

**Agr Feature and Small Pro in al-Tanaazu' in Classical Arabic**

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## List of Symbols Used in the Phonemic Transcription of CA Forms:

Consonants			
<b>b</b>	stop bilabial voiced sound ( <i>boy</i> )	<b>g</b>	stop velar voiced ( <i>get</i> )
<b>q</b>	stop uvular voiceless ( <i>qaal: said</i> )	<b>d</b>	stop alveolar voiced sound ( <i>door</i> )
<b>ḏ</b>	stop alveolar voiced emphatic ( <i>ḏaraba: hit</i> )	<b>ṭ</b>	stop alveolar voiceless emphatic ( <i>ṭariiq: road</i> )
<b>k</b>	stop velar voiceless ( <i>kite</i> )	<b>t</b>	stop alveolar voiceless ( <i>to</i> )
<b>ʔ</b>	stop glottal voiced ( <i>ʔanna: that</i> )	<b>j</b>	fricative palatal voiced as in <i>usual</i>
<b>ʕ</b>	fricative pharyngeal voiced ( <i>ʕayn: eye</i> )	<b>θ</b>	fricative dental voiceless ( <i>θarwa: wealth</i> )
<b>ʃ</b>	fricative palatal voiceless ( <i>share</i> )	<b>ð</b>	fricative dental voiced ( <i>ðahab: gold</i> )
<b>x</b>	fricative uvular voiceless ( <i>ʔax: brother</i> )	<b>ħ</b>	fricative pharyngeal voiceless ( <i>ħayaah: life</i> )
<b>f</b>	fricative labio-dental voiceless ( <i>fan</i> )	<b>ś</b>	fricative alveolar voiceless emphatic ( <i>śabr: patience</i> )
<b>r</b>	fricative retroflex voiced ( <i>rat</i> )	<b>s</b>	fricative alveolar voiceless ( <i>so</i> )
<b>n</b>	nasal labial voiceless ( <i>no</i> )	<b>m</b>	nasal labial voiced ( <i>man</i> )
<b>l</b>	approximate denti-alveolar voiced ( <i>love</i> )	<b>w</b>	semi-vowel labial approximate voiced ( <i>we</i> )
Vowels			
<b>i</b>	short high front unrounded	<b>A</b>	short mid unrounded
		<b>U</b>	short high back rounded

- Length of a vowel is indicated by doubling the vowel, as in (**ḍarabuunii**)
- Gemination is indicated by doubling the consonant letter, as in (**ḍanna**)
- Emphatic vowels are indicated by 'bold' features, as in (**ḍanna**)

Adapted from (Ezzat, 1973, pp. IX-X)

### List of Abbreviations:

<b>φ-</b> <b>features</b>	Phi-features (number, person, and gender)	<b>iT</b>	Interpretable tense feature
<b>3sg</b>	Third singular	<b>nom</b>	Nominative case
<b>Acc</b>	Accusative case	<b>obl</b>	Oblique case
<b>CA</b>	Classical Arabic	<b>P&amp;P</b>	Principles and Parameters Theory
<b>CorP</b>	Coordinate phrase	<b>pl</b>	Plural
<b>EC</b>	Empty category	<b>TNS</b>	Tense feature
<b>Gen</b>	Genitive case	<b>TopP</b>	Topic Phrase
<b>masc</b>	Masculine	<b>uC</b>	Unvalued case feature
<b>MP</b>	Minimalist Program	<b>val</b>	Valued

### Abstract

This paper deals with Case Theory, Deletion and *ʔiʕmaal* [case assignment] as manifested in the syntactic construction of *ʔal-Tanaazu'* [case conflict]. The study examines the coordinate structures of *ʔal-Tanaazu'*. It proposes an alternative operation, namely, Agr feature valuation, that replaces pronominalization or *ʔiḍmaar* as assumed by CA grammarians, especially in *ʔal-Basra's* linguistic tradition. It offers a unifying approach to resolve the issue of *ʔiḍmaar* within the case study of *ʔal-Tanaazu'* in the light of Chomsky's Minimalism (1995b). It deals with a very limited set of case assigners, namely, the mono-transitive predicate. This paper is organized as follows: section (1) introduces an overview of *ʔal-Tanaazu'* in CA data and Chomsky's sub-theories that are required. Section (2) provides the basic assumptions of the leading figure of *ʔal-Basra* school, i.e., Sibawayh. Section (3) displays the analysis of the deletion approach adopted by Sibawayh (765-796 A.D.), in conformity with the adjacency condition and the locality principle (Chomsky, 1981). Then, section (4) includes and represents the findings of this study.

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**Keywords:** Agr Feature, Pronominalization, Deletion, Case Theory, Theta Theory, Theta Criterion, Government and Binding.

## 1. An Overview of ʔal-Tanaazuʔ

This section represents an overview of the syntactic construction of ʔal-Tanaazuʔ in CA, focusing on ʔal-Basraʔs linguistic thought. It, also, highlights some of Chomskyʔs sub-theories that are needed in the analysis. The study diagnoses a unique property of ʔal-Tanaazuʔ, which is used by CA linguists (Sibawayh, 765-796 A.D., ʔal-Mubarrid, 825-899 A.D. and ʔibn Hishaam, 1309-1360 A.D. among others). ʔal-Tanaazuʔ, or “conflict in government” (Baalbakii, 2008, pp. 34-87), in CA is a linguistic phenomenon in which two potential case assigners compete to assign case to a single DP. It deals with a rich structure and covers different types of verbs that exhibit conflict with respect to the theta structure of each verb. ʔibn ʔal-ʔanbaarii (ed. 2002, pp. 79-85) displays the debate between two linguistic traditions in CA, ʔal-Basra and ʔal-Kufa, in terms of ʔal-ʔiʔmaal. The former selects the second verb to be the governor, while the latter selects the first to be the governor. This study is mainly concerned with ʔal-Basraʔs approach.

ʔal-Tanaazuʔ is defined by ʔibn Hishaam (n.d., p.162), “*ʔan yataqaddam-a ʔamilaan-i ʔaw ʔakḡar-u, wa yataʔaxar-u maʔmuul-un ʔaw ʔakḡaru. wa yakuun-u kul-un min-a ʔal-mutaqaddim-i ʔaalib-an li-ḡaalika ʔal-mutaʔxir-i* [it occurs when there are two governors or more preceding one constituent or more, and these two potential governors are competing to theta-mark this following shared constituent]”. ʔal-Tanaazuʔ deals with a very limited set of case assigners, namely, the intransitive predicates and the transitive predicate (i.e. mono-transitive, di-transitive, and tri-transitive predicates). The theory of ʔiʔmaal goes in parallelism with the Case Theory (Chomsky, 1980, 1981; Baker, 1988) which deals with the distribution of NPs in any given language. Case Theory requires each NP to carry case satisfying the **Case Filter** condition (Chomsky, 1981, p. 49). Case can be abstract, as in English, or morphologically and phonologically realized, as in CA.

At this juncture, Case Theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1991, 1993) is intertwined with the Theta Theory (Chomsky, 1981) and the Theta-Criterion (Chomsky, 1981, pp. 36-8) which requires each argument to “bear one and only one theta-role and each theta-role to be assigned to one and only one argument”. In the light of Chomsky’s Generative Enterprise (1980, 1981, 1986a, 1995b, 2000, 2001), the study attempts to give a clear analysis of Case and Deletion, within the scope of *ʔal-Tanaazuʔ*. The aim of this study is to prove that *ʔidmaar* does not take place in the first conjunct, as assumed by CA grammarians. Rather, the small pro in the first conjunct emerges due to the Agr feature valuation, in conformity with Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981, 1982, 1986a, 1986b), Chomsky’s feature-based-inheritance approach (2005), the Merge operation (Chomsky, 1998), and the feature valuation (Chomsky, 1981). In conformity with the **Visibility Condition** (Chomsky, 1986b), and **Feature Value Correlation** (Chomsky, 1998) each constituent enters the derivation with a set of features. The interpretable features enter the derivation already valued, while the uninterpretable features enter unvalued. This conforms to the **Agree** operation (Chomsky, 1999), which is often so-called “a biunique relation” (Wilder, 1993, p. 297). Consequently, the head T enters the derivation with its tense feature interpretable and with a set of uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features, while the NP enters the derivation with its  $\phi$ -features interpretable and the uninterpretable case feature. Therefore, case assignment functions as a *bidirectional relationship* between an active probe (i.e. T) and an active goal (i.e. DP) in conformity with the **Activity Condition**. Chomsky (2000, pp. 122–3) defines this condition as, “the Probe and the Goal have to be active, where being active means having uninterpretable/unvalued features”. Subsequently, feature valuation occurs through Agree operation.

In sum, this section has represented an overview of 'ʔal-Tanaazu' in CA theory. It has also provided briefly a panoramic view over Chomsky's sub-theories that are needed to analyze the data represented by 'ʔal-Basra school'.

## 2. The Basic Assumptions of 'ʔal-Basra School'

This section represents 'ʔal-Basra's school' approach. 'ʔal-Tanaazu' is subsumed under the chapter titled "*baab-u ʔal-faaʕil-ayin-i wa ʔal-mafʕuul-ayin-i ʔal-laḏayin-i kul-u wahid-in min-humaa yafʕal-u bi-faaʕil-ih-i miḏl-a ʔal-laḏii yafʕal-u bi-hi* [the chapter that addresses the existence of either subjects or objects with two competing verbs]" (Sibawayh, ed. 1988, p. 73). Sibawayh (ed. 1988, pp. 73-74) states that in 'ʔal-Tanaazu' construction, one of the two competing verbs functions as the governor at the syntactic level. Although the addressee interprets that the first verb is the governor at the semantic level, Sibawayh selects the second competing verb to govern the shared NP. Therefore, this NP is assigned the required case according to its grammatical function. He provides some authoritative sources or "hujja" (Ayoub and Versteegh, 2018, p. 55) to support his analysis. He corroborates his assumption by a verse from the Holy Quran as illustrated in (1) below:

1. wa ʔaḏ-ḏaakiriin-a ʔallah-a kaḏiir-an wa  
 and the-rememberers-acc.pl.masc Allah-acc a lot and  
 ʔaḏ-ḏakiraat-i  
 the-rememberers-acc.pl.fem

"And for men and women who engage much in Allah's praise"

Yusuf Ali (33:35) <http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=33&verse=35>

He explains that at the DS, *ʔallah-a* in the second conjunct gets deleted because it is interpreted by the first instance of *ʔallah*, as represented as in (2) below:

2. wa ʔaḏ-ḏaakiriin-a ʔallah-a<sub>i</sub> kaḏiir-an wa

and the-rememberers-acc.pl.mascu Allah-acc a lot and  
 ʔað-ðaaakiraat-i ʔallah-a<sub>i</sub>  
 the-rememberers-acc.pl.fem Allah-acc

The addressee interprets the content of the deleted element which is co-indexed (henceforth, ‘<sub>i</sub>’) with the first *ʔallah-a<sub>i</sub>*. Therefore, the meaning is already covered somewhere else.

In addition, Sibawayh refers back to the utterances of the Arab Bedouins due to their eloquence. He provides pieces of evidence for his approach, as represented in the following paradigm in (3). Sibawayh argues that if the Arab grammarians had selected the first verb to be the eligible case assigner, they would have uttered the sentence in (3b) where the NP *qawm-a-ka* receives the accusative case by virtue of being the direct object of the first *ðaraba*. In this case, the second *ðaraba* is affixed to the plural pronoun *uu: they* as its subject “*ðamiir-u ʔal-faaʕil-i* [pronominal subject]” (Sibawayh, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 79). However, instead, they utter the example in (3a) where the NP *qawm-u-ka* belongs to the second verb and functions as its subject:

3.

- a. *ðarab-tu wa ðaraba-n-ii qawm-u-ka*  
 hit-I-nom and hit-me-acc people-nom-your
- b. *ðarab-tu wa ðarab-uu-n-ii qawm-a-ka*  
 hit-I-nom and hit-they-nom-me-acc people-acc-your

“I hit your people and they hit me”

(Sibawayh, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 76)

The data in (3a) above corroborates his assumption that the second verb serves as the governor because it is the closest one to its subject *qawm-u-ka*; therefore, it receives “*haalit-u ʔar-raff-i* [the nominative case]”. On the other hand, the first instance of *ðaraba* requires a direct object, which is deleted “*l-ʔanna ʔal-fiʕl-a qad*



*yakun-u bi-ǧayir-i maǧuul-in* [because it is acceptable that the verb can surface without an object]” (Sibawayh, 1988, p. 79). However, if the Arabs had selected the first verb to assign case in the presence of case conflict, they would have uttered the sentence in (3a) while the NP should have belonged to the first verb. Therefore, it would have been assigned the accusative case *qawm-a-ka*. Subsequently, the second conjunct would have lacked a subject, as represented in (4) below. Due to the rich CA morphology, the verb agreement in the subjectless structures or when the subject surfaces in a postverbal position is limited to the default singular (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 31; Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche, 1994, p. 196; Soltan, 2006, p. 3). Due to the mismatch between the implicit pronoun in the second *daraba* (i.e. it is interpreted as a 3<sup>rd</sup> sg masc pronoun) and the explicit NP *qawm* (i.e. it is interpreted as a 3<sup>rd</sup> pl masc noun), the data in (4) below is disapproved:

4. \**darab-tu wa daraba-n-ii qawm-a-ka*  
 hit-I-nom and hit-me-acc people-acc-your  
 “\*I hit your people and hit me”

(Sibawayh, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 77)

As represented earlier, Sibawayh prefers to select the second verb as long as the meaning is intact due to its adjacency (Sibawayh, 1988, p. 74). However, he believes that the selection of the syntactic governor, while maintaining the constraints of ‘*ʔal-Tanaazu*’ as posited by CA syntacticians, depends on the intention of the speaker and the context. Owens (2013, p. 93) mentions, “*maḥnaa* in *Kitaab* is directly related to the intention of the speaker (*mutakallim*) and the message he seeks to impart to his addressee or listener (*muxaaṭab*)”. *ʔal-Ṣawaḍii* (2011, p. 117) supports the assumption about the speaker’s intention. He emphasizes that the interpretation depends on the meaning of the agent and the action itself. If the speaker intends to focus on a certain action, s/he chooses the

verb of this action and, consequently, it theta-marks the shared NP, as represented in (5) below:

5. *jaaʔa*    *wa*    *ʔakrama-n-ii*                      *zayd-un*  
       came    and    honored-he-nom-me-acc    Zayd-nom

“Zayd came and he honored me”

(ʔal-ʕawaḏii, 2011, p. 117)

The speaker intends to focus on the meaning of the first verb *jaaʔa*: *came*. Therefore, the shared NP belongs to the theta structure of it while maintaining ʔidmaar in the second conjunct.

In sum, this section has displayed the main assumptions of ʔal-Basra school through its leading figure, Sibawayh. He assumes that the first verb functions at the semantic level. However, due to the adjacency condition, the second verb functions as the eligible syntactic governor.

### 3. Adjacency and Deletion Approach

This section represents Sibawayh’s data within the Chomsky’s MP (1995b). The data represented throughout this section is concerned with the mono-transitive structures where one of these two mono-transitive predicates *ḏaraba* theta-marks the shared constituent in conflict. Either the first verb theta-marks the DP *qawm*, therefore, it is assigned the nominative case as in (6a), or the second verb theta-marks the DP, therefore, it is assigned the accusative case as in (6b). However, it is consensually agreed that the utterance in (6c) is anomalous due to the violation of Theta Criterion (Chomsky, 1981) where the first verb lacks a subject:

6.

- a. *ḏaraba-n-ii*                      *wa*    *ḏarab-tu*    *qawm-u-ka*  
       hit-me-acc                      and    hit-I-nom    people-nom-your
- b. *ḏarab-uu-n-ii*                      *wa*    *ḏarab-tu*    *qawm-a-ka*  
       hit-they-nom-me-acc    and    hit-I-nom    people-acc-your

c. \**daraba-n-ii*                      wa     *darab-tu*     *qawm-a-ka*  
       hit-me-acc                              and     hit-I-nom     people-acc-your

“Your people hit me and I hit them”

(Sibawayh, 1988, pp. 79-80)

Sibawayh explains that each verb must have a subject either null or explicit, but it does not necessarily have an object, stating, "laʔanna-hu la yaxla ʔal-fiʔl-u min muḏmar-in ʔaw muḏhar-in marfuʕ-in min-a ʔal-ʔasmaaʔ-i" (Sibawayh, 1988, p. 80). Therefore, the data in (6c) above is unacceptable due to the absence of the subject in the first conjunct. Yet, as represented in (6b), the first verb is affixed to *uu*: *they*. It is worth noting that, due to the richness of the Arabic morphology, the verb *daraba* itself can be interpreted either as a constituent, i.e., *mubtadaʔ* [a topic/subject] and *xabar* [a comment/predicate] satisfying the  $\theta$ -criterion, or as a three-radical verb, i.e., a stem morpheme with three morphs *ʔad-daaʔ* /da/, *ʔar-raaʔ* /ra/ and *ʔal-baaʔ* /ba/.

According to CA grammarians, the syntactic operation that took place in (6b) above is called *ʔidmaar*, i.e., pronominalization, (Lees and Klima, 1963; Chomsky, 1965). Based on CA linguistic thought, *ʔidmaar* takes place when a pronoun is affixed to the verb and functions as one of its arguments. Therefore, Sibawayh adopts the adjacency approach maintaining the Theta-Criterion (Chomsky 1981), by which the second adjacent verb theta-marks the DP while the first verb exhibits *ʔidmaar*- iff it requires a subject. However, in the light of the Binding Theory (1981), the pronoun must have an antecedent. Moreover, Fassi Fehri (1993, p. 22) affirms, “An antecedent must precede a pronoun either at surface or deep order”. Subsequently, this paper assumes, in the light of Chomsky’s MP (1995b), that no *ʔidmaar* [pronominalization] occurs in the first conjunct because this pronoun must have an antecedent, which will be discussed in detail in this section.

Following the VPISH (the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, Koopman and Sportiche, 1991; McCloskey, 1997), the subject originates internally under the spec-VP. Due to the rich morphology of CA, as an initial-verb language, the unmarked word order is VSO (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 19), which is derived by the so-called verb movement to the head T (Taraldsen, 1979; Mofammad, 1990, 2000; Aoun et al., 1994, p. 198 and Mahfoudhi, 2002, among others). V-to-T movement has been related to a relatively “rich verbal agreement inflection” (Roberts, 1985, p. 32, 1993, 1999; Kosmeijer, 1986; Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 31; Vikner, 1997, 2001; Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998; Rohrbacher, 1999; Soltan, 2006, p. 3). It has been noticed that CA is a pro-drop or null-subject language as the subject can be dropped and interpreted through the  $\phi$ -features. In the light of the Agree operation (Chomsky, 2000, 2001), the u-features receive their valuation through an agreement between the probe and the goal. By this “biunique relation” (Wilder, 1993, p. 279), the head T values its  $\phi$ -features by virtue of being an active probe. It probes down and locates the spec of the VP as an active goal. In (7) below, the  $\phi$ -features are 3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine features that align with the set of  $\phi$ -features of the DP *zayd*, 3<sup>rd</sup> dual masculine aligning with the DP *?axa-way-ka*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> plural masculine aligning with the DP *qawm-a-ka*, as in (7a), (7b) and (7c), respectively:

7.

- a.  $\dot{d}araba_i-n-ii$                       wa                       $\dot{d}arab-tu$                        $zayd-an_i$   
 hit-he-nom-me-acc and                      hit-I-nom                      Zayd-acc  
 “Zayd hit me and I hit him”

(Sibawayh, 1988, p. 78)

- b.  $\dot{d}arab-aa_i-n-ii$     wa  $\dot{d}arab-tu$                        $?axa-way-ka_i$   
 hit-they-nom.dual.masc-me-acc and hit-I-nom                      brothers-acc.dual.masc-your-  
 gen

“Your brothers hit me and I hit them”

- c. *ḍarab-uu<sub>i</sub>-n-ii*                                    wa   *ḍarab-tu*    *qawm-a-ka<sub>i</sub>*  
hit-they-nom.pl.masc-me-acc    and   hit-I-nom    people-acc.pl.masc-your-  
gen

“Your people hit me and I hit them”

(Ḥal-Mubarrid, 1979, Vol. 4, p. 78)

The paradigm in (7) syntactically displays no difference. The first occurrence of the verb *ḍaraba* in the coordinate structures above is affixed to the so-called pronominal subject (according to CA grammarians), while the second transitive predicate assigns the accusative case to its adjacent DP, in accordance with the **Configurational Condition on Case Assignment** (Chomsky, 1981; Marantz, 1991). By contrasting the paradigms in (7) above and in (8) below, it can be noticed that *Ḥidmaar* in Ḥal-Tanaazu’ operates iff the first verb requires a subject. In (8) below, no *Ḥidmaar* takes place because the first instance of *ḍaraba* lacks either the direct object as in (8a), or a prepositional object as in (8b), (8c), and (8d), while the second adjacent verb theta marks the DP as its subject. Subsequently, it receives the nominative case:

8.

- a. *ḍarab-tu*,    wa    *ḍaraba-n-ii*    *zayd-un*  
hit-I-nom        and    hit-me-acc        Zayd-nom

"I hit Zayd and he hit me"

(Sibawayh, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 78)

- b. *marar-tu*                    wa    *marra*    *bi-ii*    - *Ḥabd-u-allah*  
passed-I-nom    and    passed    by-me-obl    Abdullah-nom

"I passed by Abdullah and he passed by me"

- c. *galast-u*                    wa    *galasa*    Ḥilayy-a    Ḥaxa-waa-ka  
sat-I-nom        and    sat            to-me-obl    brothers-nom.dual.masc-your-  
gen

"I sat next to your brothers and they sat next to me"

d. **qum-tu**,        **wa**    **qaama**    **ʔilayy-a**    **qawm-u-ka**  
 stood-I-nom    and    stood    to-me-obl    people-nom.pl.masc-your-gen

"I went to your people and they came to me"

(ʔal-Mubarrid, 1979, Vol. 4, p. 72)

According to (8) above, the shared constituents, *zayd-un* in (8a), *ʕabd-u-Allah* in (8b), *ʔaxa-waa-ka* in (8c) and *qawm-u-ka* in (8d), belong to the second adjacent verb; therefore, a question arises: where are the internal arguments of the first predicates?

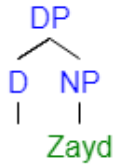
According to Sibawayh, the object of the first *daraba* is deleted. This deletion operation leads to “a gap” in the structure. This reduction is understood “as ellipsis” at the PF and “not as deletion of syntactic construction” (Wilder, 1993, p. 291). Subsequently, deletion is recoverable at the Logical Form level (Sag, 1976, p. 97):

A deletion operation can eliminate only a dummy element, or a formative explicitly mentioned in the structure index . . . or the designed representative of a category . . . , or an element that is otherwise represented in the sentence in a fixed position. (Chomsky, 1965, p. 181, cited in Sag, 1976, p. 86)

Adopting the deletion or gapping operation in the light of Chomsky’s theory, this operation is called “deletion under identity”. In (8a) above, the DP *zayd* in the first conjunct gets deleted (resulting in an empty category) by virtue of having its meaning recoverable somewhere else in the structure. Lees (1960, p. 76) states that “identity of phrase structure must then mean something like ‘same internal constituent structure’, i.e., the two constituents under consideration must be traceable back to the same node of identical derivation trees”. Therefore, the DPs

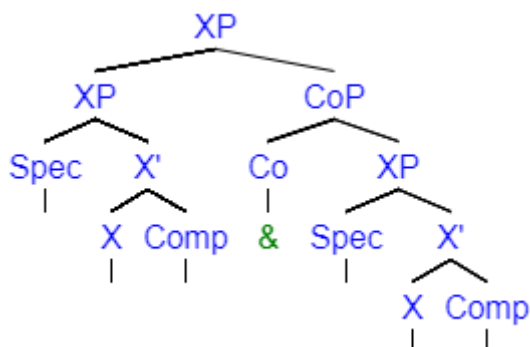
*zayd-an* and *zayd-un* must have an identical underlying structure, as represented in (9) below:

9.



The tree in (9) above represents the concept of “identity of node labels” (Sag, 1976, p. 87) where the deep structure of the DP is supposed to be internally the same, i.e., the head D precedes its complement the NP. It has been introduced that case is semantically void (Chomsky, 1991). In other words, the case feature does not affect the semantic level or the LF level of the structure; however, it only affects the syntactic level. Therefore, the fact that the NPs enter the derivation with an unvalued case feature illustrates the structural condition for case as a hierarchical relation between the constituents (cf. Chomsky, 1995a; Jackendoff, 1997). Thus, the **adjacency condition** (Chomsky, 1981; Vázquez, 1997, p. 210), which requires the structural case to be assigned to the adjacent NP, is crucial to case assignment. ʔal-Basra’s school abides by the adjacency condition by which the second verb theta marks or assigns the accusative case. The first argument is deleted if an object or a prepositional object resulting in a gap/ EC. The gap in ʔal-Tanaazu’ is redeemed in a coordinate structure and is often so-called a “coordinate gap” (Engdahl, 1983, p. 6), which is represented as a binary branching represented in (10):

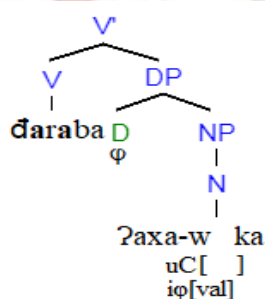
10.



(Hartmann, 2000, pp. 23-24)

As represented, the first conjunct (XP) adjoins to the Coordinate Phrase (CoP) (Johannessen, 1998), while the second conjunct (another XP) surfaces as the complement of the head (Co). Either the coordinate structure is known to place one conjunct in the Specifier position and the other in the complement position, or the conjunction and the second conjunct are adjoined to the first conjunct (Hartmann, 2000, p. 24; Munn, 1993, p. 13). This study follows the latter approach, as represented in (10) above, (cf. Munn, 1993; Hartmann, 1991, 1994; Johannessen, 1998; Progovac, 1998; Wilder, 1997). Let's consider the derivation of the second conjunct in (7b) above repeated as (*darab-aa-n-ii wa darab-tu ʔaxa-way-ka*). The verb *daraba* merges with its DP complement *ʔaxa-w ka*, as represented in (11) below:

11.

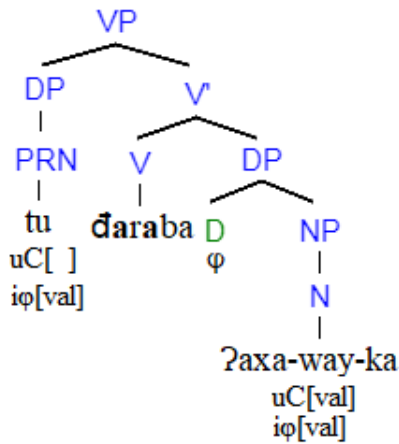


The NP *ʔax* enters the derivation with the unvalued case feature. However, it carries its  $\phi$ -features valued as a 3<sup>rd</sup> dual masculine NP. In conformity with **Configurational Condition on Case Assignment** (Chomsky, 1981; Marantz, 1991), the transitive verb *daraba* functions as a governor and assigns the



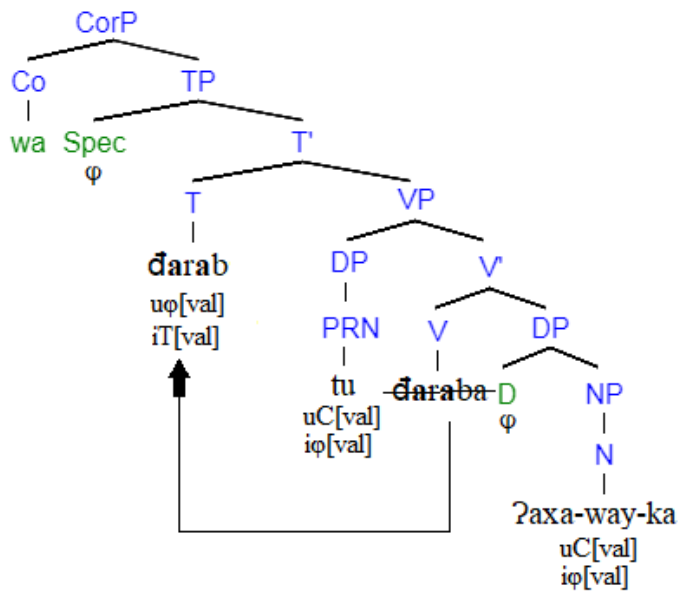
accusative case to the DP. Then, the V', in conformity with VPISH, merges with the spec-V, which hosts the subject, as represented in (12) below:

12.



The spec-VP enters the derivation with its  $\phi$ -features valued but with its case feature unvalued. Then, the VP merges with the head T, which carries the unvalued  $\phi$ -features; therefore, it functions as an active probe. Within the scope of Agree operation, the probe T agrees with the goal DP. Subsequently, the DP receives the nominative case, while the T values its  $\phi$ -features. According to the verb movement, the head V raises to the head T, as represented in (13) below:

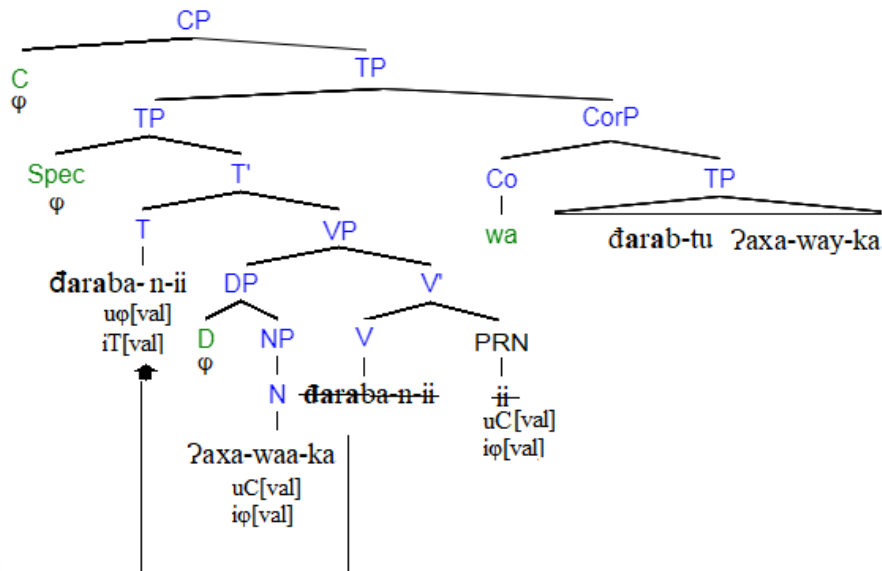
13.



As represented in (13) above, the spec-VP *tu: I* receives the nominative case, while the φ-features of the head T are valued through a probe-goal agreement (Chomsky, 2000, 2001). Then the intermediate projection T' merges with the null spec forming TP, which in turn merges with the coordinate *wa: and* to form the CorP.

The complement of the V in the first conjunct is the object pronoun *ii: me*, and the spec of the V is *paxa-waa-ka*, as represented in (14) below:

14.

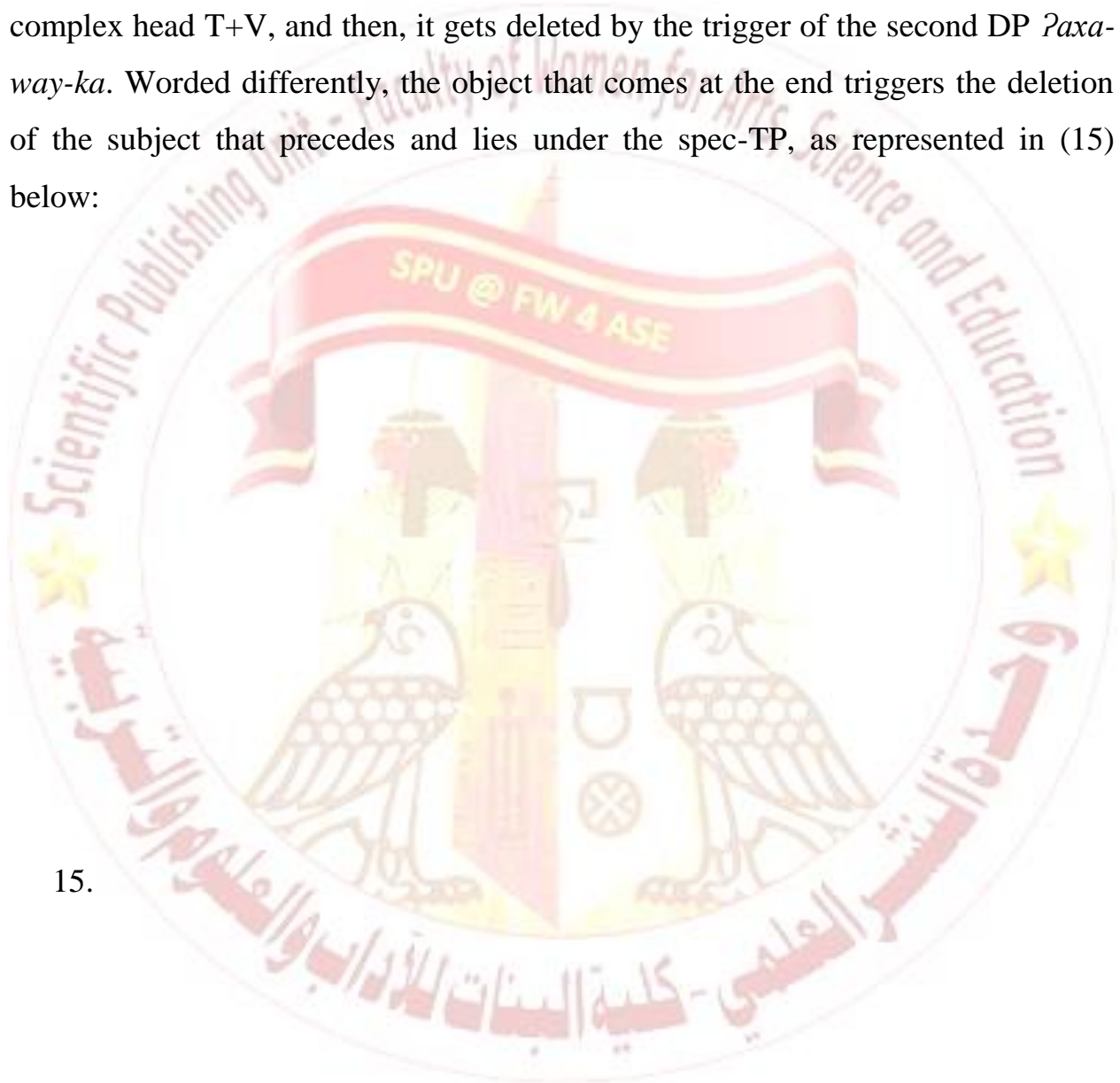


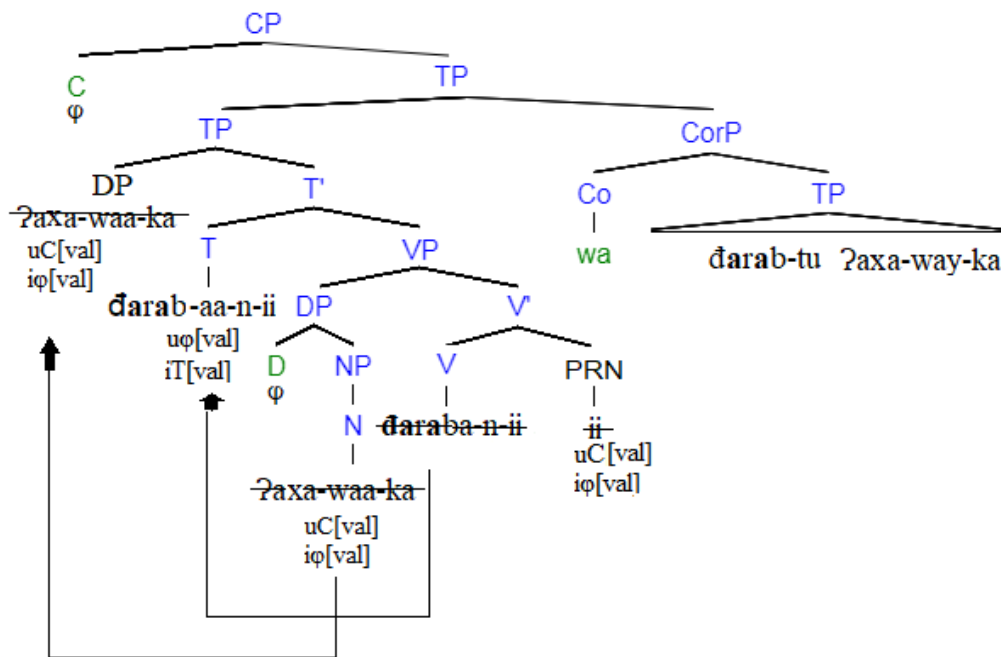
As represented in (14) above, the DPs carry two different theta-roles since *?axa-waa-ka* functions as the subject in the first conjunct and as the object in the second conjunct. As illustrated, some pronouns cannot be stranded as *ii: me*. Thus, it is affixed to the verb which, in turn, requires the insertion of /n/ (i.e., it is called ‘noon *?al-Wiqayaha*’, and it is inserted for phonological reasons that are beyond the scope of the study). The first verb *darab-aa-n-ii* in (7b) above is affixed to *aa: they*. The study assumes that the spec-VP in the syntactic construction of *?al-Tanaazu*’ moves to a place higher than the V resulting in SVO. The SVO word order in CA has two analyses. First, it is assumed that the spec-VP moves to the spec-TP as a result of the Edge Feature on the head T (cf. Mofammad’s *Null Expletive Hypothesis*, 1990; Benmamoun’s *Agreement Analysis*, 1992; Fassi Fehri’s *Incorporation Analysis*, 1993; Aoun et al.’s *Agreement loss Account*, 1994; Soltan’s *Null pro Analysis of Agreement*, 2006). Second, it is assumed that the spec-VP moves to the TopP as a result of the EF inherited from the head C adopting Rizzi’s split CP hypothesis (1997) (cf. Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 21; Ouhalla, 1997; Musabhien, 2008; Fakh, 2016, p. 26). Under both analyses, the verb in SVO shows full agreement with the subject through Agree operation and feature

valuation (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 31; Aoun et al., 1994, p. 196; Soltan, 2006, p. 3) as illustrated by *ḍarab-aa-n-ii* and *ḍarab-uu-n-ii* (7b) and (7c) above, respectively.

Therefore, within the light of deletion under identity, the first DP *ḥaxa-waa-ka* firstly gets raised to a place above the head T triggering full agreement with the complex head T+V, and then, it gets deleted by the trigger of the second DP *ḥaxa-way-ka*. Worded differently, the object that comes at the end triggers the deletion of the subject that precedes and lies under the spec-TP, as represented in (15) below:

15.





Within the framework of Chomsky’s Minimalism, the notion of the null elements and deletion is a principle; therefore, it exists in all languages. However, there are different constraints on this operation, according to the argument structure and the behavior of each language. The data represented by ʔal-Tanaazu’ highlights the unique behavior of CA (i.e. the difference of theta-roles and the position of each constituent).

The tree in (15) above represents the DS of (7b). Following Pesetsky’s assumption “a pronoun is a pronunciation of  $\phi$ -features like number, person, and gender but is not a pronunciation of notional features” (Pesetsky, 1998, p. 366), the study assumes that *aa: they* is the spell-out of the feature valuation and not a pronominal subject as assumed by CA grammarians, therefore, resulting in a small pro. A piece of evidence that supports this assumption comes from the grammaticality of the data in (16) where the clause stands in isolation giving a full interpretation with the reading of a small pro:

16. *darab-aa-n-ii*

hit-they-nom.3rd.dual.masc-me-acc

“They hit me”

Another piece of evidence that supports *aa: they* surfaces through a feature valuation and not through a pronoun insertion that comes from the ungrammaticality of the explicit pronouns in (17) below:

17.

- a. \**ḍaraba-n-ii* huma  
hit-me-acc they-nom
- b. \*huma *ḍaraba-n-ii*  
they-nom hit-me-acc

“They hit me”

In the light of the binding theory (Chomsky, 1981), the structures in (17) above and (18) below are ungrammatical, as the pronouns in the first conjunct must be obligatorily deleted due to the absence of an antecedent:

18.

- a. \**ḍaraba-n-ii* howa<sub>i</sub> wa *ḍaraba-tu* zayd-an<sub>i</sub>  
hit-me-acc he-nom and hit-I-nom Zayd-acc
- b. \*howa<sub>i</sub> *ḍaraba-n-ii* wa *ḍarab-tu* zayd-an<sub>i</sub>  
he-nom hit-me-acc and hit-I-nom Zayd-acc

“\*He<sub>i</sub> hit me and I hit Zayd<sub>i</sub>”

This lexical morpheme *howa* in (18) cannot function as a subject because it is interpreted as “*tawkiid lafḍii* [an emphatic lexeme]” (ʔad-Disooqqii, n.d., p. 336; ʔas-Syraafii, 2008, p. 144). In conformity with the Binding Theory, Principle B (Chomsky, 1981, p. 220; Black, 1999, p. 44) blocks the co-referentiality between the pronoun *howa<sub>i</sub>*: *he* and the DP *zayd<sub>i</sub>*. Subsequently, this so-called pronominal subject does not have the freedom to surface or being co-indexed with the explicit

DP; otherwise, it would give a different reading or collapse as illustrated in (18) above.

This paper provides an authentic analysis to corroborate Mofammad's claim (1990, p. 95): "If the subject precedes the verb, the verb shows full agreement with the subject in terms of the  $\phi$ -features. If, on the other hand, the subject follows the verb, the verb shows some kind of 'impoverished' agreement". In (19) below, the verb fully agrees with the moved subject giving the SVO word order, while in (20) below, the verb partially agrees with the in-situ subject giving the VSO word order:

19.

a. *qawm-u-ka*                      *ḍarab-uu-n-ii*  
 people-nom-your-gen      hit-they-nom-me-acc  
 "It is your people who hit me"

b. *ʔal-ʔawlaadu*              *naam-uu*  
 the-children-nom      slept-they-sg.pl.nom  
 "The children slept"

(Aoun et al., 1994, p. 197)

As represented in (19) above, the DPs *qawm-u-ka* and *ʔal-ʔawlaadu* get moved to the spec-TP, while *al-xabar* [PredP] *ḍaraba* and *naama* are affixed to a third plural masculine features *uu: they-* the PredP might be seen as an equivalent to vP, (cf. Williams, 1980; Bowers, 1993). Nonetheless, when the word order is the unmarked VSO as in (20) below, the partial agreement takes place (Mofammad, 1990, pp. 95-98; Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 31; Aoun et al., 1994, p. 210):

20.

a. *ḍaraba-n-ii*      *qawm-u-ka*  
 hit-me-acc      people-nom-your-gen  
 "Your people hit me"

(Sibawayh, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 79)

- b. naam-a   ʔal-ʔawlaadu  
slept       the-children-nom

(Aoun et al., 1994, p. 197)

In (20) above, neither deletion nor movement operation exists. Only V-to-T movement operates. Subsequently, feature valuation does not surface, resulting in partial agreement. In the light of Chomsky's theory, ʔidmaar occurs in ʔal-Basra's approach, with ʔal-Tanaazu', via features spell-out with the subject under the spec-TP in the first conjunct. Thus, Sibawayah implicitly maintains the restrictions on pronominalization by which the pronoun must have an antecedent. The ungrammatical paradigm in (21) below provides corroborating evidence for ʔal-Basra's linguistic thought:

21.

- a. \*ḍarab-tu-hu<sub>i</sub>           wa   ḍaraba-n-ii    zayd-un<sub>i</sub>  
hit-I-nom-him-acc   and   hit-me-acc    Zayd-nom  
"I hit him and Zayd hit me"

- b. \*marar-tu           bi-hi<sub>i</sub>           wa   marra   bi-ii           zayd-un<sub>i</sub>  
passed-I-nom   by-him-obl   and   passed   by-me-obl   Zayd-nom  
"I passed by him and Zayd passed by me"

As represented above, because the required argument in (21a) is the direct object while in (21b) is the prepositional object, neither T-feature valuation nor movement occurs. Therefore, ʔidmaar is blocked due to the violation of Binding Theory. Accordingly, it can be safely concluded that the  $\phi$ -features on the finite head T surfaces iff the first verb requires an external argument. Therefore, the DS represented in (15) above necessitates Rule Ordering. The spec-VP first moves to the spec-TP, resulting in SVO. Then, the object, in the second conjunct, triggers the "deletion under identity" of the subject, in the first conjunct.



In sum, the study has provided corroborating evidence to the feature valuation in SVO word order. It has assumed that in  $\text{ʔal-Tanaazu}$ ' and under  $\text{ʔal-Basra}$ 's linguistic thought, the spec-VP in the first conjunct moves to the spec-TP, therefore, full agreement occurs. It has, also, been concluded that in the syntactic construction of  $\text{ʔal-Tanaazu}$ ', deletion under identity happens after the movement of the spec-VP to the spec-TP, resulting in the spell-out of  $\phi$ - features (person, number and gender).

#### 4. Conclusion

$\text{ʔal-Tanaazu}$ ' or case conflict appears when two verbs are potential case assigners that compete to theta-mark only one case assignee. Although CA syntacticians have not mentioned anything about the theta grid of the predicates, they have dealt with this notion implicitly. Put differently, they implicitly observe the theta theory (i.e. each verb has its thematic structure which should be preserved at all levels of presentation). The basic generalization of  $\text{ʔal-Basra}$  school is that the second verb theta-marks its adjacent DP. Following the deletion approach, Sibawayh adopts certain constraints on  $\text{ʔidmaar}$  by which the pronoun must have an antecedent, in conformity with the Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981). He prevents examples where the object pronoun surfaces at the SS in the first conjunct before its antecedent. However, he allows constructions where the pronominal subject must surface in the first conjunct to avoid subjectless structures. The paper has highlighted the validity of  $\text{ʔal-Basra}$ 's approach, however, with an alternative approach, namely, Arg feature valuation. Within Chomsky's Generative Enterprise, Basran linguists follow the recoverability of the deletion approach at the Logical Form level. Consequently, it can be safely concluded that Sibawayh maintains the adjacency condition on both levels, namely the DS and the SS. Moreover, the study assumes that the subject in  $\text{ʔal-Tanaazu}$ ' moves from the

spec-VP to the spec-TP to show full agreement with the verb. Then, it gets deleted under identity with the object of the second conjunct.



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علامات الإعراب وحذف ضمير الفاعل في اللغة العربية في قضية التنازع  
إعداد

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**ملخص البحث**

يناقش البحث قضية العامل من منظور قضية التنازع في اللغة العربية والتي عرفها ابن هشام في كتابه "أوضح المسالك إلى ألفية ابن مالك" بأنها تُعني الإعمال وحقيقته أن يتقدم عاملان (فعالان متصرفان) ويتأخر عنهما معمول مطلوب لكلٍ منهما من حيث المعنى. تتناول هذا الدراسة تحليل مدرسة البصرة من كتاب الكتاب لسبويه، ويقدم البحث بعض الأدلة لإثبات أنه فيه حالة تنازع عاملان على معمول واحد، وفي حالة اختيار العامل الثاني للعمل وهو ما يختاره البصريون، أن ما يلتحق بالفعل ماهو إلا علامات إعراب وليست ضمير فاعل.

**المحور الاول:** يتقدم بنظرة عامة عن قضية التنازع في اللغة العربية مع إلحاق رؤية مختصرة عن بعض النظريات الفرعية لنشومسكي المتناولة في الدراسة.

**المحور الثاني :** يهدف إلى شرح منهج المدرسة البصرية من خلال سبويه، موضحا بعض الأدلة المستند عليها سبويه في تحليله.

**المحور الثالث:** يعرض هذا المحور التحليل اللغوي لأمثله سبويه التي تشير إلى إعمال الفعل الأول من خلال نظرية تشومسكي ونظرية الحذف في اللغة الإنجليزية.

**أخيرا الملخص**

**الكلمات الإفتتاحية:** علامات الإعراب، الإضمار، الحذف، نظرية الإعراب، نظرية المعنى والدلالة والبنية النحوية، الإعمال

