

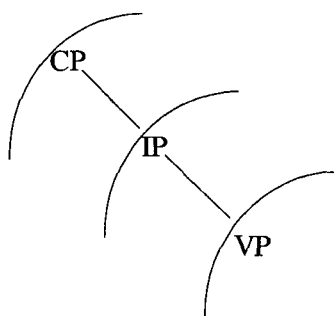
INTRODUCTION

In this introduction, we attempt to place each of the contributions to this volume in a broader context that involves brief summaries of existing studies on related phenomena. We have opted to proceed in this way, rather than to introduce the contributions to this volume in isolation, in order to achieve a number of other goals. First, this strategy presents us with the opportunity to provide a limited survey of existing literature and of the syntactic phenomena they discuss which we hope will serve as a useful reference to interested students of the syntax of the Semitic languages. Secondly, it makes it possible to draw attention to certain phenomena that have not been explored on a sufficient scale. Thirdly, it enables us to undertake, at an observational level intended to excite curiosity rather than provide answers, a certain degree of comparative groundwork between Arabic and Hebrew.

1. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

A clause or CP is structured around three layers. The deepest layer is the VP in which a verb and its arguments (subject and complements) are configured. This thematic layer is dominated by a functional or inflectional layer, in which verb-related features such as tense, aspect, mood and modality are represented by means of particles, auxiliaries and inflectional affixes, and in which the arguments of the verb are licensed (typically by Case-checking or assignment.) This clausal stratum can be labeled I(nflectional)P, with the understanding that I(inflection) is a cover term for a layering of functional categories, each encoding distinct (morpho) syntactic features. Whether the functional categories that belong to the IP domain (i.e. the categories for which I is a cover term) have a fixed hierarchical order (Cinque (1999)) or are subject to variation across languages and language families (Ouhalla (1991)) is subject to debate. Presumably, to the extent that the putative variation exists, it is expected to be neither arbitrary nor entirely free, but governed by explicit parametric choices. The strata dominating IP is referred to generically as C(omplementizer)P, but this again is a simplification: There is a pretty elaborate structure to the Comp-domain, which is a clause-typing and operator layer (Rizzi (1997)). That the hierarchical order of the CP layer relative to the IP layer, shown in (1), is universal appears to enjoy near unanimity among linguists, and may be determined by the scope properties of the type of constituents that occupy the CP domain relative to the rest of the sentence.

(1)



1.1. *The VP Layer*

It is commonly assumed that the lexical argument structure associated with verbs is structurally mapped onto the VP domain. The number of arguments selected by the verb, the nature of their semantic/thematic roles and perhaps also their categorial identity is the kind of information that the syntax unquestionably needs to have access to. Syntactic computation is sensitive, for example, to whether the verb is transitive and takes two or more arguments, intransitive and hence associated with a single argument, whether its single argument is internal (unaccusatives) or external (unergatives), whether it selects for a locative PP or an indirect question. That this kind of information is syntactically encoded is hardly a claim that needs to be defended. What is less obvious is whether, and to what degree, this information needs to be explicitly stated in the lexicon.

An important trend in recent research has been to reduce the computational load of the lexicon by enhancing, and to some degree enriching, independently-needed syntactic representations. Thus, some authors, notably Hale & Keyser (1993), have proposed models in which argument structure is not translated from a precompiled lexicon into a 'passive' syntax, but rather actively created by the syntax, notably through geometrical configurations (sisterhood, c-command etc..) which directly express the relations of arguments to a verb and to the event type. Within this context, Arad's *Hebrew lexical causatives* (this volume) develops a syntactic treatment of lexical causatives, which are traditionally taken to be formed in the lexicon and fed into the syntax as fully composed words. She studies, in particular, the derivation of causatives formed from an unergative base, such as *hicxik* 'make laugh', *heric* 'make run' and *hirkid* 'make dance'. With Hale & Keyser (op. cit) and others, Arad first argues that what makes a verb a lexical causative is its syntactic association with a functional projection (*vP*), the specifier of which is filled by the external argument, the causer of the event. She then shows that causative verbs are systematically related to their unergative counterparts, not only morphologically, but syntactically as well: The external argument, or agent of an unergative verb like *dance* ('X' in 'X danced') is, as a rule, mapped onto the internal argument position

of the causative ('Y made-dance X'). Moreover, 'agent internalization' is not an arbitrary lexical rule; it is the only option if the external argument position is already spoken for (by the causer).

Such a treatment of lexical causatives makes it difficult to continue to ascribe to traditional morphology-based distinctions between lexical and analytic or syntactic causatives. The differences that emerge between these two types of causative must, if the lexicon-impoverishing research program is to be adhered to, be stated in syntactic terms.

Cole's (1976) pioneering work on Hebrew causatives has, to a large extent, been integrated into and superseded by recent research. In addition to Arad's paper, interested readers can consult Borer (1998) and Doron (1999). The latter constitutes an excellent starting point for delving into the syntax of argument structure or what has come to be known as the lexicon-syntax interface.

Work on causatives in Arabic can be found in Fassi-Fehri (1987), Hazout (1991) and Mouchaweh (1986).

A systematic study of the relationship between argument structure and morphological form in Semitic is of great importance to general or theoretical linguistics. The reason is that the consonantal roots at the core of the Semitic lexicon must be represented and mentally manipulated independently of the morphological templates (called Binyanim after the Hebraicist tradition) in which they appear and which determine their category (noun or verb) and argument structure. While the correspondence between morphological template and semantic class or argument structure paradigm is not always one to one and is, furthermore, obscured by a substantial degree of arbitrariness, the direction taken by much recent research is in refining tools which express the observed correspondences. This is a rich and enticing area and much work still needs to be done here, both in clarifying and refining the configuration associated with categories such as transitivity, ergativity etc., and in detailed empirical studies of argument structure in Semitic varieties.

Asya Perelsvaig's *Cognate objects in Modern and Biblical Hebrew* (this volume) distinguishes between argument cognate objects, such as *šir* 'song' (2a), and adverbial cognate objects, such as *kri'a yəsodit* 'thorough reading' (2b), and suggests a variety of diagnostic tests which tease them apart.

- (2) a. Sara šara šir same'ax.
 Sara sang song happy
 'Sara sang a happy song.'

- b. Sara kar'a 'et ha sipur kri'a ysodit.
 Sara read ACC the story reading thorough
 'Sara gave the story a thorough reading.'

A cognate object is a DP containing a noun which is morphologically related to the verb. Although clearly not a subcategorized complement of the verb (cognate objects can appear with passive verbs, for example), this DP is restricted to occur after optionally transitive verbs like 'eat' and unergative ones like 'sing'. Building on Mittwoch's (1998) discussion of cognate objects in Hebrew, Perelsvaig argues that adverbial cognate objects are NP complements to a functional head Pred^0 or P^0 and are thus licensed as components of a (secondary) predicate. The position of the adverbial cognate object in the clause can be manipulated by clause-internal movement of focalization.

Cognate objects and their implications for argument structure have also come under scrutiny in Arabic, in particular Fassi Fehri's (1988) work on Standard Arabic.

In addition to clear instances of verbs, one finds in most spoken varieties of Arabic predicates that have a status halfway between a lexical category and a functional category. The predicate *bidd* in (3a,b), widely used in the Middle Eastern varieties, for example, clearly expresses a modality.

- (3) a. °umar bidd-u y-rawwah.
 Omar wish-3MS 3MS-go home(IMPERF)
 'Omar wants to go home.'
- b. (hu(wwa)) ma bidd-u š y-rawwah.
 (he) NEG wish-3MS NEG 3MS-go home(IMPERF)
 'He does not want to go home.'

In her contribution to this volume *Agreement, clitics and focus in Egyptian Arabic*, Eloise Jelinek calls these predicates "pseudo-verbs" on the grounds that they have a distribution similar to that of verbs, e.g. they can be flanked by the negation elements *ma-š* (3b), but their agreement morphology takes the form of clitic pronouns rather than agreement inflection (see section 2 ahead on clitic pronouns and agreement). Jelinek's paper touches on a number of other important aspects of Arabic grammar that are mentioned later on.

1.2. The Functional Layer

As pointed out above, the functional layer is the level at which verb-related features such as tense, aspect, mood, modality, negation are represented by means of particles, auxiliaries and inflectional affixes, and in which the verb and its arguments are licensed.

1.2.1. Functional elements

Even a cursory glance at Semitic clauses reveals a complex and intricate structure, motivating a richly-specified functional layer. The overwhelming majority of the varieties of spoken Arabic possess an abundance of aspectual, modal, mood and tense markers. (4a) is a Lebanese Arabic example in which the verbal stem - to which an agreement morpheme is prefixed - is preceded by the habitual particle *b(i)*, the progressive preverb *ʿam* and the auxiliary verb *keen* 'be', which is inflected for person, number and gender. (4b) contains, in addition, the modal or future particle *rah* 'will', as a consequence of which the auxiliary *be* appears in the nonpast or imperfective form.

- (4) a. Maha keenet ʿam b- ti-lʿab basketbol.
 Maha be(PERF)-3FS PROG HAB 3FS-play(IMPERF) basketball
 'Maha was playing basketball.'
- b. Maha raah t-kuun ʿam b- ti-lʿab
 Maha will 3FS-be(IMPERF) PROG HAB 3FS-play(IMPERF)
 basketbol.
 basketball
 'Maha will be playing basketball.'

These preverbal elements and others like them (Ingham (1994), for example, lists twelve different modal verbs in Najdi Arabic) are, in the typical case, rigidly ordered and subject to co-occurrence restrictions. Thus, *ʿam* cannot precede *keenet* or follow *b(i)* in (4a,b).

While practically all the varieties of Arabic possess a rich functional layer, there are at least two or three major axes of difference among them. First, the aspectual, modal and mood categories are not all expressed in all varieties or rather, they are not all expressed by discrete words or particles. For example, Moroccan Arabic lacks a progressive particle, the equivalent of Levantine *ʿam*. The sequence consisting of the habitual preverb *ka* and the imperfective form of the verb expresses both progressive and nonprogressive (as does Cairene *b(i)*, according to Eisele (1992)). On the other hand, some Gulf varieties, in particular Kuwaiti Arabic (see Aljenaie (2001)), are reported not to use a habitual preverb in root present tense clauses, on a par with Standard Arabic. The patterns involved are represented in the diagram in (5)

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