [+tense] or [-tense], since a functional head, it cannot block ʔʌnnə the COMP from assigning accusative Case to the Spec of IP. In this case, ʔʌnnə will be a proper governor and Case assigner to the subject of the embedded clause. Therefore, the grammaticality of the sentence in (67b) is justified.

Nevertheless, in the process of the investigation, we discovered that ʔʌnnə is accompanied by the expletive pronoun *hu* "it" marked with the accusative Case. Hence, the meaning of ʔʌnnə is modified in the way that it incorporates the expletive *hu*. To show this evidence, we will repeat the sentence in (67b) above with the expletive *hu* inserted*:*

(71) a. [IP ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-u [CP ʔʌnnə-**hu** [IP -l- mudiira-t-**u**   [VP fʌʂʌlʌt   əl- mu ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-a]]]]
      1s.know.CM   that **it** the headmistress.Nom terminated.past.3sf the teacher.3sm.Acc

    b. [IP ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-u [CP ʔʌnnə-**hu** [IP fʌʂʌlʌt   əl- mudiira-t-**u**   əl- mu ʔʌ-ʕlʌm-a]]]]
      1s.know.CM that **it** terminated.past.3sf the headmistress.Nom the teacher.3sm.Acc
        "(I) know (I) confirm it that the headmistress terminated the teacher."

This fact clearly demonstrates that *ʔɪnnə and her Sisters* are a full-fledged clause having subject, verb and object which always comes as the higher position of the sentence. What is crucial to notice is the in the presence of the expletive, the subject of the inner clause will retain its nominative Case assigned by the [+tense] Infl. Not only is that, but the word order of the inner clause also flexible, like any normal Arabic sentence. The inner clause can be either SVOI (71a) or VSO (71b). We have, therefore, summarized this linguistic phenomenon as the following statements:

(72)　　(i) The complementizer *ʔʌnnə* of Arabic is a transitive verb in addition to its function as a complementizer.

(ii) Unlike many languages in the world, the complementizer *ʔʌnnə* necessitates the expletive pronoun *hu* "it' as its complement.

(iii) When the expletive *hu* is present, the order of the embedded clause can be SVO or VSO like any normal sentences of Arabic.

(iv) In the absence of the expletive *hu* the COMP forces the subject of the embedded clause to appear visibly adjacent to the it to assign it with accusative Case exceptionally.

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