

TOPICALISATION OF THE NOUN PHRASE  
IN COLLOQUIAL CAIRENE ARABIC

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study aims at characterising a phenomenon which is here called the "topicalisation" of the Noun Phrase in Colloquial Cairene Arabic (CCA). The Approach is outlined by the Extended Standard Theory TG model, but relevant Functionalist views have been considered to account for Topic-comment alignment in the dialect. Part I, therefore, lays the necessary background for such a discussion in connection with traditional Arabic grammars, and grammars of the Standard variety and CCA. Then follows an exposition of Topic-comment discussions in universal theory, presented under the labels of the various schools of linguistics: this is seen to place the issue in a wider perspective and provide a basis for the definition of terms to be adopted in the present study in Chapter 3.

Part II is devoted to the relevant movement rules that apply to the NP, with particular reference to initial position in the sentence. Surface Structure word order is seen as a Topic-comment alignment. A number of rules are suggested to cover this area of CCA syntax, based on an argument that a Verb-initial Basic Structure is required to account for the facts of topicalisation. Essentially, this study views Surface Structure as effected by a number of intrinsically ordered reordering rules which apply to shift NP's to the left and to the right of the Predicating element. The unbounded Raising rules apply to NP's, the

bounded rule applies to Adverbials, and backing rules such as Extraposition and Right Dislocation apply to Complement Sentences and raised NP's respectively to yield Sentence-initial Predicates. Obligatory/optional rules apply systematically to two different types of clause constituents which are S and S'. Relativisation and Clefting are also treated as rules relevant to Topic-comment Structure.

Movement rules trigger focus assignment, resulting in a correlation between the choice of Topic for the sentence and the distribution of focal emphasis. The difference in source structures for Surface Structures of different Topic-focus alignment is discussed. And to account for the fact that in CCA adjacency principles are never violated, a tightly operated system of pronominalisation is described. It allows elements to be shifted out of their DS positions only when this position can be traced by a "resumptive" pronoun which replaces the transported element and copies its features. DS is, therefore, always recoverable at SS level.

To the memory of my mother and my father

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## INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to describe "topicalisation" in Colloquial Cairene Arabic (henceforth referred to as CCA). Far from being a complete grammar of this variety, the present grammar is restricted in two ways: it is seen as a partial grammar of aspects relevant to the above mentioned syntactic phenomenon, and furthermore, the task is confined to Declarative Sentences. With view to the fact that the the present study does not take for granted an analysis of CCA constituent structure already adopted by most linguists describing the variety within a generative transformational framework (e.g. H.Wise, S. Gamal el-Din, M. Mallawany), but offers to discuss topicalisation with a fresh look into CCA constituency, the above restrictions may seem justifiable.

"Topicalisation" seems to be a process very much a part of the syntax of the spoken varieties of Arabic, including CCA. It exhibits itself as much more than just a "tendency" or a special structure as may be the case in English, for example. The Division of a sentence into its two natural parts of "subject" and "predicate" is basic to traditional grammars of Arabic, which are mainly concerned with the Classical variety; but the sentence in the spoken variety of CCA can be equally well divided into parts which are not less significant as to syntactic

analysis and which are not equivalent to grammatical Subject and Predicate. These parts are called "Topic" and "Comment"<sup>1</sup> in my analysis.

The arrangement of Topic and Comment, interacting with pronominalisation and patterns of agreement, suggests a syntactic justification of this type of partition in the sentence of CCA. This structure will be dealt with as a "derived structure," because in the present grammar it is effected transformationally.

The essence of this structure is not unlike the common and traditional stand-point of presenting a "topic" and then proceeding to "say something about it." A native housewife of Cairo, commenting on the day's shopping, for example, will select an element, place it in initial (topic) position, and then proceed to comment upon it. She will probably produce a sentence of the following order:

(i) *ʔilbATAATiS--ʔana ʔiṣtaritha ʔinnAhArDA*

*bi xamsa saag ʔikkiilu.*

"(lit.)Potatoes--I bought-them today five pence a kilogram."

The dash in (i) separates the two parts of the sentence identifiable as "Topic" and "Comment". It would be

---

<sup>1</sup>The use of these two terms in the present study does not correspond to the division by some linguists of one type of sentence in the Standard variety, namely nominal sentences, into two parts also called "topic" and "comment." (see 1.2.1 and 1.2.3 below.)

rather misleading to reanalyse the same parts as "Subject" and "Predicate" respectively, simply because the same content can be cast into another structure where the elements bear different relations to each other whereas the grammatical relation of "Subject" and "Predicate" remains constant: this is shown in (ii):

(ii) ɪana ɪištariit ɪilbATAATiS ɪinnAhArDA bi  
xamsa saag ɪikkiilu.

(i) on the other hand can be said to bear both types of relations: it has its Topic-comment structure and its Subject-predicate structure simultaneously. This study among other things will attempt to relate (i) and (ii), and also relate both structures to a deeper structure by a process of "Topicalisation." It will also attempt to describe structures where, unlike English for example, Noun Phrases are allowed to "pile up" at the beginning of the sentence. The "Topic" I will deal with is not the discoursal topic based on dispensibility; it is rather more like Halliday's "theme" which is a clausal notion: it is an element of the syntactic structure of sentences. (See Lyons, 1968:336). I will look at the linguistic facts of CCA directly related to this issue, hoping to be able to offer a description of how this variety employs this syntactic process for communicative purposes. The thesis involved assumes that the "information" contained in (i) is essentially different from that contained in (ii) above. The discussion, therefore, will

have syntactic and pragmatic relevance. The speaker's choice of an element for the role of Topic is constrained by contextual, situational and functional factors. The ensuing word order is something for the grammar to consider.

Word order in CCA allows the Subject Noun Phrase to precede the Verb (or Predicate Phrase) unmarkedly, unless initial position is taken up by another Noun Phrase: then the Subject Noun Phrase can precede or follow the Verb/Predicate Phrase, which may result in the piling up of Noun Phrases at the beginning of the sentence. This suggests that initial position is a place for a Noun Phrase, which has been shifted to that position from any underlying position in the sentence. To study "Topicalisation" then is not to study word order as such, but also to consider all the movement rules that result in the available word orders, which elements these rules can apply to and what restrictions there are over their application. I have chosen to build as many constraints as needed into the rules, and, therefore, little is left to be filtered out by SS constraints.

In Chapter 1 of Part I--which is basically connected with background material and notions adopted for the analysis in Part II--having isolated the variety to be dealt with and introduced the data available on it, I will proceed to delimit the scope of study as to the relevant issues in

question . Then follows a brief background account of the related aspects in the traditional grammars of Arabic and current discussions of Topic-comment structure in Standard Arabic.

The literature on Topic-comment structure in universal theory has greatly augmented over the past two decades and will form an essential background to any discussion on the same phenomenon manifest in any language. I will, therefore, give an account of the main current proposals related to this issue in Chapter 2. This will help place my discussion in a wider perspective and will also prepare the ground for the subject of Chapter 3.

In Chapter 3, I will give an exposition of the notions to be adopted in this study and the definitions of the relevant terms. The remaining Chapters, of which Part II will consist, consider the choices available to the native speaker for utilising the initial position in the sentence and the structures resulting from these choices. Chapter 4 will postulate a possible Basic Structure for CCA, then the rest of the Chapters will look at how each element topicalises, suggesting rules relevant to this process and discussing methods of constraining these rules if necessary. The suggested rules are all connected with the movement of elements to initial position in the sentence. The elliptical and



synchopated nature of structures resulting from question/answer strategy or conversational tactics is not dealt with here, as these are relevant to a more discourse oriented analysis.

The proposed grammar is meant to operate within the framework of Chomsky's TG model as formulated in the Extended Standard Theory, but I have also taken into account criticisms of the model in connection with Topic-comment alignment and conditions of sentence use (e.g. see P. Sgall, 1973: 305.) Chomsky's "footnote" account of the phenomenon is not exhaustive nor does it answer all the questions connected with it. It was, therefore, necessary to consider the views of other linguists who have dealt with the problem more extensively.

Phonological Transcription

## A. Consonants of Colloquial Cairene Arabic

/b/	voiced bilabial stop
/t/	voiceless alveolar stop
/d/	voiced alveolar stop
/k/	voiceless velar stop
/g/	voiced velar stop
/ʔ/	glottal stop
/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative
/z/	voiced alveolar fricative
/š/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
/x/	voiceless uvular fricative
/g/	voiced uvular fricative
/ħ/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/C/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
/q/	voiceless uvular stop
/r/	voiced alveolar flap
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
/w/	bilabial semi-vowel
/y/	palatal semi-vowel
/Z/	voiced velarised alveolar fricative
/S/	voiceless velarised alveolar fricative
/T/	voiceless velarised alveolar stop
/D/	voiced velarised alveolar stop

B. Consonants Relevant to Examples from Standard Arabic

/θ/ voiceless dental fricative

/j/ voiced palato-alveolar affricate

/d/ voiced dental fricative

/z/ voiced velarised dental fricative

C. A sequence of double consonants are pronounced longer than the single consonant, e.g. /ff/ in tuffaaha

D. Vowels of Colloquial Cairene Arabic

/i/ front spread close short

/ii/ front spread close long

/e/ front spread half-close short

/ee/ front spread half-close long

/a/ front open short

/aa/ front open long

/A/ back open short

/AA/ back open long

/o/ back rounded half close short

/oo/ back rounded half close long

/u/ back rounded close short

/uu/ back rounded close long

Abbreviations

AdjP	=	Adjectival Phrase
AdvP	=	Adverbial Phrase
Art	=	Article
Aux	=	Auxiliary
CCA	=	Colloquial Cairene Arabic
CD	=	Communicative Dynamism
Com	=	Comment
Comp	=	Complementiser
Cop	=	Copula
Def	=	Definite
Det	=	Determiner
DS	=	Deep Structure
Fem	=	Feminine
Foc	=	Focus
FSP	=	Functional Sentence Perspective
HN	=	Head Noun
Loc	=	Locative
N	=	Noun
NP	=	Noun Phrase
Masc	=	Masculine
OBL	=	Obligatory
OPT	=	Optional
Plur	=	Plural
PM	=	Phrase Marker
PN	=	Proper Noun
PredP	=	Predicate Phrase

Pred	=	Predication
PrepP	=	Prepositional Phrase
PRO	=	Pronoun
PSR	=	Phrase Structure Rules
R-Rule	=	Raising Rule
S	=	Sentence
SC	=	Structural Change
SI	=	Structural Index
Sing	=	Singular
SS	=	Surface Structure
Top	=	Topic
V	=	Verb

#### Some Notational Symbols

∅	=	zero morpheme
≠	=	Chomsky-adjoined
+	=	i. Sister-adjoined ii. positive value of feature
-	=	i. negative value of feature ii. cliticised
" "	=	translation
( )	=	optional
→	=	rewrite as
{ }	=	conflated rules
underlining	=	i. focal emphasis ii. italicised
*	=	ungrammatical
?	=	marginally acceptable
??	=	awkward, of doubtful acceptability
/ /	=	phonological unit
[ ]	=	feature
≠	=	grammatical but not acceptable in this context
Λ	=	silent syllable (ictus)

## PART I

### A BACKGROUND DISCUSSION

"Studying these aspects of linguistic structure makes one aware of language as a linearly organised communication system, in which judicious ordering and placing of emphasis may be important for the proper understanding of the message. It is an area which has been comparatively neglected by the grammars of the past, and in which modern linguistics has made a clear contribution to the understanding of how language (in particular the English language) works." (Quirk et al, 1972: 937).

## CHAPTER 1

### PRELIMINARIES

#### 1.1 THE OBJECT OF THE STUDY

##### 1.1.1 The Variety

Variation in spoken Arabic has been a widely debated subject in present times. Several elements are introduced into the discussion concerning regional differences (and for that matter similarities) among dialects of spoken Arabic in the various Arabic-speaking countries and local differences among the several regions of one country on the one hand, and on the other, cultural differences of educated versus uneducated varieties, including stylistic variation dictated by the occasion and situation in which the user of the dialect finds himself at the moment of the utterance. Above all, there is the background of a written variety often referred to as "Standard" Arabic, which forms an integral part of every educated speaker's competence and which is pervasively used by the media. It thereby touches the lives of both the educated and uneducated in its daily aspects, both in its written and oral forms.

Regional and local varieties may not be much of a problem to isolate, being contoured by political and/or

geographical boundaries in most cases. Within the contours of a local variety, however, the dividing lines along a continuum of styles are less clear. Stylistic varieties have been often described in isolation from each other, that which carries us away from the true situation. The facts seem to be in favour of a continuum which could be said to exist in two dimensions: a dimension of educated<sup>1</sup> versus uneducated spoken Arabic, and another dimension within the educated variety of formal versus informal speech.

The latter dimension ranges from one extreme, the prestigious (formal) style, which resembles the written language and can at times fall within the grammatically and sometimes lexically isolated patterns of tradition,<sup>2</sup> to the informal end of the spectrum, which seems to merge into the uneducated variety with its culturally and stylistically fixed patterns, but with an awareness of a standard language of education in the background and perhaps a social factor which compels the educated speaker to mark himself as being "educated", whereby the user of the informal educated variety consciously avoids a portion of the uneducated variety which is to him

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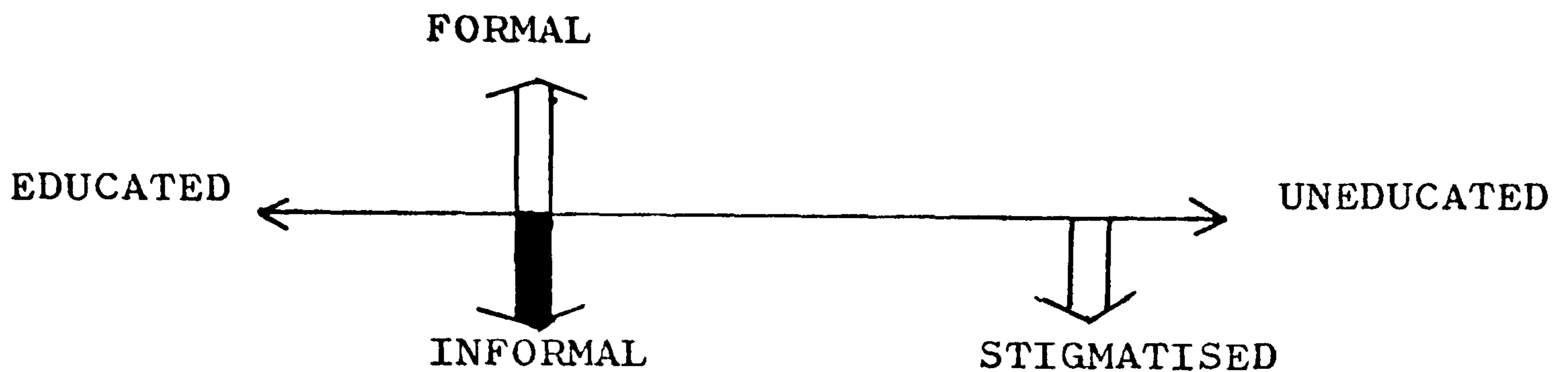
<sup>1</sup>By "educated" I mean someone who has spent sometime at least in higher education.

<sup>2</sup>Some speakers, in specific situations, will use a language that is not different from that of a text being read out.



"stigmatised." The following simplified diagram can be used to illustrate the situation:

(1.1)



(No precise proportions are implied by this diagram, as it is based on observation and not statistical analysis.)

Having isolated Cairene Arabic as a local variety, the style I am aiming to deal with seems to place itself within the lefthand side of (1.1), being as it is the variety used by educated speakers of the language in this area. On the other hand, the continuum along the vertical dimension of formal versus informal, which consists of several levels, is picked up at the point of intersection with the horizontal line and following downwards along the bold section of the arrow. This is the area I label "Colloquial."<sup>1</sup> The variety is therefore Cairene Colloquial Arabic (CCA).

To sum up, I will try to describe the language

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<sup>1</sup>This roughly corresponds to W. Labov's "casual speech" which he describes as "...in a narrow sense...the every day speech used in informal situations, where no attention is directed to language." (1972: 86).

spoken by educated Cairenes in informal situations, that is in their everyday life, not rising to a level of formality where the influence of the educated written variety can be predominantly felt.

### 1.1.2 The Data

What has been said above should not preclude the fact that opinions, including those of native speakers of the language, may differ greatly on this issue. The tendency of one person to use or not to use a certain level of the educated spoken variety may depend on the nature and type of that person's education. So education itself is regarded as yet another continuum. People whose education, and perhaps career, is directly connected with the language, such as teachers of Arabic or religion, preachers, lawyers, and others, would perhaps opt for lexical items and grammatical forms that are more elevated than another person's whose education and career has less to do with the language per se. It is also important to mention that occasions and situations do play a part in determining the level of formality. I will, therefore, look at the former group as a special case and my description of the variety will not take account of it. The intention is to study the language of the majority of educated people.

The data processed for this purpose comes from three sources: first, informants who fall within the

category of speakers described above as relevant to the subject of this study. They are people of both sexes and all with university degrees obtained in Egypt. In the second place, I have relied on my own intuition, as a speaker of this variety, falling as I do within the above mentioned group.

The third source is a large number of recordings of educated spoken Arabic carried out by members of the Arabic Research Project at Leeds University (1975-80) on site during a tour of several Arabic-speaking countries, including Egypt, and from various radio and television broadcasts in those countries. This third source provides the main body of objective data required; however, I had recourse to the first two sources in places where crucial and decisive evidence was needed on points not covered by the tapes.

### 1.1.3 Limitations of the Data

The data used for the present purpose presented certain limitations. One limitation can be described in terms of Labov's "formal" context (1972 : 86) in the sense that an attempt to elicit forms or seek opinion will always be consciously oriented. The tapes are mostly set within the framework of interviews. Meanwhile, introspection can be the most conscious source of all, being as it is always subjective. The problem of data from intuition versus data from actual speech, i.e. coming

to "grips with the language" or "looking closely and directly at the data of everyday speech"(Labov,ibid.: 201)<sup>1</sup> is presumably a common one. The recordings presented the difficulty of "formal" context and at times a style highly biassed towards the formal end of the arrow in (1.1). Dealing with informants, the objectivity of the data was often affected by a consciousness of the aim and a linguistic awareness in most cases. Faced with these problems, introspection proved vital in view of the rarity of certain syntactic forms not likely to be used in the "careful" speech of interviews.

I have attempted to mitigate the impact of these shortcomings by using the few situations available where "casual" conversation could be observed without interference or by creating such situations for the purpose. This was achieved not without difficulty because the mere suggestion of recording or the use of pen and paper never failed to throw the speakers head-on into the type of "careful" speech that is unwanted.

However, the data available has not always been difficult to use. A good number of the tapes were recorded with enough care and skill to secure an amount of object-

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<sup>1</sup>Although "formal" as used by Labov is contextually determined--as different from my use which is stylistically determined--it is still relevant in the sense that context could be a determining factor of style.

ivity and "casualness" that is needed for any study, and the language consciousness in this case was kept quite low, especially where peer groups were used. This naturally loosened the stylistic constraints.

#### 1.1.4 The Focus of the Study

Spoken (Colloquial) Egyptian Arabic has been approached phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and intonationally by several studies during the past nearly twenty-five years.<sup>1</sup> The syntactic studies seemed to pay little attention to one particular surface structure form of sentence, almost left unaccounted for, neither in PSR's nor transformationally. This type of sentence is illustrated in (1.2)-(1.5):

(1.2) ʔilbint fustanha luunu ʔAhmAr

"(lit.) The girl her-dress its-colour  
red."

"The girl's dress is red in colour"

(1.3) ʔilwalad ʔabuu DArAbu

"(lit.) The boy his-father hit-him"

"The boy's father hit him"

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<sup>1</sup>Among these are: T.F. Mitchell (1956); R.S. Harrel (1957); H.M. Abul Fetouh (1961); S. Gamal el-Din (1961); T.F. Mitchell (1962); D. El-Sayyed (1962); A.G.E. Osman (1968); H. Wise (1975); J.W.S. Atiya (1976); A. Sallam (1979); M. Mallawany (1981).

(1.4) *ʔilbArAAmig ʔittilifizyuuniyya kitiir minha  
luu taʔsiir Cala nnaas.*

"(lit.) The-television programmes most of-  
them have an influence over the people."

"Most of the television programmes have an  
influence over the people ."

(1.5) *ʔilkitaab da ʔana ʔiʔtariitu min zamaan.*

"(lit.) This book I bought-it a long time  
ago."

"This book I bought it a long time ago."

These sentences all have syntactic features in common: the initial position is occupied by a Noun Phrase, followed by a Predicate clause which in itself consists of a Subject Noun Phrase and a Verb (with its complements) or another Noun Phrase in turn predicated by a clause as in (1.2). The Predicate clause always contains an anaphoric pronoun that is coreferential with the initial Noun Phrase.

#### 1.1.4.1 Gamal el-Din

Gamal el-Din (1961) hints at a possible transformational relation between pairs of sentences such as (1.2) and (1.5) and their counterparts in (1.2a) and (1.5a):

(1.2) a. *luun fustaan ʔilbint ʔAhmAr.*

"The colour of the girl's dress is red."

(1.5) a. *ʔana ʔiʔtareet ʔilkitaab da min zamaan.*

"I bought this book a long time ago."

The initial Noun Phrase is called an "appositive" which is defined as a "slot which may be filled by an Nd (NC or NP) and which is in exocentric relationship with the sequence following it." (Gamal el-Din, 1967). (Nd stands for "definite noun", NC for "nominal construct" and NP for "nominal phrase.") It is left at that, neither the process by which these structures relate nor the relation between the two parts of the sentence in (1.2) and (1.5) for example being investigated any further.

#### 1.1.4.2 Hilary Wise

Wise includes among the Phrase Structure rules of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic the following relevant rules (1975: 8):

$$\begin{array}{l}
 S \longrightarrow (\text{Pre S}) \text{ NP} + \text{Pred} \\
 \text{Pred} \longrightarrow (\text{Preverb}) (\text{neg}) (\text{tense}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pred P} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\} (\text{Adv}) \\
 \text{Pred P} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{zayy}) \text{ NP} \\ \text{Adj (Degree)} \\ \text{Loc} \\ \text{Time} \\ \text{Prep P} \end{array} \right\} \\
 \text{NP} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Det}) \text{ N (S)} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

As such, sentences as (1.2)-(1.5) will not be accounted for in the PSR's of the Base in Wise's grammar. Her rewrite of Pred distinguishes two types of sentences: "verbal" and "nominal" sentences. In neither case does S

figure as a Predicate which makes the initial NP always function as grammatical subject. S is relevant to the initial symbol and the relative clause only. Transformationally, Wise deals with a SI of the form:

NP Prep P

as an input to the topicalisation transformation. Topicalisation takes place by preposing the Prep P optionally in the case of a definite NP and obligatorily in the case of an indefinite NP, to be "considered a somewhat less favourite option to "fiih"-placement." (Ibid.: 133).<sup>1</sup> A secondary topicalisation applies when "the NP is moved out to the left from the Prepositional Phrase, leaving a place-marking pronoun." (Ibid.) This will derive the following structure:

ʔikkitaab fiddurg  $\implies$  fiddurg ʔikkitaab  $\implies$  fiddurg  
fiih ʔikkitaab

"(lit.) the book in-the-drawer," "in-the-drawer the book," "the drawer in-it the book."

Topicalisation of NP is independent of the Prep P preposing transformation. Therefore we can have:

ʔiddurg ʔikkitaab miṣ̄ fiih<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>It is worth noting here that "topicalisation" and "fiih"-placement are independent of each other, as we can have:

fiih fiddurg kitaab liCAATif.  
"There (is) in the drawer a book for-Atif."

<sup>2</sup>This is not the example used by Wise. Her example is:

ʔiddurg ʔikkitaab mafihuṣ̄  
"(lit)the drawer the book not-in-it."

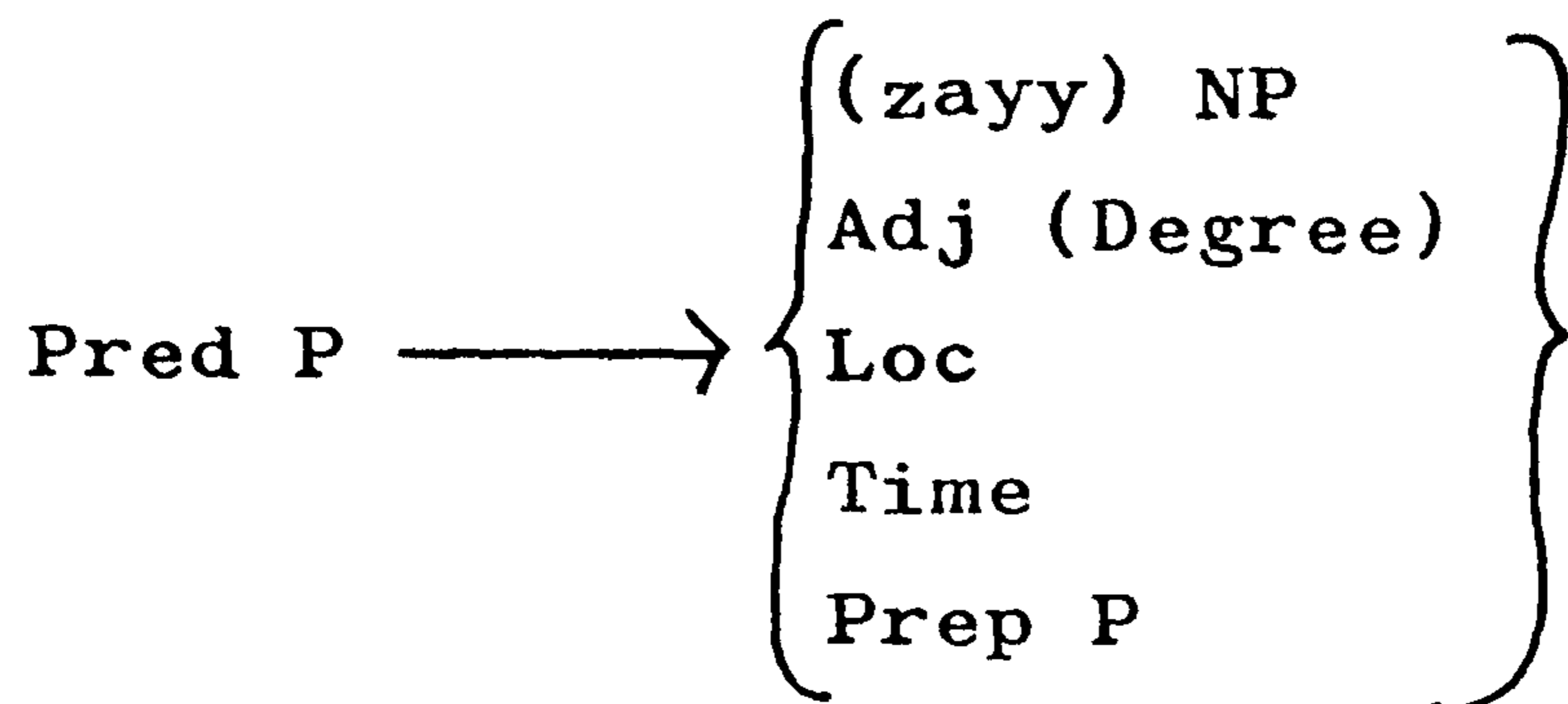
which is ungrammatical. The reason why it is so will be discussed in Section 5.6.1 below.



"(lit.) The drawer the book not in-it."

"The book is not in the drawer."

Although Wise had earlier removed the possibility of preposing a Pred P-dominated Loc as a criterion for differentiating between Loc and Prep P in the PSR



yet in her treatment of topicalisation, she does not stick to this rule.

It is, therefore, hoped that by this study a significant gap in the description of CCA can be filled. The following Sections will look at relevant treatments and definitions in traditional grammars of Arabic and in more recent studies; and the rest of Part I will consider the various approaches to the question of first position in the sentence. This issue has been dealt with under the rubric of Topic and Comment in universal theory. It will be followed by a definition of the terms required for the discussion in Part II.

## 1.2 A BACKGROUND OF DISCUSSIONS I: A Survey of Relevant Material on Standard Arabic

### 1.2.1 Traditional Grammars

It will be important for a discussion of a syntactic process like topicalisation in CCA to look at traditional grammars of Arabic and their division of sentences into types to find out where the sentence type under discussion fits in.

Traditional grammars of Arabic describe two types of sentence: a sentence beginning with the verb is called jumla fiCcliyya "a verbal sentence," and a sentence beginning with the noun is called jumla fismiyya "a nominal sentence."<sup>1</sup> Sentences beginning with kaana "was" and inna (an emphatic particle) and similar particles, remain nominal sentences. In the case of a nominal sentence, the predicate can be in the form of a verbal phrase or clause or a non-verbal phrase. The initial nominal is called ʔalmubtadaʔ (the point of departure) and the rest is called ʔalxabar (the message.) Wright equates them to the two functions of "Subject" and "Predicate", which for him are the two natural parts of the sentence. These two elements could be optionally permuted for communicatively functional purposes.

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<sup>1</sup>The translation of these two terms comes from W.Wright (ed.)(1951:Vol.II, 125).

A relation which Arab grammarians dealt with under rhetoric is ʔalʔisnaad "predication." (Al-Anṣārī: Vol. I: 376). It is this relation that embraces the two types of sentences, verbal and nominal. ʔalmusnad ʔilayh, "of which something is predicated", is always the Subject of the Verb or ʔalmubtadaʔ. ʔalmusnad, "the predicate", is always the Verb or ʔalxAbAr, regardless of their place in the sentence: the underlined elements in each pair in (1.6)-(1.7) remain ʔalmusnad ʔilayh and the rest of the sentence in each case is ʔalmusnad:

(1.6) a. jaaʔa rrAjulu

"(lit.) Came the man."

b. ʔarrAjulu jaaʔa

(1.7) a. Caliiyun fi DDAAr

"(lit.) Ali in the house."

b. fi DDAAri Caliiy

It is this relation which should be more readily acquainted with the relation Subject-Predicate, and it is this relation which pertains to the question of Topic-comment structure.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hishaam adds yet a third type of sentence to the above two, called DArfiyya "Adverbial", where ʔalmusnad is an adverb of place or time or a prepositional phrase, such as (1.7) above. In fact this is the only type of sentence that Wise attempted to deal with in connection with the topicalisation transformation.

A possible fourth type for Ibn Hishaam is the Conditional sentence or jumlatu ṣṣArT, which is free of the relation ʔalʔisnaad.

The Arab grammarians then regarded the positions of "Subject" and "Predicate" as permutable, and this is generally an optional process, except when the Subject is indefinite: it is then obligatorily preceded by the Predicate, provided the Subject is an independent element. (Al-Ashmouni: 101). The extraposition of the Subject clause containing the complementiser ʔanna is also obligatory.

Opinions differed, however, as to the status of a sentence with a verbal element in the Predicate that has been shifted round the Subject, whereby the Subject occupies initial position in the sentence. Does such a structure count as nominal or verbal? There is no consensus here: it has been classified as one or the other, and some grammarians regard it as an ambivalent sentence with no conclusive classification.

The permutation process is called ʔattaqdiim wattaʔxiir "preposing and extraposing", including the alternative positions of the participants of the verb in verbal sentences. The nature of such a movement was semantically explained. The syntactic relation between types of sentences containing verbs (the verbal sentence proper, the nominal sentence with a verbal predicate, and the nominal sentence with a sentential predicate) was not explored.

In the light of recent linguistic views, such cases have again been subjected to explanation within the framework of a transformational generative description. Two different views exist: the one regards them as cases of movement transformations and the other as cases of embedding S structures within S structures, and thus generates them in the base.

### 1.2.2 Anshen and Schreiber

F. Anshen and P.A. Schreiber (1968) suggest a "focus" transformation<sup>1</sup> to deal with aspects of constituent movement to initial position in the sentence, relating Surface Structures with different word orders to an underlying structure and indicating a functional value resulting from this movement. "Nominal non-equative sentences" of the form Noun Phrase-Verb are related to "verbal sentences" of the form Verb-Noun Phrase through this transformation, which duplicates the post-verbal noun with a copy before the verb, and leaves the post-verbal noun to be pronominalised, namely by inflecting the verb for number. This relates the two main verb-containing sentence types of Standard Arabic to a single deep source. It follows that verbs in Arabic are not inflected for number except as a pronominal realisation of a preposed

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<sup>1</sup>What is referred to as "focus" here is different from the function "focus" as depicted in this study. Anshen and Schreiber's transformation will roughly correspond to what I will call "Topicalisation."

subject. We will see in Chapter 4 that this could be a plausible assumption in connection with CCA as well. However, in CCA the loss of inflectional categories on nouns (in Standard Arabic nouns inflect for gender and number) may have resulted in a word order that is basically different from Standard Arabic and where linear order has been made more rigid to make up for the loss of those categories.<sup>1</sup>

Anshen and Schreiber first suggest a permutation transformation of the form:

$$\text{Pred Phrase-NP} \Longrightarrow \text{NP-Pred Phrase}$$

They further explain the number agreement and the preposing of non-subject nouns by replacing this transformation by an optional "focus" transformation which applies to all types of sentences and to any Noun Phrase in the sentence (ibid.: 795):

T-focus (optional):

$$X - \text{NP} - Y \Longrightarrow \text{NP}' - X - \text{NP} - Y$$

where NP = NP' and NP is not the first member of a construct phrase.

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<sup>1</sup>Mathews (1981: 255) finds that "it is a commonplace of linguistic typology that the more relations are realised by inflections the more the order is, or can be, syntagmatically free." In Standard Arabic, inflectional categories suggest syntactic relations, whereas the order of words suggests thematic functions: these two functions have been conflated in CCA in word order, which will be discussed in Part II.

This transformation is suggested to account for other aspects of Arabic grammar as well. It removes the necessity for "postulating subjectless sentences," such as the case of katabtu ddarsa, where the verb is considered to bear the subject pronoun in the form of number agreement; it can be considered obligatory in cases of an embedded S with the complementiser fanna, where the order is obligatorily NP - VP; and it eliminates restrictions on relativisation by removing the asymmetry that exists between relative clauses where the N that is identical with the noun modified by the relative clause is explicitly realised when it is not the Subject of the clause and is "implied" when it is the Subject. By acknowledging number agreement as a pronominal form, every "relative clause must satisfy the noun identity condition" (ibid.: 796) and the pronominalisation transformation becomes obligatory.

But the rule as it stands here needs to be further constrained as to definiteness because only Definite NP's can undergo T-focus; it must also be constrained as to the order of the "focussed" constituents. Furthermore, Anshen and Schreiber do not consider cases where the preposed element is not a NP. Although the present study is meant to deal with a colloquial variety, it is hoped that some of its findings would apply to Standard Arabic and thus make an advance on the work of Anshen and Schreiber.

### 1.2.3 Lewkovicz

The apparently anomalous situation of why the transformation does not apply to the first member of a construct phrase is left by Anshen and Schreiber as a special condition on their suggested transformation, and therefore it remains a question yet to be answered. The answer is plausibly suggested by N. K. Lewkovicz three years later:

The source of their difficulty here is confusion between noun and noun phrase .... The point is that the topic must be a noun PHRASE.... Thus, since the construct is an NP having the (surface) structure N+NP', either the entire construct or the NP' can be converted to replacive pronoun, but not the initial (head) noun. (Lewkovicz 1971: 811,ftn.4)

Lewkovicz takes a different view on the nature of "topicalised" sentences. She describes a Topic-comment sentence as consisting of a "noun phrase" (always definite, never indefinite) which is the topic, followed by a comment-clause containing a REPLACIVE PRONOUN, whose referent is the topic, "(ibid.:810). The structure "adds emphasis on the NP serving as topic," (ibid.: 811). She argues a rule for generating Topic-comment sentences in Deep Structure as NP+embedded S. Simple nominal sentences with the sequence Subject-Verb should equally be generated in the Base as Topic-comment structures. She rejects the replacive pronoun as part of the inner comment and says it must be contained in the inner topic, (ibid.:813,ftn.7).



For example in a sentence like

ʔalwaladu ʔabuuhu baytuhu kabiirun

(Top<sub>1</sub> (Top<sub>2</sub> (Top<sub>3</sub> Com<sub>3</sub>) Com<sub>2</sub>) Com<sub>1</sub>)

"(lit.) The boy his-father his-house is big"

"The house of the boy's father is big!"

the replacive pronoun is contained in Top<sub>2</sub> and Top<sub>3</sub> and neither in this nor in any other sentence can it be contained in the Comment. Besides, Lewkovicz does not accept the replacive pronoun as the entire inner Subject.<sup>1</sup>

Lewkovicz's constraint may apply to the "Subject" of the verb in the inner Comment only. As may be clear from Beeston's example(see ftn. 1 below) the independent replacive pronoun can be the Subject only of equative clauses functionaing as inner Comment. The function of such a pronoun, is, however, debatable. The appearance of a verb in the inner Comment will demand the use of

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<sup>1</sup>Lewkovicz allows a transformation to apply cyclically to produce an embedded Topic-comment structure, and another to duplicate the Topic in the Comment. This recycling is restricted to once by A.F. Beeston (1974: 474), and is allowed twice only in case the third theme is a pronoun to be permitted under special conditions. He gives the example:

ʔalʔustaadu TullaAbuhu humu lmasʔuluuna Cani lfADiiCa

(Top<sub>1</sub> (Top<sub>2</sub> (Top<sub>3</sub> )))

"(lit) The teacher his students they (are) the people responsible for the outrage."

where the third theme humu is an independent pronoun in Subject position and at the same time replacing TullaAbuhu. Whether or not Beeston assumes an "embedding" rule like Lewkovicz is not clear, but obviously there is a disagreement over the status of the independent replacive pronoun. This point in connection with CCA will be discussed in Part II.

an explicit relative pronoun which will render the function of the independent pronoun more like a copular one. In fact, Anshen and Schreiber regard it as a deletable copula which in this case becomes non-deletable. I tend to understand Beeston's "third theme" not as such but as a copular pronoun in an equative structure (see Section 5.6 below).

Lewkovicz's constraint on the placement of the replacive pronoun in case the Comment itself is a topic-comment structure is however denied by the facts of Arabic . If we take into consideration that elements can be topicalised from positions in the embedded Topic-comment clause not restricted to Subject position, we will see that Lewkovicz's explanation does miss an important generalisation. Overlooking the transformational nature of topicalisation in favour of generating Topic-comment structure in the Base will lead to many complications and unnecessary constraints besides the one already suggested by Lewkovicz. Her theory apparently works because the cases where her constraint applies are cases where the SS in question has been derived from an underlying Subject construct (or multiple construct; see Section 7.3.2 below) form only. When the NP contained in the construct is topicalised, this restriction holds. But when the topicalised NR has been fronted from an underlying object position, the only place for the replacive pronoun in SS will be a post-verbal position,

which is by definition a Comment position. The problem which led to her proposal lies in the fact that all her examples are transforms of underlying genitive relations in Subject position. But if we assume that genitive relations can occur elsewhere in the sentence and that constituents other than the Subject can be topicalised, we will find that the replacive pronoun can occur freely in the place from which the fronted NP has been lifted. (1.8) which is derived from (1.9) will illustrate this point:

(1.8) famma lfustaadu faTTullaAbu niSfuhum laa  
yuhibbuh

"(lit.) As for the teacher the students  
half-of-them do not like-him."

"As for the teacher, half of the students  
do not like him."

( Replacive pronouns are underlined twice.)

The final uh in (1.8)<sup>1</sup> replaces falfustaadu, the Topic, which has been moved from object position in (1.9):

(1.9) niSfu TTullaAbi laa yuhibbu lfustaada

Therefore, as a replacive pronoun it does occur in the embedded Comment. The hum pronoun attached to niSf in (1.8) is in construct with TullaAb in the underlying structure and as such it does obey Lewkovicz's constraint.

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<sup>1</sup>I would suggest this sentence as an instance of three successive Topics in Standard Arabic, the third not necessarily an independent pronoun as suggested by Beeston (see ftn.1, page 20 above). Lewkovicz's examples (15) (1971: 815) is another case.

Despite Lewkovicz's claim that a Topic-comment structure generated in the Base is more accessible to descriptions of other parts of the grammar where the structure can be embedded (e.g. relative clauses)<sup>1</sup>, an extraction transformation is capable of embracing more facts of CCA. It simplifies the rules by assuming underlying relations which prove relevant to surface constraints on the selection of Topic and on the placement of the replacive pronoun which is not totally explained by Lewkovicz's embedding rule.

#### 1.2.4 V. Bubenik

A treatment of the same structure from a functional point of view is given by Vit Bubenik (1979). He looks at how Arabic meets the requirements of theme-rheme organisation, being allowed more freedom of order than, for example, English. This is done by virtue of the resumptive pronoun (Lewkovicz's replacive pronoun) which makes the thematisation of elements in the Predicate possible within the active voice. He proposes "themeness and givenness" as deep level phenomena determining the grammatical choice of voice, dislocation, inversion and clefting. He does not accept Wise's analysis of Arabic passives in the manner of an English grammar model. Arabic passives

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<sup>1</sup>Anshen and Schreiber also find Topic-comment relations to be relevant to relativisation. A more detailed study of the relation between relativisation and Topic-comment structure is made on Japanese by S. Kuno (1976: 417-441).

are always agentless<sup>-</sup>; what could be an equivalent structure to English passives is an Arabic active structure where agents are expressed as extraposed subjects. Where Li and Thompson (1976; see Section 2.5 below) have presented a chart with Arabic featuring as "subject prominent" in their typology, Bubenik reclassifies it as intermediate between subject prominence and topic prominence.

It is hoped that the present study will help consolidate Bubenik's view, at least in connection with CCA.<sup>1</sup> Bubenik suggests that according to Li and Thompson (1976), the surface coding of Arabic is topic oriented. Arabic utilises double-subject constructions; it has extensive thematisation; it has a very restricted use of passives, and those used are mostly non-agentive; middle-voice, on the other hand, is widely used; and Arabic has no dummy subjects. I would like to add that concluding from Keenan (1976a) a language can be seen as subject prominent when syntactic processes distinguish the function "subject" from non-subject NP's and when subject is distinguished from topic by some features. However, Keenan allocates to topic prominent languages

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<sup>1</sup>Bubenik in his paper studies Standard Arabic in particular, but as he chooses to comment on Wise in this connection, and Wise is writing about Egyptian Spoken Arabic, it is assumed that his remark is meant to apply more widely than just to Standard Arabic. Although I tend to agree with him in general on his classification of Arabic, I disagree on the fact that all passives in Arabic are agentless. The "by" form does exist:

ililiahli fitgalab min izzamaalik  
 "The National(club) was beaten by the Zamaalik (club)."

more characteristics (proposed by Li and Thompson (ibid.)) among which some do apply to Arabic; topicalisation in Arabic is not a marked process, topic is not overtly coded in the surface,<sup>1</sup> topics exhibit discourse deletion where reference to them is clear, and they exhibit the typical characteristics of topical NP's such as representing "old information", being the "centre of attention", being always Definite, and exhibiting no agreement pattern with the verb. In CCA, subject prominence is a feature that is no more dominant than topic prominence, if not subsumed by it.

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<sup>1</sup>Topics are not marked by any case markings in topic-prominent languages; but their characteristic position is sentence initial position (see Li and Thompson, 1976: 465) which is the case in CCA, and also in CCA topic is always resumed by a pronoun in the comment. (Also see p. 89 below.)

## CHAPTER 2

### A BACKGROUND OF DISCUSSIONS II:

#### Topic-comment in Universal Theory

##### 2.1 Introduction

Topic-comment structure, not unlike other semantic notions, remains a controversial issue in modern linguistic theory. The scene abounds with discrepancies and the search for a characterisation of these notions in contemporary grammatical models is still tentative. It may still have a long way to go, but it is seen as an essential approach to the analysis of language. Linguists in general have been dissatisfied with the idea of language as an autonomous system of grammar that observes its own rules. "Why" is considered to be as important to answer as "how" or "what". In what ways do context and situation constrain speech is an important question: pragmatics, psychology, and society are introduced on the scene. Language is seen as a purposive activity, and a functional approach regards language as a communicative vehicle. "Givenness and Thematicness", for example, are not merely performance features, but can "work deeper... to motivate the selection of grammatical voice and movement transformations." (Bubenik, 1979: 299).

The issue is of typological interest too: languages

such as Chinese and Lolo-Burmese present a certain difficulty to a typology of languages based on the notion "Subject of" (Li and Thompson 1976). According to Kuno (1976), Japanese has sentences with Topic-comment organisation with no counterparts in the system. These are difficult to account for in the light of universal categories of linguistic structure established by Joseph Greenberg (1966), which assume that "Subject" is the only relevant functional category. Similarly, Keenan (1976) uses "Subject" and "Predicate" as universal organisational principles.

On the other hand, Gruber (1969) finds that the child's acquisition of language, even a language with an obvious subject prominence like English, displays a Topic-comment organisation at an early stage: subject-verb organisation is characteristic of adult grammar. Topic-comment is therefore the precursor of the subject-Predicate relation, and is more fundamental (Gruber 1969: 446). He is joined by T. Givon (1976) in considering Topic-comment organisation in language to be syntactically relevant and universal rather than merely typological. In the face of such complications, Li and Thompson (1976) attempted to dig deeper and devise a new set of typological categories that would prove more relevant to the facts of different languages (see Section 2.5 below). It is necessary to be able to describe languages such as Chinese but it can also account for SS phenomena in subject



prominent languages.

In the light of such findings, linguists have been determined to define and incorporate the Topic-comment relation into descriptive models of grammar and into universal theory and typological systems. The issue has been approached by the various schools of linguistics: the Prague School, Systemic Grammar, Generative syntactic models and Generative Semantic models. It has now become so compelling that some linguists tend to find theories that ignore it totally deficient:

It is time to re-examine every major 'syntactic' process and every major 'syntactic' constraint from a functional point of view, to find semantic explanations for its existence in case the syntactic characterisation holds, and to find a deeper and more accurate semantic organisation in case the syntactic facts are simply superficial and 'almost correct' syntactic manifestations of non-syntactic factors.  
(Kuno 1976: 420)

2.1.1 But the issue has its seeds in traditional grammar.

"Subject" has been already accepted by many grammarians as representing the various notions of "grammatical subject," "logical subject," and "psychological subject." Jespersen (1924) gives an interesting picture of what he refers to as a "confusion of concepts" (ibid.:150) which induced some linguists to dispense with the term "subject" and "predicate" altogether. The ambiguity mentioned above led to its definition as "granted information" or what

makes the hearer think and predicate is what he thinks about it. To Jespersen, these definitions do not seem to help the grammarian because

word order in actual language is not exclusively determined by psychological reasons, but is often purely conventional and determined by idiomatic rules peculiar to the language in question and independent of the will of the individual speaker. (ibid.)<sup>1</sup>

The way out of this "confusion" as Jespersen suggests is to use "subject" and "predicate" exclusively in their grammatical sense; he refuses "to attach to these words the adjunct 'logical' and 'psychological'."

2.1.2 C.F. Hockett went straight to the point and was the first to introduce the terms "topic" and "comment" as functions which are syntactically different from "subject" and "predicate". It is perhaps due to him that this recent awareness of the role of topic and comment arose. He presented it as a near-universal generalisation:

Every human language has a common clause type with bipartite structure in which the constituents can reasonably be termed 'topic' and 'comment'. (Hockett 1966: 23)

A topic is not necessarily the subject of the sentence, but can be an object "spoken first because it specifies

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<sup>1</sup>I would imagine that an adequate description would account for such rules, plus instances where the speaker has the choice within the system among a paradigm of structures where each alternative option offers a meaningful contrast. Within such a paradigm the notion of "subject" vs "topic" would be relevant.

what the speaker is going to talk about." (Hockett 1958:301). A similar division of functions was also introduced by Lyons who did not depart from the traditional view of two obligatory major constituents to the sentence, namely subject and predicate, which are nuclear; but added the optional and non-essential constituent of "adjunct", which is extranuclear. (Lyons 1968: 334) The term "topic" was reserved for the notion "the person or thing about which something is said," and "comment" for the "statement made about this person or thing." These in English and European languages in general tend to be subjects and predicates, but Lyons does not restrict the notion "topic" to grammatical subjects nor to nominals alone, because in other languages such as Russian the verb can be in topic position.

Nearly a decade later, Lyons felt obliged to look at "thematic structure" of utterances, or "the way in which an utterance is organised, grammatically and phonologically, as a signal encoding a particular context-dependent message." (Lyons 1977: 500) Lyons attempted to distinguish the traditional confusion between subject-predicate and topic-comment, basing his characterisation on a distinction between "expressions and their referents": the subject is the expression which refers to and identifies the topic and the predicate is the expression which expresses the comment. It follows that the "topic" is the referent of the "subject." In some languages, thematic subjects are not distinguished from grammatical subjects,

the latter being defined as the "nominal which determines verbal concord," or inflects for a particular case, or has a relative position to other nominals (ibid.:504). Lyons adopts the Praguian dichotomy of theme-rheme as "expressions" of what the speaker announces as the topic of his utterance and what he wishes to communicate. The correlation, high as it is, between initial position and thematic subject is explained in terms of discourse elements such as "given" being a natural communicative point of departure for the message (ibid.: 508); he agrees with Halliday that it is optional, but unlike Halliday, Lyons does not separate thematic structure from information structure.

2.1.3 On the whole, the search for the role of topic and comment in linguistic theory manifests itself in an attempt to answer a host of questions. The answers provided by individual linguists are not always in harmony and the scene is full of interesting controversies.

The questions asked concern, first, the nature of the notions "topic" and "comment" and how they can be defined and what their functions are. Can they be formally characterised, in view of the fact that as semantic notions they often escape the logic of formal grammar? Linguists who insist upon the universality of topic and comment attach a certain syntactic importance to them and try to incorporate them into an already existent

grammatical component : either in deep semantic representation (e.g. Lakoff) or among SS categories (e.g. Chomsky). Others who regard them as only functionally relevant would allocate them to a separate component of the grammar, (e.g. Daneš and Halliday).

Once defined, the second question is: are "topic" and "comment" language-specific or is there enough evidence to classify them as universals? In either case, are they clause elements or discourse elements? What does their relative position in the sentence tell us about that? If linguistic description is meant to discover the organising principles behind patterns of grammaticality and ungrammaticality, can the compelling nature of Topic-comment structure in some languages reveal it as a syntactic tool or is it strictly a functional notion located within a separate communicative component?

Third, where does "topic" occur in the sentence? Is it specifically connected with initial position, or is it a logical notion manifested in elements that have more freedom of occurrence? In other words, is the definition of "topic" more adequate in terms of linear organisation or is it better defined in terms of logical structure and relation to other components of the structure? Besides, what constraints pertain to "topic"? Is it contextually constrained by information categories such as "given/new" or "focus/presupposition"?

Finally, what function does topic perform? Is it "emphatic"? Is it "what the sentence is about"? A "point of departure" for the message? Or "a framework within which the predication holds"?

As none of the topic-comment-like notions ... was born within the framework of a grammatical theory, topic-comment theory needs a complete reformulation within any defined grammatical theory.... Or we could claim that any grammatical theory needs reformulation if it tries to cover topic-comment relations. (Denzö and Szépe 1974:82)

The next section will look at how such "reformulations" have been attempted by the various theories of grammar.

## 2.2 Topic-comment in Transformational Generative Grammar

While topic-comment (theme-rheme) structure has been a central issue to the Praguian functional theoreticians, extensively covered by them--its pertinence springing from the notions' great communicative potential--we find that generative grammars have differed on the issue. The generative semanticists tend to deal with it more deeply than the interpretivists, whose basic component is essentially syntactic. The latter group deals with topic-comment organisation as a SS phenomenon that partly results from the application of certain movement rules, and partly from the application of surface phonological rules. A semantically based generative theory would regard topic and comment as DS categories logically accounted

for in the Base. Topic is a node generated in the Base copying the features of another cogenerated element in the comment, to which a later transformation rule would apply to result in pronominalisation. It is not, therefore, surprising to find Gundel, who adopts a generative semanticist viewpoint, reclassifying J. Ross's constraints on movement as constraints on deletion (Gundel 1977: 75).

### 2.2.1 Chomsky

Aspects only gives definitions. Despite the fact that they apply to English, they nevertheless always carry universal implications.

To Chomsky, Topic-comment is a SS notion. Although SS is a linear organisation which results from the application of both obligatory and optional transformations, and Topic is considered a surface constituent of S, no explanation in the Standard Theory is given as to why an optional transformation should apply. No motivation has been suggested for the application of a topicalisation transformation, for example. Hence, a demand for a functional explanation has been increasingly made in the light of achievements made by the Praguian linguists in this respect.

In Aspects it is suggested that a possible definition of "topic" is "the leftmost NP that is immediately dominated by S in surface structure." (221, ftn. 32)

Such a definition will cover items which range from adverbials to NP's like John in:

(2.1) It was John who I saw.

Topic-comment cannot be accommodated into DS because it will conflict with grammatical relations such as subject-of. It is considered a convenient SS category which can help to solve the surface problems of what appears to be a double subject or as Chomsky puts it, the discrepancy between bases "where there is apparently never more than a single occurrence of a category such as NP in any structure immediately dominated by a single category," (ibid.:220-21) and SS where more than one NP could be immediately dominated by S. Relations of subject-predicate are, therefore, deep relations, whereas topic-comment are surface relations. Chomsky then draws the conclusion that:

Order is significant in determining the grammatical relations defined by surface structures... that it seems to play no role in the determination of grammatical relations in deep structures. Consequently, somewhat different definitions are needed for surface structure notions. (ibid.)

In the sentence:

(2.2) In England is where I met him

the initial locative is topic in SS, but the DS would allocate subject-of to the logical subject I. The rest is comment in SS, and predicate in DS.



Aspects leaves it at that. What John Lyons (1968: 343) objects to in this definition is that topic is not always the grammatical subject of SS, and this seems to be modified by Chomsky in a later paper. As far as Aspects goes, it is "beyond the scope of any existing theory of language structure or language use" to incorporate questions of communicative value of constituents based on grammatical categories into the grammar, (ibid.:163).

Chomsky (1971) concerned himself with the "relations of syntactic structure to semantic representation in generative grammar," (ibid.: 1). When dealing with "cases in which semantic interpretation seems to relate more directly to surface structures than deep structures," this presents a "serious difficulty" for the Standard Theory. Chomsky discusses the location of the intonational centre and how it relates to presupposition and focus:

The Phonological component of the grammar contains rules that assign an intonation contour in terms of surface structure. (Ibid.:45,ftn. 21)

This is "normal intonation." However,

Processes of a poorly-understood sort may apply in the generation of sentences...marking certain items... as bearing specific expressive or contrastive features that will shift the intonation centre. (ibid.)

As semantic representation must indicate the place of focus and presupposition expressed, "presupposition" is determined by replacement of the focus by a variable. The "focus" is the element containing the intonation centre.

(ibid.:22). So in case of a SS deriving passive from active, there is no reason to suppose that the DS of both sentences are different. On the other hand, sentences with the same DS could in the surface differ in the range of focus and presupposition. Besides, the focussed phrase at times need not correspond to a phrase in DS at all.

For example, in :

(2.3) John is certain to WIN.

'certain to win' as a possible focus does not correspond to any element of DS, if the DS is something like:

(2.4) [<sub>S</sub>John win ]<sub>S</sub> is certain.

However, this definition of focus and presupposition, which G. Lakoff (1971a: 261) sees was adopted by Chomsky in the manner of Halliday, is found by Lakoff not to be strong enough to cover other instances where "synonymous" sentences will be seen to answer different questions and to bear different presuppositions according to Chomsky's and Halliday's definitions .(See below, Section 2.2.4).

Chomsky goes on to explain that the DS constituent which becomes the centre of intonation in SS is not a reliable category in this issue. Contrastive intonation may fit into this pattern, but in other cases where larger phrases containing the intonation centre are considered as possible focus, it cannot be described in terms of DS. Nor do cases where morphemes within words

are focussed; for example, in:

(2.5) Did John give the BOOK to Bill?

it is less natural to answer: "No, he kept it" than in the case of normal intonation. The larger phrase cannot be the focus in this case. Parallelism in the case of:

(2.6) John is more concerned with AFFirmation  
than with CONfirmation

is to Chomsky a matter of SS.

Choice of focus determines the relation of the utterance to responses, to utterances to which it is a possible response, and to other sentences in the discourse.... The notation "focus," "presupposition," and "shared presupposition"...must be determined from the semantic interpretation of the sentences if we are to be able to explain how discourse is constructed in general, and how language is used. (Ibid.:26).

Chomsky formulated the rule as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Each sentence... is associated with a class of pairs (F,P) where F is a focus and P a presupposition, each such pair corresponding to one possible interpretation. (ibid.)

Sentences which are natural responses to other sentences must share their presupposition. Pairing Fs in some "natural" way carries us beyond grammar in the broadest sense. Only SS's are involved. A possible first rule

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<sup>1</sup>Sgall (1973:305) sees that "presuppositions are not the only kind of conditions of use of a sentence." Among other pragmatic aspects of the situation of discourse, "there are those covered by the vague formulation of 'what is spoken about'....," and the stock of knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer(s) activated in the given part of the discourse.

to the grammar is :

$$S \longrightarrow S' F P$$

where F and P are arbitrary structures and S' functions as the initial symbol of the categorial component of the Base. A new filtering rule is added, that the structure generated is well-formed only if the focus and presupposition, as determined from SS, are identical with F and P respectively. Chomsky rejects this possible rule, because although it may be simply a notational variant of the theory that determines focus and presupposition from SS, yet it presents us with the difficulties already referred to above, that the F and P positions would have to accommodate structures that are not present on the deep level but are arrived at only by transformations.

By accounting for focus and presupposition in SS, Chomsky does not claim to be elaborating on Topic-comment structure, nevertheless these notions link directly with the interpretation of Topic and Comment in other definitions that will be dealt with below. To a rule that allocates initial position to Topic, regardless of any contextual conditions on its choice, focus and presupposition are not a matter of crucial importance. It is the linear arrangement that matters. To another definition of Topic based on logical or discourse notions, initial position is not the only place for Topic, because Topic then is linked with what is presupposed,

or "given". Along these lines, it would be difficult to reconcile Chomsky's definition of Topic with his notion of presupposition. It follows then that Chomsky's Topic, like Halliday's "theme", is independent of intonational considerations, although presupposition and focus are not. In other models of grammar, Topic has been directly linked with "given" and hence with intonational low pitch (e.g. Chafe (1974; 1976)). Gundel (1974) goes further and connects it with a presupposition of a logical kind (see Section 2.3.1).

Later, Chomsky (1976) was dealing with a rule of the core-grammar of English, namely WH-Movement, as a single rule subsuming several otherwise unrelated movement phenomena. Part of the data corroborating the theory came from topicalisation. Chomsky assumes that rightward movement is upward bounded (this notion was first introduced by Ross (1968)), but he also suggests that leftward movement "raising rules" are upward bounded too (1976: 74). TOPIC is a node generated by the Base Rules<sup>1</sup>; so, besides Bresnan's first rule of the grammar (Bresnan 1972)

$$S \longrightarrow \text{COMP } S'$$

Chomsky (1977: 91) suggests

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{R1: } \bar{S} \longrightarrow \text{TOP } \bar{S} \\ \text{R2: } \bar{S} \longrightarrow \text{COMP } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{S} \\ S \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$$


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<sup>1</sup>That is why Topicalisation is regarded as a transformational rule, whereas left-dislocation is not. (Chomsky 1977: 91).

Thematic relations are "properly expressed" in  $K_n$  (an abstract form of SS incorporating traces) though determined at  $K_1$  (the Base generated DS). This is made possible by trace theory, (ibid.: 72).

TOP position is a place to which elements are moved by WH-Movement, including the case of Topicalisation:

(2.7) This book, John should read.

WH-Movement, and its subtype Topicalisation, have the following properties:

- a. leave a gap
- b. where there is a bridge, there is an apparent violation of subjacency (a cyclic property), PIC (Propositional Island Constraint), and SSC (Specified Subject Constraint).
- c. It observes CNPC (Complex Noun Phrase Constraint).
- d. It observes wh-island constraints. (Ibid.: 86)

The rule of Topicalisation moves the wh-phrase into COMP to the left of  $\left[ \begin{smallmatrix} + \\ - \end{smallmatrix} \text{ WH} \right]$ , realised phonetically as that, for, or null. The wh-phrase too can be null if it contained no actual lexical material such as prepositions or possessives (ibid.: 86). This movement is done freely within the clause.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This must imply that relative structure, which is formed by WH-movement, is regarded by Chomsky as a topic-comment structure: a popular approach among linguists today.

Topic position is also available to adverbs by the rule of Adverb Preposing, at least in some cases. (Ibid.: 96).

Chomsky relates Topicalised sentences and Cleft sentences, both semantically and syntactically (ibid.: 92, 94; cf Gundel (1974) below). In case a pronoun appears in the open sentence, no wh-movement takes place. This is typically the case of Left-dislocation and some relative clauses (cf Gundel's formulation of Left-dislocation below, Section 2.2.5).

If WH-Movement is carried out over clause boundaries, the subjacency condition will require that it be from COMP to COMP of a higher clause. It follows that, if COMP is already occupied, the movement cannot take place. That is why (2.8) is ungrammatical:

(2.8) \*The boy to whom the book John gave away.

Movement across clause boundaries blocks unless it is from COMP to COMP:

Move wh-phrase from COMP to a higher COMP over a bridge. (Ibid.: 85)

In this case PIC (=Tensed-S Constraint) which applies to the movement of Y to X in a transformation "involving" both nodes, does not apply if Y is in COMP.

Chomsky notices that Left-dislocation (= T-Topic-Raising in the present grammar of CCA; see Sections 3.2.1 and 5.1) violates CNPC, wh-island constraints and subadjacency (what in the terms of the present grammar will be called an unbounded rule after Ross (1968) and Postal (1974)) and therefore cannot be a movement rule in his definition (Chomsky 1976: 81). This rule violates PIC and SSC which are observed by rules of "construal". Chomsky concludes that it must be the case that pronouns involved in Left-dislocation are base-generated and refer freely. The relevant rules in Left-dislocation are "rules of predication" which may be also relevant to relatives. These rules specify that "the proposition must be 'about' the item focussed in the left-dislocated phrase (ibid.:81). This is not a rule of the grammar.

Chomsky's position in 1976 is summed up as:

...in the TOPIC position there is a base-generated structure and...the associated proposition, which is an open sentence except for some cases of left dislocation, says something about it. There are in principle two ways to derive an open sentence: by wh-movement (and wh-phrase deletion...) or with an uninterpreted pronoun. Both of the available ways are used: the first gives topicalization; the second, left dislocation. (Ibid.: 94).

In order to appreciate Chomsky's 1976 development, a good deal of the literature which was written between 1965 and 1976, and which is discussed in the following sections, should be taken into account. The debate over



the status of Topic springs from two stand-points: as a derived constituent it is sentence initial and does not interact with focus and presupposition (Aspects), but as a deep logical notion, it is a special case of presupposition (Lakoff; see Section 2.3).

### 2.2.2 Akmajian

A semantic notation for F and P relations to embrace all aspects of natural pairing of question and response, which Chomsky deliberately overlooked, is suggested by A. Akmajian (1970). He accepts Chomsky's characterisation of "focus" and "presupposition" as surface relations. Because they allow us to pair questions with their natural responses, they are linguistically relevant.

The wh-word asks for novel information, while the answer must share the presupposition of the question: this is the defining characteristic of "natural response." The response must contain as focus an item which specifies the semantic variable of the question. P-F relations shift with the shift of the intonation centre. Constituent variants determine synonymous SS's which have different constituent focus-presupposition relations, which then should be part of the semantic representation. This is confirmed by the fact that the logical scope of items like "only", "just", and "even" changes with the change of focus. This must be done on the surface because it is

phonetically determined.

Focus as representing "novel" information semantically relates a range of diverse syntactic forms, and allows us to state the syntactic parallels between Wh-questions, Yes/no questions, and declarative sentences. of cleft and non-cleft sorts, and attraction to focus in logical scope. He partitions the semantic reading into a focal portion and a presupposed portion:

The interpretive principle for focus chooses a constituent of the surface syntactic structure which contains the intonation centre. It locates that portion of the semantic reading of the sentence which is associated with this particular surface constituent.... The focal portion of the reading is replaced with a variable, forming the presupposition (represented by the leftmost bracketed expression); the rightmost bracketed expression is formed by linking the variable of the presupposition and the focal material with the specific operator [=] .

An example of this is:

[[Mitchell urged x to appoint Carswell], [x=Nixon]]  
(Ibid.:216).

### 2.2.3 T.H. Moore

Moore (1967) introduced Topic-comment and focus relations into an interpretive framework of transformational grammar as syntactic nodes in pre-transformational stages to trigger the right rules and arrive at a SS which is intuitively correct:

The Topic-Comment relationship is intended to reflect the communicative intent of the language user.... The operation of at least some transformations directly reflects a user's communicative intent. (Ibid.: viii)

He applies these notions to a model of performance in the area of relativisation and cleft structures in English.<sup>1</sup>

The acceptability of the iterative relative structures like (2.9) can be explained by assigning Topic-Comment status to constituents of the underlying PM, preventing the formation of unacceptable "that-that" clauses like (2.10) which attach two relative clauses to the same head noun:

(2.9) The cow that adored the bull that chewed  
the cud tossed the maiden.

(2.10)\*The cow that that adored the bull chewed  
the cud tossed the maiden

The required limitations in this respect can be provided by a performance model because the competence model is "too powerful." (Ibid.: 41). Topic-Comment relations can offer an explanatory adequacy by discarding unacceptable sentences that can be generated by a competence model suffering from too much "idealisation."

T-C and F intervene between the PSR's and trans-

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<sup>1</sup>The same approach is discussed by Awwad (1973) in relation to Arabic.

formations to assign a T-C status to the major non-lexical nodes of the matrix S, to which transformations become responsive. Topic copying prevents incorrect identity between matrix NP and constituent NP in relativisation; and topic is developed by orderly not random progression. Topic is defined as the "content of the sentence that the speaker intends the hearer to have in mind in order that the speaker may comment on that content," and "the comment represents all that is said about the topic." (Ibid.: 47). Moore does not specify a place for topic, but the T-marked constituent is always shifted to initial position in S. The F-marked node triggers a passive transformation in order to preserve an acceptable Topic-comment alignment:

(2.11) The cow that is adored by the bull that  
chewed the cud tossed the maiden.

#### 2.2.4 G. Lakoff

Topic-comment structure has been accommodated within the framework of a semantically based generative grammar with more confidence. As a semantic notion, G. Lakoff incorporates it into the logical DS of a generative semantic model as a notion which marks logical relations among deep constituents:

Given a syntactic structure  $(P_1, \dots, P_n)$  we find the semantic representation SR of a sentence as  $SR = (P_1, PR, Top, F, \dots)$ , where PR is a conjunction of presuppositions, Top is an indication of the 'topic' of the

sentence, and F is the indication of the focus of the sentence. (Lakoff 1971: 234).

Coordinates for topic and focus can be eliminated in favour of appropriate representation in the presuppositional part of the sentence, limiting semantic representation to ordered pairs ( $P_1$ , PR). A sentence may be true or false only if all its presuppositions are true. PR elements are the same form as those of  $P_1$ , but they are structurally independent of  $P_1$ . But the truth of the sentence presupposes the truth of its presupposition.

Topic is "what is under discussion," and the preposing of topic is common. (ibid.: 236). It is assumed to be structurally independent of other meaning components, but this is not the case. Focus is, however, structurally independent, and Lakoff does not accept the SS formulation suggested by Halliday and later by Chomsky. The correspondence between PR and Foc as semantic content and surface constituents of derived structures can be stated by a global derivational constraint. It is not always the case that focus is new rather than presupposed information. In the case of "The TALL girl left":

... the new information is that the girl who was supposed to have left is coreferential with the girl who was presupposed to be tall. The semantic content of the focus is an assertion of coreferentiality.... The lexical semantic content of the surface structure constituent bearing main stress has nothing to do with the semantic content

of the focus. (Ibid.: 261)<sup>1</sup>

SS cannot define focus because it is derived at some earlier point in the derivation. Unmarked focus would not predict in Chomsky's and Halliday's formulation that synonymous sentences on the surface would have the same presupposition or answer the same question. In the case of:

- (2.12) a. John looked up a girl who he had once met  
in CHICAGO.
- b. John looked a girl up who he had once met  
in CHICAGO.

the S(relative) constituent appears in (2.12 a) as a constituent of NP and in (b) as constituent of S. The two transformational variants, according to Chomsky and Halliday, will have different focus and presuppositional structure, and therefore will answer different questions and have different semantic representations despite their surface synonymy.<sup>2</sup> Generative semantics, therefore,

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<sup>1</sup>Eva Hajicová (In Sgall 1977: 106-7) comments on this remark by Lakoff: we must distinguish between two notions of presupposition, which Lakoff here confuses. "Existential presupposition" (which she prefers to call 'referential') presupposes that the item is present in the universe of discourse, and this is what is presupposed by "some girl is tall". "Some girl left" is a presupposition in Chomsky's sense, i.e. it is not the focus. A NP connected with the first kind of presupposition can naturally be included in the focus. "What is asserted, i.e. not presupposed in other senses is the relationship of the presupposition in Chomsky's sense to the focus; this is what is negated in the negative sentence corresponding to a positive assertion."

<sup>2</sup>Akmajian (1970: 189-99) suggests that some Transformational variants determine focus-presupposition relations, while others do not, because of constituent relations.

should provide a natural framework for continuing Halliday's research.

Lakoff allows sentences which are "neutral as to topic". Constituents can be shifted to Topic position, which is implied to be sentence initial. Topics are related by predicates to things they are topics of. Such predicates can take the form: "the story is about x" or "that discussion concerns x." "Be about" and "concern" are two-place predicates "whose arguments are descriptions of a proposition or discourse." (Ibid.: 262). Lakoff does not specify the status of topicless sentences in connection with presupposition. This point is taken up by Gundel (see Section 2.2.5); she denies the existence of topicless sentences and specifies at least one type of presupposition for topics as an obligatory condition.

Lakoff also does not allow the occurrence of two topics in English, and rules out as ill-formed sentences whose topics, mentioned in the clause containing "concern" or "about", differ from the superficial subjects of these sentences. (Ibid.) . This explains the ill-formedness of:

(2.13)\*a. About sonatas, this violin is easy to  
play them on.

\*b. About this violin, sonatas are easy to  
play on it.

Variants with only one topic are well-formed:

- (2.14) a. About sonatas, they are easy to play  
on this violin.
- b. About this violin, it is easy to play  
sonatas on.

One case Lakoff does not handle in connection with topic-focus distribution is a sentence whose initial element is the focus. His rule:

If the set of presuppositions contain such a two-place predicate whose arguments are  $P_1$  and some NP, then it will be presupposed that that NP is the topic of  $P_1$  ... and 'topic' may well turn out to be a special case of presupposition (Ibid.)

does not leave room for any other type of topic.

The two arguments about topic, therefore, are:

- a. topic as part of presupposition, which is part of the truth conditions for sentences and
- b. topic as "what the sentence is about" which seems to be linked with initial position.

The first notion belongs to semantic representation and the second to surface structure organisation. Chomsky's presupposition-focus is a formulation of the first type, whereas his definition of topic is a formulation of the second type. Lakoff does not make any distinction, and many sentence types are overlooked. Preposing Topic should be regarded as only a tendency in English, therefore



what is part of the underlying semantic representation as Top does not have to occur initially in SS. Top as a "special case of presupposition" does not have to be necessarily transformationally linked with any left movement. Such a gap in Lakoff's account has been adequately dealt with by J. Gundel, for her description seems to answer many questions raised by Lakoff's account.

#### 2.2.5 J. Gundel

Gundel's (1974) "detailed and systematic analysis of syntactic and semantic relationships among paraphrases" looks at rules for emphatic stress in transformational grammar resulting in a variety of surface structures derived from the same underlying structure: Emphatic Stress Placement, Pseudo-cleft and Cleft formation, Left-dislocation, Topicalisation, and Right-dislocation. Gundel assumes that relations among sentences (different presuppositions, contexts, questions) can be accounted for in terms of topic-comment structure, which will rid the grammar of many ad hoc rules. Her model combines three approaches: Lakoff's DS configuration of topic and focus, Searle's proposals concerning the role of subject and predicate, and Ross's "abstract performative hypothesis", all dealt with within the transformational generative theory but more inclined towards generative semantics for its emphasis on semantic aspects.

The notion of "subject" and "predicate" in Searle,

defined according to semantic function (as opposed to the traditional philosopher's definition based on reference) states that subject identifies and predicate describes the object identified. Gundel relabels these "topic" and "comment" and tries to formalise them within T.G. and distinguishes them from grammatical subject and predicate. (Ibid.: 19). Psychological subject and predicate resemble topic and comment in that neither is characterised by position or word order, i.e. grammatically defined. Topic is associated with "presupposition" or "given" and is deletable. It is not the leftmost NP or element in SS (for no one has characterised this position as linguistically relevant) and is not associated with a certain position, though it tends to appear in initial position.

Gundel isolates Topic by Lakoff's "as for" test and the question "what about X?" Topic x must be able to appear in an "as for" or "about" phrase preceding S. (Ibid.: 48) . On the other hand, a sentence is a natural answer to a certain question, and if Topic x is what the sentence is about, then the sentence should answer "what about x?"

Gundel's "as for" test seems to be a limited test because it applies only to certain contexts, namely those contexts that allow the element that follows it to be contrastive, i.e. selected among a number of candidate elements all of which are already recoverable

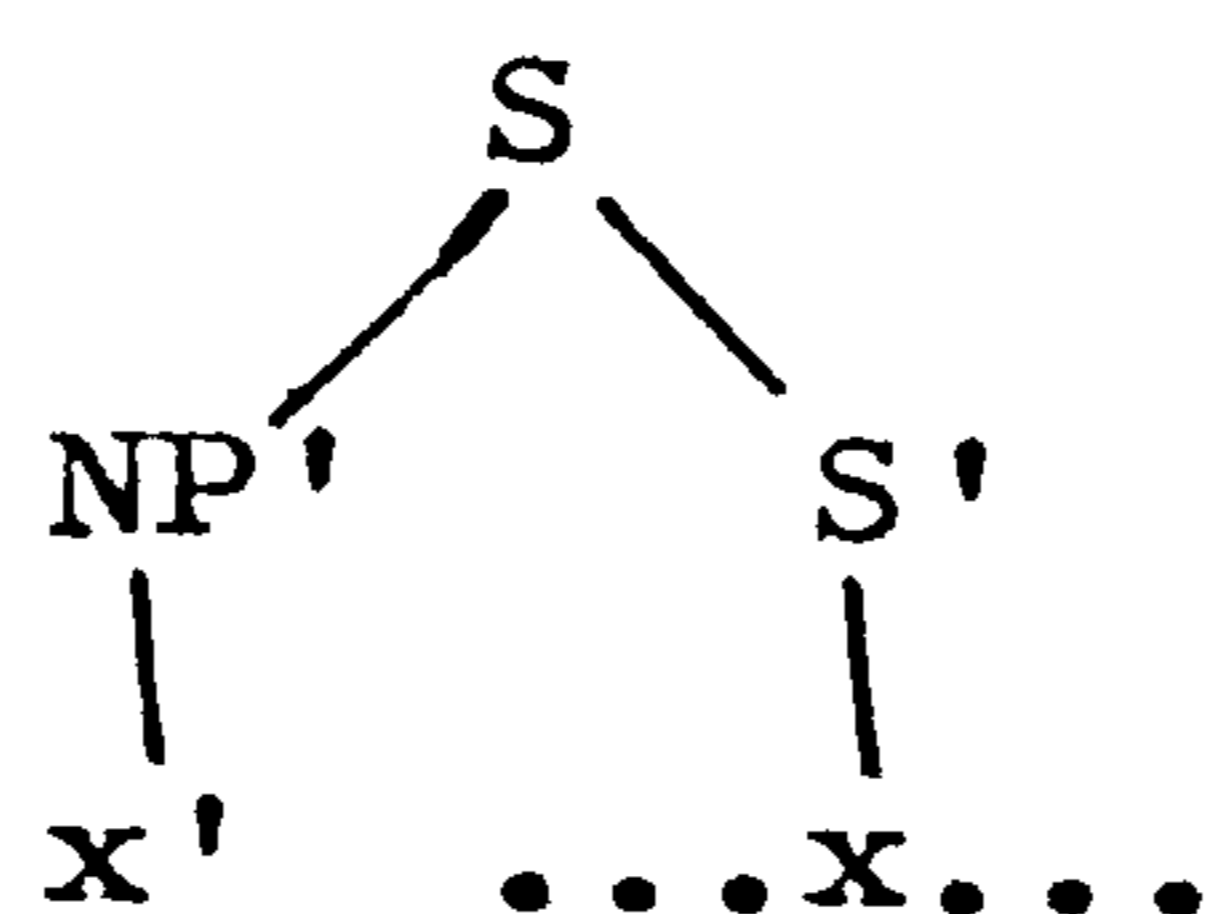
from the preceding context. The contrastive element in this case will have to be non-focussed:

If topic is necessarily given information, then this would lead to the incorrect and absurd conclusion that [some] sentences are not about anything. But this dilemma results only in a theory in which linguistic description is restricted to the surface form of sentences. The given element and hence also the topic in these sentences may have been present at some deeper level of structure and may have been deleted. (Ibid.:33)

Unlike Lakoff, she admits no topicless sentences, neither the ones the Pragmatics considered to be discourse initiating nor the ones that answer the question "what happened?", because in such cases topics appear on a deeper level and like Time and Place for example, which are the most deletable elements and are part of the truth conditions of the sentence, they are deleted. I rather find it hard to reconcile Gundel's definition of Topic as that element that "identifies what the sentence is about" with such a high degree of dispensability. In the present grammar, topic as "what the sentence is about" will not be strictly connected with types of presupposition or "givenness", but will be dealt with as a clause element.

Gundel treats Left-dislocation as the basic source for all sentences. A Left-dislocated NP is not left-moved as is stipulated by the "extraction hypothesis." (Cf Chomsky's formulation of Left-dislocation in 1977). Gundel shows that such NP's have topic properties; these will

have to be accounted for by ad hoc rules in the extraction hypothesis. The "structural hypothesis" will, according to Lakoff, generate the initial NP as an adjunct in logical structure and would apply a derivational constraint requiring that the NP must be identical to Top. (Ibid.: 78).



is the shape of the first rule and would yield:

(2.14) John he called

by feature copying and variable deletion in S': the Topicalisation rule. The rule of Left-dislocation itself copies features of NP' onto the corresponding variable in S' and a later rule replaces it by a pronoun. Thus the Comment is related to and predicates the Topic,

Left-dislocated sentences is the underlying form and all other sentences are derived from it. Thus the distinction of Topic-comment structure is characteristic of all other sentences, but in Left-dislocated ones it happens to be explicit.<sup>1</sup> (Ibid.: 89-90). Copies of NP's

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<sup>1</sup>Gundel's example is that both (a) and (b) below answer "What about topic-comment structure?":

- a. (As for) topic-comment structure, I don't understand it.
- b. I don't understand topic-comment structure.

in S' are normally pronouns, but can also be quantifiers and subsets of the noun: here the extraction hypothesis is of no assistance.

If the initial NP is acceptable with "about", it is then always in the objective case, and Gundel proves this point by citing Left-dislocated sentences with pronominal topics always in the objective case:

(2.15) (About)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{them} \\ * \text{they} \end{array} \right\}$ , I know they'll never believe me.

This means that NP's are generated in the Base as objects of deleted performative clauses. As a rule, a topic never carries primary stress, nor does its corresponding pronoun in the matrix clause: a general rule of stress states that it cannot be placed on a non-variable in S. Once more, this case cannot be handled by the extraction hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of an underlying structure of the nature of  $S \longrightarrow NP S'$ , Ross's constraints (1968) are no longer constraints on movement but on deletion. No need exists for ad hoc rules to prevent specific NP's from being dislocated, from bearing sentence stress, and to explain the exception of Left-dislocated sentences from observing CNPC and CSC.

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note that W. Magretta (see Section 2.2.6) does give examples where the stress constraint given by Gundel does not hold.

Gundel derives all sentences from Left-dislocated sentences as follows:

- a. From Left-dislocation we derive Topicalisation of unstressed NP's by deletion:

(2.16) The proposal, Archie rejected it.  $\Rightarrow$   
 The proposal, Archie rejected.

- b. Right-dislocation derives from Left-dislocation by a rule called "Topic movement."

- c. Cleft sentences are a special case of Right-dislocation, where the HN of the relative clause (which is the dislocated topic) has been deleted and morphologically replaced by "that", and the copy of the dislocated NP in the matrix clause remains "it". This formulation predicts that cleft sentences are derived from underlying pseudo-cleft structures, therefore they are semantically identical:

Left-dislocation  $\Rightarrow$  Right-dislocation  
 $\Downarrow$   $\Downarrow$   
 pseudo-clefting clefting

(2.17) a. What Harry saw, it was a mountain goat.

b. It was a mountain goat, what Harry saw.

c. It was a mountain goat that Harry saw.

- d. Topicalisation of a stressed NP derives from the corresponding Cleft-structure by Cleft-reduction and Gundel calls it "Topicalisation of focus" as opposed to "Topicalisation of topic. These derive from different sources:

the former forms Cleft sentences and the latter forms Right-dislocated sentences. That is why in the first case, the topic NP can have specific reading:<sup>1</sup>

(2.18) a. A certain monkey I saw

\* b. A certain monkey I saw

Magretta (see Section 2.2.6) explains this by the fact that a focal topic is always "contrastive". Contrastiveness means recoverability from previous context; therefore, it is referential and specific; he also notes that specificness can apply to non-stressed topics as well .

Gundel finds that in English dislocation within a subordinate clause is possible (ibid.: 80):

(2.18) Mary said that her grades, they weren't too good.

But it depends on whether or not the whole sentence may be interpreted as a predicate for that NP. A sentence cannot be about a NP inside an adverbial subordinate clause or inside a sentential subject clause; (2.19) does not answer "What about the letter?" and (2.20) does not answer "What about your brother?"

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<sup>1</sup>According to Gundel, a property of topic is that it cannot be specific indefinite, but can be generic:

\*An honest politician, Gwen wants to marry him.

But if the pronoun was "one", the sentence would be acceptable. Therefore, only indefinites with generic counterparts can be dislocated.

(2.19) After Mary wrote the letter, she went  
to sleep.

(2.20) That Mary doesn't like my brother is clear.

But the sentence can be about elements of sentential  
complements of verbs:

(2.21) What about those slacks?

I know that those slacks are too tight  
for me.

Left dislocation inside a relative clause is unintelligible:

(2.22) \*That dog, your friend who bit him, has  
rabies.

But then relative clauses already have Topic-comment  
structure, and no rule is needed to move the relative  
pronoun because the topic inside the relative clause  
is always equal to the head noun. (Ibid. 52)

Formally, Topic-of is the relation  $NP_1 : S$  and  
Comment is  $S' : S$ . The semantic values assigned are:

If T is the topic of S, then S asserts, asks,  
promises, etc... something about T, depending  
on the type of speech act that S is used to  
perform. If C is the comment of S, then C is  
what S asserts, asks, promises, etc... about  
the topic of S, depending on the type of speech  
act that S is used to perform. (Ibid.: 92)

What the sentence is about must be considered an essential  
element of a successful speech act. Thematisation is  
not optional as is suggested by movement rules.



However, if we accept Gundel's theory that topic is not defined by position, namely initial position in S, there is no reason to think that, according to the extraction theory, in sentences where no optional movement has taken place, there should be no topic. Movement rules apply to front elements, including topics as she defines them. Her underlying structure may simplify the relation among various movement rules, but it misses one important aspect of the extraction theory, namely the position of the variable in S', for unless we adopt an extraction theory we will find it difficult to explain feature copying and to state why the variable in S' has a limited distribution, always dictated by the place from which the dislocated NP has been lifted.

#### 2.2.6 W. Magretta

Magretta (1977) rejects Gundel's formulation and offers a functional explanation for the place of topic and comment, keeping in line with a shift away from a "primary focus on developing powerful, formal models of grammar" which had characterised the late sixties and early seventies, and towards "considerations of the uses of the language system in dual communication." (Magretta ibid.: 1). He assumes that the answer to "why the rules take the form they do," once they have been characterised, is to be found in a broader context, in the speaker's intentions, social organisation,

and speech perception and production mechanisms. He advocates pragmatics or what he calls "the theory of performance." Functionalism is "the reason for the rules that describe language." Functional rules complement formal description and pragmatic performance; they are concerned with "why". They explain the order of information which depends on option, on choice, and there is a purpose behind choice.<sup>1</sup> The problem for Magretta becomes how to fit a functional notion into a generative model, where stylistic considerations are relegated to performance. Equivalences or paraphrases have to give way to further semantic refinements, and as W. Chafe (1970:137) observes a different SS always reflects a different semantic structure.

Magretta focuses upon topic as a functional entity in relation to first position in the sentence. It is a characteristic of sentence initial elements in general, but appears most clearly when constituents other than the grammatical subject appear initially. These elements do not identify "what the sentence is about" but "rather they announce a framework or set of conditions under which the sentence is to be understood." Magretta suggests this definition as a language

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<sup>1</sup>R. Langacker's inspiring paper on "Movement Rules in Functional Perspective"(1974) discusses movement rules in T.G. from a functional point of view as "one facet of a broad conspiracy to ensure the surface prominence of 'objective content'." (630)

universal<sup>1</sup> and he attempts a unified explanation of all fronting and preposing transformations. Topic is not a function that is open to syntactic or semantic verifications that rely on grammaticality and acceptability. Syntactic operations and semantic interpretations only interact with it to give it prominence, as in the case of subject position, passivisation, extraposition, and clefting which move constituents to emphasis or focus position.<sup>2</sup>

Magretta questions operational tests in syntactically and semantically based grammars; first, the "about" test cannot be used as a discovery procedure in Gundel's manner because it tells us nothing about a sentence until a particular noun has been actually preposed.<sup>3</sup> The test according to Magretta can produce counter-intuitive results:

(2.23) a. I call it highway robbery.

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<sup>1</sup>This definition of topic is similar to that proposed by W. Chafe (1976: 50). Chafe contrasts subject and topic by defining subject as "what the sentence is about" and topic as a "spacial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds." To him this is the difference between subject prominent languages and topic prominent languages, e.g. English and Chinese respectively. Chinese-style topics do exist in English and he calls them "real topics."

<sup>2</sup>Functionalism according to the Pragmatics had already accepted something similar proposed by Daneš (1964). (See Section 2.3.1).

<sup>3</sup>I believe Gundel did not intend this as a discovery procedure, but more as a corroborating test. Before appearing in an "about" phrase, the topic has to answer "what about x?" and it must bear the relation NP' : S. One thing Magretta may have overlooked though, and this is the fact that Left-dislocated sentences in Gundel's grammar are basic structures, generated in the base, and the topic in this position is not left-moved at any stage.

b.\*As for highway robbery, I call it that.

c. Highway robbery I call it.

If we look closely at these sentences, we will see that the constituent *Magretta* chooses to give as a counter-example to Gundel's rule functions as an object complement, and I doubt very much if such a function can be resumed in *S'* by a replacive pronoun. There is a similar case in CCA, where a constraint is proposed ( see Section 5.1 below); besides, object complements are a special case of NP because they are related to the object intensively. For these reasons, I think object complements cannot be Left-dislocated, but can be Topicalised ( which is a chopping rule). It is strictly a Topicalisation of Focus which is derived from a cleft structure by cleft reduction: that is why (2.23 c) is acceptable. However, this sentence does cast a shadow upon Gundel's derivation of such sentences, because if all sentences have an underlying structure of Left-dislocated sentences, certainly (b) above cannot be derived (see page 56 above.) The variable in *S'* cannot occur in the Base in the first place .<sup>1</sup>

*Magretta* also suggests that adjectives, adverbs, and verbs can all be preposed and accept no "as for".

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<sup>1</sup>The generation of (2.23 c) above according to Gundel will have to go through the following transformations: Left-dislocation  $\xrightarrow{\quad}$  Right-dislocation  $\xrightarrow{\quad}$  Clefting  $\xrightarrow{\quad}$  Topicalisation of Focus (=Cleft-reduction.)

The "about" test, therefore, seems to be constrained, and besides it is possible only when presenting contrastive content .

Acceptability and naturalness are more relevant to a performance functional notion, and functional explanations could be the link between grammar and production, between knowledge of the language and how a speaker presents his information effectively. The interpretive approach and the generative semantic approach solve no problems; a sentence like (2.24) needs an underlying subject matter in common to the two parts of the sentence: this is a more abstract notion of topic.

(2.24) As for the weather, we expect snow tonight. Deletion and movement rules only help to signal topic or constrain it, but as a functional notion its choice is independent of formal models. He proposes a definition which is different from Chomsky in not restricting the function to NP's and from Halliday in abandoning the troublesome notion of "what the sentence is about." Topic foregrounds in the sense that its position is emphatic, but it backgrounds in the sense that it establishes a frame or set of conditions for the sentence (Magretta 1977: 131):

It is the leftmost major constituent, x, represented in surface structure, containing lexical material, immediately dominated by highest S. (Ibid.)

Expletive "it" is excluded by this definition, being a grammatical morpheme. Semantically defined, topic is an asserted set of conditions where the set contains at least one member under which the predication expressed by the sentence holds good. (Ibid.: 126).

### 2.3 The Prague School: Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP)

Magretta's treatment naturally links up with the Prague School of linguistics, whose approach to this problem was carried out by what came to be known as the Brno Functional Perspective theorists. It is the most extensive treatment of Topic-comment structure in universal theory. The Praguians asked how word order related to pragmatics: how Topic-comment structure is implemented syntactically (FSP). They skipped the level of the semantics of syntax and have not asked what determines the basic word order (Vennemann (1974: 342)). It is basically a functional approach concerned with SS linear organisation, but there is an interesting exchange of functional and generative theories that results in the occasional attempt to combine the two approaches in one model. (See Sgall 1973; Langacker 1974).

The Praguians' preoccupation with the organisation of "utterance" as distinct from the abstract notion of "sentence" has made it possible to tackle problems of "theme" and "rheme" (or topic and comment) as part of its functional perspective level of grammar. Firbas

(1974: 35) observes that "language cannot be severed from its primary function, i.e. that of communication, if its essential characteristic is not to be overlooked. Communication involves a communicative purpose. A communicative purpose is always prompted by a situation, a context." This is decided not on the level of the grammar, but on the level of FSP. Grammatical structure is primary in deciding word order, but only when it serves the communicative purpose of the utterance. Daneš regards grammatical structure as collaborating with formal relations to effect a connection of meaning which he calls "syntactic meaning." (Daneš 1968: 56)

The notions of Topic and Comment fit in at the third level of syntax, i.e. the level of the organisation of utterance (see section 2.3.1). As distinct from "functional theory" which deals with the functions of language, "functional" here means an analysis of the sentence "into parts having a function in the total communicative process." (Halliday 1974: 43). It is not only a matter of relating the sentence to the context,

"it is the speaker's meaning potential that is being represented.... What he does is to express a particular pattern of information, which represents his selection from the complex of systematic options that are available for the creation of the text. (Ibid.: 44)

FSP is the "text-creating" component of language. In short, it is the "organisation of the sentence as a message."

The Praguians' standpoint can be summed up in Daneš̄ view that any linguistic theory claiming adequacy in general and any theory of grammar "aiming at completeness" should have the FSP component explicitly formulated. (Daneš̄ 1974: Forward). FSP can be dealt with formally, and utterance phenomena are subject to generalisations as well.

### 2.3.1 Daneš̄

Daneš̄ (1964) proposes to avoid "much confusion in the discussion of syntactic problems" by assuming that elements and rules of three different levels are to be distinguished:

1. Level of the grammatical structure of sentence
2. Level of the semantic structure of sentence
3. Level of the organisation of utterance

Chomsky confuses grammar and semantics: the relation between these two is important, but for an adequate statement a separation is also important. This is not an attempt to separate levels, but to show their systematic interaction. As Daneš̄ puts it, syntax seems to be a complex of three levels, none of which is alone responsible for the organisation displayed in utterance. The three levels interact, but the less marked the word order (i.e. the closer to DS organisation) the more predominant is semantic structure. As we approach the surface, grammatical and functional levels begin to take over but still preserve



the semantic relations unambiguously.

The third level "makes it possible to understand how the semantic and the grammatical structures function in the very act of communication, i.e. at the moment they are called upon to convey some extra-linguistic reality reflected by thought and are to appear in an adequate kind of perspective." (Ibid.:227). Daneš accepts Firbas' idea that the act of communication depends on linear materialisation and linear perception of utterance on the one hand, and on the other on the extra-linguistic content of the message, context and situation, and the attitude of the speaker towards the message and the addressee. The third level, therefore, contains the processual aspect of utterance, while the other two have an abstract and static character. It is what he describes as "the dynamism of the relation between the meanings of individual lexical items in the process of the progressive accumulation, as well as the dynamism of all other elements of utterance (semantic and grammatical) arising out of the semantic and formal tension and of expectations in the linear progression of the making-up of every utterance." (Ibid.)

This level, then, contains all extra-grammatical means of organising the utterance as the minimal communicative unit, including rhythm, intonation, order of words and clauses, and some lexical devices. (Daneš (1967)).

"Neutral order" results when grammatical, semantic, thematic and contextual organisation are in agreement. "Marked order" implies the solution of conflict between levels. In English, fixed order is compensated for by a variable intonation contour, and by other structures (e.g. passive). In Czech it is the other way round. The framework for the dynamism of utterance represents "the functional perspective", which is a process operating in organising the context. Different languages employ different devices of FSP. Slavic languages employ word order and intonation. On the whole, the organisation of utterance embraces special means of systemic character wrongly classed with grammar or stylistics. A separate level of these phenomena could solve the complicated problems of word order. The concept of "sentence" as it stands covers elements of very different natures. Once we have recognised the three levels, structural interpretation deals with the relations and interactions among them. (Daneš 1964: 228).

### 2.3.2 Firbas

The Theory of functional Perspective was originated by Vilem Mathesius during the twenties and thirties. German scholarship had already divided the sentence into psychological subject and Predicate which had until then remained outside linguistic research. According to Firbas, Mathesius was influenced by a French scholar, Henri Weil, who differentiated between the "movement of ideas" expressed by the order of words,

uniform in all languages; and the syntactic movement, expressed by terminations, and these differed from language to language. Mathesius distinguished between the sentence as "a pattern belonging to the language system and the sentence as part of the context, i.e. an utterance ( a component of discourse)". (Mathesius, 1942: 6). A sentence was divided into a point of departure and a goal of discourse, roughly "given" and "new". The new concern was about how word order and semantic structure decided functional sentence perspective, which is different from formal structure: it concerns the way a sentence is incorporated into the material context out of which it has arisen, with theme-rheme order regarded as objective (i.e. unmarked) and the reverse order as subjective (i.e. marked). These terms later dominated Praguian linguistics in this field. Theme-rheme were to mean "known" and "unknown". In relation to context, the lexical units acquire specific meanings. The lexical and grammatical means function in a certain perspective. In English SVO order overrides FSP; the grammatical principle has a leading role, and so English is less susceptible to FSP than, for example, Czech.

Theme as "known" was challenged by Travníček who tended to account for it psychologically and considered it as the element "that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby." Every thought has its object, i.e. "a section of reality taken in by the senses or mediatorily

given, which the speaker/writer has in mind and to which the thought refers." It follows that even sentences that convey only new information have themes. (Firbas & Golkova, 1976: 61). (cf Gundel's "existential" presupposition.) Gradually Mathesius' definition was regarded narrower by his followers.

Jan Firbas, confronted with the problem of "themeless" sentences and theme as "given", resorted to what he called "communicative dynamism" or CD for a definition of FSP. FSP is

... the distribution of various degrees of CD over the elements within the sentence, the distribution being affected by an interplay (co-operation) of the semantic and grammatical structures of the sentence under conditions created by a certain kind of contextual dependence. (Firbas 1972: 82)

Communication is a dynamic phenomenon. Such sentences as those in English with a sequence of new-given, still displaying non-emotive order, are incongruent with FSP characterisation: CD, on the other hand, is a method that works in any direction depending only on semantic structure. This includes also discourse-initiating sentences, which, according to Mathesius' definition of theme as "known", were thought to be themeless. (Firbas, 1974; 23).

By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element we understand the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which it pushes the communication forward as it were. (Firbas 1966: 270)

New , unknown elements carry a higher degree of CD. The theme is the carrier of the lowest degree of CD, and it is not necessarily known. It is "the foundation upon which the information offered by the rest of the sentence is built." (Firbas, 1972: 88). CD rises gradually from the beginning towards the end, with a transition, usually the verb. This is the "basic distribution" of CD.<sup>1</sup> This rules out the possibility of permanently linking up certain degrees of CD with certain positions in the linear arrangement. Under certain conditions, the semantic structure of the sentence is capable of indicating the degree of CD through various items of semantic content conveyed by the sentence elements; in this way it is capable of acting counter to the basic distribution.<sup>2</sup> The final distribution of CD in the sentence is its FSP.

Elements expressing existence are in semantic content least in FSP. The person/thing that exists is the highest dynamic element. Verbs expressing action are higher in CD than those expressing existence, and also higher than circumstantials. SVO order is in harmony with

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<sup>1</sup>Halliday's solution to this problem (see Section 2.4) was that theme was made permanently initial in the sentence and was not necessarily 'given', in other words he separated the two dichotomies. What became a "marked" theme for Halliday would be a fronted rheme to Firbas, i.e. "emotive" structure.

<sup>2</sup>Chafe (1976: 33) sees that such a characterisation of CD implies a "scalarity" which is "unconvincing". He does not believe that given-new is a matter of degree: it is a dichotomy, a binary distinction. The implication, otherwise, "would be that the speaker can assume something to be in the addressee's consciousness to a greater or lesser degree." (See Section 3.4).

basic distribution. But deviation can occur: context may intervene and an object may become context-dependent, thereby changing the distribution of CD. Contextually independent elements have their CD determined by semantic structure and relations. Secondary principles affecting CD are rhythmical, grammatical and cohesive.

Firbas, as Halliday, considers theme to be a notion limited to the sentence; it can be "given" or "new". But for Firbas it always carries a low degree of CD, whereas for Halliday a theme can carry marked focus and express "new" information. For Firbas, theme can be anywhere in the sentence depending on the emotive power of the sentence. Halliday limits it to initial position. Whereas Halliday came to appreciate Travníček's characterisation of theme, Firbas rejects it because it fails to acknowledge the importance of FSP and for the fact that the relation between language and thought has not been "satisfactorily established." (Firbas, 1966: 274). Another notion which both Firbas and Halliday seemed to agree on was E. Beneš's separation of "basis", or opening element which links up the utterance with the context and situation, the starting point from which the utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is oriented, and "theme" which means to Beneš the same thing as Firbas' theme. Halliday will call the former "theme" and the latter "given".

Firbas dismisses Mathesius' suggestion that

English is less susceptible to FSP; it may not be a leading principle in English, but it is utilised. Grammatical structure may be rigid, but semantic factors affect FSP (Eirbas 1966b: 253). FSP relates grammar to intonation. Relations remain the same whatever the linear order: this is where semantics comes in and the difference between languages occurs. The system of FSP is not a rigid one.

### 2.3.3 Sgall

Petr Sgall regards the basic distribution of CD as a suitable point of departure in attempting a generative description of language in regard to the basic word order from which all other orders derive. It is more suitable for generating word orders (than a primary grammatical sentence pattern), integrating the notion of Topic-comment. Topic as "what the sentence is about" is an argument of the performative occupying the topmost S of every semantic representation. "What is said about the thing named in the topic," is Comment. He suggests a semantic representation of the kind: About x I tell you that S. Sgall (1973), from a Praguian functional standpoint, operates with generative descriptive tools: everything informing SS must be accounted for in the semantic representation "...with the topic/comment articulation (TCA) as a hierarchy of the elements of the semantic structure of a sentence." (Ibid.: 9).

Sgall rejects Daneš's and Halliday's "third level",

the communicative level, because the communicative property of natural languages is an essential property. A speaker "attempts to make other(s) modify in some respect some point of information stored in their memory: he identifies the points to be modified," (i.e. in the topic or "established element"); it is necessarily contextually bound. Then the speaker "specifies the change or new relationship"; this is comment, which is not necessarily new information. These two elements correspond to Chomsky's presupposition-focus. Sgall identifies the hierarchy of CD with Chomsky's permissible focus.

Two SS's differing in TCA could not spring from the same root, and here he differs from Daneš to whom utterances differing in TCA are variants of the same grammatical sentence. The semantic structure of a natural language differs from a logical formula:

The conditions of use of a sentence (or SR) are given not only by its presuppositions but also, among other things, by the scope of its bound segment. (Ibid.: 112)

Therefore semantic structure cannot be adequately explained without its communicative function. If two sentences differ in TCA (i.e. in boundness junction (see below) and CD) their truth conditions are not identical. Division into topic and comment is important. Linguistic meaning is part of SR (Semantic Representation.)



Sgall devises a method of semantic representation using the formula of predicate calculus, which he noted lacks the required linearisation essential for CD order determining the semantic role of participants. To assert their communicative property, the SR contains a connective interpretable as "about... that..." (ibid.: 244) as one of its elements. The result is a representation that could be taken as a basis for the derivations of the SS of sentences as well as for a study of the relationship between linguistic meaning and the logical form of assertion. (Ibid.). The underlying ordering of types of participants is called systemic ordering, determined by the grammar from which the hierarchy of CD is derived. This syntactic pattern accounted for by SR exists alongside a communicative pattern (with topic-focus units.) Participants are unmarkedly ordered according to "communicative importance," where the two patterns coincide; but in marked cases it does not coincide and an element of more "communicative importance" (e.g. the object) is relegated to a status of lower CD, or contextual boundness: this is what he calls "topicalisation." (Ibid.: 42). This is evident in passive constructions of English.

Unlike Firbas, to whom CD is a SS phenomenon, Sgall introduces it into DS, to relate syntactic patterns to communicative patterns. The arrangement is as follows: context-bound elements tend to occur first and before the verb, which is a pivotal element. After the verb are

placed contextually non-bound elements, and the boundary between the two segments is called the "boundary junction," (or BJ). CD as a continuum of "degrees" does not coincide exactly with this division, and the verb can be either included or not included in the focus, and not all bound elements are included in the topic. So SR is interpreted as a scale of CD, ordered from left-to-right as lowest to highest. The order does not consider internal structure. Focus is determined by Chomsky's question-response test as a discovery procedure.

Linguistic negation, for example, as distinct from logical negation of an assertion, is the negation of the relationship between the topic and the focus. The topic is outside the scope of negation because it is presupposed. The verb may be included or excluded. BJ is linguistically relevant as the study of negation proves. Its scope is determined by this juncture: the scope is exclusively on either side of BJ, and if it occurs on the boundary itself, it ends with the end of SR. Not only BJ, but also the position of the verb and the position of the negation operator itself decide the scope of negation.

Contextual boundness is "the stock of shared knowledge (or universe of discourse) between speaker and hearer." Part of this stock is activated by a given situation at a certain point; other parts are mentioned and foregrounded in the context, and these constitute

presuppositions (in Chomsky's sense). But according to logic, these are not part of "meaning proper"(or assertion). Only the latter is affected by negation and consists in the relationship between what is talked about and what is said about it. Sgall here differentiates between "predication" (i.e. syntactic structure) and "assertion" (i.e. communicative structure): these coincide only in unmarked cases. It is asserted about the topic that the focus holds, and by the verb something is predicated about its participants, but the two articulations do not coincide in marked cases. Sgall by this touches upon the problem of subject-predicate incompatibility with topic-comment structure.

Chomsky regards transformations as meaning preserving, but dealing with pairs of active and passive sentences, Sgall shows that they differ in their truth conditions and negation scope just because they differ in the position of BJ and in CD ordering. It follows that they differ in what is asserted and what is presupposed. Their linguistic meaning is not identical and they are not genuine paraphrases.

So, dissatisfied with Chomsky's SS interpretation of the semantic notions of focus-presupposition, and with Lakoff's global constraints applied to avoid deriving semantically different SS's from the same SR, which are "too strong", Sgall preserves Chomsky's meaning preserving transformations but without global constraints and without Lakoff's means of identifying the SR with ontological (cognitive) content.

#### 2.4 M.A.K. Halliday

Halliday's treatment of the place of theme and rheme relations in Systemic Grammar is closely related to the Praguian approach. He accepts FSP as an essential component of any semiotic system that professes to be a language (Halliday, 1974: 44); but each language has its own variety. FSP throws light on the specific text-creating function within the linguistic system (Ibid.: 53). Language is explainable in terms of social function; it is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve: hence the relevance of the Czech functional theory.

It is not what the speaker knows that attracts Halliday, it is what he can do; categories of grammar are categories of our experience. This determines options and structural realisations. Language functions determine its structure, and to learn language is to learn the uses of language the meaning potential associates with it. (1976: 6-8).

Halliday sees FSP as a system of linguistic description, not only utterance description; and he accepts Daneš's three levels as functional component systems in the grammar. (1974: 45). However, Daneš's grammatical level is to him an equally "semantic level" because it is the interpersonal level that chooses among options of mood and modality (choice of the speech role and assess-

ment of the validity and probability of what is said.)  
 A grammar of speech functions must incorporate roles and attitudes. The semantic level proper reflects our experience of the world that is around us and inside us, it is the "experiential component" involving the systems of transitivity with processes, participants and circumstances and performing the ideational function. The third level of text, which is language in use, is the "textual" function, which differs from the other in being instrumental not autonomous. It consists of the system of "theme", a grammar of messages, units of communication in the clause; it is the information structure within the clause, the status of elements as components of a message related to previous discourse and their organisation into an act of communication. (1968: 199). Like the other systems it pertains to the clause. This third level is FSP. Halliday relates the three components as follows:

Grammatical structure may be regarded, in fact, as the means whereby the various components of meaning, deriving from the different functions of language, are integrated together. We can see that each component makes its contribution to the total structure complex (1974: 49),

the different functions being simultaneous and compatible. Each utterance is multifunctional while being an integral structure, and FSP is an integral part of this system, with interdependence among options within itself, though it may be independent of options in other components. It is not a level but a vertical division in the content plane, whose place is within the textual

component. The latter relates to a theory of language functions<sup>1</sup>, to intrasentential and intersentential relations, including non-structural relations of presupposition, while FSP relates to structural relations within the sentence, which divide into relations pertaining to syntactic units such as sentence and clause--these concern theme and rheme, i.e. identification and predication; and phrase or group--these involve deictics; and relations pertaining to communicative units, "information structure", manifested as "given" and "new". Besides FSP, the textual component includes relations of verbal presupposition, i.e. reference, substitution, conjunction and lexical presupposition, with their related phenomena of anaphora and cataphora, cohesion and situational presupposition. (1974: 52 ).

Halliday deliberately avoids to use the term "topic" and "comment" because they are used in a way to conflate functions which he wished to separate. Topic for example is assumed to conflate "given" and "theme" (1968: 200). Theme and rheme are structural relations within the clause; "given" and "new" are communicative units of information structure. The clause is a message about one of its constituents; the "theme" is a "key signature" relating to discourse or speech function.

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<sup>1</sup>Functions are different from uses: it is the highly generalised functions into which language is organised that allow us to use it with such variety.

(1968: 223).<sup>1</sup>

The "theme" system offers six options, three of which concern the status of single elements in the clause; namely, predication (with identifier-identified constituents, a marked theme, thematic prominence--as opposed to cognitive prominence in identification-- unmarked focus, and it is not contrastive: it questions the identity of the theme and not the cognitive content); substitution (which assigns to clause final position an element which would otherwise appear as unmarked theme); and reference (involving pronominal anaphora within the clause and restricted to declarative clauses, and tends to emphasise theme function by isolating it from clause structure.)<sup>2</sup> Both reference and substitution are forms of afterthought. The three remaining options concern the clause as a whole: information, thematisation and identification.

The information system is phonologically realised by intonation: an information unit is optional and is not defined by constituent structure. It consists of tone groups; it is a unit of discourse and is essential for determining the focus which is the new information. The

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<sup>1</sup>Not all Halliday's themes are "real topics" in the terms of the present study; but they may well coincide with "derived topics." (See Section 3.3 below).

<sup>2</sup>In T.G., these correspond to rules of Clefting, Right-dislocation, and Left-dislocation respectively.

focus is realised as a tonic component. It is the burden of the message, usually referred to as the location of "emphasis." What is focal is new, not recoverable from preceding discourse. Information focus assigns to the information unit a structure in terms of the functions of "given" and "new".

The only fixed order of elements in the clause are theme and rheme, with a flexible prosodic distribution of tonic stress which is connected with given/new. So, unlike Firbas', Halliday's theme is not always the carrier of the lowest CD. To Firbas, "the determination of topic and comment...does not consist in a mere labelling of sentence elements as one or the other, but results from an inquiry into the interplay of means of FSP." (Firbas, 1971: 98). This flexibility in Halliday is assigned to given/new structure. Unmarkedly, however, given precedes new. What is anaphoric by reference is new only if contrastive,<sup>1</sup> because anaphoric items are inherently "given."

The domain of focus is determined by an implied question ; specific questions are derivable from any information unit except one with unmarked focus, which has a domain equal to the whole unit. What is "new" is what the speaker presents as such, and what is "given" is "what I was talking about before." "Theme" as a clause

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<sup>1</sup>This is similar to Chafe's characterisation of "contrastiveness". (Chafe, 1976: 33-38; see Section 3.4 below.)



element is "what I am talking about now." These two do not coincide.

Unmarkedness of theme depends on mood: it is the element which the speech function determines as the point of departure for the clause (subject in declaratives, predicator in imperatives, finite element in polar questions, and WH-word in non-polar ones). Marking for voice in English is a means of not marking for theme, and the combination of the two is ungrammatical. Items occurring obligatorily at the beginning of the clause (e.g. conjunctions) are not thematic and they allow thematic variation to follow them. So are modal and discourse adjuncts. A theme is therefore marked in mood if it is any element other than that derived from the mood of the clause, and marked in information if it receives the function "new".

Identifying equative clauses ( Pseudo-cleft sentences in terms of T.G.) differ from simple equatives in that they represent an option in the theme system. The nominalisation is always "identified" in function and it represents a value for which the identifier is a variable. The clause form is thematic, i.e. a matter of organising information, highlighting a theme, and the identifier always replaces the WH-word in the presupposed question: it therefore relates to the roles of given-new unmarkedly in this order. (1968: 235).

## 2.5 The Typological Issue and Language Universals: Li and Thompson

Having gained enough status to allow for an investigation into its validity as a semantic category with syntactic consequence, Topic-comment structure has been treated by Charles Li and Sandra Thompson (1976) as a typological category. They put the question as to how to characterise "subject" and "topic" on a language independent basis to find out what role they play in the structure of language. Their work is complemented by Keenan (see Section 2.5.1) who attempts a systematic description of the properties of "subject" in language as a relational notion, while they set out to characterise "topic", a much more elusive notion because it is discourse oriented. (Li 1976: x). Li comes to the conclusion that these two notions may have degrees of prominence in different languages. Certain languages display a Topic-comment relation rather than a Subject-predicate relation: a notion which is useful in the typology of languages.<sup>1</sup> Li and Thompson seem to agree with Gruber's suggestion (see Section 2.5.4) that Topic-comment relation is more fundamental to language acquisition. They suggest a historical cycle where at one stage topic notion is integrated into the basic sentence structure, and it is quite distinct from subject, and as topic becomes more integrated in the case frame of the verb, a language

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<sup>1</sup>"Typology" is defined by Li and Thompson as a description of strategies for accomplishing the same communicative goals.

passes through an intermediary stage where it is neither basically subject prominent nor topic prominent, and the markedness of sentences with clear topics decreases gradually, until the stage where topic becomes once more a basic structure element. (Ibid.: 485). Lehman tries to prove the same point by a diachronic study of the same phenomenon in Indo-European languages from topic-prominence to subject-prominence. (Lehman 1976). Givon too believes that subject derives diachronically from topic. (Givon: 1976).

The fact that certain languages employ basic structures which manifest topic-comment rather than subject-predicate relation suggests that "the notion of topic may be as basic as that of subject in grammatical descriptions and that languages may differ in their strategies in the construction of sentences according to the prominence of the notions of topic and subject." (Li and Thompson, ibid.: 459). While all the languages investigated have topic-comment constructions, not all of them have subject-predicate constructions. It would be more insightful to look at the structure of each language in the light of its basic type:

Grammarians tend to assume that sentences of a language are naturally structured in terms of subject, object, and verb. In general, it is not considered that the basic structure of a sentence could be described in terms of topic and comment.  
(Ibid.: 460)

Modern generative theories operated on this assumption

and, according to Li and Thompson, cannot help much in this direction.

Li and Thompson first set out to contrast the notions of subject and topic, with regard to the basic factors of discourse strategy, noun-verb relations, and grammatical processes. Keenan groups these into two sets: a general group, concerning the overall syntactic organisation of a language, and a specific group, concerning the relation of Topic NP to the rest of S. (Keenan 1976a: 295). Li and Thompson aimed to prove that the constituents are distributionally different:

1. Topics are always definite NP's<sup>1</sup>. Subjects need not be definite.
2. Topics need not have a selectional relation with any verb in the sentence, i.e. it need not be an argument of a predicative constituent, which is an important condition for subjects.
3. Verbs determine subjects and not topics in consequence to the above property. This is done on the basis of a hierarchy controlling the selection of subject (topic may have discourse requirements alternatively) based on roles such as agent, causer, patient, actor, etc.
4. The functional role of the topic is constant across sentences: it "sets a spacial, temporal, or individual

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<sup>1</sup>"Definite" here is adopted from Chafe's definition:  
 I think you already know and can  
 identify the particular referent  
 I have in mind. (Chafe 1976: 39)

framework within which the main predication holds."(Chafe, ibid.: 51). This is bound to discourse structure. Such a functional role precludes the occurrence of an indefinite topic. Subjects sometimes do not have a semantic role, such as "dummy" subjects. The functional role of subject is sentence bound, providing "the orientation or point of view of the action, experience, state, etc. denoted by the verb."(Li and Thompson,ibid.: 471).

5. Due to such independence, topics tend to display no agreement with the verb: it is a surface coding for subjects.
6. Topics are always sentence initial, even when codified by morphological markers, unlike subjects.
7. Subjects, but not topics, play roles in grammatical processes as reflexivisation, passivisation, Equi-NP Deletion, verb serialisation, and imperativisation. The syntactic independence of topics renders it unnecessary for such processes.

Grammatical implications for this typology includes the fact that in topic-comment languages, only topics are coded in SS (by initial position or morphological marking) and there is no coding for subject; whereas in languages which display both types of prominence, both are marked. In topic prominent languages, topics tend to control coreferentiality. In Mandarin, a deleted object or subject in a conjunct clause can only refer to the topic. The topic-oriented "double subject" construct is a basic type in these

languages, with the topic first followed by the subject. (Cf structures in CCA that observe this rule: see Chapter 5). These are found not to be derived by any movement rules, and they are peculiar to topic-prominent languages. Sentential comments are natural. Such subject-oriented constructions as the passive and "dummy"-subject sentences are rare or non-existent. (Ibid.: 471). In subject prominent languages, when a noun other than that designated to be a subject becomes subject, verbs are marked. Topics, on the other hand, do not register anything on the verb, hence passive constructions are not widespread in topic-prominent languages.

Constraints as to which elements cannot serve as topics operate in subject prominent languages only, topic prominent languages have no such constraints. On the other hand, in the latter type, speech roles are not expressed, but these disambiguate by context or semantic properties of nouns. Word order and morphology give no clues to relationships of nouns with verbs, and therefore we cannot identify "subject". However, in languages where reflexivisation and verb serialisation tends to mark a subject, as Mandarin, there are sentences of the topic-comment type that provide no evidence of any process of topicalisation.

Another difference between the two types is pseudo-passive which in topic-prominent languages shows

no sign of a derived subject. "Double subject" sentences as well cannot be derived because they have no underlying genitive relationship in most cases. Topic-comment sentences in topic-prominent languages have no restricted distribution and can occur as restrictive relative clauses and as non-asserted (presupposed, i.e. 'the fact that') clauses. Topic function then is not a marked case, but a basic structure.

Topic-subject typology exhibits a continuum, as some languages tend to be exclusively one type or the other, while others either use both types of sentences or simply merge the two functions into one constituent. The two notions are not unrelated because subjects can be considered as "essentially grammaticalized topics", integrated into the case frames of the verb. (Ibid.:484). Topic properties are still shared by subjects, i.e. some languages do not allow indefinite subjects. Topic then is manifested in different ways in different languages: either topic properties are encoded in a topic constituent or they are partly carried by the subject, where "to express unambiguously the topic as the discourse theme involves a separate proposition whose only function is topic establishment." (Ibid.) Expressions such as those commonly used by English children like "You know x?" or "Remember x?" are suggested as topic propositions.

Li and Thompson's treatment is suggestive of the

fact that the notion "topic" is a universal semantic primitive that is common to all languages, at different degrees of prominence. But they do not discuss any prosodic issues, and despite linking topic with elements of discourse, they do not state how this is done and therefore leave the question of how the notion links with information categories unanswered. They do not touch upon problems of what seem to be "topicless" sentences in subject-prominent languages: do such sentences tend to express only "grammatical" relations, with no "psychological" or "thematic" organisation? On the whole, their theory seems to bridge the gap between such extremes as Gundel's ruling out of topicless sentences and Greenberg's typology based only on subject as a relevant category.

### 2.5.1 Keenan

Keenan presents us with the other side of the typological procedure, providing "a definition of the notion 'subject of' which will enable us to identify the subject phrase(s), if any, of any sentence in any language." (Keenan 1976 b :305). The definition cuts across languages, meanwhile allowing for specific means in specific languages. He distinguishes a subset of sentences called "semantically based sentences" where "basic subjects" can occur. The result is a continuum of subject properties against which subjects of non-basic sentences are considered more or less subject-like than



others<sup>1</sup>. The definition as such is a "multi-factor" concept, comprising thirty properties of a pragmatic, semantic, or syntactic nature, which combine differently in different languages and perhaps different sentences. The more properties that apply to a NP in a sentence the more this NP is considered the subject of that sentence:

1. Autonomy properties include independent existence, i.e. basic subjects refer to entities which exist independent of the action or property expressed by the predicate, unlike objects; indispensability, i.e. cannot be eliminated; autonomous reference, i.e. the reference of a basic subject cannot depend on the reference of other NP's which follow it, but must be determined at the moment of utterance, e.g. the fact that reflexive pronouns in English cannot precede their antecedents. Subjects are possible controllers of coreference, coreferential deletions and pronominalisations. They are among NP's which control verb agreement. Subjects are the easiest to stipulate the reference of across clause boundaries; and coreferential deletion in sentence complements or under verb serialisation applies to subjects. Basic subjects, including indefinite ones, have absolute reference which requires that there must exist an entity that is referred to in order for the basic sentence to be

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<sup>1</sup>It follows that basic subjects in basic sentences must satisfy all the conditions for subjecthood, otherwise a sentence containing a subject that fails to satisfy one condition (or property) is less basic than one that does.

true.<sup>1</sup> Such a condition is not required for object NP's.

Presupposed reference cannot be suspended under negation, questioning or conditionalisation or in the case of metaphoric idioms which often suspend the existence implication of a NP.

Keenan finds that indefinite subjects in English can be negated in existence, and therefore doubts the "basicness" of sentences containing them.<sup>2</sup> He suggests that generic content of such NP's could be sustained under negation.<sup>3</sup>

Keenan considers basic subjects to be the normal topics of the basic sentence, i.e. they identify what the speaker is talking about, and carry old information. In basic sentences, then, subjects are not distinct from topics. The non-basic sentences containing indefinite subjects are arrived at by some sort of derivation and . . . topic properties are more fundamental to universal language structure. A place in sentences that is highly monopolised by definite NP's is subject place, which tends to be leftmost, with some exceptions. Subjects

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<sup>1</sup>This is similar to Gundel's "existential presupposition" which she considers to be a condition for identifying topics (see Section 2.2.5). Gundel however denied that indefinite NP's could act as topics because they do not carry existential presupposition, unless they are generic. Keenan here does not seem to be suggesting the same thing.

<sup>2</sup>He gives the example of "No student attacked John."

<sup>3</sup>Gundel suggests that only indefinite nouns with generic counterparts could act as topics, and that specific indefinites in English could not.

have wider scope logically and are included among NP's that can be relativised, questioned or cleft, and can undergo raising. They can be targets of "advancement" transformations, such as passive in English.

2. Case marking properties state that basic subjects of intransitive sentences are not case marked if any of the other NP's are not case marked, with few exceptions. NP's which change case marking under causativisation and nominalisation include subjects.

3. The semantic role of referents of subjects is predictable from the verb, so are some semantic category informations such as animacy, but they undergo fewer semantic restrictions than objects. If a sentence expresses an agent, it is the subject which takes over the role. It is used to express the addressee phrase of imperatives. The position, case marking, and verb agreement exhibited by the causer NP in the most basic type of causative sentences are all the same as the basic subject's.

4. Chomsky in Aspects characterises subject by being immediately dominated by the root node S. But as we may find difficulty in determining whether subparts of sentences are constituents, this condition is doubtful. There are cases where more than one NP is immediately dominated by S: languages whose unmarked order is VSO; languages with relative free order of subjects and objects; languages with SOV order where the existence of a VP constituent is doubtful.

Some of these properties of subjecthood are hard to pass on to derived subjects, others are hard to lose even when elements have lost their subjecthood. A hierarchy showing such an ordering of properties (Promotion to Subject Hierarchy) is suggested. (Ibid.:324-31).

### 2.5.2 Givon

T. Givon(1976) regards topic relation as instrumental in surface agreement between the verb and its participants. Surface agreement between subject and verb is regarded as a "myth". What really goes on is topic-verb agreement involving pronominalisation: a perfect recipe for topic-shift constructions. Pronominalisation results in these constructions when the topicalised NP is coreferential with an argument of the verb.<sup>1</sup> "Topic Agreement" is an expression of coreferentiality by the use of an anaphoric pronoun: when a language realises the topic constituent as subject, the topic agreement is reanalysed as subject agreement. In this case, agreement and pronominalisation are "one and the same phenomenon." (Ibid.:151). Languages which use zero pronouns in anaphora do not have such agreement in topic-shift constructions. Synchronically such pronouns reanalyse as agreement morphemes, continue to be anaphoric and in some languages which have a paradigm of subject-verb agreement, the subject NP is deleted

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<sup>1</sup>In Part II, the discussion of topicalisation in CCA will reveal a similar process going on in Arabic. This analysis is relevant to Anshen and Schreiber's interpretation of number agreement on verbs. (See Section 1.2.2).

anaphorically , having developed from topic agreement; but, having matured, grammatical agreement proceeds to perform other functions as well. Givon's theory, therefore, seems to be based upon an acceptance of the diachronic cycle suggested by Li and Thompson(1976), and the historical development from topic-verb to subject-verb (Lehman 1976; Vennemann 1974).

Topic shift requires definite and generic nouns, and in many languages subjects carry these properties, therefore they are the highest on the topicality hierarchy and easily develop grammatical agreement:i.e. the agreement evolving from coreferential anaphoric pronominalisation mentioned above. This often occurs when a subject in topic position is "over used" (as a marked construction and the pronoun becomes reanalysed as a subject agreement, then the construction is "de-marked." (Ibid.: 154). Givon gives the example of Pidgins and Creoles, which develop under "communicative stress" and therefore apply over-topicalisation for purposes of over-elaboration: they present us with a strongly motivated case for developing subject agreement from topic agreement. Such a tendency is also evident in non-standard dialects of English and French.

Grammatical agreement is a "fundamentally topic related phenomenon, arising from anaphoric pronominalisation in topical discourse contexts."

### 2.5.3 Kuno and Other Applied Studies: Hyman and Zimmer, Lehman and Gruber

Susumo Kuno sees that the underlying semantic factors "do not show a one-to-one correspondence with syntactic relations." (1976: 437), and as such it is not right to rely on syntax alone. For example, Ross's constraints formulated in purely syntactic terms are in fact "derivatives of constraints on what qualifies as theme." Kuno looks at relativisation in the light of the accessibility of theme. His first constraint is that "a relative clause must be a statement about its noun<sup>1</sup> head." Relativisation in Japanese involves deletion not of an ordinary NP but of the theme of the embedded clause. (Ibid.: 419). In his Complex NP Constraint, Ross tried to account for a basic semantic phenomenon in terms of syntax. The question is "how easy or how difficult it is to interpret a NP within a complex NP as the theme of the entire sentence." (425). The hierarchy suggested by Keenan and Comrie<sup>2</sup> for the accessibility of noun phrases for relativisation is in fact a hierarchy for the accessibility to thematic interpretation of the noun phrases:

i. Subject  $\supseteq$  Dir. Obj  $\supseteq$  Indir Obj  $\supseteq$  Obj of Prep  $\supseteq$  Poss NP  
 $\supseteq$  Obj of Comparative Part

ii. If X  $\supseteq$  Y and Y dominates Z, then X  $\supseteq$  Z

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<sup>1</sup>Kuno refers to the fact that this constraint was overlooked by all linguists, including Ross, with the exception of Gundel (see Section 2.2.5 above).

<sup>2</sup>

E. Keenan and B. Comrie, "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar.", Papers presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of the LSA, Atlanta, Georgia, 1972.

Hyman and Zimmer (1976) inspected the embedded causative constructions in French in the light of the "Natural Topic Hierarchy" devised by Hawkins and Hyman (1975). This hierarchy tells us what speakers are likely to talk about and is based on four strategies:

1. Word order (Topic occurs first).
2. Case (animate cases are more accessible).
3. Person (priority goes to first, then second then third person, interacting with human vs non-human).
4. Definiteness.

Hyman and Zimmer found that the change in word order reflects a different topic status of the various sentential elements. A human noun occurring in direct object position in embedded sentences demands passivisation because of its topic-worthiness. With experiential verbs, no passive construction can occur because it is subject-oriented. If the object is affected, a passive construction is possible. Considerations of "natural" topic provide "intrinsic" variation in discourse which becomes rigidified into syntactic rules;<sup>1</sup> at least such is the case in embedded clauses in French.

W.P. Lehman's statement about the possibility of a historical drift from topic-comment to subject-predicate structure in Indo-European languages (1976) is interesting when linked with J.S. Gruber's study of child

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<sup>1</sup>This point, (cf Givon (1976) and Steele (1975)) may prove relevant to the position of subject in CCA. (See discussion in Chapter 4).

acquisition of English. Lehman builds his study on the lack of selectional restrictions between topic and verb and the lack of government of verb over subject, in addition to the absence of passives and dummy subjects in earlier Indo-European. (See Li and Thompson above for relating these properties to topic-comment structure.) Gruber on the other hand looks at the development from topic-comment to subject-predicate organisation in child grammar. At one stage the child's language does not manifest subject-predicate relations but rather a topic-comment arrangement, which according to Gruber partly persists in adult grammar. Gruber (1969) places topicalised sentences in the grammar of English in DS. They are generated as Topic-comment constructions. The Topic NP, dominated by S, is cogenerated with the Comment S'.<sup>1</sup> (Ibid.: 424). Such constructions are essential to the child's grammar. If a child utilises an innate knowledge, as Chomsky puts it, in learning his language, then this means that there are language universals, and that is what Gruber is seeking to discover by his study of acquisition. He found out that Topic-comment is more fundamental and subject-predicate "is merely a special case of topic-comment construction." (Ibid.: 431). Only in this way can we explain the child's stages of acquisition, because a child grammar is not just an imitation of his parents' grammar. Topicalisation is defined as:

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<sup>1</sup> Cf Gundel's formulation of DS (see Section 2.2.5). This approach has been used by Lewkovicz in her analysis of Standard Arabic.



... some major constituent of a sentence such as a noun phrase, which is identical with (or has the same referent as) a constituent in the given sentence, may be generated before or after this sentence. In the given sentence, then, this noun phrase is represented by a noun or by nothing at all. The co-generated constituent is called the topic, and the given sentence is called the comment. (Ibid.)

Even in cases where SS is subject-verb, the subject in this position is considered to be topicalised, with a deleted reference in the Comment. (cf Givon (1976)). Topics are sometimes marked by a pause in the juncture of the NP with the VP. (This fact was also emphasised by Halliday (1966-67)). Nouns and case marked pronouns both serve as topics<sup>1</sup>, and both do not appear with the copula in child grammar. Topicalisation is not a process but an underlying form, because as an extraposition process, we would not be able to account for the relation between the topic and the NP in the comment as one of possession not identity. Besides, there is no stage in the development of the language to suggest that a subject is established then followed by extraposition.

First a child uses sentences without subject at all. Then in an intermediate stage he uses the richer patterns of topic and comment, then, if he is learning English, he switches to subject-predicate construction. "Topic-comment relation is the precursor of subject-predicate relation." (Gruber 1969: 446). The former evolves

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<sup>1</sup>Gundel (1974) later studies this aspect of topicalisation and suggests that topic must be an element in a deleted higher clause, a solution suggested by Ross's performative hypothesis.

into the latter, but subject remains the obligatory  
and most deeply embedded topic.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE DEFINITION OF TERMS

#### 3.1 Introduction

The terminological confusion among linguists writing on the subject of topic-comment structure in universal theory is great. The dichotomies are numerous: "given-new", "focus-presupposition", "old-new", "known-unknown", "theme-rheme", "subject-predicate", and not the least "topic-comment". Besides, there are related notions of "emphasis", "novel", "point of departure", "prominence", and so on. Some linguists tend to collapse two or more notions under one term, as the Praguean's use of "theme" and "rheme", and others tend to assign different terms to one notion, such as Akmajian's use of "emphasis", "novel" and "prominent". (Akmajian, 1970). Halliday, on the other hand works by a principle which can be roughly described as one-term-per-notion principle. For a specific study of any kind in this field, a definition of the relevant terms to be used will be necessary in order to avoid any ambiguity or confusion.

#### 3.2 Topic and Topicalisation, Initial Position and Emphasis

The problematic, perhaps elusive, nature of characterising "topic" and "comment", so far resulting in many disagreements among linguists, is not

easy to pinpoint in just one direction. But perhaps an important aspect of the problem resides in the fact that linguists have been dealing with two separable properties of topic and each linguist has attempted to gloss both under one definition, and consequently under one set of rules.

Linguists who allocate initial position to topic/theme, such as Chomsky and Halliday, would not distinguish focussed and presupposed elements in that position. Linear arrangement is crucial to a definition of topic based on the sentence/clause. Other linguists who link topic with a notion of "presupposition", such as Gundel, or who base their definition on discourse notions of "given", as is the case with the Praguians, will find that position is not essential to the characterisation of topic. The essential sentence properties emanating from linear organisation, will be assigned a different function from topic-comment, namely communicative dynamism. (see Firbas above, Section 2.3.2).

In a sense, it is necessary to look at topic as a logical notion linked with some form of presupposition or a discourse notion linked with information categories. But seen as "what the sentence is about," "a point of departure," or "a frame within which the sentence holds true," (Gundel 1974; Halliday 1967; Chafe 1976; Magretta 1977), topic is a category of informational

structure that is essentially placed in initial position, preferably on the basis of universal evidence, because topics do tend to occur in initial position, a place which most linguists regard as emphatic. Even in an approach which does not limit topic to initial position, for example Gundel (1974), the first PSR

$$S \longrightarrow \overline{NP} \overline{S}$$

attaches special importance to the first position. This type of emphasis is different from the emphasis attributed to focal stress realised by the intonational centre, represented in the highest rise and the lowest fall. Joseph Greenberg confirms this fact from his study of language universals:<sup>1</sup>

In general the initial position is the emphatic one, and while there are other methods of emphasis, (e.g. stress), the initial position always seems to be left free so that an element to which attention is directed may occur first. (1966: 103)

First position derives its emphatic nature from linear considerations, as focal emphasis derives it from prosodic considerations. R. Langacker's (1969:160) "precede" as one of the "primacy relations", often effected by fronting rules which increase the prominence of a constituent especially when it is also raised, is relevant to this issue:

Part of what it means for a constituent to be topicalised is that it is rendered more prominent than the remainder of the objective content. (Langacker 1974: 652-53)

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<sup>1</sup>See Halliday (1970:42).

There is evidence from many languages, and particularly topic prominent languages (see Section 2.5) that the first position in the sentence is the salient topic position.

But this position is difficult to reconcile with any definition of topic based on logical properties connected with presupposition. The solution for Halliday, for example, would be not to use the term "topic" at all and to opt for "theme", which he does not link with information categories such as "given/new" and he explains sentence initial position on linear-clausal basis. Chomsky defined topic in terms of position again and did not seem to link it with "presupposition", which is similar to "given". Firbas solves the problem of position by his theory of "communicative dynamism" (see Section 2.3.2). Lakoff, who equates topic to a deep semantic category, does not allocate it any specific position in DS. But there remains for him the problem of "neutral" (topicless) sentences, which is unacceptable to Gundel. Her topic, connected to "existential presupposition" is always present in the sentence, either explicitly or implicitly. Movement rules and focus transformations can shift the constituent around, and we can topicalise both topic and focus. Although Gundel studies movement rules that affect nominals only, reflecting the facts of English, her approach could suggest a general explanation.

In the present study, I will assume that topic as "given" (or "presupposed" in Chomsky's sense) can

occur anywhere in the sentence, and it is defined by virtue of its relation to previous discourse and by a question-answer test in the manner of Chomsky. The link between topic as such and initial position is a matter of surface organisation: topic as essentially given and presupposed is as much a candidate for this position as other elements of structure. As to why topic, or any other element, should occur in this position, this can be explained by the "emphatic" nature of this position which Langacker connects with "precede" as a type of "prominence". (Langacker 1974). In other words, a topic occupying initial position is given extra prominence by virtue of its occurrence in a "preceding" position along a linear structure. In this it is not different from other elements of structure (e.g. focal elements) occurring in initial position.<sup>1</sup> To sum up, first position, accessible to many elements including topic, is, according to this view, a place of EMPHASIS. I will, therefore, associate topic in the sense of "given", with initial position when it occurs here for the sake of prominence and for this reason alone. Topic as a non-focal element gains prominence by "preceding" other elements in the sentence, while in a non-initial position it is reduced to its least communicatively dynamic status.

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<sup>1</sup>For the distinction between "theme" (topic) and "contrastive element" occurring initially, see Kuno (1972).

Elements of structure are organised linearly according to two different principles: a grammatical principle, which in the case of English, for example, renders the subject as the most likely topic; and a communicative principle, which makes the first position in the sentence the place for that element which the sentence is about, namely, "topic". But in CCA, besides the subject, CCA can have in this position other nominals, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and prepositional phrases. It is all a matter of communicative intent, i.e. a functional purpose. And similar to other categories of functional behaviour, it is realised in terms of semantic and syntactic rules. (Daneš 1964; see page 69 above.) Hetzron (1975) and Langacker (1974) approach movement rules with the same functional motivation: optional rules involve choice, and choice is guided by communicative purpose.

In CCA, initial position is always occupied by a referring element, and referring elements are by definition "given". Among the given elements in the sentence the subject seems to exercise a priority for topical prominence. As a regional dialect, CCA departed from the Standard Arabic variety by an "over-use" of subject in topic position (see Givon, Section 2.5.2 above), where it has eventually been grammaticalised unmarkedly as the first element of sentence structure. The "unmarked topic" is the subject of the sentence. The only



element in the sentence that can gain precedence in position over the subject and relegate it to second position is a "marked" topic.<sup>1</sup> The unmarked topic is associated, therefore, with the unstressed subject NP in initial position. Subjects are high in the "topicality hierarchy" and are connected by Hawkinson and Hyman (1975) with a high degree of "topic-worthiness". They are considered to be "natural" topics especially when realised by first and second person pronouns (see the relevant rule in CCA Section 5.3). This observation reflects in CCA in the fact that these (subject) pronouns are often realised as pronominal clitics attached to the verb without an overt antecedent of ɣana "I" or ɣinta/ti "you" (including the corresponding plural forms ɣihna "we" and ɣintu(m) "you") in the same sentence. It is not so much the case with third person huwwa/hiyya/humma "he/she/they". (Also see Kirsner, 1976).

Thus CCA has an unmarked SS of SVO, but it will be seen in Part II that this structure is essentially a derived structure. Initial position is emphatic and the subject occupies it only when no other element of the structure qualifies for this emphasis. The function "subject" in initial position seems to be subsumed by a superordinate category which I label "Topic", and so SS in CCA is essentially a TVO arrangement. I will, therefore, call the movement to the initial sentence

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<sup>1</sup>Topic can be preceded by connectives which will not qualify for topic status. It is assumed that topic is the only lexical category that can precede the subject.

position "Topicalisation". To topicalise means to reorder an element in the underlying structure so that it can assume topic position, which is sentence initial. We are here conflating both the grammatical and the communicative levels of distribution into one organisational strategy: namely topic-comment arrangement. It is the relation of the topic to the predicating element in DS, necessarily a logical relation, which distinguishes marked from unmarked SS's. We have been so far dealing with topic as a non-focal element expressing "given". But topic as such can occur elsewhere in the sentence when a "new" element is selected for initial positional prominence. The information categories, as observed above, interact with topic-comment alignment. This is discussed next.

### 3.3 The Two Types of Topic

Langacker (1974) subsumes under topicalisation what he calls "Y Movement", Adverb Fronting and Subject Placement. (see page 105 above), but he assigns no information status to topic. Gundel's proposal that topic be regarded as necessarily "presupposed" element and Firbas' proposal that it be treated as the least communicative element assume no specific position for topic. The two kinds of approach are incompatible: not all fronted elements are presupposed and, in my definition, initial position is emphatic. I, therefore, find it necessary to distinguish two types of topical constituent in the sentence: a constituent based on the

notion "given" determined by contextual boundness which I will call the "real topic"; and the other constituent is determined by the linear order and position which I will call the "derived topic". The real topic is realised by an element performing one of several grammatical functions in the underlying structure. The derived topic, which is sentence initial, is related to the rest of the sentence as the element which the sentence is about. It can be a given or new element, and it is a clause element, the topic of the actual sentence under discussion. It is the element the speaker selects to use as the starting point, hence its positional emphasis. It is dissociated from other elements of structure by being fronted as an immediate constituent of the initial node S in the PM. (This will be discussed in Chapter 4). It is this constituent which I choose to put under examination in the present study. It can be a "given" element or a "new" element--new elements being specified by the intonation centre.

In CCA, we can distinguish subjects from other nominal topics by five criteria:

1. Pronominal replacement in the comment applies to all topics. (See Section 3.5 below). In the case of the subject-topic it is realised as a number agreement on the verb (see Section 4.5), while in the case of all other nominals it is realised by a different paradigm

of accusative/genetive pronominal clitics:

(3.1) a. *ʔittuffaah ʔakaluu ʔilwilaad*

"(lit.) The apples ate-it the children."

[Plur]

b. *ʔittuffaah ʔakalu ʔilwilaad*

[Sing]

(3.2) *ʔilwilaad DARAbhum ʔabuuhum*

"(lit.) The children hit-them their father."

The difference between (a) and (b) in (3.1) is the agreement pattern between the verb and the subject: in the first, the subject which precedes the verb is replaced by a pronoun (underlined) marking number agreement on the verb; the second sentence has the singular/plural distinction neutralised in post-verbal position. (3.3) is unacceptable because the preverbal subject has not been resumed in post-verbal position:

(3.3) \**ʔilwilaad ʔakal ʔittuffaah*

(3.2) shows the topic resumed in object position by the pronoun -hum instead of -u.

2. Grammatical subjects are the only elements that display gender and person agreement with the verb. A topic does not accord with the verb unless it was also the subject of the verb.

3. Subjects impose selectional restrictions on the

verb/predicate, whereas topics , i.e. non-subject topics, need not do the same:

(3.4)a. maḥammad mirAAtu wildit

"(lit.)Mahammad his-wife delivered."

b. filbint Cineeha zarfa

"(lit.) The girl her-eyes blue."

c. maḥammad beetu fithadd

"(lit.) Mahammad his-house was demolished."

The selectionally incompatible pairs in(3.4 a-c) are maḥammad-wildit "Mahammad (Masc. sing.)-delivered", filbint-zarfa "the girl-blue", and 'maḥammad-fithadd "Mahammad (animate)-was demolished".

4. Topics are always definite, but subjects in non-topic position can be indefinite.

5. Topics are always sentence initial, but subjects have a much wider distribution. Because topics are sentence initial and definite, they are contextually constrained, whereas subjects need not be so.

The "real topic", characterised by contextual boundness, can occur anywhere in the sentence and can coincide with any element of structure. It is always an element of the presupposed question for which the sentence in question is a natural response, whereas the focus is the element in the sentence that replaces the question word in the presupposed question. Semantically,

sentences with different informational structures cannot be synonymous. Each different question shifts the focus to a different place in the sentence thereby inviting a different response.

To sum up, my definition of topic has so far rested on two parameters: semantically, it is what the sentence is about, and syntactically, it is positionally defined as being sentence initial. Topic henceforth will mean "derived topic" and the term "real topic" will be used to refer specifically to the "given" element in the sentence. Position is important for topic in CCA because it is not demarcated morphologically. Topicalisation uses alternative word orders for communicative purposes. In derived structures, the real topic could coincide with the derived topic. In all cases topic position is used for positional emphasis, and it is accessible through the application of topicalisation rules. These rules will operate on a DS, which will be discussed in Section 4.4, to effect a SS linear organisation required for the implementation of a communicatively viable utterance whose components can be assessed informationally.

### 3.4 Where Topic Comes From

As to where topic comes from, we have seen above that there exist two approaches: it is regarded either as a DS notion, part of the SR of a sentence, with identical elements generated inside and outside

S', later applying deletion and pronominalisation (e.g. Gundel 1974), or a SS node arrived at transformationally by movement rules and copying rules (e.g. Ross 1968). Chomsky's shifting position from 1965 to 1976 seems to oscillate between these two solutions.

The present study will adopt the transformational solution to the characterisation of topicalisation in CCA. It is important to point out that "Topicalisation" in CCA will not correspond to the rule carrying the same name in English Transformational Grammar (see Ross 1968:233; Chomsky 1976). Instead, topicalisation is used as a general term to cover all forms of leftward movement. It is not contrasted with other forms of such movement, e.g. left dislocation. It consists of a number of rules that result in the fronting of noun phrases, adverbs, verbs and predicate phrases including adjectives and prepositional phrases. The only form of noun phrase fronting rule in CCA is similar to Left-dislocation in English grammar: it is a copying rule and not a chopping rule (See Ross 1968). A nominal element in CCA cannot be shifted to initial position without leaving a pronominal copy. But elements such as adverbs are not required to leave a copy and are subject to fronting rules which have different properties from those relevant to NP shift. Predicative elements, like verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositional phrases in initial position must receive both types of emphasis: "focal" and "positional" (see Section 3.6). As these are derived by a different rule, rules of focus assignment

will duly apply to the resulting structures, triggered by specific features in the output structure of this rule.

### 3.5 The Pronominal Copy

A derivation, and all the transformations that apply to it, both reordering and morphological rules, preserve the basic semantic relations among elements of SS. The result is a SS which marks each constituent as to its deep semantic role and position. An example would be the passive construction which inflects the verb to mark the deep semantic role of the derived subject. But above all in CCA, the pronominal copy resumes the function and position of the topicalised element, not excluding subjects, as will be argued in Part II. It follows that if a nominal element cannot leave a pronominal copy in the place from which it is lifted, the resulting structure will be ungrammatical. An example of such an element is the Object Complement (see Section 5.1 below). Derived topic resulting from the topicalisation of a focal element, yielding a structure with the sequence new-given, will be considered to occur in a cleft sentence<sup>1</sup> to which cleft-reduction has applied. This will be called the "topicalisation of focus" (a term borrowed from Gundel 1974). In such a structure, the pronominal copy will be identified with a constituent which has been assumed by many linguists to perform a copular function and only that. This is the case with

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<sup>1</sup>Such structures seem to be interpreted as cleft sentences in at least one more variety of spoken Arabic, (see Ahmed 1979: 317) but my suspicion is that it is common to more varieties. Atiya (1976: 271) also sees a connection between initial focal NP's and



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<sup>1</sup>Such structures seem to be interpreted as cleft sentences in at least one more variety of spoken Arabic, (see Ahmed 1979: 317) but my suspicion is that it is common to more varieties. Atiya (1976: 271) also sees the syntactic connection between initial focal NP's and cleft structures in CCA.

all copular sentences in CCA (see below Section 5.6).

As the pronominal copy's main function is to resume the role and position of the fronted element, it will henceforth be referred to as the "resumptive pronoun."

### 3.6 Presupposition and Focus

"Presupposition" here will not be used in the logical sense adopted by Lakoff and Gundel in their definition of Topic, i.e. a statement S presupposes a statement S' if, and only if, the truth of S' is a precondition of the truth or falsity of S. (Strawson 1952: 175). It will be regarded as a SS notion as defined by Chomsky and applied by Halliday: by pairing questions and answers the information assumed to be shared by both speaker and hearer is what I will call "presupposition."

"Focus" on the other hand is the element bearing the intonation centre in SS. (See pages 115-16). This is distinct from the use of the same term by Ashen and Scriber (1968) or Kuno (1976) to denote the highlighting of topic by promotion to initial position, not involving the intonation centre.<sup>1</sup> In their treatment, it is often referred to as "focus of attention." To Kirsner (1976:389) and Keenan and Schieffelin (1976), "focus" is a form of "foregrounding" that could be part of the given informa-

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<sup>1</sup>Y.A.M. Ahmed (1979:141) defines "focus" along these lines too, applying it to a variety of spoken Arabic.

tion in the sentence because it is linked with "discourse topic". Using a participant role hierarchy, Kirsner places the subject as the highest participant, and it is therefore a focussing position.

Focus in the present study is an information category that is prosodically determined by the intonation centre and necessarily expresses new or "contrastive" information.

It is assumed here that "emphasis" is of two types: "focal" and "positional". (See page 105). An element carrying sentence stress and occurring in initial position will be given the maximum load of information: a falling intonation is characteristic of such an element. Like "end focus", i.e. the normal sentence stress placed on the last lexical item in the sentence, this focus bears a sense of "being conclusive." A non-focal topic, on the other hand, tends to have a rising or level tone. An initial focal element functions both as the centre of attention and as the focus of information, and it is necessarily derived by different rules from those applied to derive non-focal topics. (See Section 3.4 and 3.5 above). The newness or the novelty of the focus "is the novelty of being identified by the presupposition. It is the semantic relation in which this constituent participates and not the constituent focus itself." (Akmajian 1970: 223).

To define focus I must also define "given" and "new". In this study, "given" is understood in W. Chafe's sense: it is not connected with what the addressee may know already, but with what the speaker thinks is in the addressee's consciousness at the moment of utterance. Given information is pronounced with a lower pitch and weaker stress, and it is subject to pronominalisation, unless it is contrastive. (Chafe 1976: 30-31). Focal emphasis, defined in terms of the intonation centre is of two types. Normal focus here called "end focus" already referred to above is expressed by a falling intonation; and "contrastive focus" is realised in terms of the highest fall and rise. In Contrastive focus, givenness can be involved, but the newness of the focus is implied. The speaker does not assume that the item is not present in the speaker's consciousness, but it is the assertion of the focus in connection with the commenting predicate that matters. This is not unlike Lakoff's view of a case of contrastive focus which he finds to be part of the presupposition. (See Section 2.3, page 49 above). Contrastiveness in this case combines givenness with information focus. Contrastive focus and cleft structures are closely associated in this sense. Contrastiveness opposes the choice of focus "to other possible candidates the addressee might have had in mind." (Chafe, ibid.:33). The limited set of possibilities can be either given in previous discourse or given in the stock of knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer. In the first case the speaker

is choosing one item among the set of items, and in the second case, he is simply asserting that it is x and no one else that can participate in this semantic relation. It is what Chafe calls "quasi-given". (Ibid.: 34) . At any case, the speaker assumes that a limited number of candidate items is available in the addressee's mind, whether or not the addressee could actually list them all. But if the set is acutally unlimited, the sentence fails to be contrastive. If the choice is made among a wider set of items, there is no specific contrast to one (or more) person/thing in particular, but to anything that can participate in this semantic relation.

According to Chafe, language functions effectively only if the speaker takes account of the temporary states with relation to the language store of knowledge the mind contains at any specific moment. (Ibid.:28). Whether asserting a fact or contradicting a belief of the addressee, the speaker is, in the case of contrastiveness, always acting against the background of that "quasi-given" information. The distinction between given and new "which applies in non-contrastive sentences has little relevance to contrastive sentences." In the given or quasi-given background, the elements are either syntagmatically or paradigmatically present. That is why "contrastive sentences are qualitatively different from those which simply supply new information from an unlimited set of possibilities."(Ibid.: 34)

The test employed by Chafe (page 35) "as a rule of thumb" for testing contrastive focus is "whether the phrase 'rather than (instead of, not)!' can be felicitously inserted after the focus." This suggests that contrast does not provide "new information" purely.

Initial focal position in CCA is always semantically contrastive<sup>1</sup>, and as such it is part of the given. I tend to associate topic with given even when it is focal. But I also tend to assign different functions to two terms which have so far been often used synonymously, namely "given" and "known". While any item can be selected for the purpose of contrastive focus among a "given" set of items as shown above, the item-to-be-chosen remains "unknown" to the hearer until the moment of utterance. Thus a contrastive element is "given" but not "known". Contrast is, therefore, a speaker-oriented notion, while "known" is a hearer-oriented one. It follows that a "new" element is both "new" and "unknown". "Known" is a relation that I associate with

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<sup>1</sup>P. Sgall (1973: 305) offers a similar characterisation of the alignment of such elements to Chafe's: "... an element of the foreground of the shared knowledge can be referred to in two distinct ways in an utterance: either it is only mentioned as an element known to the hearer, identifiable, recoverable (in Halliday's meaning of the term), its relationship to other items(s) being stated in the utterance or else it is used as a part of the 'new information', it is brought into a relation to another known item, being chosen among other possible candidates that could bear this relation to that item. In the former case the given element is included in the topic, ... in the latter case it is inside the focus. On the other hand, an element not belonging to the foreground of the 'stock of shared knowledge' can be used only in the focus...."

given elements that are not contrastive.

Contrastiveness can also be expressed in CCA by an element in non-initial position, receiving a higher rise-fall than normal focus, which tends to distinguish it, especially in final position. Initial NP's, however, are unambiguously contrastive, and where I tend to disagree with Chafe is in excluding such elements from the category of topic. (Chafe, ibid.: 50). If topic has to be given these are given elements marked by contrastive focus. Topic in CCA is always definite,<sup>1</sup> and definiteness is a result of givenness. The tendency in CCA is to transmit given information first, followed by new information. In the case of an initial contrastive (therefore focal) element, followed by given, the newness lies in the "connexion of the two elements." (Jespersen 1942: 145). In CCA the topic is expressed either by the "real topic" or a contrastive element.

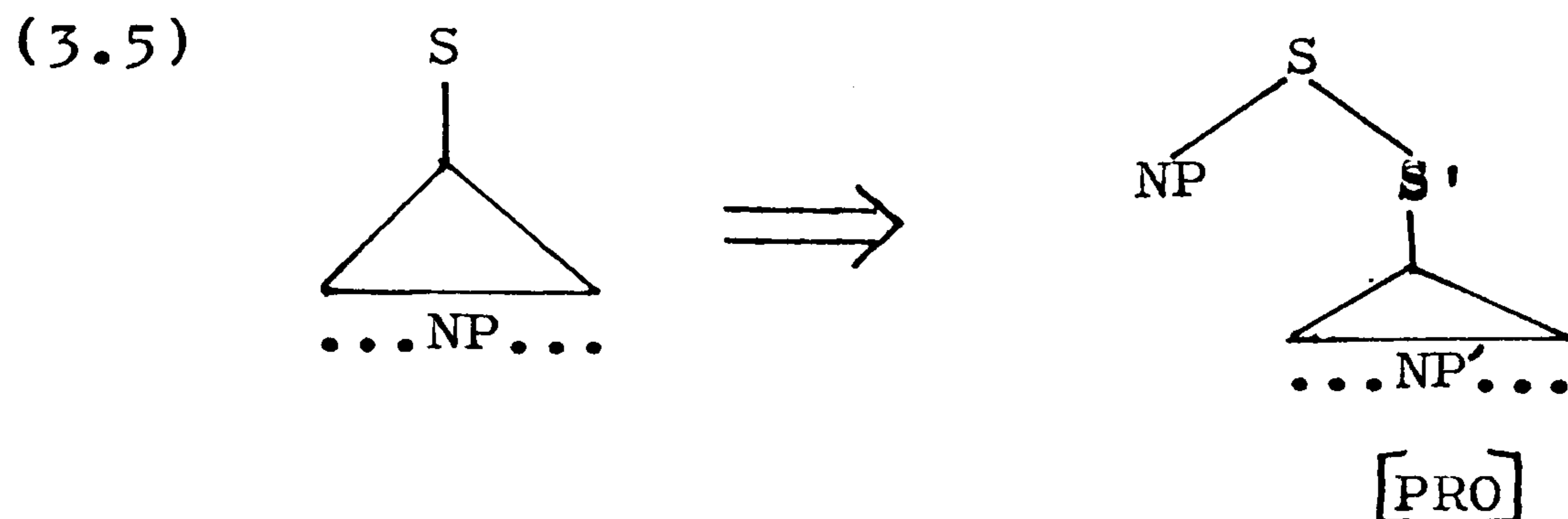
### 3.7 The Grammatical Function of the Derived Topic

"Derived Topic" is a sentence dependent category. By this I mean that it is not identified by adjacency to or dependence on any particular element in the sentence. The derivation of topic-comment structure as seen here will be based upon Langacker's proposals (1974:641,652).

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<sup>1</sup>It is worth noting that in topic position, definiteness does not contrast with indefiniteness: CCA sentences, as in fact all Arabic sentences, cannot begin with an indefinite NP. The contrast is here neutralised.

A topicalisation transformation applied to shift a NP to front position in S will be assumed to Chomsky-adjoin the NP to S, leaving a pronominal copy in its place:



Topicalisation then copies a NP to the front, the place from which it has been lifted is pronominalised. The pronominal copy in S' marks the Chomsky-adjunction and it follows that elements like verbs, adjectives and adverbs which do not leave a pronominal trace will acquire initial emphasis by means of different rules. The fronted NP always ends up being raised to a new and higher S.

A type of topicalised structure using prepositions like bixuSuuS "concerning" followed by a NP such as (3.6) will not have a pronominal copy and will not display the structural properties of topicalisation as defined above. These I equate with Chafe's "Chinese-style" type of topic. (See page 63, ftn. 1):

(3.6) bixuSuuS ʔissAfAr, ʔana ʔittASAlt bīsirk̄it  
ʔiTTAyArAĀn Cāsaan ʔagzi makaan.

"Concerning the trip, I have contacted the  
airline company for a reservation."



The initial prepositional phrase is assumed to be related to S adverbially in this case.

This formulation of topicalisation can explain some facts about the derived topic. The topic as such is outside the scope of negation of S', and only the resumptive pronoun in S' can be negated. The resumptive pronoun in this case must be independently realised as the HN of a relative structure as in (3.7):

(3.7) a. maḥammad saafir ḥimbarih

"Mahammad left yesterday."

b. maḥammad miṣ̄ huwwa ḥilli saafir ḥimbarih.

"(lit.) Mahammad not he who left yesterday."

"It was not M. who left yesterday."

Gundel (1974) explains the fact that topic cannot be negated by linking it with "existential presupposition." Here I am suggesting that besides this fact, the scope of negation, syntactically defined by clause boundaries, is also relevant.

## PART II

### TOPICALISATION BY REORDERING RULES

"What must be emphasized is that languages vary considerably with respect to whether, and how, they grammaticalize differences of thematic structure. These differences are well known to translators. They are sometimes such as to cast doubt upon the possibility of translating even the propositional content of an utterance, both accurately and naturally, from one language into another." (Lyons 1977:510)

## CHAPTER 4

### DEEP AND SURFACE STRUCTURE

#### 4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1, I have already stated that there is a particular construction in CCA, very much in evidence in the data, that makes use of initial position in the sentence. Elements are moved to this position by specific rules, and the purpose of the following chapters is to describe how these rules operate, when they apply and whether they are relevant to such constructions alone or have a more general significance to CCA word order as a whole.

I will first state clearly the type of rules I am referring to. Langacker (1974: 631) divides movement rules into four types: Raising Rules, Lowering Rules,<sup>1</sup> Fronting Rules and Backing Rules. A Fronting Rule moves some constituent to clause initial position, and this can be done over a considerable number of variables, which makes it simultaneously a Raising Rule: that which moves a constituent into a higher clause. Adverb Fronting is included by Langacker under such rules.

Backing Rules are all upward bounded, and these  
move constituents to clause final position, never over

<sup>1</sup>These are irrelevant to our present discussion.

S boundaries. All these rules reorder constituents in the sentence and hence will be called Reordering Rules. These are formalised by J. Ross (1968: 235) as follows:

If the structural index of a transformation has  $n$  terms,  $a_1, a_2, \dots, a_n$ , it is a reordering transformation if its structural change has any  $a_i$  as its  $k^{\text{th}}$  term, or if  $a_i$  is adjoined to its  $k^{\text{th}}$  term, where  $i \neq k$ .

Reordering Rules have been classified by Ross (ibid.) as "bounded" and "unbounded" : the former moves a constituent from one position to another within the clause (e.g. Extraposition and Right Dislocation) and the latter moves it across S boundaries. Postal (1974:46) reclassifies as unbounded only rules as WH-movement and Topicalisation which transport constituents across an unlimited number of higher clauses. Bounded rules, according to Postal, are of two types: one type (considered by Ross to be unbounded) transports a constituent across a finite number  $n$  of clause boundaries. This he labels a "Raising Rule", where the number  $n$  is one (e.g. Negative Raising and Predicate Raising), involving subordinate and superordinate clauses. The second type is clause internal rules (e.g. Dative Movement and Complex NP Shift).

In the present grammar, it is assumed that all Fronting Rules are simultaneously Raising Rules as pointed out by Langacker and as already stated above. It will be

argued later on in this chapter that surface Topic-comment arrangement is derived by an obligatory transformational rule which Chomsky-adjoins the raised NP to a new and higher S. This is a copying rule, and is by virtue of the resumptive pronoun which makes the original position of the shifted NP easily traceable, an unbounded rule. Other constituents

such as adverbs are fronted by being sister-adjoined to the raised NP, thereby are themselves raised to the higher S, but do not seem to exercise the kind of freedom in crossing as many S boundaries as the NP itself. Postal's two types of bounded rules are therefore relevant to the present analysis, however, Raising will not be restricted to movement from subordinate to superordinate clauses, but will, in the manner of Ross and Langacker, be used as a term to cover all types of movement to a higher S, including Chomsky-adjunction. NP's will be seen to topicalise by an unbounded Raising Rule, while adverbs for example will topicalise by being raised by a bounded rule. (See Chapter 5 and Chapter 9).

Of the most established Fronting Rules in English Grammar, WH-movement and Adverb Preposing, the former is not relevant to CCA, neither in relative clause formation nor in question formation<sup>1</sup> as will be shown below; and the latter will be dealt with as a Raising Rule. But CCA makes use of Raising Rules on a large scale as well as Backing Rules, both being relevant to sentence initial

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<sup>1</sup>H. wise (1975 : 74) refers to this fact. Atiya (1976:265) agrees in connection with relative clause formation. But Abu Ssaydeh (1980) applies WH-movement to question formation in Colloquial Palestinian.

position. Of the two types of reordering rules defined by Ross (1968:135) only "copying" are relevant to CCA. All NP's raised by unbounded rules must be resumed by a pronoun which copies all the features of the resumed element and appears in its original place. CCA has no Chopping rules.<sup>1</sup> (For an exception, see 5.3.1 below).

The permutation of elements by transformations will derive marked and unmarked SS's. This will depend on the surface arrangement of constituents. (See Section 2.3, page 108). The rules responsible for the realisation of surface word order are assumed to derive an obligatory Topic-comment alignment for all sentences of CCA. But there is choice involved in the arrangement of elements, and choice is always motivated by what G. Leech calls "thematic meaning" which is "mainly a matter of choice between alternative grammatical constructions... [whose] communicative effect may be somewhat different." (Leech: 1974: 23).

#### 4.2 The Theoretical Framework

The framework within which the present analysis will be carried out is basically that of the post-Aspects transformational generative theory. I assume a syntactic component which specifies a set of finite rules assigning

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<sup>1</sup>Atiya Also refers to this point.

a structural description to each sentence by means of phrase structure rules which uniquely generate such a string. This is done in the base component of the grammar which, by means of a categorial component, specifies in terms of syntactic categories, a constituency relationship among sentence elements that are highly abstract. This relationship is hierarchical and terminates in dummy symbols which are then assigned lexical entries by means of the other sub-component of the base, namely the lexicon.

The terminal strings derived by the categorial sub-component then serve as an input to the transformational sub-component of the base which consists of rules which apply optionally or obligatorily, triggered by structure-dependent indices mapping PM's into PM's "independent of the grammatical relations or meanings expressed in these grammatical relations." (Chomsky 1973: 233). These rules apply cyclically to produce a SS which in turn serves as an input to the phonological component. An obligatory transformation is one "that applies when its structural description is met." (Culicover 1976: 195). In English, for example, WH-movement is obligatory when a WH constituent is present. Some transformations apply to the output of other transformations, and as such transformations are said to be intrinsically ordered in the sense that the second rule cannot apply until the first has.

The cycle occurs first to the embedded sentence, or cyclic node, then to the higher sentence. In the present

grammar, it is assumed that S, S' and NP are all cyclic nodes.

Optional rules will not affect the grammaticality of sentences, but in the present analysis they are assumed to perform a functional role in the grammar. The base, according to Aspects, was regarded as the only input to the semantic component of the grammar. Later, and very gradually, semantic aspects were beginning to relate to SS, and among other things, this was one factor in developing the Standard Theory into its Extended version. Present tendencies, however, tend to allocate semantic interpretation to SS alone, and by the aid of Trace Theory components and features of DS are detectable from the surface arrangement of sentences.

DS will be the place where the basic participant-action relations are established, that is the place where logical predication structure is made explicit. On the other hand, in the light of recent developments in researching the relation of syntax to the communicative purposes to which language is put and the possible typological implications which are borne by communicative strategies employed by various languages, it is almost incumbent to introduce into the grammar the notion of the communicative potential.

Transformations have been regarded as meaning-preserving, "so far as the truth values and presuppositions are concerned." (Abu Ssaydeh 1980:25). In my definition



presuppositions are subject to phonological rules and are affected by surface Topic-comment or thematic arrangement: these two factors are directly and indirectly effected by transformations. The communicative implications of re-ordering transformations are reinforced by the phonological component and by situational and contextual factors. If we tended to dissociate the communicative purpose of the sentence from its semantics, then the transformations resulting in the surface arrangement of Topic-comment do not affect meaning but are connected with the communicative functional aspects of the sentence. But if we assume that presuppositions are part of the meaning(s) of a sentence, then we will discover that while lexical presuppositions are perhaps that type of presupposition that comes under the above mentioned restriction, there are other types of presuppositions that can be called structural presuppositions and which are pragmatically relevant. Abu Ssaydeh states that perhaps T-Topicalisation does affect meaning, and I would like to put it more specifically that it is the presuppositional aspect of meaning that is affected in such a case, pragmatic presuppositions that is.

When transformations reorder elements in a sentence resulting in a specific Topic-comment alignment, which interacts with the assignment of focus and the pattern of emphasis that is unique to that sentence, the presuppositional pattern of the sentence is immediately

defined. For example, such a sentence will answer one question and not another. Topic is topic not simply by virtue of its contrast with "focus", but by virtue of corresponding to part of the presupposition, the most natural place for it being initial position. Even an initial topic bearing focus is presupposed in the sense that the focus it bears is always contrastive. (See Section 3.6).

Topic-focus dichotomy differs from Topic-comment dichotomy: in the former we are talking about the "real topic", the "known" element (see page 121-22 above) ; in the latter we are talking about the actual topic of the sentence, the derived topic, or what the sentence is about, and this is the relation which is of immediate concern to the present study. The actual Topic-comment order is a fixed order and it interacts with factors of emphasis in the sentence. It is governed by the rules of the grammar, and it is these rules that concern us next. Changes of word order by optional rules has been generally dismissed by transformationalists as stylistic variance. Other approaches, e.g. Daneš and Halliday, have resorted to a solution of stratifying the grammar into related and sometimes interdependent levels. They claim that one level cannot be totally responsible for a language system in totum. P. Sgall, an advocate of FSP, suggests that

The functional sentence perspective,  
as well as the means of its realisation,

has a systematic character and a full description of a language system as a system of 'forms' and 'functions' is not possible without respecting it.  
(Sgall 1977: 206)

The interplay of the levels therefore is what makes up a language. Optional rules of syntax, where the "sentence" is ultimate, will be rendered "obligatory" in a way where the sentence functions in context. Word order will be meaningful; although within the present T.G. grammar framework, it is not grammatically relevant as far as semantic interpretation is concerned, but at least it is grammatically constrained: this involves presupposition, focus and Topic-comment alignment. A sentence like (4.1) is ambiguous; segmentally, the ambiguity is difficult to explain:

(4.1) ʔittuffaaha maħammad ʔakalha

"(lit.) The apple M. ate-it

Only by assigning focus can we disambiguate it. The two structures will be assigned different underlying structures. With focus on the initial NP, we can assign a cleft structure to the sentence; with focus on the second NP maħammad, we can assign a cleft structure only to the comment constituent of the sentence. The unmarked, or end-focus, falling on the verb assigns a structure of topic and comment, with topic as a given element. The different structures will yield different scopes of negation when the sentence is negated:

(4.2) a. ʔittuffaaha maħammad makalhaas̄

b. ʔittuffaaha maħammad makalhaas̄

c. ʔittuffaaha maħammad makalhaas̄

(4.2a) presupposes that M did something to the apple but it was not eating it that he did; (b) presupposes that someone has eaten the apple, but it was not M that did it; (c) presupposes that M ate something, but it was not the apple that he ate. As negation is attracted to focus, the negated sentence cannot be assigned a unique semantic interpretation before the assignment of focus. In the present approach, the assignment of focus is dependent on the derivation of a surface topic-comment arrangement.

Different sentences with different positional and focal emphatic alignments tend to answer different questions, either explicitly or implicitly, and are therefore presuppositionally bound. Absolute synonymy between SS's of different word orders or different emphatic structure will not be assumed in this study.<sup>1</sup> SS is always motivated by communicative purpose, with which the optional movements of a reordering nature are connected. These structures are derived from a basic order which is semantically unconstrained, communicatively neutral and syntactically simple. The transformations render the structure communicatively viable, and not until they have applied can we assign to the derived structures such categories as topic and comment or focus. Linguists such as Gundel and Gruber choose to integrate the communicative categories

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<sup>1</sup>I agree with T. Vennemann (1975: 313-14) that "...two discourses that have different surface syntactic representations must have different semantic representations." Discourse sentences "with identical truth conditions but different topic-comment structure, different sentence accent, or different degrees of verbal explicitness receive different semantic representations."

into the semantics of the sentence and would have as the first PS rule something like

$$S \longrightarrow NP S'$$

on the basis that Topic-comment is more fundamental. Those who separate the levels, like the Praguians, regard FSP as the tension between grammatical word order and communicative aims (e.g. passive construction.) In the present study the second view is assumed to be more relevant to the facts of CCA. Only, this tension is seen as a direct result of reordering transformations. Sentences such as (4.2 a-c) must be shown to be semantically related as they are identical in substance. Their communicative value is another matter, and this is decided transformationally. Since in CCA neither focus nor topic is marked morphologically, word order in the surface is relevant to communicative value. Communicative functions are immediately interpretable from the surface order of the elements after the assignment of focus by pairing presuppositions and foci. To answer a question "Where is the hotel?", only (4.3 e) is possible:

- (4.3) a. The church is opposite the hotel.  
 b. The church is opposite the hotel.  
 c. The hotel is opposite the church.  
 d. The hotel is opposite the church.  
 e. The hotel is opposite the church.

Focus is phonologically interpretable from the surface, subject to conditions that are dictated by the

presupposition-focus alignment.

Depending on what we mean by "meaning", the consequence of optional rules could be more than semantically minimal. If we take certain aspects of presupposition and communicative purpose to be included under "meaning" then those rules do affect meaning.

#### 4.3 Sentence Patterns in CCA

As DS is the level where the grammatical, and therefore meaningful, relations among constituents of structure are shown, I will attempt to link it to a SS motivated by a communicatively functional organisation of topic-comment order, by transformational movement rules. This study does not aim at a comprehensive formulation of CCA grammatical structure and transformational rules, but only at that part of it which pertains to the initial position in the sentence and its relation to the rest of the sentence. This will require a brief survey of essential word order aspects and their grammatical significance.

I will for this purpose postulate a number of PSR's which will form the SI's for input onto transformational rules which will map PM's into PM's. My discussion, however, will proceed from observation to generalisation: from the observable SS phenomena to a formulation of what I propose to be the basic structure of CCA.

I begin my discussion by enumerating the unmarked SS's which may be listed under the notion of "clause patterns". (Quirk et al, 1972: 342-43). In my listing of clause patterns of CCA, I will consider forms of the simplest affirmative declarative structures which may combine to form complex derived structures.<sup>1</sup> These sentences have one verb, with no conjunction and no secondary operators such as negation and modality. They have only the obligatory participants required by the class of verb involved. Although these are essentially surface forms derived by obligatory transformations, they can be labelled "atomic" sentences because they contain the "fundamental syntactic relationships." (Stockwell, 1977: 106) within whose range any declarative active sentence can be analysed. The following patterns can be isolated in CCA:

- |                     |                              |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| (4.4) a. NP V       | ʔidduktuur wASA1             |
|                     | "The doctor arrived"         |
| b. NP V NP          | ʔidduktuur ʔaabil ilmAriiD   |
|                     | "The doctor met the patient" |
| c. i. NP V Prep NP  | ʔana rAhhAbt biDDuyuuuf      |
|                     | "I welcomed the guests"      |
| ii. NP V NP Prep NP | a. ʔana waagihtu bilhafiifa  |
|                     | "I faced him with the truth" |

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<sup>1</sup>I have already noted above that the present study is restricted to declarative sentences.

- b. *ʔana ʔiddiit ilkitaab  
limhammad*  
"I gave the book to Mahammad"
- d. NP V NP Adv      *ʔana hATTeet ilkitaab fiddurg*  
"I put the book in the drawer"
- e. NP Cop NP      *da bitna*  
"This (is) our house"
- f. NP Cop Adj      *ʔilbAhr gamiil*  
"The sea(is) beautiful"
- g. NP Cop Adv      *ʔilhafla nnAhArDA*  
"The party (is) today"

As already noted above, these patterns are based on the essential clause elements as obligatory elements (as opposed to adverbials of the optional types.)<sup>1</sup> Obligatory adverbial functions are either verbal complements as in (4.4 d) or predicative adverbials as in (g). Semantically, they function as adverbials of place and time.

To all the above sentence types we can add optional adverbials (Adv) which are clause elements but generally dispensable and semantically peripheral. Their absence will not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

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<sup>1</sup>Lyons (1968) distinguishes between "nuclear" and "extra-nuclear" elements. Quirk et al (1972) further distinguish between "adjunct" and "disjunct" in adverbial function. Quirk's clause patterns in English (see *ibid.*: 7.2) include adverbials as obligatory elements, but with no further specification. They are not mentioned in his list of elements realising complement functions (p.340), PrepP functions (p. 304) or types of complementation (p. 821).



These are generally mobile elements, and their mobility depends on their constituency and function in the sentence. (See Chapter 9).

The sentence types (e-g) are copular. In our present analysis, the copula will be realised in SS as zero ( $\emptyset$ ) element in sentences marked for Present Tense as in (e-g). The dividing line between subject and predicate constituency in such cases is signalled by other markers which are surface traces of an underlying copula. Such markers can be the absence of the definite article on the initial element in the predicate phrase in case that element is not inherently definite, e.g. pronouns and proper nouns, or idiomatically definite, e.g. ɿinnAhArDA "today". Apart from its semantic-cognitive content, the definite/indefinite contrast in CCA is a grammaticalised category which signals Topic on the one hand (Topics are always definite, therefore the contrast is neutralised in this position) and on the other, it signals boundaries of subjects and predicates in non-verbal sentences. In ɿilbint ɿilgamiila "the beautiful girl", where both elements are definite, the construction is endocentric: Noun+Adjective. In ɿilbint gamiila "the girl (is) beautiful" the adjective marked for indefiniteness announces the boundary between Topic and Comment. Where ɿirrAAgil Cala lbaab "the man (is) at the door" is readily interpreted as a subject-predicate structure, rAAgil Cala lbaab "a man at the door" can only be understood

as a NH with a postmodifying relative clause.

In equative structures, where by definition both subject and predicate are definite (see below), the appearance of a pronoun which copies all the features of the subject NP in the position typically occupied by the copula is required. Very rarely in such structures is the pronoun substituted by an intonational pattern that marks the division between subject and predicate: it is a falling pattern, but usually marked with a pause in place of the copula (ictus or silent syllable(A)):

(4.6)            bin  
 ʔil    t    ʌ            ri  
              ilmudar  
                               sa

"the girl (is) the teacher"

(4.7) ʔilbint hiyya ʔilmudarrisa

The pronoun hiyya in (4.7) has been assumed by many analysts of CCA structure to be a copula. In the present analysis this pronoun will be dealt with as a resumptive pronoun resulting from the application of an obligatory topicalisation rule (see Section 5.6).<sup>1</sup> I will restrict the proper function of the copula to a verbal form kaan "was" which appears when the sentence is marked for Past Tense; it is a tense and/or aspect carrier and can inflect like any other verb in CCA:

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<sup>1</sup> A similar analysis has been offered by Anshen and Schreiber (1968: 797).

(4.8) *ʔilbAhr* kaan gamiil.

"The sea was beautiful"

(4.9) *lama* tikuun mawguud, kallimni fi ttilifuun.

"When you are there, phone me"

(4.10) *ʔin* *ṣaaʔA* *llAAh* *ħakuun* Candak bukra

"God willing, I will be with you tomorrow"

Similar verbal forms can appear in place of kaan, such as bafa, ʔaSbAh "become", ʔistamArr "continue", ʔiDil "keep on", all of aspectual significance and realising an intensive relationship between subject and predicate.<sup>1</sup>

Besides copular sentences, both equative and attributive in function, (4.4) presents us with sentences containing intransitive verbs such as (a); monotransitive verbs such as (b); and subclasses of (c).<sup>2</sup> More examples of (c i) are:

*sallim* Cala "shake hands with"

*ṣACAr* bi "feel"

*TimiC* fi "covet"

*ʔaamin* bi "believe in"

*xAllAS* Cala "bring an end to"

*waafiʔ* Cala "agree to"

---

<sup>1</sup>These verbs are also included in a class of auxiliaries in CCA; see Mallawany 1981.

<sup>2</sup>I will not go into details of verbal complementation. (c) above can contain subclasses of phrasal or prepositional verbs and verbs requiring prepositional complementation. For this purpose see Abu Ssaydeh 1980; Vestergaard on English 1977; and on Classical Arabic, M. Feteih (forthcoming, Leeds University).

fiTASAl bi	"contact"
fiTtafaI Cala	"agree on"
gaawib Cala	"answer"
fiqtamaC bi	"meet with"
fihtaag li	"need"
fihtAfAZ bi	"keep"
fihtaafal bi	"celebrate"
fiStaCadd li	"make ready for"
kammil Cala	"complete"
fiTmafiAnn li	"to be reassured of"
fiCtada Cala	"attack"
fiCtArAD Cala	"object to"
wASSA Cala	"recommend"
fiNDamm li	"join"
fihtamm bi	"interested in"

More examples of (c ii a) are:

fixad... Cala	"hold against"
fiADAAf... fiIla	"add to"
fiAqnaC... bi	"convince"
fiqtArAh ... Cala	"suggest"

(c ii b) is a prepositional complement that is dative in function. It is different from (c ii a) in that it can undergo dative movement. It is always realised by the preposition li. These verbs are also called ditransitive. If we accept Vestergaard's analysis (1977) of some prepositional complements as being more object-like than others, the prepositions in (c i) and (c ii a) will be

considered "transivitizers of their verbs" (Bresnan 1978: 19) and these verbs will be considered ditransitive too.

The above syntactic categories can be functionally defined as follows:

1. The NP preceding the verb is the subject of the sentence, unmarkedly occurring in initial position in all simple declarative sentences.
2. The NP immediately following the verb is the direct object of the verb, again unmarkedly positioned post verbally. This NP usually assumes the role of subject in passive structures.
3. The second NP following the verb and preceded by the preposition li is the indirect object. When the NP undergoes Dative Movement, the preposition is deleted and the NP then follows the verb immediately. This NP is present only when the direct object is present.
4. Type (d) allows the occurrence of Adverbial verbal complements, usually realised as Place Adverbials; while (g) allows adverbials to occur as subject complements, and these can be Place or Time.
5. Type (c ii b) with the preposition obligatorily preceding the second NP in this position naturally excludes NP's functioning as

object complements, as these do not take prepositions. Also adjectives as object complements are excluded from this typology, as sentences of the form:

(4.11) NP V NP  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{ADJ} \end{array} \right\}$

are not atomic, according to the above definition. Examples of this type would be:

(4.12) huwwa lafāa fiṣṣibbaak maksuur

"He found the window broken"

(4.13) huwwa xallaah saCiid

"He made him happy"

As we are here outlining the simplest types, this type will be considered as derived from the combination of two simple types of sentences, one of them expressing an intensive relationship between a subject and its complement.

6. In (f) adjectives serve as subject complements. This predicative category also includes substantives used adjectivally. The criterion here is one of preposing the predicative element. Nouns in initial position in sentences must be definite. Predicative substantives, when preposed, can remain indefinite, as in (4.14)-(4.15):

(4.14) mudarrisa fīssit di

"(lit.) A teacher this woman"

(4.15) muslimiin fīssīiCa

"(lit.) Muslims the Shia"

Unlike equative structures, these sentences do not require the resumptive pronoun to mark the boundary between subject and predicate, as it is already marked by the absence of the definite marker.

7. As atomic sentences provide minimal specifications of constituents, only clause elements are included. Phrase elements, such as determiners or modifiers, are excluded, as these are either inherent elements of phrasal categories (determiners) or optional categories (modifiers).

#### 4.4 Deep Structure

As I have already remarked, the above types can all be surface realisations of the simplest form. Complex structures will involve the fusion of such simple atomic types, and compound structures will involve the conjunction of simple and complex types. But derived structures will also be effected by the permutation of constituents by movement rules governed by conditions on well-formedness and constrained in their application by structural indices that are specific to them.

In order to be able to assign reordering rules and delimit their scope of application, we must first be able to operate upon a basic order generated by the PSR's in the base component, to which transformations can apply. The basic order will be of a highly abstract nature and will reflect the "simple basic propositions" where the relation is one of "predication" whose domain is made up of arguments or "participants", namely names of entities or classes of entities. (Stockwell 1877: 10). This structure which reflects the logical or semantic form of the sentence will be called Deep Structure (DS).<sup>1</sup>

An interesting and relevant characteristic of "basic word order" is defined by F. Kiefer; we leave aside the question as to whether his definition applies to sentences that occur in SS; but Kiefer's notion can help us to determine the order of elements in DS:

A word order is referred to as basic if it can stand without any presupposition as to what should be considered as being already known. (1970: 40)

---

<sup>1</sup>Langacker (1974) divides the sentence into "objective content" (alternative term for propositional content): the basic situation which the sentence describes and which the remainder of the sentence takes a position on. This "remainder" is the "non-objective" content: illocutionary force, specifications of tense, aspect, and modality, negation, topic, focus, and emphasis, honorifics, expressions of doubt, estimations of reality and veracity, or markers of affective reactions. (pp. 645-46). Objective content is present in basic structure, and non-objective content is introduced transformationally (649). My approach to the introduction of topic in SS is in keeping with Langacker's classification of topic as non-objective content: it is a derived element.



Most linguists who have dealt with CCA basic structure have seen it as a NP VP constituency, therefore, perhaps, taking sentences (4.4a-g) as basic structures. These sentences, however, already present us with informational value, carrying presuppositions of the type Kiefer (above) is referring to. They may satisfy Stockwell's definition, but certainly not Kiefer's. These sentences can be identified with Chomsky's definition of "kernel" sentences:

These are sentences of a particularly simple sort that involve a minimum of transformational apparatus in their generation. (Chomsky 1965: 17-18)

As these have "no distinctive role in the generation or interpretation of sentences...one must be careful not to confuse[them]...with the basic strings that underlie them." (Ibid.:18).

Kiefer adds that a few adverbials, especially of time and place, can occupy several positions basically, but changes in the position of other categories results in changing the presuppositions about the linguistic content. In CCA SS, initial position occupied by a NP must essentially assign the feature [+Definite] to that NP, that is it must be a referring entity. In other words, thematic organisation in the order given-new is obligatory on the surface. Sentences (4.4) already display an alignment of topic-comment organisation which carries

presuppositions as to what is given and what is new.

What we need to do then is to propose a DS word order which does not carry presuppositions connected with thematic categories of SS, allowing for the movement of elements by transformations to that position where they acquire topical status. To topicalise means:

1. To talk about that element.
2. To draw that element from previous context or from the knowledge shared by speaker and hearer or from situation
3. To presuppose the existence or occurrence of the entity or action expressed by the item topicalised, asserting the comment but not guaranteeing its truth.

This element referring to the topic of the sentence occupies initial position in the sentence. It can be coreferential with one of several constituents in the sentence. The underlying structure from which all such sentences can be derived must allow free access to initial position by any of these constituents. But before we move on to the proposed DS, let us first look at some possible surface arrangements which present us with further complexities of structure from those already connected with the atomic structures of (4.4); (underlining = sentence focus):

(4.16) a. ƙidduktuur wASA1

"The doctor arrived"

b. wASA1 ƙidduktuur

c. ƙilli wASA1 ƙidduktuur

(4.17) a. ƙArkil masƙala di ƙiTuul

"The explanation of this problem  
can take a long time"

b. ƙilmasƙala di ƙArkAha ƙiTuul

(4.18) a. ƙaxalli ssawwaaƙ yigiib ittazkArA

wuhuwwa raagiC

"I will let the driver bring the ticket  
on his way back"

b. ƙittazkArA ƙaxalli ssawwaaƙ yigibha

wuhuwwa raagiC

(4.19) a. ƙilwalad ƙakal ƙittuffaaha

"The boy ate the apple"

b. ƙittuffaaha ƙilwalad ƙakalha

c. ƙittuffaaha ƙakalha ƙilwalad

(4.20) a. mAnZAr ƙilbAkr gamiil

"The sea view is beautiful"

b. gamiil mAnZAr ƙilbAkr

c. ƙilli gamiil mAnZAr ƙilbAkr

(4.21) a. ƙilkitaab ƙiddurg

"The book is in the drawer"

b. (ʔilli)fiddurg ilkitaab

c. fiddurg ilkitaab

(4.22) a. ʔana ruht issuuf ʔimbaarih

"I went to the market yesterday"

b. ʔimbaarih ʔana ruht issuuf

c. ʔimbaarih ʔana ruht issuuf

(4.23) a. \*wASA1 idduktuur

b. \*gamiil mAnZAr ilbAhr

All the sentences in (4.16)-(4.22) carry pre-suppositions as to what is given and what is new. (4.23) shows that predicative elements such as verbs and adjectives cannot occur in initial position unless they carry sentence stress. (4.19) presents us with another fact: in non-initial position, the order of the verb and subject NP, irrespective of sentence stress, is not so restricted as it is in initial position. This is also observable in subordinate and embedded sentences as in (4.24)-(4.25):

(4.24) a. lamma yirgaC maħammad, ʔana haʔullu

"When M comes back, I will tell him"

b. lamma M yirgaC, ʔana haʔullu

(4.25) a. ʔilbint illi maħammad sallifha lkitaab

gayba

"The girl to whom M lent his book is

absent"

b. *filbint illi sallifha M ilkitaab gayba*

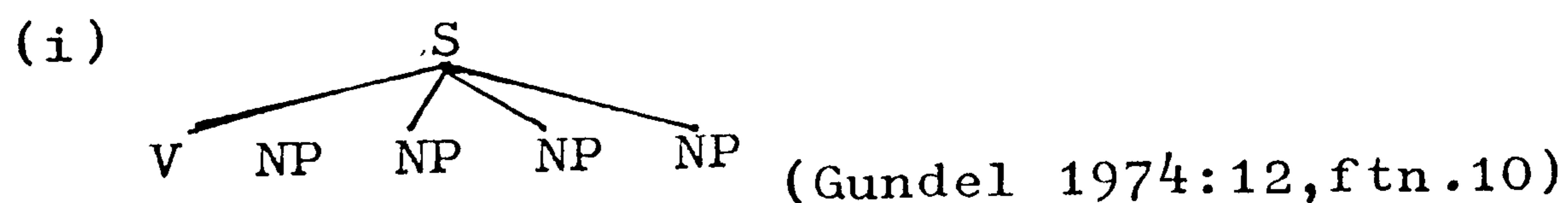
These facts suggest that surface elements gain their informational status by some process which I propose to explain in terms of movement rules of the reordering type. They will be all labelled Topicalisation Rules. Those rules should have access to an underlying structure which is free of pragmatic presuppositional status. Besides, this DS must also account for the fact that restrictions pertaining to initial position in matrix clauses do not pertain to all subordinate or embedded sentences nor to relevant elements in non-initial position.

The basic structure I propose for CCA is one closer to the logical arrangement of elements based on the predicating element and its argument(s).<sup>1</sup> An approximation of the first rule of the grammar will be:

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<sup>1</sup>Basic structure of VSO is not unknown among linguists who are in favour of an underlying logico-semantic relation among elements of the basic structure:

It is the belief of many linguists including myself, that VP is not a category in logical structure but is derived as a result of a rule which moves some Noun Phrase out of a structure roughly like (i)



Gundel further suggests that the elements are not ordered. This will be discussed below. Also see MacCawley (1970) for a similar proposal for English adopted by Postal (1974) and Langacker (1974).

$$(4.26) \quad S \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \quad NP \quad (NP) \\ \text{Pred P} \quad NP \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule says that sentences in CCA (not unlike most dialects of Arabic) express two types of predicational relations, hence the node dominating them will be called Predication (Pred). The first rewrite of S presents us with a predicator which is basically a verbal form relating a number of arguments. I am aware of the fact that certain subclasses of verbs can relate more arguments and of various types, but at present I will deal with one type of verb, namely monotransitive verb, for the sake of the argument at hand. The rule will be modified as the argument proceeds and more participants will be introduced in the course of the discussion when necessary.

Aux in CCA is a category that introduces Tense and Aspect,<sup>1</sup> and will be itself introduced as a sister node to the Predication. The above rule will accordingly be modified to:

$$(4.27) \quad \begin{array}{l} S \longrightarrow \text{Aux Pred} \\ \text{Pred} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \quad NP \quad (NP) \\ \text{Pred P} \quad NP \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{Aux} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tense} \\ \text{Aspect} \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$$

---

<sup>1</sup>See Mitchell, 1978; Abu Ssaydeh, 1980.

The first NP in this rule is obligatory and it always surfaces as the subject of the active declarative sentence. The optional NP is that NP which surfaces as the direct object of transitive verbs. The Pred P in the second rewrite of Pred comprises a copula together with a range of predicate elements including adverbial phrases (AdvP), adjectival phrases (AdjP), and noun phrases. (See Section 5.6 below). The Pred P takes one participant which surfaces as the subject of the sentence. We have already mentioned that copulas in CCA surface as Tense and Aspect carriers (see p. 141), and as such they are considered as part of the Pred P and not a separate phrasal category. Verbs, on the other hand, can express Tense and Aspect by inflectional categories that are affixed to the verbal form itself. If (4.20 b) was to be expressed in the past tense, the sentence stress will normally fall on the Predicate Adjective itself as in (4.28); verbal forms in the same position will also receive sentence stress: the whole category of Pred P, then, is similar in behaviour to the verbal form and Cop is introduced in the rewrite of Pred P not Pred:

(4.28) kaan gamiil mAnZAr ilbAhr

The first rule then rewrites S as a verbal or copular structure, in which the predicate relates one or more arguments. Current research in the different dialects of Arabic finds it difficult to decide whether

the basic order is SVO or VSO, and some have expressed the opinion that these two orders could be in free variation (Abu S. Jaydeh, 1980: 29). I hope that the present discussion will help at least one step in the right direction in solving this problem for CCA by providing the relevance of the verb-initial basic order to the syntactic processes of the language. Chomsky (1976; see Section 2.2.1) states his new standpoint in this way: although thematic relations are "properly expressed" in an abstract form of surface structure, they still are determined at the level of the base-generated deep structure. This, however, is difficult to apply to CCA where elements have a relative freedom of movement to initial position, and it is not clear how any specific element of structure can relate "deeply" to initial position. The basic arrangement must therefore express a highly abstract logical relationship which carries no thematic implications and thematisation becomes a matter of communicative choice.

The basic arrangement of DS elements suggested for CCA is verb-initial. It will help in simplifying the number of concordial categories on the verb in its agreement with the subject NP. (See Section 4.5). Verbs in Arabic agree with their subjects in person, number and gender. But if we accept the view that agreement is closely connected with pronominalisation (see Section 2.5.2 above) which can sometimes be expressed as zero morpheme, then Anshen and Schreiber's (1968: 795-96) analysis



seems a reasonable explanation of the inflectional category of number in Arabic. This may suggest that the subject NP has been moved from a post-verbal position, leaving a pronoun in its place, which continues to be anaphoric. Although SS word order in CCA unmarkedly begins with the subject NP, in other varieties both SVO and VSO are considered to be in free variation. However, according to one universal by J. Greenberg (1966 b), there is more reason to believe that VS is more basic:

All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order. (110)

I will not go too far in pressing the possible influence of Classical Arabic or the Standard variety on CCA, but as all dialects of colloquial Arabic and also the present Standard variety are historically related to a prototype<sup>1</sup> which has more in common with today's Standard variety than any other variety of Arabic, it will suffice here to hint at some diachronic relation (and probably a synchronic one too--as Standard Arabic is today the language of education in all the Arabic speaking countries (see Section 1.1.1)). The suggested DS order, therefore, is not totally unknown to Arabic syntax. In fact this order still persists in certain types of embedded sentences in CCA, as will be discussed later.

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of this historical point, see A. Badawi, 1973.

Instead of proposing an unordered sequence of participants in DS (as suggested by Gundel, see page 152, ftn. 1 above) , it will be more convenient, for the operation of the rules of topicalisation, to adopt an order in which the subject NP precedes the object NP. This is the more dominant order in the surface and it is in perfect harmony with another universal suggested by Greenberg:

In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is always one in which the subject precedes the object. (Greenberg, ibid.)

With this universal in mind, and if I am right in assuming any relation, historical or otherwise, between the Standard variety and CCA, it follows that of the two alternative orders available to Standard Arabic, the one basic and the other derived, the first seems to have remained as the order of the Base in CCA, while the second established itself as the surface realisation. This fact may very well link with Li and Thompson's cycle from subject-prominence to topic-prominence. (See Section 2.5).

It is also important to think of DS elements as ordered because the operation of the movement rules will be constrained by the grammatical function of the participant NP's and this function will be defined on the basis of adjacency to the verb. The definition of subject NP or object NP will, therefore, rest on the DS order.

#### 4.5 Number Agreement

In this section I will discuss the possibility of regarding the inflectional category of number on the verb as a resumptive pronoun which replaces the subject NP in its DS position. In CCA, the unmarked surface order is for the subject to precede the verb; but there are cases, not without particular restrictions, when the subject NP can follow the verb. In the latter case, the verb agrees with the third person subject NP in person and gender only. The number agreement is suspended, where, in agreement with Greenberg's Universal 33, offering a relevant morphological fact, the verb is in the singular:

When number agreement between the noun and verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb is in the singular.  
(Greenberg, 1966: 112)

We find this case illustrated in (4.29):

(4.29) a.  $\text{ʔirrigaala rAAhu lgeet wissittaat}$   
 $\text{ʔaCadu fi lbeet.}$

"The men went to the fields and the  
[Plur]  
women stayed at home."  
[Plur]

b.  $\text{rAAh irrigaala lgeet wi ʔaCadit}$   
[Sing] [Sing]  
 $\text{issittaat fi lbeet.}$

c.  $\text{ʔittuffaah ʔilwilaad ʔakaluu}$

"The apples the children ate them"  
[Plur]

d. ɪittuffaah ɪakalu lwilaad.  
[Sing]

In (a) and (c) the subject NP's ɪirrigaala, ɪissittaaat and ɪilwilaad all take verbs in the plural with the suffix u in all cases marking the number for plural.<sup>1</sup> In (b) and (d) the verb form preceding the subject NP does not inflect for number and remains singular. The same pattern exists in Standard Arabic; (4.30) is the equivalent of (4.29 a-b)

(4.30) ɪarrijaalu dahabu ɪila lhAql wa nnisaaɪu  
makaθna fi lbayt.

b. dahaba rrijaalu ɪila lhAqli wa makaθat  
innissaaɪu fi lbayt.

The only difference is that in CCA, there is a choice between suspending and not suspending the number agreement when the verb precedes the subject NP. In Standard Arabic, the following paradigm is obligatory when the verb follows the subject:

(4.31)

	singular	plural
masculine	<u>dahaba</u>	<u>dahabu</u>
feminine	<u>dahabat</u>	<u>dahabna</u>

<sup>1</sup>For patterns of agreement, see A. Sallam (1979). It is interesting to note that ɪaCadiit can also be the form of the verb both feminine and masculine plural; the following forms are also possible:

a. ɪissittaaat rAAhit ilgeet

b. ɪirrigaala/ɪilCummaal rAAhit ilgeet

both nouns in (b) being what is in Arabic Grammar called gamC taksiir "broken plural".

CCA then seems to be in the process of generalising the agreement in both positions. At the present stage, it remains optional.

The fact that number agreement alone is obligatory only when the verb follows the subject NP suggests that in both varieties, SVO is not an alternative basic structure but a structure derived from VSO. In Standard Arabic both orders may be unmarked, but in CCA VSO is highly marked and is limited to certain contexts, being restricted to a particular pattern of focus assignment. (See Section 8.1). It is a derived structure where the subject NP has been shifted from its post verbal position in the underlying structure to initial topic position, not unlike other NP's in the sentence, leaving a pronominal copy in the form of a number agreement suffixed to the verb, as all resumptive pronouns are clitics, to mark its original position.<sup>1</sup> As there is no correlation between subject NP position and the realisation of gender or person categories of agreement, I tend to consider only number agreement as a form of pronominal resumption.

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<sup>1</sup>It often happens that in continuous discourse where the situation or context makes it clear which object is being referred to, the subject position is left empty and its absence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence. The sentence is complete by virtue of the resumptive pronoun:

- a. rAAku lbeet wisabuuni hina  
 ("(They) went home and left me here.")
- b. fii s̄irkit illadwiya biyistawCibu miit TAALib  
 fi llaḡaaza.  
 "At the drugs company, (they) can employ one hundred students during the holiday."

Greenberg's Universal 38 (Greenberg:1966 b)

states that only subjects can have zero allomorphs. This is also true of CCA : only the third person plural subjects are overtly replaced by a number category on the verb, as the table below shows. (Pre-S and post-S respectively refer to pre-subject position and post-subject position):  
(4. 32)

masculine				feminine			
singular		plural		singular		plural	
Pre-S	Post-S	Pre-S	Post-S	Pre-S	Post-S	Pre-S	Post-S
rAAh	rAAh	{rAAh rAAhu}	rAAhu <sup>1</sup>	rAAhit	rAAhit	{rAAhit rAAhu}	{rAAhu rAAhit}

#### THE PARADIGM OF NOMINATIVE RESUMPTIVE CLITICS

According to Universal 38 above, the subject NP is resumed by a zero allomorph in post-verbal position when it refers to a singular noun.

To sum up the proposals made in this section, CCA is seen as a language with a DS word order of V NP (NP) to which an obligatory transformation applies to topicalise either the subject NP or any other NP, to produce a SS alignment of Topic-comment order. The topicalised NP will always leave a pronominal copy behind, copying all the features of the coreferential NP. The subject NP is seen as the unmarked topic, the most natural, and as such it has "solidified" in initial position. Subject NP's are resumed by means of pronouns realised according to the

<sup>1</sup>See ftn. 1 on page 160.

paradigm in(4.32) either as a number agreement on the verb or as a zero allomorph. In the case of other NP's, the resumptive pronoun is always overtly realised and the paradigm of clitics is different. The distinction is one between clitics of the nominative case vs clitics of the accusative/genitive case. The accusative/genitive paradigm is shown in (4.33):

## (4.33)

Person	masculine		feminine	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
First	-i/ya <sup>1</sup> -ni*	-na	-i/ya	-na
Second	-ak/k	-kum	-ik/ki	-kum
Third	-u/ih yah -ah*	-hum	-ha	-hum -ha

<sup>1</sup>The alternative morpheme is used after vowels other than /a/. Nouns ending in /a/ will have a linking consonant /t/ before the clitic: sAnTA "bag": sAnTetak. However, words ending in other vowels will take the alternative pronominal form: maCa:maCaaya/maCaaki "with"; kursi: kursiyya/kursiik "chair".

<sup>2</sup>The asterisked forms will be used only with verbs: wASSAAh "urge"; kallimni "speak". The former is used only with verbs ending in /a/ or /A/.

## THE PARADIGM OF ACCUSATIVE/GENITIVE RESUMPTIVE CLITICS

The clitic, in post-verbal position, will function as subject (or otherwise) and the antecedent

in the same sentence or in previous discourse will be the Topic. If the topic is understood from previous discourse, it does not have to be repeated and the sentences which share the topic, no matter how many, are conjoined and form a series of comments for one topic:

(4.34) rAbAAat ilbuyuut maktafuus̄ bikida wi fassimu  
nafsuhum fi kul mAnTiʔa wi TALAbu min  
fASHAAAb ilmahallaat fittaCaawun maCaahum.

"The housewives were not satisfied with this and formed groups in every district and asked the shop owners to cooperate with them."

First and second person pronouns are even more subject to omission under contextual and situational considerations: the speaker and hearer are part of the immediate situation and so the reference to them is often restricted to the concordial categories on the verb. In the case of third person pronouns, if the pronominal reference is not fully understood from the context, and if there is any ambiguity involved, either the pronoun or the noun is repeated. (See ftn.1, page 160 above).

#### 4.6 Surface Structure

In CCA SS is always realised in two major categories: a Topic (or more) and a Comment. The Comment is realised grammatically in terms of a sentence constituent which



has the form Aux V NP (NP), one or more of the NP's being a resumptive pronoun. The first two immediate constituents of S therefore are NP and S'. This is a derived structure (see page 153). The Topic is the element that selects the point of departure for the sentence as a message; it can very well be the case that each of S and S' may select its own point of departure: in this case the Comment is said to be itself a Topic-comment structure. Topicalisation seems to be a recursive process according to this definition, but in Chapter 5 we will see that there is a number of constraints to consider. On the whole, Halliday's concept of thematisation as occurring at various levels of structure is true of CCA:

Thematic systems can be said to be of two kinds: those which assign structures to the whole clause, and those which assign substructures at certain points in the clause. (1976: 174)

Topics assume initial position for primacy and for thematic organisation.<sup>1</sup> Later on we will see that Topic NP's assume their position by "Raising" rules and as such they are always members of a higher S than the Comment, whereby they are said to "command" all the other nodes in S'. Hierarchically, then, Topics do have a position of primacy. (See Langacker 1969).

(4.27) is a possible suggestion for the first

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<sup>1</sup>S. Steele (1975) observes that it is "givenness" which forces on sentence initial that-complements a factive interpretation, whereas if they follow the matrix verb they are not factive. (See Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970)

rule of the grammar, to which transformational rules can apply to effect a Topic-comment surface alignment, subject to constraints on constituent movement and on surface word order. I propose an obligatory rule to apply first with the following effect:

1. If no other element is to be topicalised for positional emphasis, the subject NP is obligatorily topicalised. In other words the transformation can produce either (a) or (b) in (4.35) :

(4.35) a. NP V+Pro NP  
                                Subj  
          b. NP V+Pro NP  
                                Obj

yielding the corresponding (a) and (b) in (4.36):

(4.36) a. ʔilwalad ʔakal ʔittuffaaha  
          "(lit.) The boy ate-he the apple."  
      b. ʔittuffaaha ʔakalha ʔilwalad  
          "(lit.) The apple ate-it the boy."

The place of the resumptive pronoun, which is cliticised to the verb in both cases, will have to be accounted for by a rule of pronoun clitic placement.

2. Once this rule has applied, we can derive optionally from (b) but not from (a) the sentence (4.37):

(4.37) ʔittuffaaha ʔilwalad ʔakalha  
                        NP                        NP                V+Pro          +Pro  
  Subj          Obj

In other words the underlying structure for (4.37) will be (4.36 b).

3. Only one obligatory rule of this type applies to a NP in the sentence<sup>1</sup> (for the application of this rule recursively see Section 7.3.2), and two optional rules apply to other NP's in the sentence. The order in which elements can occur in initial position is constrained, that which Anshen and Schreiber's suggested Focus-transformation does not imply (see Section 1.2.2). These constraints will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

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<sup>1</sup>The structure resulting from the application of this rule is a structure not generated by the PSR's; the Freezing Principle should apply to the output of this non-structure preserving transformation to prevent any movement from applying to the raised NP. In the present grammar, this will not be the case: as this obligatory rule is seen to apply to the initial PM, other transformations will follow affecting the Topic. (See Section 8.1). (For another case where the Freezing Principle once more does not apply in CCA, see discussion pages 185-86). If we insist on applying this principle to CCA, we will miss important syntactic generalisations that can be based on the concept of DS as verb-initial in CCA. Besides, I do not see another way for explaining the freedom with which NP's are moved to initial position. (See Culicover 1976:298-300).

## CHAPTER 5

### TOPICALISATION IN CCA

#### 5.1 Topic Raising

Langacker defines a Raising rule as "one that moves some constituent C from a lower clause into a higher clause." (1974: 631). Topicalisation of a NP or what he labels Y-movement is a Raising rule which Chomsky-adjoins the fronted NP to S. (Ibid.:641). J. MacCawley (1970) had suggested a VSO underlying order for English and Chomsky-adjoined the subject NP to the dominating S node.<sup>1</sup> The functional explanation offered by Langacker for such rules is that they "all increase the prominence of the transported constituent" over the rest of the objective content (652). In our present analysis, a similar Raising rule is proposed for the topicalisation of NP's which do not bear sentence stress, i.e. Topicalisation of Topic. It is assumed to be a "Raising rule" for two reasons:

1. The rule of reflexivisation suggests that if two NP's are coreferential and clausemates, the second must be a reflexive pronoun. In CCA, the second occurrence of the NP in the same clause, which is essentially pronominalised, can be non-reflexive only if it was object of

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<sup>1</sup>J. Ross (1968: 142, ftn. 12) postulated a similar type of adjunction for Topic which takes it out of the sentence.

a preposition or the genitive component of a construct (for the analysis of constructs see Chapter 7):

(5.1) a. **hATTeet** ilkitaab fuddaami

"(I) put the book before-me"

b. **fissit filli fiddaaha** Cali kitaabu

**rAwwAhit**

"The woman to whom Ali gave his book

has gone home."

If the second occurrence of the (pronoun) NP is in the accusative case, i.e. an object of the verb, for example, the pronoun is put in construct with the noun nafs "self" and together they form what is known as the "reflexive pronoun":

(5.2) **fana bakallim nafsi**

"I am talking (to) myself"

It follows that the occurrence of coreferential NP's as clausemates, unless controlled by the above conditions, is impossible. In topicalisation the NP shifted to the front always has a coreferential NP in S', hence it is assumed that they exist in different clauses: the Topic is said to be raised to a higher S. Pronominalisation in CCA, apart from the above mentioned cases, must occur across clause boundaries.

2. The raised NP which is Chomsky-adjoined to S', cannot be the focus of a clause negation, even when it is the subject of the sentence. Negation applies within

S'. We are here referring to cases where the "real Topic", i.e. a non-focal element, has been fronted. Focal Topics will receive a different treatment below: these can be negated. Initial NP's bearing sentence focus occur in cleft structures (see Chapter 6).

(5.3) is an approximation of T-Topic Raising which applies to the initial PM as an obligatory rule:<sup>1</sup>

$$\begin{array}{rcccccc}
 (5.3) & & W & \boxed{X} & NP & \boxed{Y} & Z \\
 & & & S & & S & \\
 SI: & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & \xrightarrow{\text{OBL}} \\
 SC: & 1 & 3 \neq 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & \\
 & & & \boxed{\text{PRO}} & & & 
 \end{array}$$

Condition: 3 is [+Definite]

The rule of focus assignment to the surface will later block the assignment of focus to the initial NP. The second occurrence of the NP is pronominalised, and the "resumptive" pronoun is always in the form of a clitic, as distinct from independent pronouns which can occur in preverbal (Topic) position, or as reenforcing pronouns in post-verbal position.

Any NP which cannot leave a pronominal copy cannot undergo this transformation. CCA, therefore, has no "chopping rules".<sup>2</sup> Among NP's that do not pronominalise are those realising adverbial functions such as Time,

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<sup>1</sup>Langacker (1974) too refers to the rule suggested by MacCawley (see above) and calls it "Subject Placement". It is an obligatory rule necessary for realising SS. In CCA not only subjects but other NP's too can undergo the rule.

<sup>2</sup>See Section 5.3.1.

predicative NP's functioning adjectivally in PredP's, and object complements:<sup>1</sup>

(5.4) a. maḥammad samma fibnu CiSAAm

"M called his son Issam"

b. \*CiSAAm M samma fibnu

c. Cali biyḥibb ilḥahwa nAAR

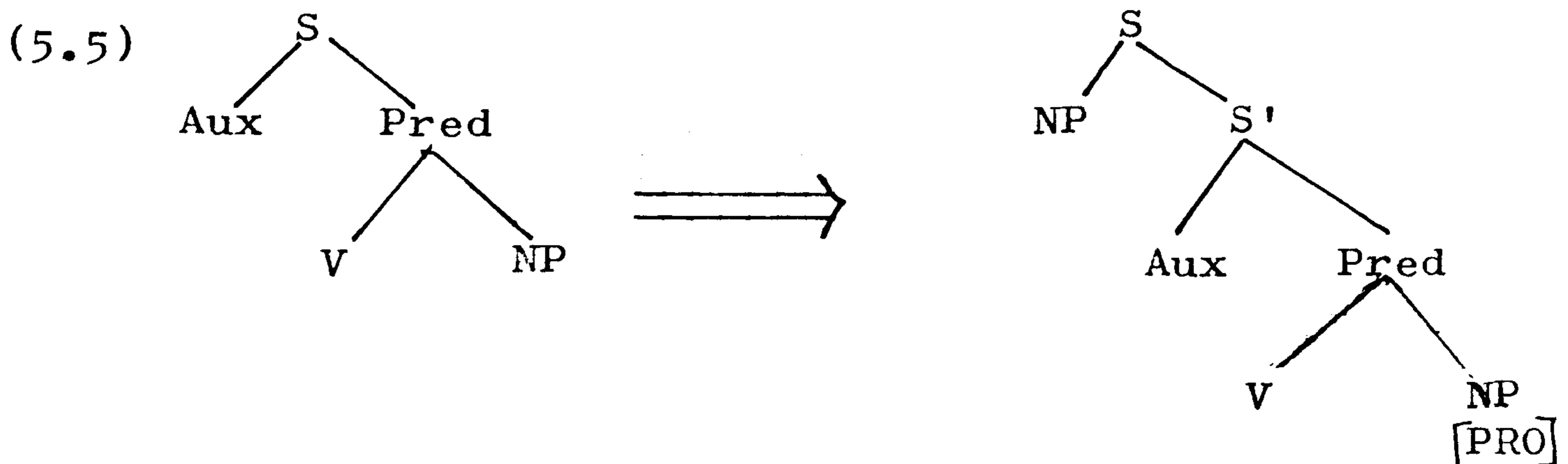
"Ali likes coffee hot (like fire)"

d. \*nAAR Cali biyḥibb ilḥahwa

The pronominalisation condition can be expressed in the grammar as a SS constraint, as only NP's which can leave a pronominal copy can stand as Topics:

If S is rewritten as NP S', it is an ill-formed sentence if the noun phrase in Topic position, NP, is not copied in S'.

The resulting PM from the application of (5.3) will look something like (5.5):



<sup>1</sup>I have already noted that object complements are related to the object NP intensively (see Section 4.3). In DS it is an S whose predicate alone is allowed to surface. Predicative elements acquire initial position by a different rule (see 8.1 below), therefore the object complement cannot be raised by a Topic Raising rule.

With sentences containing verbs that involve more than one NP as verbal complement, the same rule applies, rendering all the sentences in (5.6) grammatical:

- (5.6) a. Cali fidda lkitaab limhammad  
 "Ali gave the book to Mahammad".  
 b. mahammad Cali fiddaalu lkitaab  
 c. mahammad fiddaalu Cali lkitaab  
 d. filkitaab Cali fiddaah limhammad  
 e. filkitaab fiddaah Cali limhammad  
 f. Cali lkitaab mahammad fiddahuulu

The rule is conditioned by the fact that the topicalised NP must have the feature [+Definite]. If topicalisation is motivated by communicative purpose, basically referring elements (always definite NP's) which refer to some entity or thing in the real world (as opposed to action or state) are readily used as topics because these are readily identified by the hearer. We have already mentioned that foremost in priority among such NP's is the NP referring to the subject. It is a proper point of departure for the hearer to build on in decoding the message. If that point of departure has to be an indefinite NP, the transformation is blocked. These NP appear in a different construction known as "Existential Sentences" and will be discussed in Section 8.4 below.

From (5.6) above, especially (b,d and f) where



more than one NP appear successively in Topic position, we may conclude that the rule is recursive, applying to one NP after another. However, we will see below that if considered recursive, the rule will be too strong and will generate ungrammatical sequences of Topics in initial position (e.g. nominal subject NP followed by direct object NP). We then will have to suggest ad hoc restrictions on these sequences. I have chosen to build the constraints into the rules themselves, allowing the rules to be intrinsically ordered, so that they may apply only to those structures that meet their SI's. The rule is, therefore, not seen as being recursive, and the sequence of topicalised NP's, each coreferential with a constituent in S', will be topicalised each by a separate rule, if necessary.

### 5.1.1 Embedded Sentence

According to the first PSR (4.27) above, S is a category that can be the initial symbol of both verbal and copular types. This initial symbol will reappear in the rewrite of NP, thereby allowing recursion in the derivation of "complex" structures. NP can be rewritten as:

$$(5.7) \quad \text{NP} \longrightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} (\text{Det}) \text{ N } (\text{S}') \\ \text{N NP} \\ \text{PN} \\ \text{S}' \end{array} \right\}$$

where S' marks an embedded sentence. The first rewrite permits the appearance of S' as a postmodifying relative

clause, and the last permits the appearance of a complement sentence dominated by NP. The assumption according to this rule is that the complement sentence and the relative clause must behave similarly as part of the input to T-Topic Raising. The facts in (5.8)-(5.10) will not support this assumption:

(5.8) a. laazim (ʔinn) maħammad yiigi ligtimaac  
 "(lit. necessary (that) M come to the meeting"

b.\* laazim (ʔinn) yiigi M ligtimaac

(5.9) a. ʔana ʔACrAf ʔinn ilmadrasa di kaanit  
 zamaan kuwayyisa

"(lit.) I know that this school was a long time ago good"

b. \*ʔana ʔACrAf ʔinn kaanit zamaan kuwayyisa  
 .lmadrasa di

(5.10)a. Cali ʔArA lkitaab ʔilli lmudarrisa  
 ʔiddithuulu ʔimbaarih

"(lit.) Ali read the book that the teacher gave-it-to-him yesterday"

b. CʔArA lkitaab ʔilli ddithuulu ʔmudarrisa

(5.8)-(5.9) show that a complement sentence in both subject and object position will require the order NP-Predicate obligatorily; this is shown by the ungrammaticality of the (b) sentences in those two examples. In relative clauses the topicalisation of the NP is optional as shown by the grammaticality of the (b) sentence in (5.10). It is worth noting here that yet another

function of S' is the Adverb-dominated S; and this will behave similarly to the relative clause as shown in (4.24) (see page 151 above).

From this we can conclude that there are two categories of S. This distinction should not be based on the notion of initial symbol vs embedded S, since already we have seen that the complement sentence requires the application of T-topicalisation obligatorily.

The most economical solution to this problem will be to introduce the complement sentence into the first rule of the grammar to which the obligatory topicalisation rule applies. (4.27) will be the second rule as shown in (5.11):

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (5.11) \quad S \longrightarrow \text{Comp } \bar{S}' \\
 \quad \quad \quad S' \longrightarrow \text{Aux Pred} \\
 \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \quad \text{NP} \quad (\text{NP}) \\ \text{PredP} \quad \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

T-Topic Raising will apply to S, and optionally to S'. Later in the derivation of matrix clauses, the node dominated by Comp will be deleted according to a rule on well-formedness that will delete any node that does not dominate lexical material; in the case of S dominated by NP, the complementiser finn will be inserted under Comp. Such a solution, it is hoped, will simplify the grammar in that it will not require special conditions on the

obligatory application of T-Topic Raising to embedded sentences in case S' was to dominate all types of embedded sentences. The rewrite of NP in (5.7) will be modified as in (5.12):

$$(5.12) \quad NP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Det}) \quad N \quad (S') \\ N \quad NP \\ PN \\ S \end{array} \right\}$$

where (Det) generates quantifiers,<sup>1</sup> demonstratives and articles, and S' generates relative clauses. N NP is that rewrite of NP which results in construct form, and it correctly predicts its recursive nature; PN is the syntactic category dominating Proper Nouns; and S is the node dominating complement sentences. The rule above is simplified to suit the present purpose. Other relevant categories will be introduced in the course of the discussion when the occasion arises. I, therefore, do not claim to be writing a complete grammar of CCA,<sup>1</sup> but a partial one with only

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<sup>1</sup>It is worth noting here that Quantifiers generated in this way under the node Det may present a problem in connection with how they behave under the rules of topicalisation. In a sentence like muCZAm filwilaad gaybiin "most of the boys are absent", the rules will allow the NP filwilaad to be raised to sentence initial position, leaving a pronominal copy on muCZAm(hum): it is behaving like a construct form, more like N NP. The Quantifier, under topicalisation, seems to be an intermediate node between the Det of the first rewrite and the N of the second.

<sup>2</sup>For a more complete grammar of CCA, see Wise (1975) and Gamal el-Din (1961).

categories relevant to topicalisation to be discussed.

The structure resulting from the application of the transformation will be Comp NP S' . (5.3) will be modified as in (5.13):

(5.13) T-Topic Raising

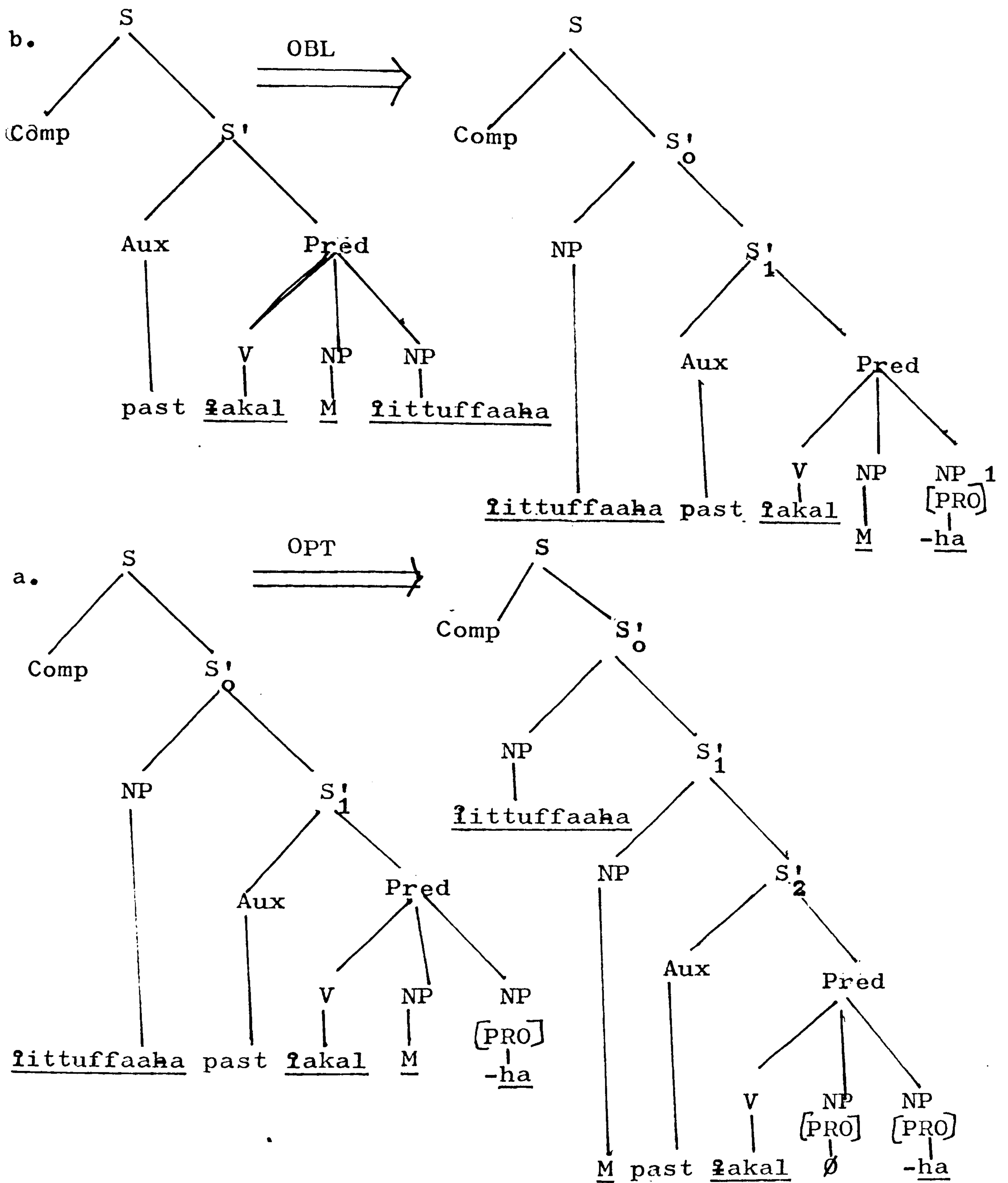
	X	$\bar{S}$	[Comp	$\bar{S}'$	[V	W	NP	$\bar{Y}$ ]	$\bar{S}'$	, [Z]	$\bar{S}$	
SI:	1	2		3	4	5	6	7				$\xrightarrow{\text{OBL}}$
SC:	1	2	5 <del>≠</del> 3	4	5	6	7					
					$\bar{P}$							

Condition: i. 5 is [+Definite]  
ii. W can be null

This rule says in effect that this transformation is obligatory in the environment of S and only in that environment; S' is a category that, according to my description, can be a Predication with specified Tense and Aspect: in all three cases of S', the transformation remains optional as shown in (5.14), (5.10) and (4.24):

- (5.14) a. *fittuffaaha mahammad fakalha.*  
b. *fittuffaaha fakalha mahammad.*

The structure of (5.14) is shown in the following PM's:



The Obligatory T-Topic Raising (b) generates (5.14 b) above, and the optional application of the same rule, (a), generates

<sup>1</sup> The resumptive pronouns dominated by Pred in the output of (a-b) will be hopped onto the verb by a rule of pronoun clitic affixing in the order in which they follow the verb, resulting in the form ʔakalha.

(5.14 a).

This analysis accounts for several phenomena which we mention here in summary:

1. Verbs that follow their subjects display number agreement, while those preceding their subjects do not display such an agreement.
2. Embedded sentences of adverbial, relative and commenting function have alternative structures of verb initial or subject initial order without any restriction on focus (see Section 8.1 for focus restrictions on matrix initial verbs). None of these sentences can have the object NP as an inner topic.
3. Matrix clauses and embedded complement sentences must have a Topic NP-Verb order.
4. Sentences which have topics other than the NP coreferential with the subject NP ( e.g. object NP) which is a pronominal clitic suffixed to the verb, will allow a choice between subject-verb and verb-subject order following the Topic.
5. Pronouns realised post-verbally are always in the form of clitics.

## 5.2 Subject Raising

The analysis is still incomplete due to two outstanding problems. By looking at (5.15) we will discover that there remains the problem of the order in which elements of DS can occur as successive topics in

the surface:

(5.15) \*mahammad ittuffaaha fakalha

"(lit.) Mahammad the apple he-ate-it."

this is the case where T-Topic Raising has applied obligatorily to the underlying subject NP in S, raising it to Topic position, leaving a resumptive pronoun realised as  $\emptyset$  element in its place; followed by the application of the optional transformation to S' and leaving a resumptive pronoun behind realised as -ha. The result is ungrammatical. To solve this problem with a condition on the application of the optional rule will not only be considered ad hoc, but will also require the use of functional categories such as Subject and Object, which is refuted by TG conventions. I suggest a solution based on the order of constituents in the basic structure which can be readily identified with the relation of each constituent to the verb, hence the importance of postulating a DS with ordered elements (see pp. 152,157 above). On page 165 I hinted at the fact that sentences as (4.37) can be derived only from (4.36 b). T-Topic Raising applies obligatorily to the initial PM. We should then consider its applicability to S', but actually this will prove unnecessary once we examine the facts more closely. We have seen that the input to the obligatory rule is S. The transformational cycle will then involve the pronominalisation of the second occurrence of the topicalised NP. The output is a structure in which



a NP is marked [+PRO] ; so the rule can yield either (a) or (b) in (5.16):

(5.16) a. X NP $\neq$ V NP NP Y (where the object NP  
[PRO] has been raised)

b. X NP $\neq$ V NP NP Y (where the subject NP  
[PRO] has been raised)

We may consider two different rules in this case, whereby each rule is assigned the aim of topicalising either the subject NP or the object NP, and these could be later ordered in such a way as to be able to block the topicalisation of the object once the rule has raised the subject. Object raising must, therefore, be ordered before subject raising in order to avoid the generation of ungrammatical sentences such as (5.15). This is not the case. The raising of the subject NP can apply to the initial PM as the obligatory T-Topic Raising. A topicalised object NP does not form an essential part of the SI required for the subject to be raised, and by such an analysis we would fail to account for certain types of sentences. The idea of assigning two different rules, each responsible for the raising of one constituent, is not adequate.

The possible outputs of the obligatory transformation applying to S in the initial PM are those in (5.16). This transformation, T-Topic Raising, will have the freedom of raising any NP in S under the condition met by (5.13). Once the choice is made, the optional transformation will

not apply freely to any other NP in S', but this second choice is restricted by the possible order in which constituents can occur in initial position. What I propose to do, then, is to order the transformations which can apply after T-Topic Raising intrinsically.

In (5.16) , the optional transformation is blocked in the case of the output (b) and is permitted in the case of the output (a). (a) then can serve as the only input to the optional rule which by necessity is required to topicalise only the subject NP in this case. If W is null in (5.13), the raised NP will be moved from a position immediately following the verb and will therefore be interpreted as the subject NP: in this case no more raising can apply to any other NP, except under conditions discussed below. (See Section 5.3).

(5.17) T-Subject Raising

	X	NP <del>≠</del> V	NP	W	NP [PRO]	Y		
SI:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	$\xrightarrow{\text{OPT}}$
SC:	1	<del>2</del> <del>≠</del> <del>4</del> <del>≠</del> <del>3</del>	4	5	6	7		

This rule says that when a NP in S' other than the NP immediately following the verb has been raised by a transformation, then the subject NP (which is immediately following the verb) can be subsequently raised. T-subject raising is therefore intrinsically ordered after T-Topic

Raising. Postal's remark about the Raising rule in English, that "the proper formulation of this rule inherently involves grammatical relations" (1974: 2), could also be true of CCA, despite the fact that both rules are applied in different environments. Note that the feature [+Definite] is not required for the optional T-Subject Raising.

We can have both (a) and (b) in (5.18):

(5.18) a. *ɸilCagala hArAAMI saraɸha*

"(lit.) The bicycle a thief stole-it"

"The bicycle was stolen by a thief"

b. *ɸilCagala ɸilhArAAMI saraɸha*

"(lit.) The bicycle the thief stole-it"

### 5.3 Object Raising

It was mentioned on page 181 that when T-Topic Raising has applied to the subject NP, no more raising can apply except under conditions. If, on the other hand, the obligatory T-Topic Raising applies to the object NP, the subject can then be raised to S' initial position without any restrictions: this is an optional rule which we have come to call T-Subject Raising.

These two rules will guarantee the grammatical sequence of topics in sentence initial position, i.e. the raised object NP must precede the raised subject NP, but not vice versa. The constraint implied by the ordering of these two rules is too strong because it can prevent

the generation of a grammatical structure, where the inversion of the above order is allowed on condition that the raised subject NP be a pronoun (in this position it is always an independent pronoun.) In other words, if in (5.13) the SI specifies that the NP immediately following the verb dominates a pronoun and the rule applies to raise this pronoun NP to Topic position, then in such cases an optional transformation can raise the object NP to S' initial position. Let us look at the following examples:

(5.19) a. *ʔana ssigAArA ʔadaxxanha baCd ilʔakl bass*

"(lit.) I the cigarette smoke-it after  
the-meal only."

"I smoke cigarettes after meals only."

b. *ʔana TAriʔtak di maʔibbihaas̄*

"(lit.) I your-way this not-like-it."  
"I do not like your way".

c. *huwwa ʔinnuuC da Carfu kuwayyis*

"(lit.) He kind this knows-it well."  
"He knows this kind well."

d. *humma rrAɖyu da min yoom maʔstaruu  
mafatakuhuus̄ wala mArrA.*

"(lit.) They radio this since the day  
they-bought-it have not used it once."  
"They have not used this radio once since  
the day they bought it."

There are a few observations to be made about the

status of the initial pronoun in these sentences. First, unlike other pronouns in sentence initial position, this pronoun cannot be the focus of a cleft structure, in other words it cannot receive sentence stress. These pronouns, on the contrary, are always pronounced with the lowest pitch in the sentence. Pronouns are principally referential, in fact referentiality is an inherent property of pronouns. This may be one reason why they are allowed to overrule the general tendency of topic order in initial position. They are by nature "given" elements, and unless contrastive, they, in Firbas' terms, carry the lowest CD in this position. On the other hand, according to the hierarchy of topicworthiness (Hyman and Zimmer, 1976; Hawkinson and Hyman, 1975), topical information comes early in the sentence, is associated with the more animate cases, and first and second persons are more topic-worthy than third person pronouns. Hyman and Zimmer (1976) are in this referring to what they call "natural topic", which is a universal tendency as to what speakers are likely to talk about as opposed to "actual topic", or what the speaker may be talking about at a certain moment. (Ibid., p. 191, 209). The subject optionally precedes when it is more "topical", or topicworthy. Pronouns on the whole are more so than nouns (Cole, 1974: 671-72) because they are inherently anaphoric and more "given".

Object NP's raised to S' initial position in this case require a separate rule which I suggest next:

(5.20) T-Object Raising

	X	NP	≠≠	V	NP	W	NP	Y	
		[PRO]			[PRO]				
SI:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	→	OPT
SC:	1	2	6≠≠3	4	5	6	7		
						[PRO]			6 is [+Def]
									W can be null

The term "object" in this rule subsumes two functions, hence the relevance of the variable(W) preceding the NP to be moved. The two functions are either direct object or object of preposition. If W was null, the NP will be interpreted as direct object. The prepositional object in turn includes the function of indirect object which is always preceded by the preposition li- cliticised to the NP. As far as topicalisation rules are concerned, this prepositional phrase behaves like any other prepositional phrase. The only difference is that the indirect object can be moved by a rule called Dative-movement to a position immediately following the verb, and in this case it is followed by a preposition deletion. As object of the preposition, the indirect object NP can be raised to topic position by T-Topic or T-Object Raising, leaving behind a resumptive pronoun cliticised to the preposition, and both the preposition and the pronoun clitic are then affixed to the verb, in the manner of the direct object.

(5.21) a. māhammad āna āidditlu lkitaab

"(lit.) M I gave-to-him the book"

b. maḥammad ʔana ʔiddiitu lkitaab

"(lit.) M I gave-him the book.

The indirect object has been raised in (b) after the application of Dative-movement, which is again a case where the Freezing Principle does not apply, but it does apply when both the direct and the indirect object are raised. There is no way that both objects can be raised in one sentence after the application of Dative-movement. The Freezing Principle states that if a movement rule results in a structure that cannot be generated by the PSR's (a non-structure preserving transformation), no other movement rule can apply to the relevant node in the output of that rule. (Culicover, 1976: 298-300). In our case here, topicalisation can apply to the indirect object NP which has undergone Dative-movement only when the direct object is not topicalised as well. My suspicion is that the Freezing Principle is not relevant to the syntax of CCA (see page 166, ftn. 1 above.) The explanation on the restriction discussed here can be a practical one: the sequence of the two accusative pronouns to be cliticised to the verb in case both objects are raised when Dative-movement has applied, namely -u and -u, with their phonetic variants -uh and -uh, is difficult; it is easier when one of them is preceded by the preposition. While (a) in (5.22) is ungrammatical, (b) is the only way in which both objects can be raised:

(5.22) a. \*maḥammad fīlkitaab fāna fiddithuuh  
 "(lit.) M the book I gave-him-it".

b. maḥammad fīlkitaab fāna fiddithuulu  
 "(lit.) M the book I gave-it-to-him."

The difficulty, whatever its source, has been grammaticalised as shown in (5.22).

### 5.3.1

On page 129 above, I have remarked that CCA does not have any chopping rules. This statement is true in general, but here I would like to make an amendment which will not be seen as a counterexample to this general principle, but will be put forth as an exception, a highly isolated case, to the point of being probably classified as "idiomatic". Although the rule is productive in its own syntactic environment, (by "productive" I mean the lexical items are "commutable" with other items from the same word class(s)--the term "commutable" is borrowed from Vestergaard (1977: 57)), still the principle is to be observed nowhere else in the data. The occurrence of a raised NP in preverbal position without a pronominal copy in S' is limited to one syntactic environment, denoting a very special mood, and occurring in predictable contexts. This is what drives me to suspect that it is idiomatically restricted.

There is a structure which is highly marked in CCA, always associated with an intense emotional reaction and a sharp resentment, to the point of being associated by native speakers with moments of anger. This structure



is exemplified in (5.23):

(5.23) a. ʔana TAbiix miš haTbux wala ʔakl haakul.

"(lit.) I cooking will not cook nor eating eat."

b. ʔana ʔakl miš haštiri.

"(lit.) I food will not buy.

This structure can also be used to express determination without anger. It does always imply resentment, and this is evident in the fact that its occurrence is more frequently observed to be in the environment of negation than affirmation. The structure is idiomatically frozen into the specifications of an initial pronoun coreferential with either the subject NP or the indirect object NP, and the direct object is immediately preceding the verb in S' initial position. The structure is kept at this minimal realisation in order to preserve its emotional impact. The object NP is always indefinite. We have mentioned (pn page 182) that Subject Raising does not require the feature [+Definite]. This feature is, however, essential to Object Raising. Indefinite NP's in object position cannot be raised because they cannot be resumed post-verbally. They are shifted to preverbal position by a bounded rule which sister-adjoins the NP to V (similar to the movement of adverbials discussed in Chapter 9). The rule is conditioned by the fact that the NP must be [-Definite].

In case the Topic is coreferential with the indirect object NP, as in (c), the subject is not realised independently and the reference to it is limited to the pronominal affix on the verb:

(c) huwwa fuluus miš haddii(lu)

"(lit.) He(/him) money will not (I)-give-to-him"

It is also worth noting that in this sentence, both the direct and indirect objects have been raised. According to the remarks made above (page 186) about the restriction on raising both objects after the application of Dative-movement, it would be impossible to raise both objects in (c). (c) however is grammatical. This can be used as an argument in favour of the inapplicability of the Freezing principle to topicalisation in CCA: the doubts expressed above are confirmed by this example. If it was the Freezing principle that was operative in (5.22 a), it should also apply to (5.23 c); but it does not. The fact that both haddii "(I)-will-give-him" and haddiilu "(I)-will-give-to-him" are possible makes the Freezing Principle quite irrelevant in this context.

#### 5.4 The Direct Object

The indirect object as was observed above behaves like other prepositional objects. I have shown that only the indirect object as object of the preposition li- is relevant when both direct and indirect objects are topicalised. The indirect object that has undergone Dative-movement, with the subsequent deletion of the preposition is not relevant. Therefore, the category Prepositional Phrase as verbal complement subsumes the function of indirect object in the following analysis of prepositional object topicalisation.

A prepositional object can be raised by T-Topic Raising to S initial position. This can be followed by T-Subject Raising as the SI of (5.17) specifies. But in this case, another rule may precede T-Subject Raising to the effect of raising the direct object NP to  $S'_1$  initial position, as the following examples may show:

(5.24) a. Cali lkitaab {ʔana ddithuulu  
mahammad ʔiddahuulu} mbaarih

"(lit.) Ali the book {I gave-it-to him}  
{M gave-it-to-him}  
yesterday."

b. ʔilCARAbiyyA di kull ilfuluus SARaftAhA  
Caleeha

"(lit.) This car all the-money (I)-  
spent-it on it."

c. ʔirrAff da kull ikkutub ʔilli Caleeh  
ʔAritha

"(lit.) This shelf all the-books that  
(are) on-it (I)-read-it."

Such constructions are, however, highly marked and must be fully justified by the context. Even more marked are those constructions resulting from the raising of a pronoun subject NP by T-Topic Raising, followed by T-Object Raising, which raises an object of a preposition, then followed by the raising of the direct object NP, yielding structures such as (5.25):

(5.25) a. *ʔana Cali lkitaab ʔiddihuulu  
mbaarih*

"(lit.) I Ali the book (I)-gave-it-to-him  
yesterday."

b. *ʔana lCArAbiyyA di kull ilfuluus  
SArAftAhA Caleeha*

"(lit.) I this car all the money (I)-spent-  
it on-it."

Here, the raising of the direct object NP will be taken care of by the following rule, where the element in the SI responsible for triggering the transformation is the presence of a resumptive pronoun following a preposition:

(5.26) T-Direct Object Raising

	X	NP <del>Y</del>	V	W	NP	[Prep PrepP	PRO ] PrepP	Z	
SI:	1	2	3 4	5	6	7	8	9	OPT →
SC:	1	2	6 <del>3</del>	4 5	6 [PRO]	7	8	9	

All that T-Direct Object Raising needs to "know" is that an object of a preposition has been raised. This will correctly predict that when T-Object Raising has applied to a prepositional object, (preceded or followed, in the case of a pronoun subject, by subject raising), T-Direct Object Raising will apply:

(5.27) a. *ʔana mahammad ʔilkitaab ʔiddithuulu  
mbaarih*

"(lit.) I M the-book (I)-gave-it-to-him  
yesterday."

b. *ʔana lCARAbiyya di kull ilfuluus SARaftAhA*  
*Caleeha*

"(lit.) I this car all the-money (I)-spent-it  
on-it."

c. *ʔilCARAbiyyA di kull ilfuluus*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ʔana SARaftAhA} \\ \text{Cali SARAfHA} \end{array} \right\}$   
*Caleeha*

"(lit.) This car all the money  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I spent-it} \\ \text{Ali spent-it} \end{array} \right\}$   
on-it"

d. *maḥammad ʔana lkitaab ʔiddithuulu mbaariḥ*

"(lit.) M I the-book (I)-gave-it-to-him  
yesterday."

In (d), T-Object Raising will apply, where the subject NP with the feature  $[+PRO]$  has been raised (see (5.20)), both after the application of T-Topic Raising. T-Subject Raising applies when the SI marks a raised object NP in Topic position.

The rules so far correctly predict the following:

1. If T-Topic Raising should raise the subject NP, no other NP can be raised by any other rule, unless the subject NP is a pronoun. In that case, T-Object raising can raise either the direct object or a prepositional object, including the indirect object.

2. Under any conditions, if T-Object Raising has raised a prepositional object, including the indirect object, the direct object can be raised to S' initial position.
3. If T-Topic raising results in raising the direct object, only the subject can be raised next.
4. If T-Topic Raising results in raising a prepositional object, then either the direct object or subject NP or both can be raised next in that order.
5. Only T-Topic Raising is obligatory; all the other rules are optional.
6. All that will result in the following grammatical sentences:

- (5.28) a. *ʔana SARaft kull ilfuluus Cala lCARAbiyyA di.*
- b. *kull ilfuluus SARaftAhA ʔana Cala lCARAbiyyA di.*
- c. *kull ilfuluus ʔana SARaftAhA Cala lCARAbiyyA di.*
- d. *ʔana kull ilfuluus SARaftAhA Cala lCARAbiyyA di.*
- e. *ʔilCARAbiyyA di ʔana SARaft kull ilfuluus Caleeha.*
- f. *ʔana lCARAbiyyA di SARaft kull ilfuluus Caleeha.*
- g. *ʔana lCARAbiyyA di kull ilfuluus SARaftAhA Caleeha*

h.  $\text{ilCARAbiyyA di \text{fana kull ilfuluus}$   
 $\text{SArAftAhA Caleeha.}$

What the rules cannot do is to order any of the objects after a nominal subject NP in preverbal position, or to order the topicalised prepositional object after the raised direct object NP in any case.

### 5.5 Extrapolation

We began our discussion in 5.2 by hinting at the two problems which may arise from the application of T-Topic Raising as it stands in (5.13) without any complementary rules. We have suggested a number of corollaries to account for the observable data in the form of a number of rules. The second problem is connected with cases like (5.8)-(5.9) above when compared to their counterparts in (5.29), which are ungrammatical:

- (5.29) a.  $\text{*finn mahammad yiigi iligtimaaC laazim}$   
 b.  $\text{*finn ilmadrasa di kaanit zamaan}$   
 $\text{kuwayyisa \text{fana fACrAfu.}}$

These two sentences have one feature in common: they both have a topicalised complement sentence which is exhaustively dominated by a NP. In (a) the complement sentence is topicalised from an underlying subject position, and in the second case (b) it is topicalised from an object position. In such a case, a condition may be placed on rules of topicalisation to prevent complement sentences dominated by NP from being raised. There is, however, a

complement sentence which can appear in Topic position, namely S with the complementiser koon.<sup>1</sup> The condition must, therefore, specify the complementiser finn. In the light of more facts, this solution is not very plausible, because this solution will not always result in grammatical sentences. In the case of a two-place verb, if the subject NP is a complement sentence, this NP will have to be inverted with the object NP, whether that object NP was a nominal or a pronominal element. If we adopt the solution of placing a condition on T-Topic Raising, we will still have to account for the latter permutation by a transformational rule to guarantee a surface sequence which is acceptable, and which will require the complement NP with the complementiser finn to be rightmost in the sentence, as in (5.30):

(5.30) a. yifrihni finni fašuufak naagih

"(It) pleases me to see you are successful."

b. yiCizz Cala l?Abb finnu yišuuf fibnu  
faasil.

"(It) grieves a father to see his son  
a failure."

As opposed to an optional transformation which will be discussed later, moving topicalised NP's to the right of a variable in S, this transformation which is

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<sup>1</sup>This complementiser can also cooccur with finn in koon finn, which behaves like koon. Mallawany suggests yet another complementiser in CCA, namely ma which I find very restricted. It can occur in only one position after zayy "like", and together they may be forming one element. Elsewhere ma can be substituted for the relative article filli, as in: fiCmil filli/ma yiCgibak, "Do what you like."



obligatory can be formulated as follows:

(5.31) T-Extrapolation

	X		NP [ <u>inn-S</u> ] <sub>NP</sub>	Y	
SI:	1		2	3	<u>OBL</u>
SC:	1		∅	3+2	

This transformation then will shift S with the complementiser inn from any position in the sentence to the rightmost position. It is more economical to handle this case by one rule, instead of placing a condition on T-Topic Raising and then proposing an Extrapolation transformation at the same time.

Complement sentences with koon, however, cannot be coreferential with an object NP when sentence initial; they can only function as Topics coreferential with the subject NP in an equative structure whereby they are resumed in the Comment S' by the demonstrative pronoun da, which assumes the copula position (see Section 5.6) followed by a predicative element, which can be an adjective or a nominalisation in the form of a relative structure; or coreferential with a subject resumptive pronominal form realised as zero morpheme, as in (5.32 a). In (c) the pronominal suffix -u in ɬACrAfu cannot be anaphoric to the sentence with koon, hence the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Instead, the structure can be realised as in (b):

(5.32) a. kooni mazakirtiṣ̄ Tuul issana xallaani  
miṣ̄ Carfa haaga fi limtakaan

"The fact that I did not study all year  
long made me unable to do the exam"

b. koonak ma zakirtiṣ̄ Tuul issana da ṣ̄eeṣ̄  
mACruuf/ṣ̄ana ṣ̄ACrAfu

"(lit.) The fact that you did not study  
all year long is something that is known/  
is something I know."

c. \*koonak ma zakirtiṣ̄ Tuul issana ṣ̄ana  
ṣ̄ACrAfu.

"(lit.) The fact that you did not study  
all year long I know it."

Koon complementiser sentences are more acceptable in initial position. They seem to presuppose the existence of the occurrence of the entity or action they refer to, which is an essential property of Topic; unlike ṣ̄inn complementiser sentences which can only serve as part of the assertion, a function which is typically predicative. It may sound sensible to relate koon sentences to ṣ̄inn sentences transformationally, as they seem to be in complementary distribution. We could assume that the one replaces the other in initial position. But this does not sound so plausible because the two structures do not surface in similar environments. If we look at (5.32) once more,

we will find that in (a), the complement sentence is co-referential with the subject NP where no counterpart with an extraposed finn complementiser sentence is possible as in (5.33):

(5.33) \*xallaani miṣ Caarif haaga fi liimtahaan  
 finni mazakirtiṣ Tuul issana

On the other hand, where a counterpart is possible, (5.34) in the case of (5.32 b), the koon sentence surfaces in an equative structure from an assumed underlying structure with a verb as in (5.34):

(5.34) ana iACrAf innak mazikirtiṣ Tuul issana.

There is no way to account for this structural change if this solution was adopted. It is more consistent to derive the two types of sentences from different underlying structures, and let the rules of Extraposition and Raising take care of the possible surface realisation in which each can appear.

In the present grammar, the representation of DS may have lost a generalisation about the nature of predication in the base, namely the ready division of the sentence into its two constituent parts NP VP which has been assumed by nearly all linguists analysing CCA transformationally to this date; such a division may prove an easy solution to many other problems, but it certainly does not capture the facts of topicalisation

as they are evident in the data. No one so far has attempted a serious discussion of the possible surface word order in CCA, and this is probably why this syntactic principle has not been questioned yet. The present representation of DS is aimed at characterising the behaviour of the different constituents in the sentence under topicalisation, hoping to capture more generalisations than have been lost.

### 5.6 Copular Structures

Rule (5.13) has been discussed in relation to sentences with verbal predication only; but there is nothing in this rule to prevent it from applying to copular structures too. The PSR (5.11) states that Pred can be rewritten as PredP NP, and we had earlier referred to the fact that PredP is a category of predicate that relates only one argument, itself comprising a copula and a predicative element. This rule can be expanded as in (5.35):

$$(5.35) \quad \text{PredP} \longrightarrow \text{Cop} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\underline{\text{zayy}}) \\ (\underline{\bar{\text{s}}\text{abah}}) \end{array} \right\} \text{NP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{AdvP} \\ \text{PrepP}^1 \end{array} \right\}$$

Adverbial Phrases can be rewritten as Time or Place; both realisable as Prepositional Phrases, Noun Phrases, or Adverbs as illustrated in (5.36):

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<sup>1</sup>PrepP will not be justified here as a separate category but will be discussed later in connection with sentential subjects.

(5.36) a. *ʔilħafla ʔinnAhArDA*

"The party (is) today"

b. *ʔilʔintixabaat binnAhAAr*

"The elections (are) in daytime".

c. *ʔilʔimtahaan haykuun hina*

"The exam will be here."

d. *ʔilkitaab fiddurg*

"The book (is) in the drawer."

Adjectival Phrases are realised as Adjectives or participles with adjectival function. The former takes an intensifier of degree whereas the latter takes a manner adverbial which is often realised as a complement sentence preceded by the particle *ka-*, or *zayy-*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{S}' \end{array} \right\}$ . S' is realised as a relative clause of two types, both with nominal function: this is illustrated in sentences (c) and (d) in (5.37); the rest of the Adjectival Phrase types are illustrated in order in (5.37):

(5.37) a. *ʔilbAħr gamiil giddan*

"The sea is very beautiful"

b. *ʔilwaahid Caamil kaʔinnu Cayyaan*

"(lit) I/the one feel(s) as if I/he  
ill"

"I feel as if I am ill"

c. *ħuwwa Caamil zayy maykuun Cayyaan*

"He looks as if he was ill"

d. *ħuwwa ħaasis zayy illi Cayyaan*

"he feels as if he was ill"

e. huwwa SAAxiT cala lɪAwDAAC bišidda

"He condemns the situation strongly"

(e) above shows that participial adjectives can also take intensifiers. Participles have been regarded as a kind of hybrid category by many linguists<sup>1</sup>: although they function adjectivally, they can still show many characteristics of verbal functions, like taking complements. This will not prevent the rules I assume to be in operation to apply to such complex types of predicates.

Copular structures can perform different functions: attributive and equative, with its subtype of identificational.<sup>2</sup> This latter type is basically an equative structure of a special kind. These are illustrated in (5.38):

(5.38) a. nadya mudarrisa

"Nadia (is) a teacher"

b. nàdya hiyya lmudarrisa

"Nadia is the teacher"

c. nadya (hiyya) ʔilli bitdarris

"Nadia is the one who teaches"

<sup>1</sup>See Mitchell, 1978: 227-58.

<sup>2</sup>Akmajian (1970) gives two senses to the copula: "specificational" which in my terminology will be equative or cleft (= identificational) and "predicative" which is here referred to as attributive. The first answers "who", and the second "what", giving qualities. In CCA, the "copula" pronoun is obligatory with the first type.

The difference between equative and attributive structures with predicative NP's (i.e. the difference between (b) and (a) above) is that in the first case, the NP is referential, whereas in the second it is not. It follows that the first type of NP can be the focus of a cleft structure, whereas the second (basically attributive in function) cannot be.

Attributive sentences will attribute a quality, a state, a location or a place to the subject NP. This makes all of the sentences in (5.37) attributive sentences. Nouns, especially when used indefinitely, as in (5.38 a) have an adjectival function too. Equative sentences, on the other hand, are expressed by a relation of coreferentiality to the same individual entity between the predicative element and the subject NP. This type, unlike the first, has a structure which is flexibly reversible, and what is predicated of what depends on the presupposed question. (Halliday: 1966). Identificational structures share this quality with equative structures, but the identifier is always the element bearing the sentence focus. The nominalisation is always "to be identified". The identifier consists of a single element, the rest falling within the nominalisation. (Ibid.) This type is what I will refer to as "cleft sentence".

The status of the pronoun hiyya is obviously different in each of the sentences of (5.38): in (a) it

is not present, in the second it is obligatory and in the third it is optional. This pronoun has been repeatedly analysed as a "copula. pronoun". However, when we add the copular verb kaan "was" to each of the above sentences, the pronoun

(5.39) a. nadya kaanit mudarrisa

"Nadia was a teacher"

b. nadya kaanit(hiyya)lmudarrisa

"Nadia was the teacher"

c. nadya kaanit(hiyya) filli bitdarris

"Nadia was the one who taught"

This pronoun will be regarded here as a resumptive pronoun<sup>1</sup>. The fact that pronouns can appear in places of zero copulas should not misguide us as to their true status in the underlying structures of these sentences.

Sentence (5.38) will have the following underlying structure as an input to T-Topic Raising and (b) is the output of the transformation:

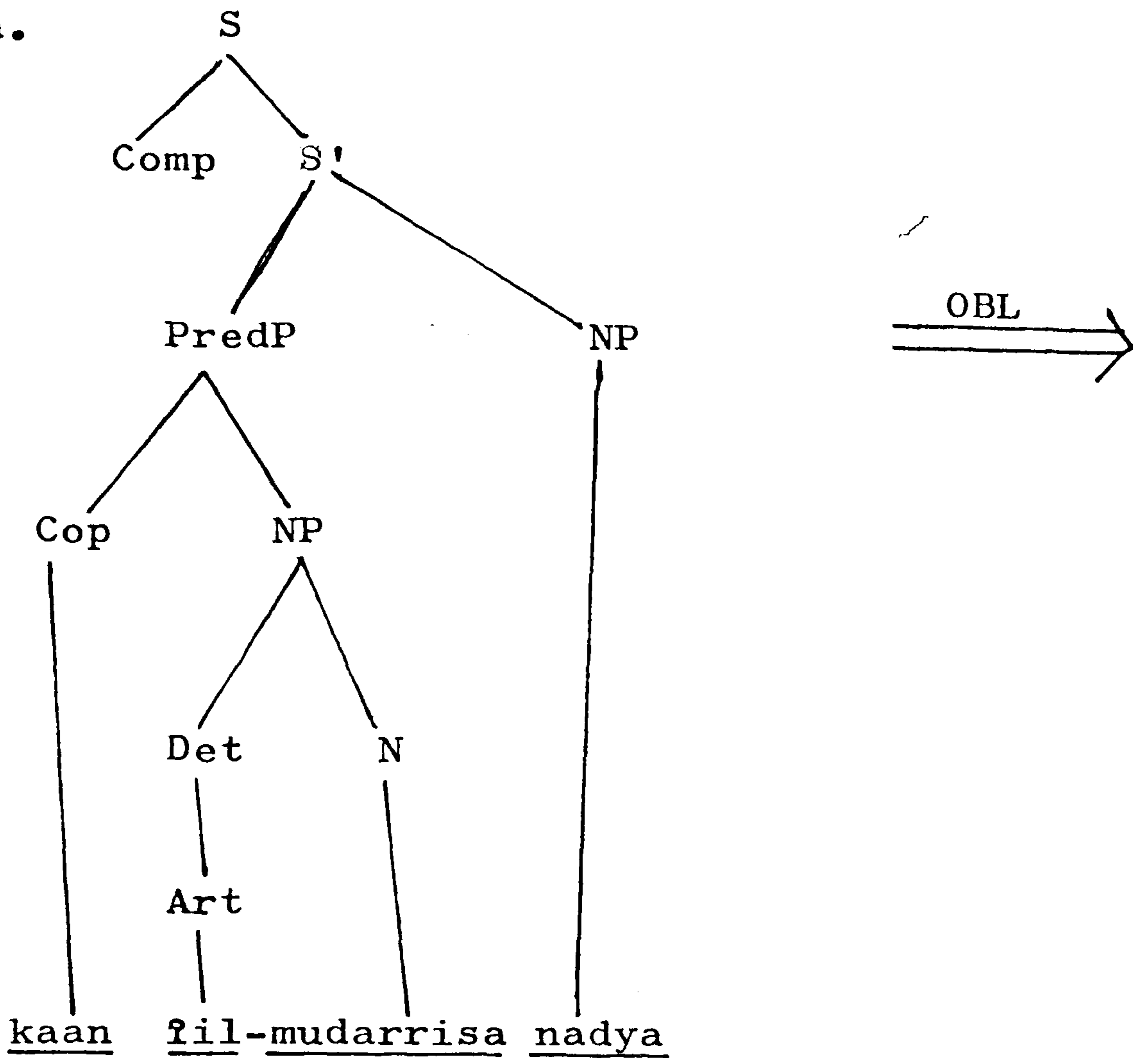
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<sup>1</sup>We have already noted above that the demonstrative pronoun da resumes complementiser sentences in equative structures.

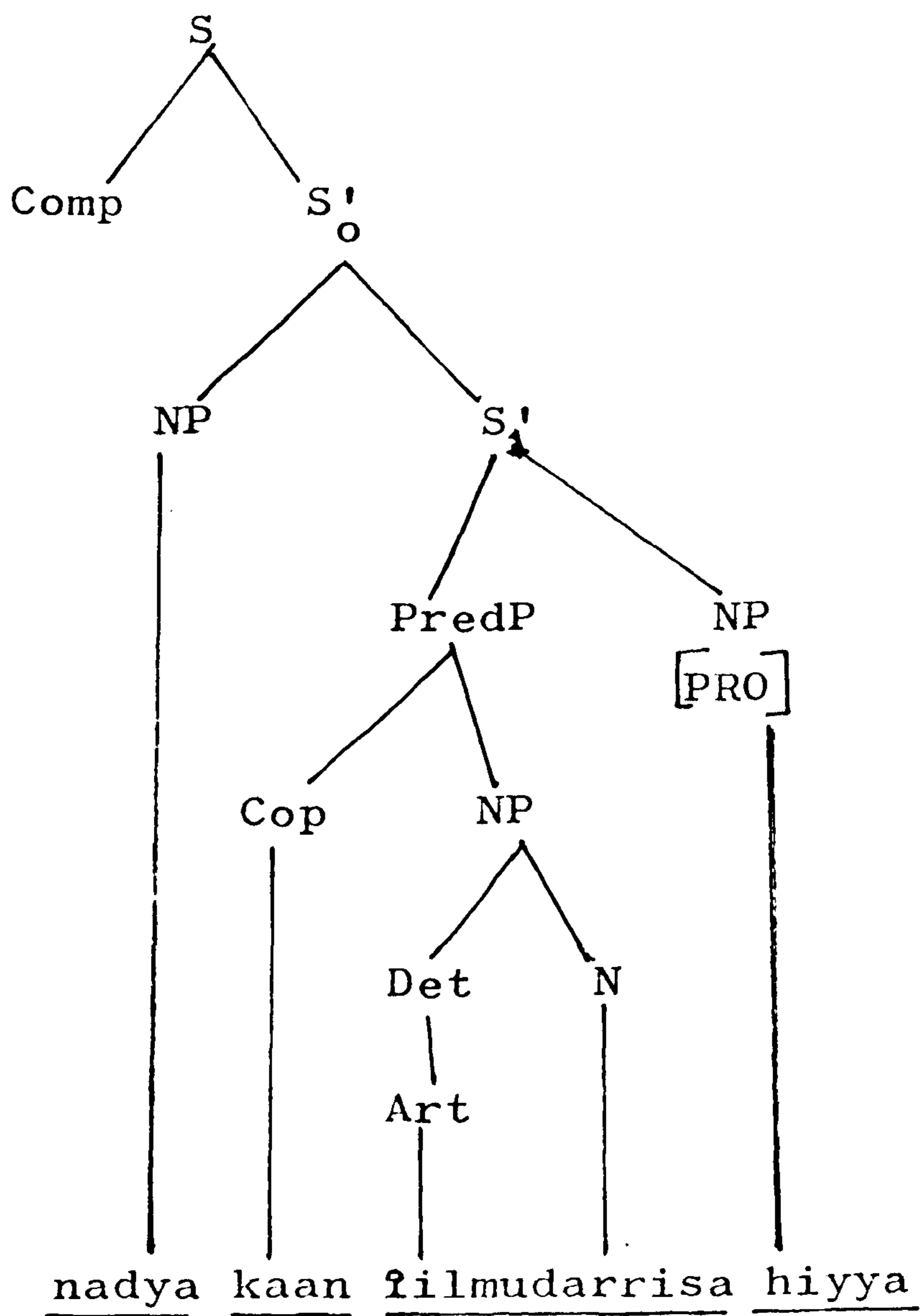


(5.40)

a.



b.



The pronominal replacement is then affixed to the copular verb, as in verbal predicates the pronominal copy was always affixed to the verb in a similar way. The cycle so far involves three transformations: T-Topic Raising, T-Pronominalisation, and Pronoun Affixing. In the case of transitive verbs, the pronouns were affixed to the verb in the order in which they followed the verb in DS. In case of (5.40), the pronoun is affixed to the copula yielding the form kaanit which marks agreement in gender, person and number, the last being the pronominal realisation of the resumptive pronoun in the nominative case. The independent pronoun hiyya can also appear optionally next to the copula as a reenforcement. It is guaranteed by the Pronoun Affixing rule that when the copula is realised as zero morpheme, this pronoun becomes essential and maintains its independent form because it is affixed to a null element. In a sense, it assumes the copular function. In other words, the resumptive pronoun is optional unless the PredP is a definite NP: in this case it is copied on the null element and remains. Hence the obligatory status of the pronoun in (5.38b) and the optional status of the same pronoun in (5.38 c). If the copula is not a zero element, the pronoun does not surface independently, at least not obligatorily, because it is copied onto the copula as in (5.39 b).

In (5.39 a), which is not an equative structure, i.e. the position of the NP is not totally reversible, the situation is different. Although the pronoun is affixed

to the verb kaan, when the copula is  $\emptyset$  the pronoun is also  $\emptyset$ . As we have noted before the boundaries of the Subject and the Predicate in this case are fully marked by the Definite+Indefinite sequence of elements. In attributive structures, the resumptive pronoun does not surface in the place of the copula.

#### 5.6.1 Remarks on Negation in Copular Structures

I would like to examine some phenomena related to negation, hoping to provide an explanation for some cases which have been dealt with separately, but which under the present theory do present some regularities.

Atiya (1976) examines negation in CCA. She remarks that the negative particle miṣ can be attached to the verb, to Aux, to the subject pronoun, prepositional phrase, indefinite pronoun and to some adverbs under certain conditions. (100-104). She goes to great lengths to show how restrictions apply to negative attraction in the case of two or more negative attracting elements cooccurring in the same sentence. By doing this Atiya has missed an important generalisation which would simplify matters to a great extent: there seems to be a principle to the effect that the negative particle is always attracted to the leftmost negative attracting element in the sentence.

An example of this would be the adverb Cumr "ever"

which is typically followed by a NP as an expansion of node Adverb : Cumru/CumrAhA "he never/she never"; Cumr Cali "Ali never". Atiya says that the negative particle is attracted to Cumr unless it is preceded by an indefinite NP:

- (5.41) a. Cali maCumruuṣ̄ zaCCalni  
 "Ali never annoyed me"  
 b. maḥaddiṣ̄ Cumru zaCCalni  
 "No one ever annoyed me"  
 c. \* ḥadd maCumruuṣ̄ zaCCālni

The above principle will explain this negative shift.

Another negative attracting element according to Atiya is what she calls "subject pronoun". I would like to show that all the cases in which Negative is attracted to such pronouns are in fact those where the Resumptive Pronoun has assumed copular position and therefore accept the negative particle. This will make indefinite pronouns the only negative attracting pronouns in CCA. This simplifies matters even further.

Atiya notes that negative attraction to subject pronouns occurs only when the Predicate does not dominate a VP or Aux. This is precisely the environment where, according to the present grammar, a copula pronoun can appear. Her cases are all cases where Topic has been

deleted under discorsal considerations. (a) in (5.42) is derived from (b) by deletion of the Topic. In the presence of the Tense-carrying copula kaan only kaan can carry the negative particle as in (c-d):

(5.42) a. mahuwwaas̄ fi lmaktab

"(x) is-not in the office"

b. Cali mahuwwaas̄ fi lmaktab.

"Ali is-not in the office."

c. makan̄s̄ fi lmaktab

"(x) was-not in the office"

d. \*kaan mahuwwaas̄ fi lmaktab.

To restate Atiya's findings, I will say that Negative is attracted to V , Aux , or the Copular element, and where the Copular element is deleted, to the predicative Prepositional Phrase: the principle still holds that it is the leftmost Negative attracting element that affixes the Negative Particle.

Atiya also cites a case where the dislocated NP is a pronoun and mīs̄ is attracted to another pronoun immediately preceding the predicative element as in (5.43). This is the case where the Topic pronoun cannot carry the Negative particle and the resumptive pronoun attached to a  $\emptyset$  Copula is the Negative carrier:

(5.43) hiyya mahiyyaas̄ dugri fi kalamha

"(lit.) She she-not straightforward in her

speech"

"She is not straightforward in her speech."

Atiya here felt obliged to place an ad hoc restriction to account for the ungrammatical affirmative counterpart in (5.44):

(5.44) \*hiyya hiyya dugri fi kalamha.

Her restriction is in the form of a condition on Left-dislocation, shifting the subject pronoun only in the presence of Negative. (Ibid.: 105-106). In the light of the present analysis both the negative and the affirmative counterpart sentences can be explained. We have mentioned above that the resumptive pronoun does not surface in the environment of an attributive copular sentence because the boundaries are already defined between the Subject and Predicate. It surfaces in the case of Negation in order to carry the Negative Particle. If the Negative is not to be affixed to any element, the pronoun does not surface either, as in (5.45):

(5.45) hiyya mi $\bar{s}$  dugri fi kalamha.

Or as in the case of (5.42 a) above, the Topic pronoun is deleted and the Copula pronoun alone assumes initial position.

In the case of (5.46), the sentence is ungrammatical because the resumptive pronoun cannot appear in Copula position in the environment of a verbal predicate:

- (5.46) a. \*mahuwwaas̄ yiCrAf  
 "(lit.) he-not knows"  
 b. huwwa makan̄s̄ yiCrAf  
 "He did not know"  
 c. huwwa mayiCrAf̄s̄  
 "(lit.) He knows-not"  
 "He does not know"

In (b) the Tense carrier auxiliary kaan attracts the Negative particle by virtue of its precedence, and in (c) the Verb in the absence of the auxiliary attracts the Negative particle. The restrictions Atiya tried to place on the appearance of the Negative-carrying pronoun should be restrictions on the deletion or appearance of the Copula, which is motivated by the rules of Copular structure elsewhere in the grammar.

Atiya also remarks that pronouns followed by emphatic reflexives or restrictive clause modifiers cannot attract the Negative particle. The reason is that these are not resumptive pronouns assuming copular function: they are subject Topics and Negative is never attracted to Topic. The result is that (5.47) is ungrammatical:

- (5.47)a.\*maniīs̄ nafsi muwAZZAfA  
 "(lit.) I-not myself an employee"  
 b. \*maniīs̄ filli faCda gambak.  
 "(lit.) I-not the one sitting beside you"

It is interesting to see how Negative attraction to the predicate realised as a Prepositional Phrase is effected by the theory of pronominal resumption assumed in this grammar. There is a case which Atiya has completely overlooked but which has resulted in an ungrammatical sentence unfortunately given by Wise (1975: 133-34) as an example of an acceptable sentence (already referred to on page 11, ftn. 2 above):

(5.48) \*ʔittArAbeeza ʔilʔuTTA matahtaḥaaṣ̄

"(lit.) The-table the-cat not-under-it"

"The cat is not under the table"

Atiya handles cases where the splitting of the Negative particle is allowed and other cases where it is not allowed. She calls the rule T-Negative-bracketing. It applies to Verbs, Aux and types of predicates including those that take an obligatory extraposed complement sentence like ʔArAD, bidd "intention", nifs "wish", ʔASD "meaning", ḥaʔʔ "obligation", fikr "thought"<sup>1</sup>, appearing in sentence initial position and usually taking a NP in construct with it as an expansion of the predicate. It also applies to Prepositional Phrases dominating a NP which is a pronoun. The rule is assumed by Atiya to apply in any position, but as (5.48) above is ungrammatical, there seems to be a restriction of some sort, provided (5.49) is acceptable:

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<sup>1</sup> These predicates have been dealt with by Mallawany (1981) in more detail under the rubric of modality.



- (5.49) a. *ṛiTTArAbeeZA matah̄tahaas̄ ṛilṛuTTA*  
 "(lit.) The-table not-under-it the-cat"  
 "The cat is not under the table"
- b. *ṛiTTArAbeeZA ṛilṛuTTA miṣ̄ tahtaha*  
 "(lit.) The-table the-cat not under-it"
- c. *ṛilṛuTTA miṣ̄ taht iTTArAbeeZA*  
 "(lit.) The-cat not under the-table"

My analysis explains (5.48) as a case where two topicalisation rules have applied, one raising the object of the preposition to Topic position and the second raising the subject NP. In this case, Negative splitting obviously cannot apply, and an explanation can be offered by the present approach. Let us add the Tense marker kaan to the acceptable paradigm in (5.49), then we get the following:

- (5.50) a. *ṛiTTArAbeeZA makan̄s̄ tahtaha ṛilṛuTTA.*  
 "(lit.)The-table was-not under-it the-cat"
- b. *ṛiTTArAbeeZA ṛilṛuTTA makanit̄s̄ tahtaha.*  
 "(lit.) The-table the-cat was-not under-it"
- c. *ṛilṛuTTA makanit̄s̄ taht iTTArAbeeZA*  
 "(lit.) The-cat was-not under the-table."

If the Past Tense marker is not present and the resumptive pronoun assumes the position of the copula, with a topicalised subject NP, we have the following examples:

- (5.51) a. *ṛiTTArAbeeZA ṛilṛuTTA mahiyyaas̄ tahtaha.*  
 "(lit.) The-table the-cat she-not under-it"
- b. *ṛilṛuTTA mahiyyaas̄ taht iTTArAbeeZA.*  
 "(lit.) The-cat she-not under the-table"

In (5.49) the subject resumptive pronoun, according to my explanation, is realised as a  $\emptyset$  element, but is present in the DS of the sentence. It appears in SS only when it is called upon to carry the Negative particle, as in (5.51). In (5.49) the Prepositional Phrase accepts the splitting of the Negative particle because the subject NP occurs in its DS position and therefore there is no implicit resumptive pronoun that can be called upon to appear in SS to act as a Negative carrier. In this case, the Prepositional Phrase carries the Negative particle and the Bracketing rule applies. In (5.51), the resumptive pronoun has appeared to replace a topicalised subject NP, and being the leftmost Negative carrying element, it carries the Negative particle and allows Bracketing. Otherwise the only alternative is (5.49 b) because the Negative particle is not attracted to the prepositional phrase but exists as an independent particle to mark the place of the implicit resumptive pronoun which has not surfaced (optionally), as opposed to (5.51). (5.48) is ungrammatical because the Negative particle has been attracted to the Prepositional Phrase which according to the underlying structure of the sentence is not the leftmost Negative attracting element.

I hope that these facts of negation have helped in providing evidence as to the presence of the resumptive pronoun in the underlying structure of sentences, in this case copular structures.

## CHAPTER 6

### CLEFTING AND RELATIVISATION

#### 6.1 Cleft Sentences

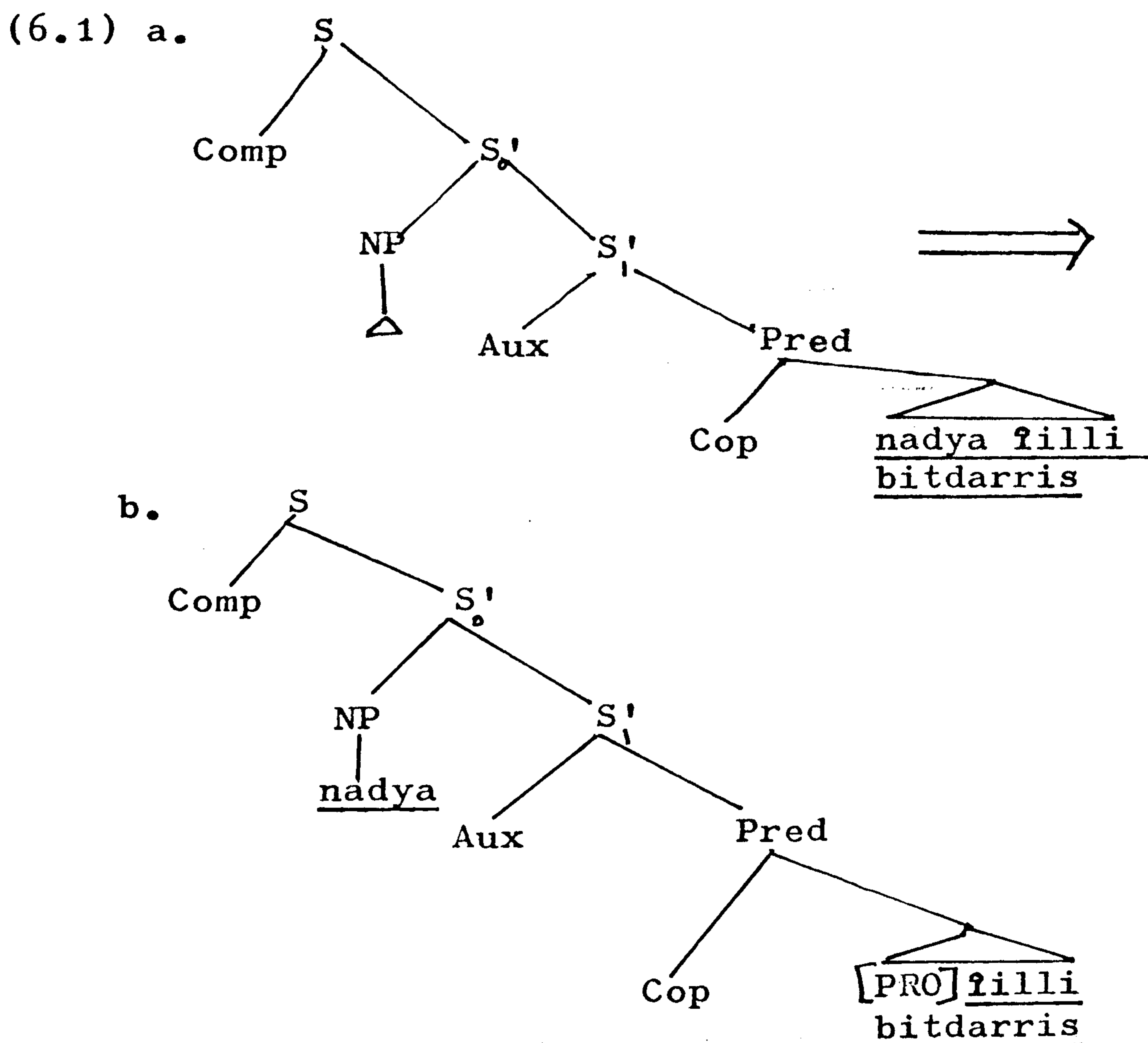
Sentences (5.38 c) and (5.39 c) above have been identified as equative sentences performing an identificational function: the identified element is always nominalised. The nominalisation is achieved by a relative structure consisting of a Noun Head and a post-modifying relative clause. This tactic will later be observed to be in operation in the formation of what are known as "Existential Sentences". The focus of a cleft structure in CCA is always a nominal element in the Topic position. It is followed by a copula and the nominalisation in predicate position ; so that sentence (5.39 c) can be analysed into these three constituents as follows:

nadya / kaanit / hiyya filli bitdarris

"Nadia / was / the one who taught"

As in equative sentences, the pronoun remains to resume the Topic when both sides of the equation are [±Definite]. The cleft construction is generated from an underlying equative form which has as one side of the equation a NH+relative clause, and on the other side a dummy symbol to which the NH is moved by the clefting transformation and assigned focus. This is a thematising process

whereby the focussed NP is shifted to Topic position for both types of emphases, focal and positional.<sup>1</sup> Akmajian (1970: 20) distinguishes pseudo-cleft from copular structures by the fact that the "initial clause contains a semantic variable, a 'gap' to be filled by the focus." This "gap" is "contained in a free or bound relative and is specified by the focus." This is similar to my analysis of cleft structures in CCA, but in this case the relative is always bound by the NH which is the element to be focussed and it is not sentence initial. The PM (a) in (6.1) will be the input to the transformation, whose output is (b):



<sup>1</sup>Atiya (1976: 265) regards the nominalisation as a headless relative clause with a dummy element in NH position with a matrix of features to account for concord. This will not be necessary under the resumptive pronoun analysis.

The moved NP will pronominalise as hiyya. When the definite article ʔilli is deleted by an optional rule the pronoun disappears with it obligatorily, and the boundaries between the two sides of the equation are marked by the verb. This is distinguished from a Subject-Verb structure by the fact that the initial NP is [+Foc]. This I will call "Cleft-reduction", and it is distinguished functionally from the R-Rules by the fact that the latter is the topicalisation of topic while the former is the topicalisation of focus.

Rules of focus assignment will then assign focus to the element outside the nominalisation. There are cases when nominalisations are on both sides of the equation. Usually when this happens, a verbal element is meant for the focal position, but cannot be shifted until it has been nominalised as in (6.2). It follows that only nominal elements can be focussed in this way:

(6.2) ʔilli ʔana Camaltʔ huwwa ʔinni tAAlibt  
birAfC mustawa lxidma

"What I did was ask for raising the  
standard of living."

The proform for the verb in this case is Camal "do" and it is placed within the relative clause, the identified element; (6.2) has the nominalisation in sentence initial position because the complementiser clause has undergone obligatory Extraposition.

The resumptive pronoun, as in other cases of equative structures, will be affixed to the copula and will replace it when no auxiliary verb (kaan) appears. As all equative structures are expressed by a NP on both sides of the equation, the structure can undergo inversion of the NP's as in (6.3):

(6.3) ʔilli kasar ʔiṣṣibbaak huwwa maḥammad

"The one who broke the window is M"

A later rule, similar to Complex Noun Phrase Shift in English (see Ross 1968: 32) can shift the nominalisation to sentence final position resulting in (6.4)

(6.4) huwwa maḥammad ʔilli kasar iṣṣibbaak

"(lit.) He Maḥammad who broke the window"

"It was M who broke the window"

R-Rules can derive Topics which do not bear sentence focus, as was mentioned earlier. Focal Topics can be derived by Cleft Reduction, and this explains why the insertion of (huwaa/hiyya) ʔilli after the focal NP in sentences such as (6.5) is always possible:

(6.5) nadya (hiyya ʔilli) bitiṣṭagal mudarrisa

"Nadia (is the one who) works as a teacher"

Inversion is impossible when Cleft-reduction applies; it is possible only when the relative article is restored

as in (6.6) and that is why in Section 4.4 we have ruled out (4.23 a) as ungrammatical. Non-focal initial verbs, and predicative elements in general, are always part of a nominalisation and must appear with the relative article. (See pp.149-52). Inversion, therefore, applies only to structures which have not undergone Cleft-reduction, as in (6.6):

(6.6) *ʔilli bitištagal mudarrisa nadya.*

## 6.2 Relativisation

The relative clause which provides the nominalisation for the Cleft-structure is also present in our rewrite of NP in the PS rule (5.12):

$$N \longrightarrow (\text{Det})N(S')$$

This rule says that a NP could consist of a Noun plus a clause, which we will refer to as a relative clause. S' must contain one NP that is coreferential with the NH. The relative clause is a postmodifier. It can modify an indefinite noun or a definite one and in the latter case it agrees with the noun in this feature and takes the relative article ʔilli. When cleft reduction has applied the relative article is reduced to the cliticised article ʔil-. If the NH is indefinite, the relative article will not appear.

The relation between the NH and a NP in S' requires a closer examination. First, we have mentioned

earlier that T-Topic Raising applies once obligatorily to S, upon which T-Subject Raising can apply optionally. In case of S', R-Rules apply optionally in the first place. Let us look at the following examples:

(6.7) a. *fiTTArAbeeZA filli Caleeha lkitaab  
fadiima*  
"(lit.) The table that on-it the-book  
(is)old."

b. *fiTTArAbeeZA filli lkitaab Caleeha  
fadiima*

(6.8) a. *mahammad filli fidda lkitaab liCali  
miṣ̄ mawguud dilwaṣ̄ti.*

"(lit) M who he-gave the-book to-A  
(is)-not here now."

?? b. *mahammad filli lkitaab fiddaah liCali*

≠ c. *mahammad filli Cali fiddaalu lkitaab*  
(where -u is coreferential with Cali)

(6.9) a. *filkitaab filli fiddaah mahammad liCali*  
"(lit.) The book which gave-it M to-A"

b. *filkitaab filli mahammad fiddaah liCali*

??c. *filkitaab filli Cali fiddahuulu mahammad*

(6.10) a. *Cali filli fiddaalu mahammad filkitaab*  
"(lit) Ali who gave-to-him M the-book"

b. *Cali filli mahammad fiddaalu lkitaab*

??c. *Cali filli lkitaab fiddaahulu mahammad*



In (6.7)-(6.10), all the original places from which nominals have been moved are always resumed as clitics to be affixed to the verb (or preposition) in the order of their occurrence in DS. We can see that all the awkward or ungrammatical examples are those that involve the placement of some NP that is an object, direct object, indirect object or object of preposition in topic position within S'. Only the subject NP, which is the unmarked Topic, can occupy this position. This is in harmony with the rules suggested above and the order of their application because when T-Topic Raising has applied to S, T-Subject Raising can apply next (optionally) to S'. In this case we will not need a special condition to be placed on the application of T-Subject Raising to S' as the only relevant optional rule: such a condition would have been ad hoc at any rate.

The order of elements in a relative clause is supported by another factor still. This is the fact that the whole structure of N S' seems to be subject to all the restrictions that are applicable to the application of the rule of topicalisation discussed so far. (For the relation between Topic-comment structure and relative structure, see Gundel, 1974; Kuno, 1976; Lewkovicz, 1971) . Let us see how this works. The NH plays an important role in these restrictions. It is clear that the sequence subject NP-object NP is avoided in CCA sentences in initial position. If we consider the order in which these

elements can occur in relative structures, i.e. the NH and the possible NP topicalised inside S', the same order is again avoided here. The object NP can only precede the subject NP.

It has been already remarked by some linguists that NH-relative clause structure is indeed a Topic-comment structure. Kuno states a constraint called "The Thematic Constraint on Relative Clauses" which says that "a relative clause must be a statement about its noun head." (1976: 42)). He reexamines J. Ross's Coordinate Structure Constraint which Ross claims is responsible for the ungrammaticality of

\*The lute which Henry plays and sings madrigals is warped. Kuno instead claims that this is constrained by the Thematic Constraint, because when this constraint is violated, sentences that are not permitted under Ross's explanation will be judged as either marginal or grammatical by native speakers:

- a. ? The guitar that Mary bought and Jane paid for its carrying case was very expensive.
- b. This is the kind of organ that Mary bought and thereby angered her husband.

These are cases "where the embedded clauses, before relativisation, can be said to be statements about the guitar and the organ."

J. Gundel also suggests that "the sentence embedded inside a relative clause has a Topic-comment structure; moreover, the Topic is necessarily coreferential with the head of the clause." She therefore sees no need for moving the relative pronoun to the front in English, "since the noun phrase that is relativised, the topic, is already in its surface structure position."<sup>1</sup>(1977:74)

Gundel too suggests the replacement of Ross's CSC in its interaction with relativisation by a "Conjunct Deletion Constraint" and a semantic well-formedness constraint that is stated as follows:

A noun phrase, x, that is adjoined to a sentence S, must be semantically relevant to any sentence, S', that is immediately dominated by S, i.e., S' must be a meaningful predication about x. (Gundel, 1974: 73-74)

The principle is greatly supported by our analysis of S, and the relation between the raised NP and S'. In relative structures, which are also NP S', the NH with the relative clause can be said to form together a Topic-comment structure that is consistent with the features of Topic-comment structure suggested here. The relation suggested results from the fact that the relativised noun is coreferential with a resumptive pronoun in S'. To establish this relation syntactically, I would like to suggest that the relative structure as it is exemplified in (6.7)-(6.10) is derived from an underlying

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<sup>1</sup>Gundel derives all SS's from an underlying Topic-initial order. (See Section 2.2.5).

form where S' is a Topic-comment structure, with a NP identical to the NH in Topic position:

(6.11) maḥammad<sub>S</sub>, [maḥammad fidda lkitaab liCali]<sub>S'</sub>

where the relative article is inserted transformationally after the deletion of the second occurrence of the NP under identity, resulting in:

(6.12) maḥammad filli fidda lkitaab liCali

This is the only way I see that can account for the restrictions applying to the of NP's in S' initial position discussed above. The resumptive pronoun in S' in (6.12) is there by virtue of the Topic-comment structure of S' in (6.11) and continues to be coreferential with the NH by virtue of the coreferentiality between the deleted NP and the NH.

Another corroborating evidence comes from sentences such as those in (6.13):

(6.13) ? a. fana fabilṭ ilwalad filli huwwa Cali  
kaan fiddaalu lkitaab.

"(lit.) I met the-boy who he.Ali had  
given-him the-book"

"I met the boy to whom Ali had given  
the book".

b. di TTariifa filli hiyya muttabaCa fi  
Camal fittiCdaad issanawi.

"(lit.) This the-method that it (is)

used in making the-census annual."

"This is the method which is used  
in making the annual census."

Such pronouns as huwwa and hiyya in (a-b) typically surface as resumptive pronouns in the place where the Topic within S' is supposed to be but has been deleted. Such pronouns are optional. Abu Ssaydeh (1980) cites the following examples as evidence to the fact that finn, the complementiser, is an unmarked form and that there is an equally unmarked alternative form, namely finnu. I will reanalyse finnu as a complementiser with a suffixed pronoun which corresponds to the independent pronouns discussed above. Abu Ssaydeh sees that the fact that the independent pronoun can appear after finnu rules out the possibility of analysing the clitic as subject. (Ibid.: 136):

(6.14) a. filmudarris qArrAr finnu huwwa yiṣrif

Cala TTullAAb binafsu

"(lit.) The-teacher decided that-him he  
supervises the students himself."

b. ilbanaat Cirfit finnuhum humma nagħiin

fi limtaħaan

"(lit.) The girls knew that-them they  
passed the exam."

From (b) we can see that the pronominal suffix inflects for concordial categories, and Abu Ssaydeh will have to propose a wider range of equally unmarked alter-

natives to finn. It is more economical to account for all the forms of finn by pronominal resumption. (a) above has a reflexive pronoun used emphatically, that which will support my interpretation of the independent pronoun in the case of finnu as a reenforcement of the cliticised form. The sentence without huwwa is acceptable, but it does not express as much emphasis as the one with huwwa.

Furthermore, we could replace the clitic with a nominal element when there is no coreferentiality between the matrix subject and the subject in the subordinate clause:

(6.15) filmudarris qArrAr finn iTTuLAAb humma  
yišrifu Cala nafsum binafsum.

"(lit) The-teacher decided that the-  
 students should they supervise themselves  
 by themselves."

"The teacher decided that the students  
 should supervise themselves by themselves."<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that the pronoun humma in this sentence is an emphatic one and I see no reason why this pronoun should be analysed in a way that is different from that in (6.14 a).

This discussion may have taken us slightly outside the main point, but the idea has been to show that the relative clause seen as a Topic-comment arrangement

<sup>1</sup>These examples have been transcribed into CCA sentences: the difference between the two varieties is only phonological.

is no different from other types of embedded clauses in CCA; besides, the assumption that pronouns are used as Topics of the inner clauses in cases of coreferentiality between the Topic of S and that of S' is a common phenomenon to other embedded S's in CCA.

## CHAPTER 7

TOPICALISATION OF THE CONSTRUCT NP7.1 Introduction

Apart from being conditioned by pronominalisation-- unless a NP can leave a pronominal copy in the place from which it has been shifted, it cannot be topicalised--the topicalisation of the construct NP also has restrictions imposed by semantic relations as well as rigid idiomatic use. In (7.1)-(7.2), the grammaticality of the (b) sentences vs the ungrammaticality of the (c) sentences will form part of the discussion in this section:

(7.1) a. *ʔana zurt maktabit ilgamCa*

"I visited the university library."

b. *ʔilgamCa ʔana zurt maktabitha*

\*c. *maktabitha ʔana zurt ilgamCa*

(7.2) a. *ʔilʔidAArA lagit gawaaz issAfAr*

"The administration repealed the passport."

b. *gawaaz issAfAr ʔilʔidAArA lagitu*

\*c. *ʔissAfAr ʔilʔidAArA lagit gawaazu*

This is indicative of the relation between constructs and pronominalisation on the one hand, and on the other of how constructs behave under topicalisation rules.



## 7.2 The Structure of the Construct

The topicalisation of constructs is different from other NP's because of the structural nature of the construct. I will not here attempt a detailed description of constructs and their criteria of determination<sup>1</sup>, but these will be dealt with briefly in as much as they prove relevant to the present discussion. My basic object is to examine how constructs behave under the topicalisation transformation and what restrictions exist on applying it .

The construct is a composite structure that involves three word classes: nouns, adjectives<sup>2</sup>, ( with their subclasses of common and proper; verbal and deverbal; participles, fractions and quantifiers.), pronouns (including demonstratives functioning pronominally); verbs, articles and prepositions are excluded, unless they occur as subcomponents of clauses essentially occurring as final components in constructs.

The structure juxtaposes two or more forms (the latter I will call multiple construct) and functions as a NP. Constructing a multiple construct is a recursive process, where each following component is itself in construct with the next component, i.e. is itself a

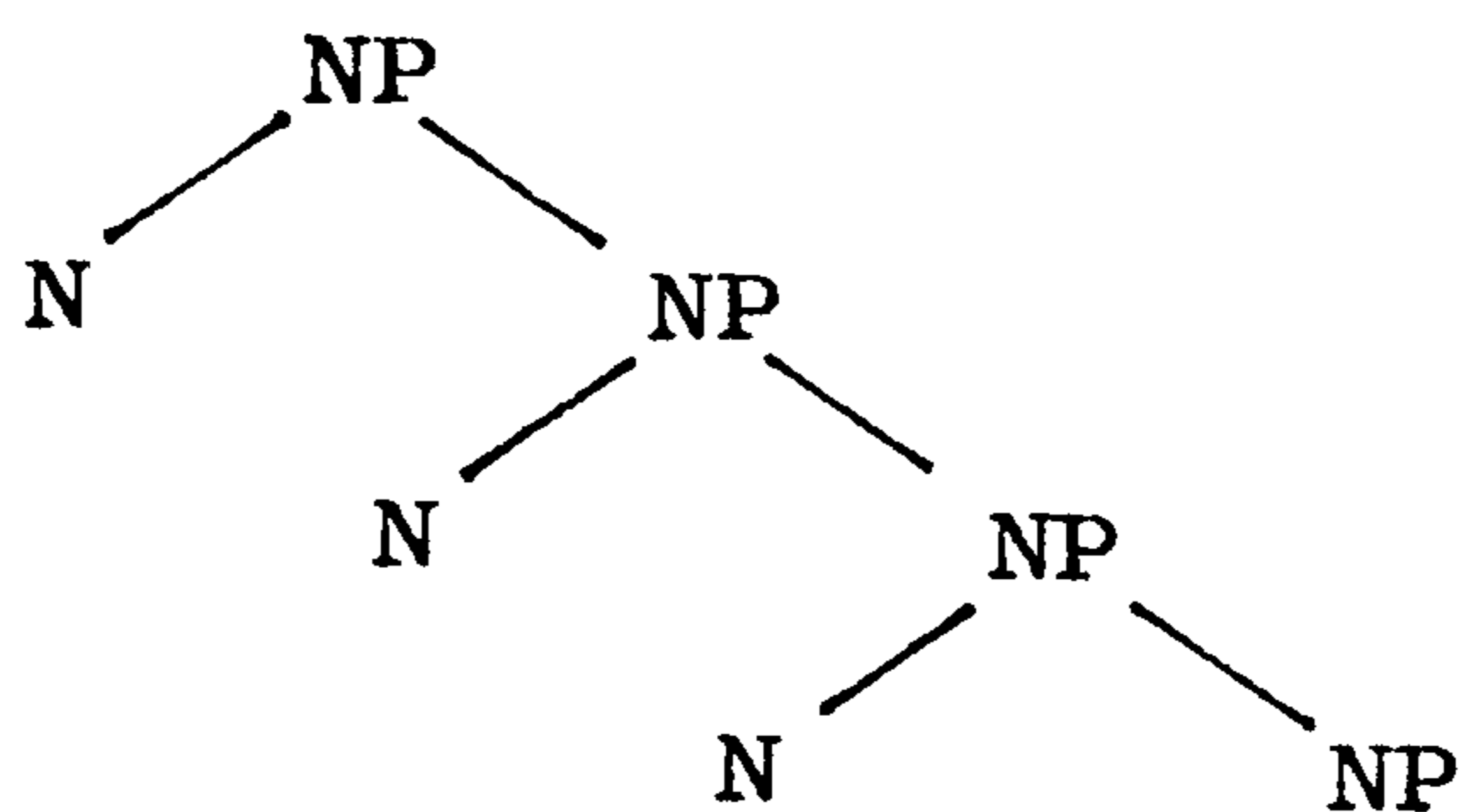
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<sup>1</sup>For this purpose, see Sallām (1979: 134-37).

<sup>2</sup>Both are glossed by Arabic grammars under the major category alʾasmaʾ, "nouns".

construct or a multiple construct. The structure consists basically of N+NP, where each NP can be in turn expanded as N+NP. (See the rewrite of NP, page 172). The recursion will result in a structure represented by the following tree:

(7.3)



Constructs involving adjectives have a different structure, which does not permit recursion, as shown in (7.4):

(7.4) NP  $\longrightarrow$  Adj N

However, this rewrite is not included in (5.7) because this type of construct is adjectival in function, and like many adjectives in CCA can be used substantivally.

Of the two juxtaposed components of the construct, the first one is dominant in the sense that it prescribes concord with the verb if the construct is in subject position and with the predicating element when it occurs in equative structures. Hence this component will be called the "governing component". The following component serves either to amplify the preceding component semantically or to limit its semantic applicability. It denotes a sense of embracing or possessing the quality, thing or

person imparted by the preceding component, and hence will be called the "genitive component".

### 7.2.1 The Traditional View of the Construct

Traditional Arabic grammars tackle the construct under the heading of ʔalʔIDAafa , "annexation". There are two types of annexation: "real" called ʔDAafa haqiqiyya , and "unreal" called ʔiDAafa gayru haqiqiyya. These two types are defined along formal and semantic parametres, involving the word classes and the grammatical form of the component elements as well as the semantic relation between them. (See Al-ansaari, p. 511; Al-Ashmouni , 1358 A.H.: 306-7; ʔid ,1975: 551). Real annexation signifies meaning relationships conveyed by the juxtaposition of nouns, including derived forms (although not all grammarians would include this type) and the expansion in meaning is either in the form of "defining" if the genitive component bears the definite article ʔal- or it "limits" the scope of the first component by the aid of the second component if the second component does not bear the article; these are exemplified in (7.5) respectively:

- (7.5) a. Camiidu lkuliyya  
           "Dean of the Faculty"  
       b. qawlu hAqq  
           "(lit.) saying the truth"

Unreal annexation, which involves governing components consisting of active and passive participles in construct with the object affected by the verbal function of the participle, does not fulfil the above semantic criteria and it is just a construct "in form".

In the case of adjective+noun structures, the definite article is obligatory on the genitive component but the construct remains indefinite. Due to its very special nature, the adjectival construct is given a special status by Al-Ashmouni (Ibid.: 306) and is termed "quasi annexation", or quasi construct. Henceforth I will distinguish it from other types of unreal constructs by this name. The quasi-construct is also special in that, when used to postmodify a definite noun, both components take the article, giving the construct the form of ʔal-Adj+ʔal-Noun as in (7.6):

(7.6) ʔarrAjulu ssayyifū lḥAZZ

"(li.) The man (with) the bad fortune"

The governing component in other types of construct never takes the definite article: it is made definite only by attaching the definite article to the genitive component. In the case of multiple constructs, only the last component takes the article. The contrast is shown in the following table:

(7.7)

Type of Construct	Indefinite	Definite
Real and Unreal Constructs	noun+noun	noun+ <u>ʔal</u> -noun
Quasi-constructs	adj+ <u>ʔal</u> -noun	<u>ʔal</u> -adj+ <u>ʔal</u> -noun

<sup>6</sup>Tid subclassifies the semantic relations between components according to the implied preposition that can be inserted in alternative structures paraphrasing the construct. (Tid, 1975: 551).<sup>1</sup> If the preposition is fi "in", it marks an adverbial of time or place (SAhAru llayl → ʔaSSAhAru fi llayl "staying up at night"); if it is min "of", it denotes the material from which the object referred to by the governing component (dibla dahab → dibla min dahab "a gold ring"); Sallam does not consider these as constructs and gives them the status of compound nouns on the basis that they do not conform with the construct criterion number 2 below (see 7.2.2); the third implied preposition is li- "for", and it subsumes a variety of semantic relations. This does not say much though, because one of the relations subsumed here is again of adverbial function, such as SADAAqAtu lCumr → SADAAqAtun lilCumr "friendship for life".

### 7.2.2 The Construct in CCA

The construct in CCA is recognizable by uniquely

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<sup>1</sup>Sallam (1979), however, goes further in investigating these relations.

assignable properties which distinguish it from other forms of NP's ; these criteria apply to CCA, but they might as well apply to other varieties including Standard Arabic:

1. Constructs are distinguished from other noun+noun structures such as (7.8)-(7.9) by their uninterruptibility as opposed to the interruptibility of non-construct forms:

(7.8) a. badla Suuf "a woollen suit"

b. badla fAxmA Suuf "a magnificent woollen suit"

(7.9) a. dibla dahab "gold ring"

b. dibla galya dahab "an expensive gold ring"

The following are uninterruptible because they are constructs:

(7.10) a. \*gunellit gamiila lbint

"(lit.) the skirt beautiful of the girl."

b. beet kibiir lmudīir

"The house large of the manager"

These can be better realised as:

(7.11) a. gunellit ilbint lgaamila

b. beet ilmudīir kibiir

None of the components of the non-construct NP's is subject to pronominalisation and therefore cannot be topicalised. It is also true that the second component cannot be recursively expanded either.

2. An /a/ ending governing component in a construct always changes the /a/ into /it/ as a linking element:

(7.12) TAriiʔA+ʔixrAAg → TAriiʔit ʔixrAAg  
 "manner of directing"

3. In all constructs except adjectival ones (quasi-constructs) the final component alone accepts the definite article.

(7.13) muftaah+baab+CArAbiyyA →  
 muftaah baab CArAbiyyit mahammad/ʔilmudiiir  
 "(lit.)(the)key car of M/the manager"  
 "The key of M's car/the manager's car"

Sallam suggests that there is another form of defining the genitive component, namely by attaching a pronominal suffix, i.e. the final component can be made definite by prefixing ʔal- or by suffixing a pronominal clitic. The Arab grammarians, however, regarded the pronoun as the final component in the construct, the genitive component, and it is an inherently definite element by virtue of which the whole construct becomes definite. There is no reason to separate the occurrence of the pronoun in this position from other cases of pronominalisation in CCA. The general rule is that if a NP occurs once in a sentence, the tendency is to pronominalise all the subsequent occurrences of the same NP in the sentence, or indeed in a series of conjoined sentences. When the subsequent reoccurrence of a NP is a genitive component in a construct, it is pronominalised. This

rule applies even when it results in ambiguity:

(7.14) maḥammad faal liCali fīnn baab  
 CArAbiyyitu fītkAsAr

"Mahammad told Ali that the door  
 of his car was broken."

The underlined pronoun in (7.14) can refer to either maḥammad or Cali. If not disambiguated by the context this sentence may elicit a question in response. To Sallam, therefore, CArAbiyyitu is a definite noun, in my view it is a construct.

It is also clear that the noun CArAbiyya "car" accepts the linking /it/ before the pronoun u as all constructs do. Besides, when these pronouns appear with verbal nouns or participles, they are clearly components of the construct and not just defining elements:

(7.15) TACTilhum limASAAlīk innaas

"Their delaying of the public's affairs"

### 7.3 The Topicalisation of the Construct NP

Only NP's are subject to pronominalisation and as the rules of topicalisation in CCA specify that it is a copying rule, it follows that only the genitive component can be topicalised. Only definite elements can be shifted to Topic place, so in constructs where the



definite genitive component has been topicalised, leaving a pronominal replacement, the new genitive component which is rendered definite by virtue of the affixed pronoun, can then be raised, and so the rule becomes recursive. Topicalisation is a process that affects the functional perspective of sentences but does not change the semantic content. Indefinite elements cannot be shifted to Topic position without basically changing their semantic properties; i.e. referential properties. If a governing component must be topicalised, it is shifted together with the whole construct because it is rendered definite by virtue of its construct context.<sup>1</sup>

The topicalisation of the construct will then shift the highest NP or any NP dominated by it to initial position, leaving a pronominal copy. A multiple construct can be raised as a whole as in (7.16 a-b):

(7.16) a. muftaah baab CArAbiyyit hasan DAAC

"The key of Hasan's car door was lost"

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<sup>1</sup>Markers of definition in CCA are three:

1. Attaching the definite article al- to the noun or adjective.

2. A noun in construct with another definite noun is consequently rendered definite.

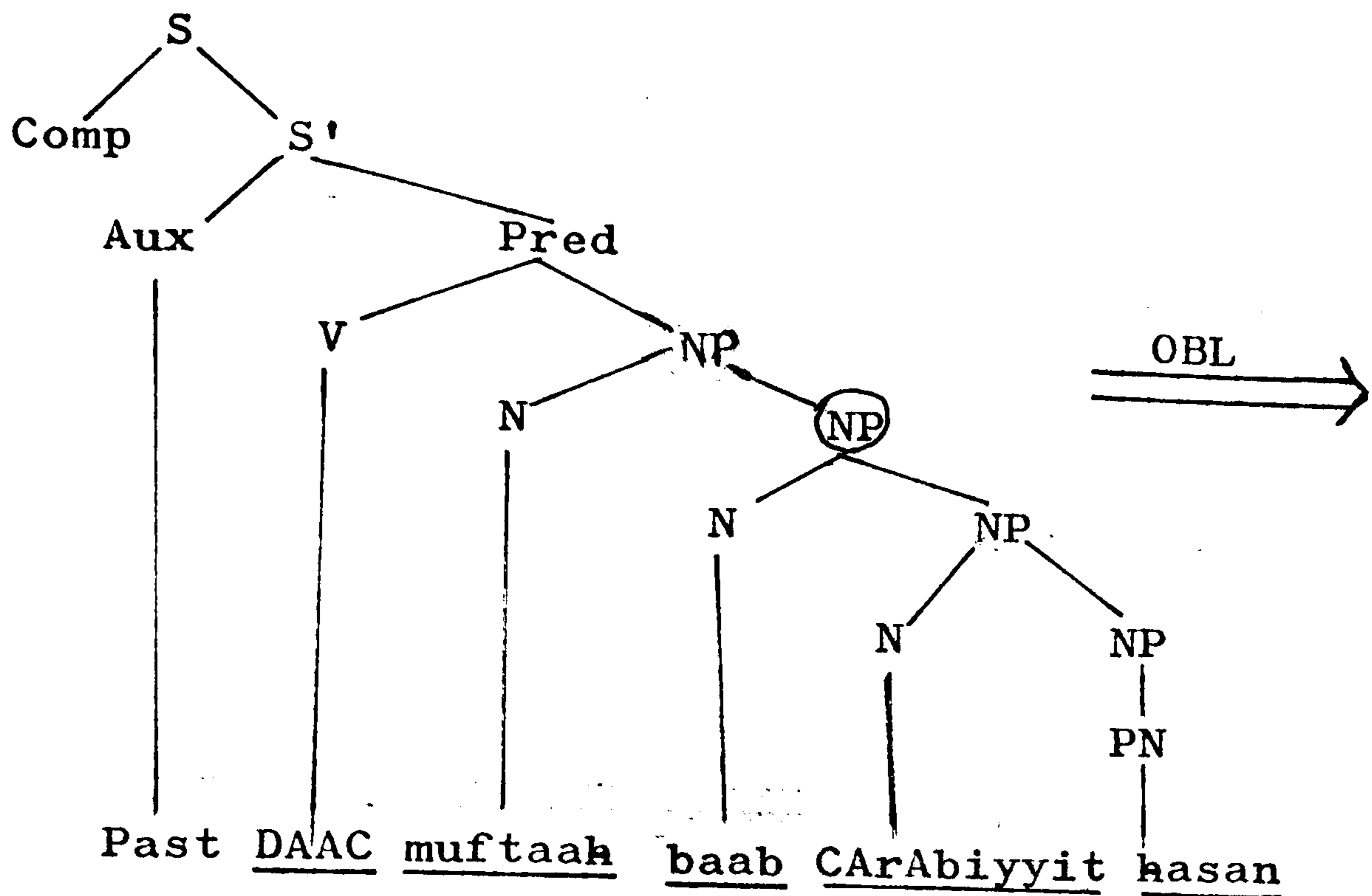
3. Inherent definition and this applies to:

a. proper nouns

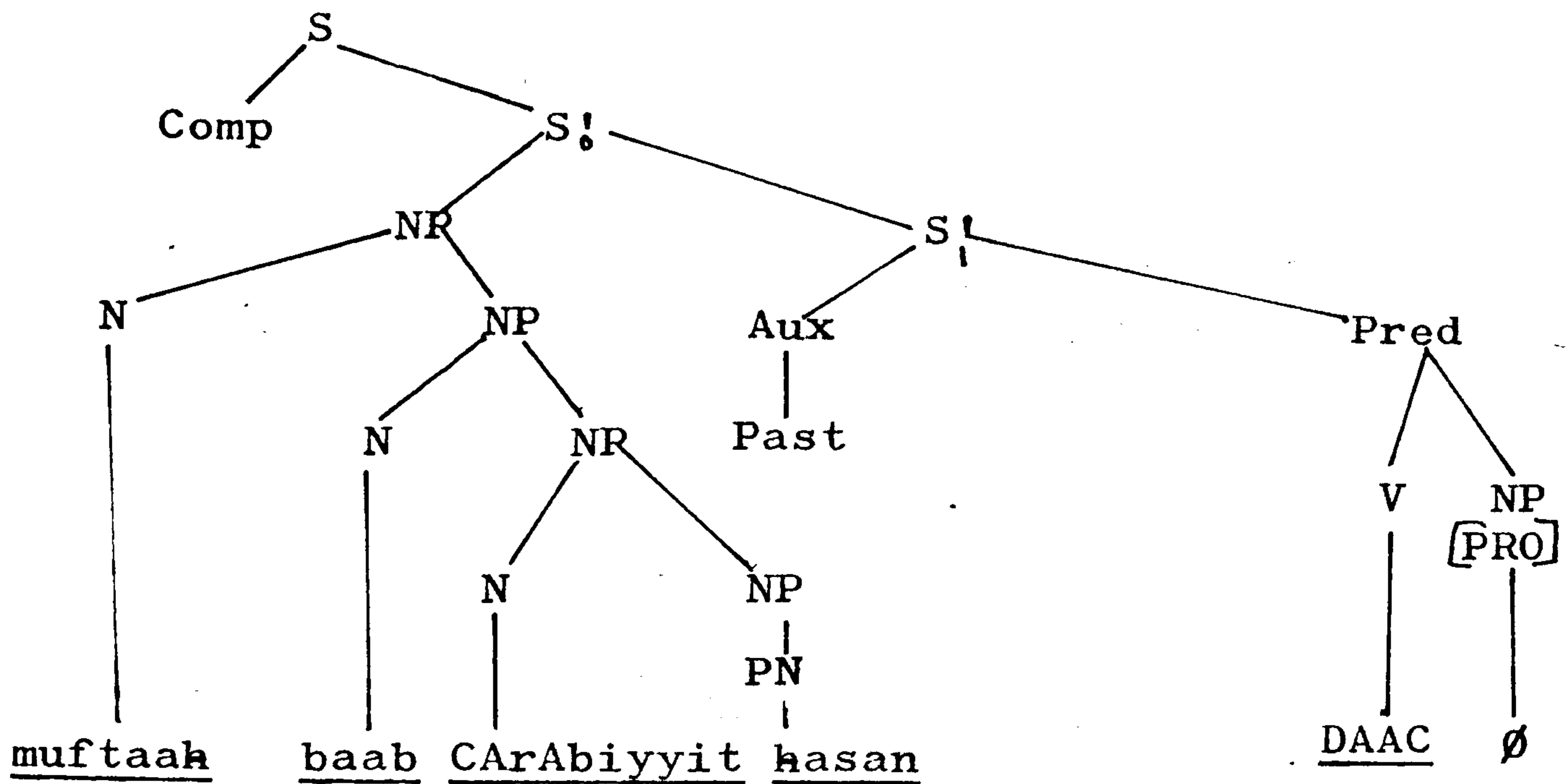
b. pronouns.

Multiple definitions cannot occur.

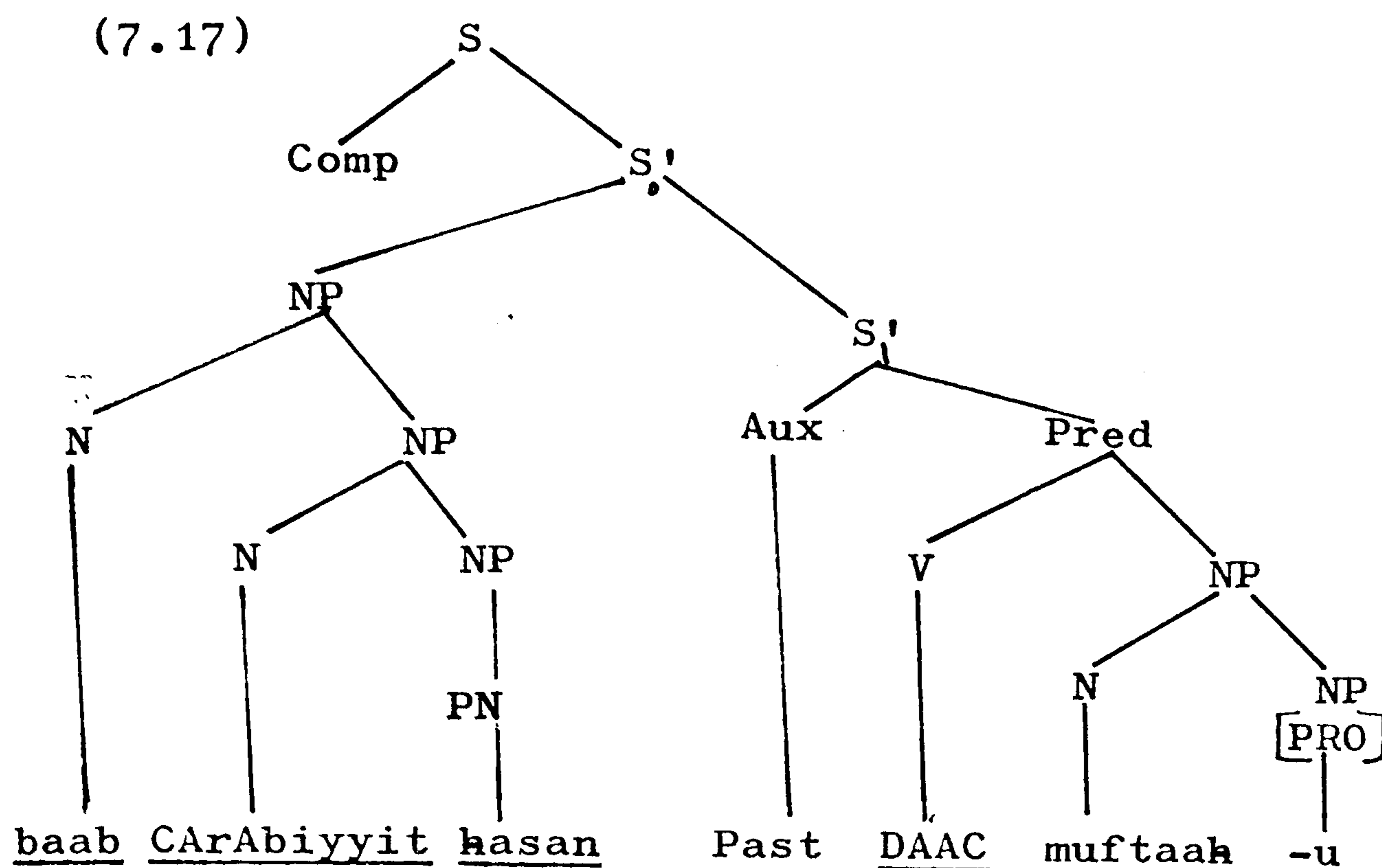
b.



c.



On the other hand any NP dominated by the highest NP can be topicalised. If we select baab for Topic position the circled node in (7.16b) will be shifted to the left and the Topic commands the agreement of the resumptive pronoun -u in the comment, but the agreement with the verb is commanded by the governing component where the construct is left-shifted from underlying subject position, i.e. muftaah:



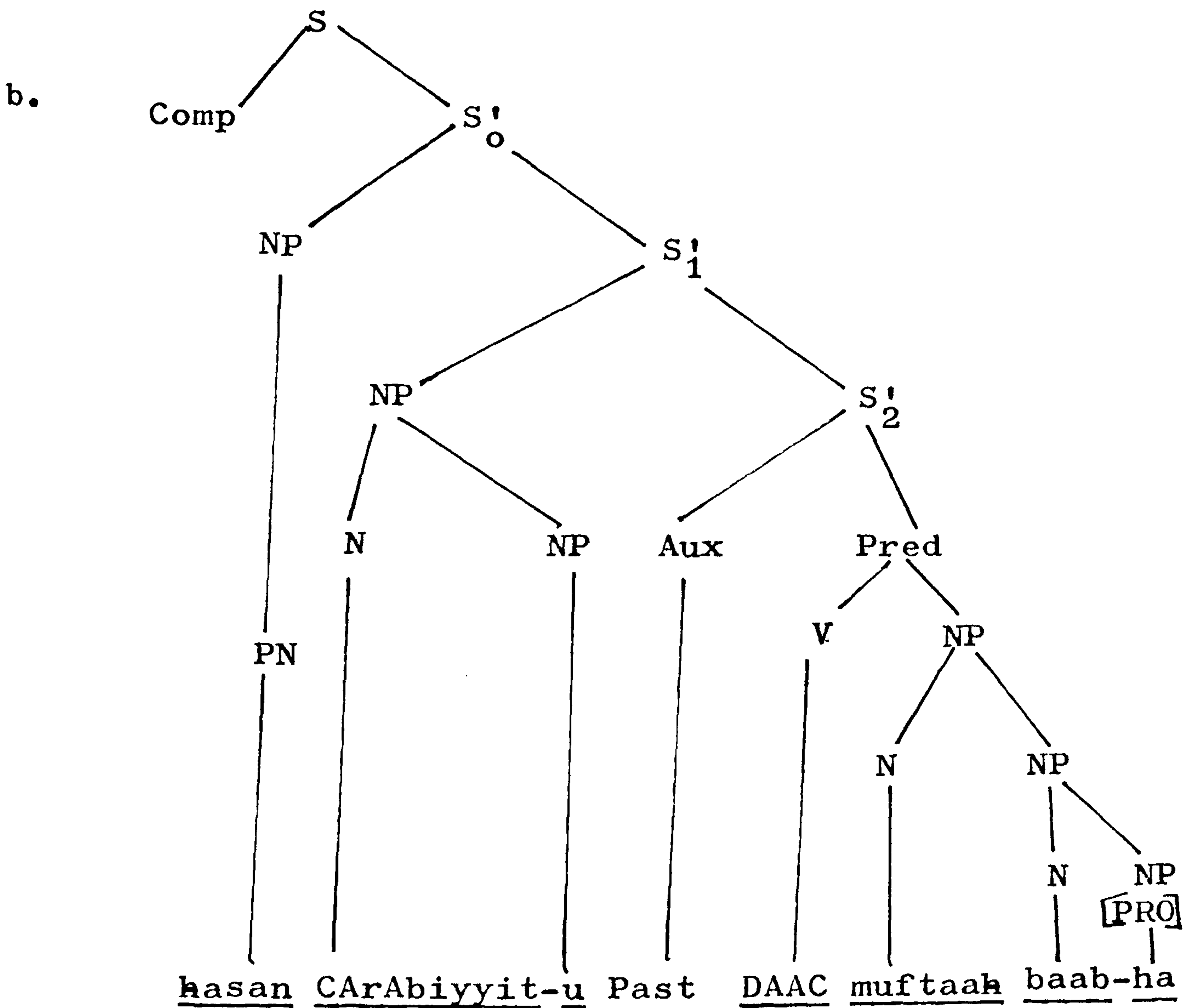
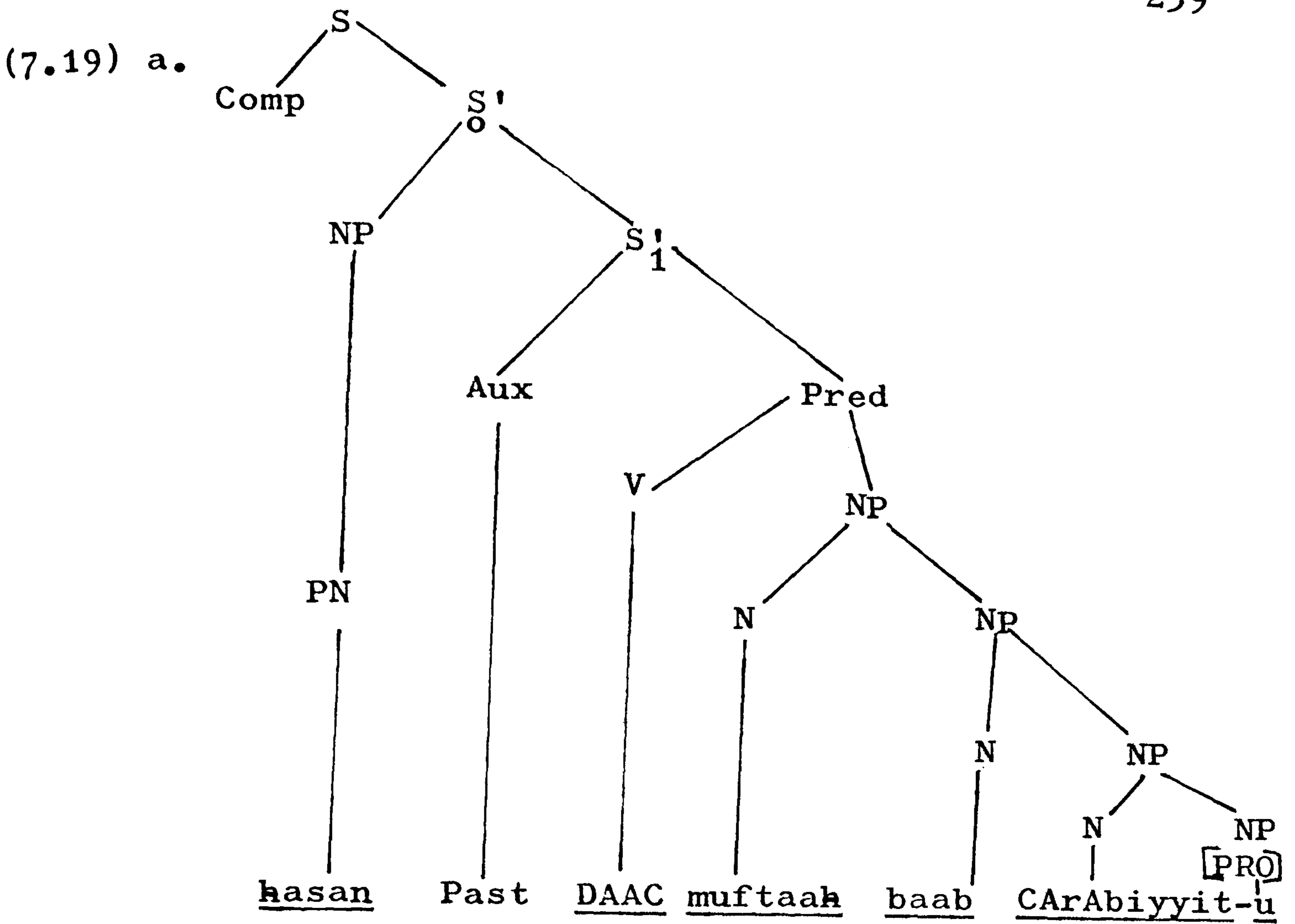
The topicalisation of the genitive component is, therefore a recursive process. All the NP's in (7.16) can be raised cyclically, starting from the lowest NP up to the highest. Although this does conform with the rules of the cycle, in CCA it may be also motivated by the fact that pronouns can refer anaphorically<sup>1</sup> only, and this presents a restriction on the order in which the NP's can be raised. We cannot have :

(7.18) \* CARAbiyyitu muftaah baab hasan DAAC

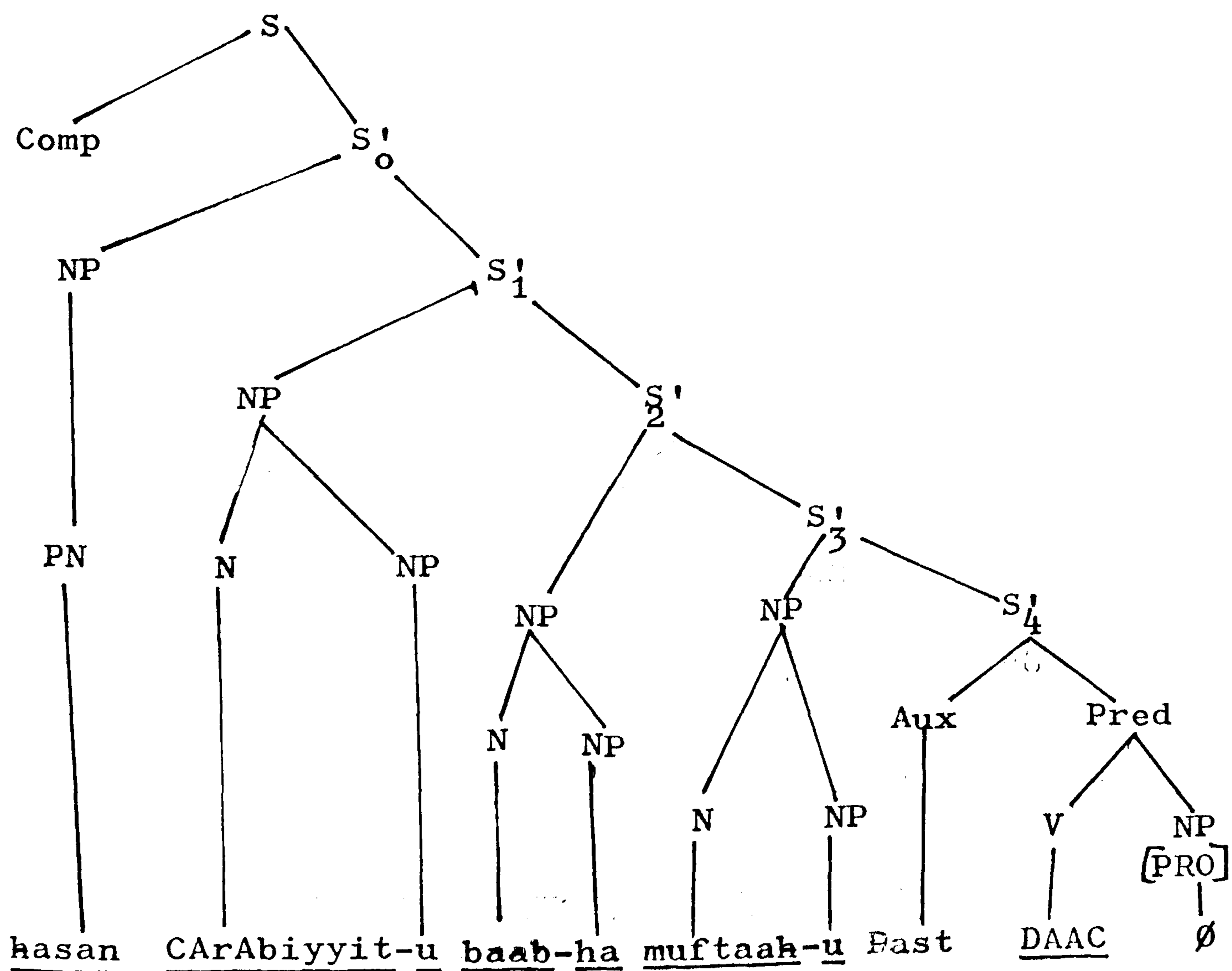
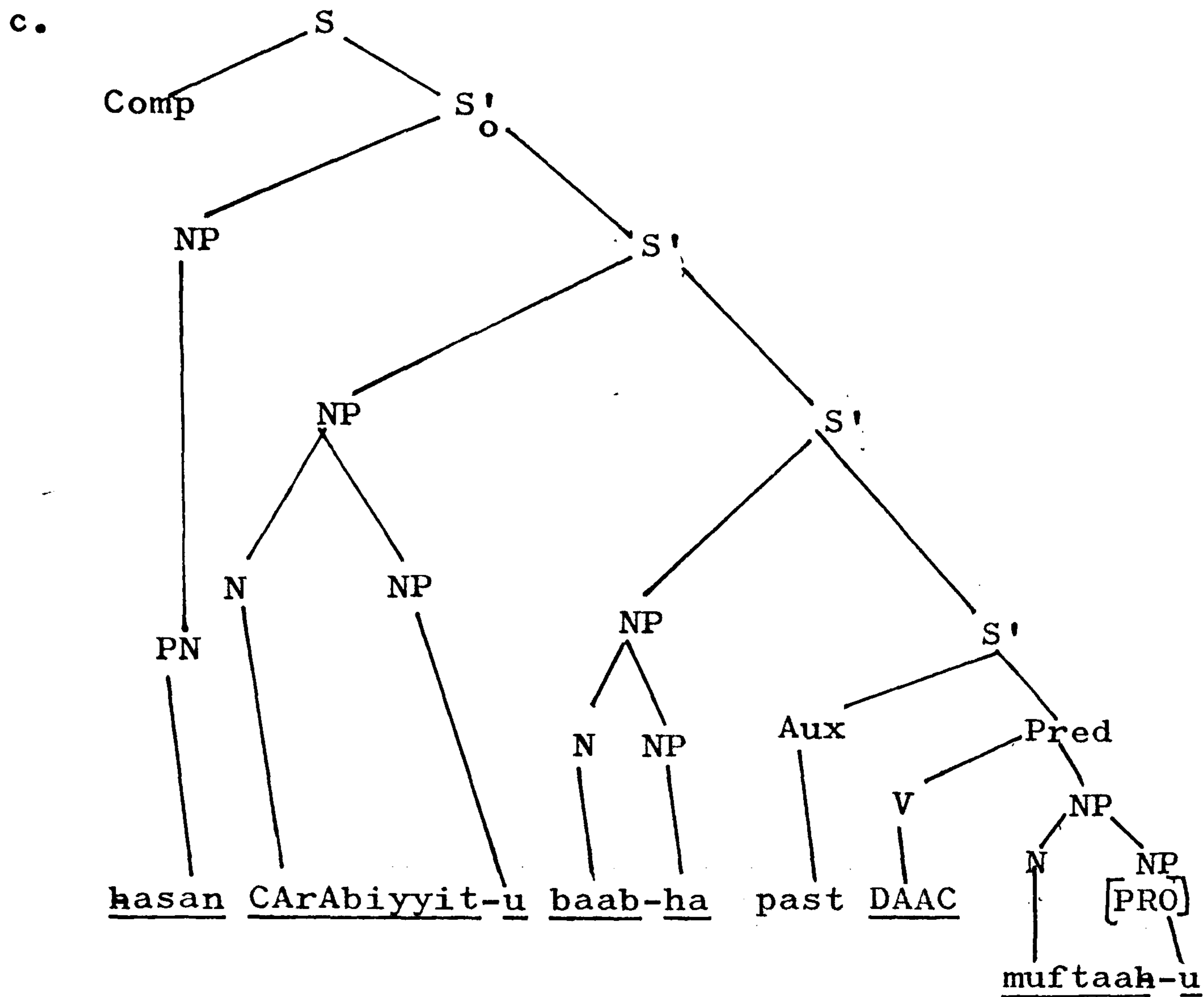
because in this case the underlined pronoun refers cataphorically to hasan. The cycle, when applied to all the NP's, yields the PM's (719 a-d) from (7.16 b):

<sup>1</sup>In Al-ashmouni (1358 A.H.: 58) it is mentioned that the predicate is obligatorily shifted to initial position i.e. the subject is postposed, in case the subject contained a clitic pronoun which refers to "part of the predicate.

Atiya (1976: 39) accepts this fact, but she admits one case of cataphoric reference where the context of situation, permitting the demonstrative di/da/dool in a sentence which has undergone Right Dislocation of the Topic NP, makes the right-shifted NP almost dispensable, as in suftaha fabli kida fissiti di, "I saw her before



now, this woman." The difficulty she faces in accounting for this structure in the light of the anaphoricity condition can be easily overcome by the assumed order of of rules in the present grammar: Left-dislocation  $\implies$  Pronominalisation  $\implies$  Right -dislocation.



When the rule applies cyclically, the resumptive pronoun in each Comment-S' will in turn refer to the preceding Topic, and this is the only case that Lewkovicz (1971) considers in her treatment of Topic-comment structure in Standard Arabic. (See Section 1.2.3).

The above assumption invites further discussion. Chomsky's A-over-A Principle specifies that a transformation that applies to a constituent A satisfying its SI will only apply to the highest constituent A in the tree, (1964a). From my observation of how construct NP's behave under the proposed R-Rules, it is necessary to suggest the following principle:

(7.20) When a transformation has applied to a NP in the initial PM, raising it to Topic position in the sentence, the same transformation can apply to the NP immediately dominating this NP.

This principle is recursive and it is meant to apply cyclically to multiple construct NP's as is suggested above. It seems to be a counter example to the A-over-A Principle. But the A-over-A Principle was admittedly too strong in the first place (see Chomsky 1964b) and could not account for some cases in English such as:

(7.21) a. What did Mary tell the police that  
John lost?

b. Who would you approve of my seeing?

That is why Ross (1967) set out to devise a number of

constraints which would account for all the cases to which the A-over-A Principle is applicable and leave out all those to which it was not applicable. In other words, the grammar will be constrained in such a way as to rule out all the ungrammatical sentences and allow for only the grammatical ones. Ross's constraints as he observed apply to chopping rules.<sup>1</sup> They do not apply to copying rules; Chomsky (1976) excludes Left-dislocation, a copying rule equal in its effect to T-Topic Raising in the present grammar, from observing Subjacency, which is an essential condition on all movement transformations in English. He therefore allocates to Left-dislocation in the grammar a different status from Topicalisation.

CCA has no chopping rules, such as Wh-movement on which Chomsky based his A-over-A Principle. The Principle, therefore, should, in the light of Ross's findings, be restricted to transformations that are chopping rules. I base its irrelevance to CCA upon this fact.

On the other hand, both the A-over-A Principle and Ross's constraints have been superseded by the Binary Principle (see discussion in Culicover 1976:293-97). This Principle which also subsumes Chomsky's subjacency condition states in effect that transformations may analyse nodes at

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<sup>1</sup>Atiya (1976) and Awwad(1973) discuss the inapplicability of these constraints to CCA and Standard Arabic in more detail. Wise (1975) applies the constraints to CCA, but I find this very doubtful.

most one cyclic node down from the other node involved<sup>1</sup> in the transformations. This means that the Principle applies only to structure-preserving transformations, as it involves nodes already existent in the underlying tree. (see Culicover, Ibid:267). The CCA R-Rule in question is a non-structure preserving transformation because the PSR's have no rule to say:

$$S' \longrightarrow NP S'$$

But NP S' is exactly the resulting structure from the application of T-Topic Raising, which does not involve two existent nodes, but simply Chomsky-adjoins the shifted NP to S'-initial position, creating a new node S'.

We can conclude that the Binary Principle also cannot apply to CCA movement rules. Already more than one cyclic node intervenes between S'-initial position and the lowest NP in the construct, considering that S, S' and NP are all cyclic nodes.

### 7.3.1 A Constraint on the Topicalisation of the Genitive Component

There are, however, restrictions dictated by the rules of anaphoricity on the topicalisation of some genitive components. In (7.16) the speaker wishes to

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<sup>1</sup>The definition of "involve" (Chomsky:1976:75) is : a transformational rule involves x and y when it moves a phrase from position x to position y.



communicate something about the key, muftaah; this is the element that refers to the Topic of the sentence or "what the sentence is about." But if he wanted to be talking about the car, CArAbiyyà, namely that he lost its door key, he will opt for the NP CArAbiyyit hasan. Other constructs do not allow the genitive component to be so shifted, in other words do not allow the sentence "to be about" the genitive component.

There are three factors that must be examined in this connection, and the three will be eventually eliminated as operative factors in this constraint; a fourth possibility will be discussed as a possible explanation for this phenomenon.

1. The first possibility to consider will be pronominalisation. If we look at the unacceptable (7.22a) where the genitive NP in SAnduu? iilbuSTA "the post box", has been topicalised, the reason is not likely to be due to the pronominal reference to iilbuSTA because in (7.22b) the same NP is replaced by a pronoun and the sentence is acceptable:

(7.22)\*a. iilbuSTA SAndu?ha luuna ?AhmAr

"(lit.) The-post its-box its-colour  
red."

b. iilbuSTA ?idaaritha fi dduur ilxaamis

"(lit.) The-post its-management

on the-floor fourth"

"The post management is on the fourth floor."

More examples of constructs that cannot undergo this rule are : s̄Ahr ilCasal "honey-moon", waliyy ilfAmr "guardian", haylit ittadriis "teaching staff".

2. It is then important to examine the semantic relation between the two members of the construct to determine whether or not it imposes such constraints. There are numerous semantic relations subsumed by the construct form. The following are the most frequent :

A. Relation of possession or source: in this case, the genitive component refers to a person or object possessing <sup>the</sup> thing or quality imparted by the governing component:

- (7.23) a. ʔASri lmalik "the king's palace"  
 b. ʔikmit rAbbina "God's wisdom"  
 c. ʔArri s̄sams "sun heat"  
 d. kitaabi "my book"

B. Partitive relations: and here the governing noun refers to part of/the whole of the object or person referred to by the genitive noun; I will include quantifier-containing constructs here (e.g. 7.24 a), as they often behave in the same way (see 7.24 b) with relation to the linking -it:

- (7.24) a. *ʔaglab innaas* "most people"  
 b. *ʔaglabiyyit ilbanaat* "most girls"  
 c. *riɣl iTTArAbeeZA* "the table leg"

C. i. Purpose relation: and in this case, the genitive component refers to the purpose for which the referent of the governing noun is meant to function or exist:

- (7.25) a. *duktuur issinaan* "the dentist"  
 b. *fustaan ilfArAh* "the wedding dress"  
 c. *muftaah ilbaab* "the door key"  
 d. *gawaaz issAfAr* "the passport"

ii. The first component is a container, and the second component is contained:

- (7.26) a. *kanakit ilʔahwa* "the coffee pot"  
 b. *fingaan iṣṣaay* "the tea cup"  
 c. *kubbaayit illaban* "the milk glass"

D. Kinship relations: and this type of construct is very frequently used in its multiple form, the third component being usually a pronoun:

- (7.27) a. *ʔibn axuuya* "my nephew"  
 b. *guuz uxti* "my brother in law"  
 c. *miraat xaali* "my uncle's wife"

E. Identity relation: and this type of construct specifies the identity of the governing component by means of the genitive component:

- (7.28) a. madīinit lundun "London city"  
 b. kitaab innakw "the grammar book"  
 c. sāariC iggalaaʔ "Al-galaa Street"  
 d. mats̄ ikkoora "football match"

F. Locative and temporal relations: whereby the genitive component refers to the place or time specified for the governing component; it is worth noting that purpose and locative, for example, could overlap in cases of constructs such as TAim ilʔuCaad "the suite for the living room/in the living room"; other relations can be also conflated similarly, such as purpose and container, for example (7.26 a), which could mean "the pot for the coffee/ the pot with the coffee".

But locative and temporal relations can be typically represented in the following:

- (7.29) a. Suum rAmAdAAn "fasting in Ramadan"  
 b. waʔfit CArAfAAat "the station  
 in Arafat (where religious rites are  
 performed during pilgrimage)"  
 c. Cizz idduhr "mid day"  
 d. hADAArit ilqArn ilCiṣriin "the  
 civilization of the Twentieth  
 Century."

G. Agent or object of action: where the governing component consists of a verbal noun or an active or passive participle, and the genitive component refers to the agent or object of

the action implied by the first component:

- (7.30) a. *ɪigtɪyaal kenedi* "the assassination  
of Kennedy"  
b. *kaatim issirr* "(lit.)keeper of the secret"  
"personal secretary"  
c. *duxuul iggamCa* "entering university"  
d. *mudiir ilɪidAArA* "managing director"

Adjectival constructs do not allow the topicalisation of the genitive component and, therefore, they are excluded from this discussion. The governing component consists of an adjective which will not accept the cliticised pronoun suffix and allows no replacement for the genitive component, which refers to the person/thing to whom the quality designated by the governing component belongs.

Constructs signifying a semantic relation of purpose tend not to accept the topicalisation of the genitive component, e.g. (7.25) above. But (7.25 c) allows the topicalisation of *ɪilbaab*. We will find that whereas (7.31a) is unacceptable, (7.31b) is a perfectly acceptable sentence:

- (7.31) a. \**ɪissinaan dukturha s̄AATir*  
"(lit.) Teeth, its doctor is clever"  
b. *ɪilbaab muftaahu DAAC*  
"(lit.) The door, its key is lost"

Generalisations concerning other semantic relations are equally difficult to make.<sup>1</sup> In kinship relations, some native speakers accept the topicalisation of the genitive component in (7.32); whereas others decline it:

(7.32) ? *ʔilCamm ʔibnu fi manzilit ʔilʔAxx*

"(lit.) The-uncle, his-son is like a brother."

"A cousin is like a brother"

Other semantic relations present similar difficulties: in temporal relations, we can topicalise from (7.29 d) but we cannot from (7.29 c). It is easier to make generalisations, however, about relations of possession and partitiveness, where usually it is easy to topicalise the genitive component:

(7.33) a. *rAbbina hikmitu kibiira*

"(lit.) God, his wisdom is great.

b. *ʔiṣṣams ḥArrAhA yimawwit*

"(lit.) The sun, its heat is killing"

3. We have found so far that it is difficult to explain the restriction on the topicalisation of the genitive component by means of the facts of pronominalisation, or the semantic relation that exists between the two items of the construct. It is also clear from the above examples that an explanation on the basis of the word class combinations or the grammatical

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<sup>1</sup>One safe generalisation can be made about relations of identity in constructs like *ṣaariC ilhArAm* "The Pyramid Road", *madrasiṭ ilḥurriyya* "Liberty School".

relations between the two components would be equally difficult. Constructs containing derived forms combine verbal nouns or participles with the agent if they are derived from intransitive verbs and with the agent and/or the object if they are derived from transitive verbs. If the verbal noun is in construct with both participants, the agent precedes the object:

(7.34) a. tadriis maadit ittariix

"(lit.) The teaching of the subject of history"

(VN+NP<sub>object</sub>)

b. tadriis Cali(li)maadit ittariix

"(lit.) Ali's teaching of the subject of history."

(VN+N<sub>subject</sub>+NP<sub>object</sub>)

(7.35 a) contains a multiple construct which consists of mudiir "manager" (active participle) in construct with maktab "office" (underlying object), mabiCaat "sales" (passive participle) in construct with fiṣṣirka "the company" (underlying agent). We will first look at the possibilities of topicalising the various genitive components besides the construct as a whole:

(7.35) a. fana zurt mudiir maktab mabiCaat

fiṣṣirka fimbaarih

"I visited the firm's sales office manager yesterday"

- b. mudjir maktab mabiCaat fišširka  
 fana zurt fimbaarik
- c. fišširka fana zurt <sup>maktab</sup> mudiiir/mabiCatha  
 fimbaarik
- d.\*mabiCaat fišširka fana zurt mudiiir maktabha  
 fimbaarik
- e. maktab mabiCaat fišširka fana zurt  
 mudiiiru fimbaarik

4. The only generalisation we can make from grouping examples such as kaatim issir (active participle-object), hayfit ittadriis (subject-verbal noun), fabriif iššaay (noun+noun) , gawaaz issAfAr (verbal noun+verbal noun), and maktab ilmabiCaat (noun+passive participle) is that all these acquired a status of compound nouns which "function as single words" (Quirk, 1976:1029-30). This can be said to restrict pronominalisation of the genitive component because the resumptive pronoun in this case must replace the whole construct. Constructs which function as compound nouns, therefore, cannot allow the topicalisation of the genitive component. In (7.35) sentence (d) is acceptable because the compound noun maktab ilmabiCaat "sales office" has undergone the process of topicalisation in the manner described.

To prove that this is due to the compound nature of this construct, we have to find another process which



is constrained for the same reason, and relativisation is such a process. Constructs which can undergo the topicalisation of the genitive component will also admit the relativisation of the same component; whereas the constrained construct acting as compound noun will not admit the relativisation of the genitive noun. The following examples are relevant:

(7.36) a. ḡATA lḡzaaza (ḡilli ḡana ḡiḡtariitha ḡimbaarih.) DAAC.

"The lid of the bottle (which I bought yesterday) is lost."

b.\* ḡabriiḡ iḡḡaay(ḡilli ḡana baḡibb ḡAḡrAbu) ḡitkasar.

"(lit.) The pot of the tea (that I like to drink) was broken"

c. mawDuuC ilmuḡADrA (ḡilli ḡana ḡADArḡAha) muhimm.

"(lit.) The subject of the lecture (which I have attended) is important".

d.\* maktab ilmabiCaat (ḡilli baCitha ḡḡirka) fi ḡḡaariC ḡilli ḡambina.

"(lit.) The office of the sales (which the company has sold) is in the next street."

#### 7.4 Constructs Functioning as Subject and Object

As NP's constructs can occupy subject or object position in the sentence. If it functions as subject, only

the governing component exhibits agreement with the following verb, such as (7.37):

(7.37) baab ilCuDwiyya iitfatah iimbaarih  
           [Sing.] [Fem.] [Sing.]  
           [Masc]           [Masc.]

"(lit.) The door for membership opened  
 yesterday."

Quantifiers and fractions sometimes allow the genitive component to command concord with the verb:

(7.38) a. muCZAM ilbATTiixA hamDAAn/hAmDAAnA  
           [Masc.] [Fem.] [Masc.] [Fem.]  
           " Most of the watermelon has gone bad."  
 b. rubC ilbanaat gaayib/gaybiin  
           [Masc.] [Fem.] [Masc.] [Fem.]  
           [Sing.] [Plur.] [Sing.] [Plur.]  
           "A quarter of the girls is absent."

Subject and object constructs meet with certain restrictions in the process of the topicalisation of the genitive component. First, I may repeat that constructs in subject position can have only the governing component commanding concord with the following verb (see 7.3.1), but genitives can be coreferential with the object pronoun suffixed to the following verb:

(7.39) muftaah baab CArAbiyyit hasan gallibu

"(lit.)(The)key(of the) door (of the)car  
 (of) hasan troubled-him."

In this sentence the underlined pronoun is coreferential with hasan and functions as object. The case where both genitives command the same concordial categories will be a case of ambiguity:

(7.39) muftaah baab beet hasan mabyiftaahuus̄

"(lit.)(The) key (of the) door (of the) house of Hasan does not open it."

"The door key of hasan's house does not open."

Here, the underlined pronoun can refer either to baab or beet.

In sentences with a topicalised object construct, the commenting S' can have the subject initially or finally. If the subject is a construct, topicalisation among its components can take place. We can derive (7.40 b-c) from (7.40 a):

(7.40) a. filmuftaah fibn hasan DAYyACu

"(lit.)The key, Hasan's son lost it."

b. filmuftaah hasan fibnu DAYyACu

c.\*filmuftaah hasan DAYyACu fibnu

Topicalisation within the object construct in its unmarked post-verbal position is again unacceptable:

(7.41) a. fibn hasan DAYyAC muftaah CARAbiyyit Cali

"(lit.) (The) son (of) Hasan lost (the) key (of the) car of Ali."

"Hasan's son lost the key of Ali's car."

≠ b. ʔibn hasan DAYyAC Cali muftaah CARAbiyyitu

"(lit.) (The) son of Hasan lost Ali(his) car key."

The only acceptable meaning (7.41 b) can have is "Ali lost the car key of Hasan's son," with Ali immediately following the verb DAYyAC acting as subject, and the resumptive pronoun -u readily referring to the topicalised NP ʔibn hasan.

We can therefore conclude that within S' the left-shifting of the genitive component of both subject and object occurring post-verbally is unacceptable. A construct object can have its genitive component acceptably topicalised to the initial position of the matrix S; the same is not true of untopicalised construct subjects. (See (7.40 c) above :

(7.42) a. maḥammad kalbina CADD ʔibnu

"(lit.) M our-dog bit his-son."

b. \*kalbina maḥammad DARAbu ʔibnu

"(lit.) our-dog M hit-him his son."

" Our dog, Mahammad's son hit him."

In (a) -u is coreferential with maḥammad, while in (b) -u is again coreferential with maḥammad. It is acceptable in the first example and unacceptable in the second.

Topicalisation of the genitive component is acceptable in S initial position only, and this can be done recursively as was shown in the previous Section.

In all the previous examples we have seen two types of suffixed pronouns: those attached to the noun denoting a paraphrase of the construct form and those attached to the verb marking a pronominalised subject or object NP. These pronouns all observe the following rule of pronominalisation:

(7.43) Pronouns always refer anaphorically.

There are restrictions dictated by this rule on the output word order of topicalisation transformations.

I have already stated that object NP's transported to Topic position must precede the subject NP when in preverbal position:

(7.44) Cali maḥammad DARAbu

"(lit.)Ali Mahammad hit him."

In this sentence the resumptive pronoun -u must refer to Cali and cannot refer to maḥammad. The structure as such is not ambiguous. The rules of topicalisation specify that the topicalised nominal object NP must precede the topicalised subject NP. Sentences like (7.45) can be ambiguous and give two different readings.

(7.45) ʔirraAgil Caawiz ʔibnu yisaafir maCaah

"Reading a. The man wants his son to travel

with him.

Reading b. The man, his son wants to travel  
with him.

In Reading (a) fibnu is object of the verb Caawiz, whereas in Reading (b) it is the subject of the same verb. In the light of this word order, let us look at the following<sup>2</sup> sentences:

(7.46) a. filwalad fabuu DARAbu

"(lit.) The boy, his father hit him.

b. filwalad tuffaktu kalha

"(lit.) The boy, his apple he ate it.

(7.47) a. fabu lwalad DARAbu

"The boy's father hit him"

b. tuffaakit ilwalad fakalha.

"(lit.) The boy's apple he ate it. "

(7.48) a. filfabb DARAb fibnu

"The father hit his son"

b. filwalad fakal tuffaktu

"The boy ate his apple."

(7.49) a. filwalad filfabb DarAbu

"(lit.) The boy the father hit him."

b. ittuffaaka filwalad kalha

"The apple the boy ate it."

(7.50) a. filfabb DarAb filwalad

"The father hit the boy"

b. filwalad kall ittuffaaka

"The boy ate the apple".

(7.51) ≠ a. ʔabuu lwalad DArAbu

"His father, the boy hit him."

≠ b. tuffaktu ʔilwalad kalha

"His apple, the boy ate it."

(7.52) a. maḥammad kasar baab CArAbiyyitu

"Mahammad broke his car door"

≠ b. baab CArAbiyyitu maḥammad kasar

"His car door, M broke it."

In (7.51 a-b) the sentence is unacceptable if the underlined pronouns are referring cataphorically to ʔilwalad in both sentences. The sentences are acceptable only if the pronouns are referring to elements in previous discourse. In this case, the relation between the two nouns in each sentence respectively is not made explicit: in the first case, a relation of kinship and in the second a relation of possession. Sentences (a) in (7.46)–(7.50) all have the same underlying semantic relation among their constituents. The kinship relation is not guaranteed by sentences (a) in (7.49) and (7.50), so is the case with (b) sentences in (7.46) and (7.48). However, (7.47b) is excluded because of the rule that says that a genitive noun in a construct cannot act as the subject of a following verb.

(b) sentences in (7.49) and (7.50) also do not establish the relation of possession, which makes the presupposition of (7.46)–(7.48), excluding (7.47 b), dif-

ferent from that in (7.49) and (7.50).<sup>1</sup>

(7.51) are unacceptable as synonyms for the above discussed sentences. They are acceptable on different presuppositional grounds. (a) must mean that the boy hit the father of someone else. We cannot have:

(7.53)\**ilwalad ittufaaha kalha*

Although there is no ambiguity due to the semantic properties of the two nouns involved, yet we could not have a topicalised object following the subject. The object pronoun in a simple sentence will always refer to Topic in initial position, and this sentence therefore cannot be redeemed by this rule due to selectional restrictions. The only exception to this rule is due to the requirements of anaphoric reference as in (7.46 b). In (7.46) sentences, we find that the two sentences preserve the possession and kinship presuppositions and are both acceptable, while the order in the first one is object-subject-verb, and in the second subject-object-verb. Similarly, (7.52 a) is not synonymous with (b). The constraint that seems to apply to these cases is in the placing of the resumptive pronoun. The pronoun is coreferential with the preceding NP. The two rules of anaphoricity and coreferentiality have

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<sup>1</sup>I would suppose that a definite construct expressing possession, for example, would presuppose that (the X has Y); there is no logical explanation for a construct relation which would presuppose that (an X has the Y), and this could account for the fact that in Arabic the Y (governing component) remains indefinite and unacceptable as a topic, whereas X (the genitive component) is the only element that takes the article and accepts topicalisation.



constrained the word order in (7.46) and will not permit the topicalisation of the object NP in (7.52a). The acceptability of (7.51) then is due in one respect to the reversed order of the constituents. The only way to topicalise the nouns fabuu and tuffaktu in (7.46) is to opt for the alternative structure of (7.50 a) and (7.49 b) respectively, bearing in mind that they will not be synonymous because the presupposition has changed. (7.43) can be reformulated as a condition on transformations in CCA as in (7.54):

- (7.54) The output of any movement transformation involving two nodes  $X_i$  and  $Y_i$  (which are coreferential) must always be of the form  $X_i \dots Y_i$ , where  $X_i$  is the antecedent and  $Y_i$  is  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} +\text{PRO} \\ +\text{clitic} \end{array} \right]$ .

To summarise, we can say that the genitive component is the only element in the construct which can be topicalised. The governing component to which a resumptive pronoun is cliticised can only follow, regardless of its functional relation to the predicating element. The governing component can be topicalised only as part of the whole construct, because movement rules can shift NP's only.

### 7.5 Constructs as Objects of Prepositions

Prepositional Phrases with constructs as object function as adverbs of Place or Time:

- (7.55) a. fi durg ilmaktab  
 "in the desk drawer"
- b. Cand dukkaan issagaayir  
 "at the cigarette shop"
- c. fi Ciɣz idduhr  
 "in midday"
- d. fi faaxir issana  
 "at the end of the year"

Other functions exist, such as Cala keefak "as you like",  
Cala mahlak "gently, slowly", as in (7.56):

- (7.56) a. suuɁ Cala mahlak min fADlAk  
 "Drive slowly, please"
- b. ɁitSarrAf Cala keefak  
 "Do as you like"

These constructs can be definite with the use of the definite article or indefinite when the article is not used, with the exception of those constructs which express locations along a continuum <sup>of</sup> either time or place, such as "the beginning of", "the middle of", or "the end of", and so on. These are obligatorily definite and the indefinite corresponding forms are not constructs but adjective+ noun structures, and the meaning changes consequently; the adjective is an ordinal number. This is exemplified in (7.57) with the definite form in (a) and its counterpart in (b):

- (7.57) a. fi faaxir iṣṣaariC  
 "at the end of the street"

fi ʔawwil innAhAAR

"At the beginning of the day"

b. fi ʔaaxir ʔaariC

"in the last street"

fi ʔawwil nAhAAR

"on the first day"

The genitive component of such constructs acting as object of preposition will normally topicalise according to the rules of topicalisation; (7.58 b) is a transform of (7.58 a):

(7.58) a. fi durg ilmaktab kitaab

"(lit.) In the desk drawer a book"

"There is(a)book in the desk drawer"

b. ʔilmaktab fi durgu kitaab

"(lit.) The-desk in-its-drawer(a)book"

However, constructs such as Cizz idduhr in (7.55 c) will obey the constraint discussed in section 7.3.1 above.

## 7.6 Constructs with Sentence Genitives

A construct in CCA can have a sentence in the position of the genitive component, and it is recursive:

(7.59) a. ʔakl illi waaʔif hinaak miʔ Cagibni

"(lit.) The looks of who (is) standing there does not appeal to me."

"I do not like the looks of that one"

standing there."

b. beet illi saakin gambina fitsaraḥ

"(lit.) The house of who is living  
next door was burgled."

"Our neighbour's house was burgled."

c. ḥana haḥCud makaan manta ḥaaCid

"I will sit where you are sitting"

d. ḥana bakkallim Cala ḥasaas ḥinnu

miḥ mawguud

"I am speaking on the basis that he  
is not present"

e. fikrit ḥinnak matiḥDArḥ ilḥigtimaaC

miḥ fikra kuwayyisa

"The idea of your not attending the  
meeting is not a good one."

If the construct as such is required to be indefinite, the relative clause in genitive position can no more function nominally as member of a construct. It becomes a post-modifier for a noun that must in this case be made explicit to act in turn as the genitive component of the construct:

(7.60) a. \*bint sakniin gambina

b. bint naas sakniin gambina

"(lit.) The daughter of some people  
living next to us."

The construct with a sentential genitive component conforms

with all the construct criteria:

1. It is uninterruptible.
2. An -a ending governing noun takes the -it linking element:

(7.61)  $\bar{s}$ AnTit  $\bar{f}$ illi waafif hinaak maftuuka

"(lit.) The suitcase of who is standing there is open."

Another example is (7.59 a) above.

3. The governing noun cannot take the definite article fal-. In (7.62), the relative clause is no more in construct with the fal--bearing preceding noun; it is a post-modifier:

(7.62)  $\bar{f}$ i $\bar{s}$ sakl illi waafif hinaak mi $\bar{s}$

gariib Calayya

"The face of that one standing there is familiar."

The genitive component can be topicalised:

(7.63)a,  $\bar{f}$ illi waafif hinaak  $\bar{s}$ aklu

mi $\bar{s}$  Cagibni.

b.  $\bar{f}$ illi sakniin gambina bithum  $\bar{f}$ itsara $\bar{f}$

but only when the embedded relative clause has the relative pronoun filli as shown in (7.63 a-b). The relative pronoun ma used in (7.59 e) is used in Place and Time adverbial clauses and seems to have been reduced to an idiomatic

status together with the noun preceding it. The clause in (7.59 e), therefore, cannot be topicalised. As for (7.59 d), the clause containing the subordinator finn must by rule be extraposed and this was discussed in a previous section. Such a genitive clause cannot be topicalised either.

### 7.7 Constructs with Coordinate Genitives

Both governing and genitive components can be coordinate nouns:

(7.64) a. SAAbib wimudii*r* i*ṣ*ṣirka

"Owner and manager of the company"

b. maglis ilfunuun wil*f*adaab

"The council of art and literature."

The coordinate genitive topicalises as a whole; the construct in (7.64 b) obeys the compound noun constraint but (7.65 b) has applied the transformation to (7.65 a):

(7.65) a. gumhuur issinima wil*m*ASrAh

"the movie and theatre goers"

b. *i*issinima wil*m*ASrAh gumhurhum waahid

"The movie and the theatre have the same audience."

None of the coordinate nouns can topicalise alone:

(7.66) \**i*issinima gumhurha wil*m*ASrAh waahid

The coordinate governing noun in Topic position, however, can have one element topicalised:

(7.67) SAAhib iṣṣirka wimudirha

"The owner of the company and its  
manager"

where both nouns SAAhib and mudir are in construct with the same NP by virtue of the construct form and the resumptive pronoun -ha.

### 7.8 The Adjective+Noun Construct in CCA

The adjectival construct in CCA has departed from its corresponding type in Classical Arabic in many ways. First, the rules of the written language insist that the adjective in such a construct must take the definite article when the construct is post-modifying a definite noun. The informal style of the spoken variety, namely CCA, has dropped this rule:

(7.68) ḡilwalad ḡaliil ilḡadab

"The impolite boy."

On the whole CCA has preserved very few of the typically formal style adjectival construct, and these are often idiomatically frozen, that is allow no topicalisation of any form. Other constructs, such as ḡaliil ilbaxt and Tawiil ilbaal can topicalise in predicate position in equative structures, and are more often used in this

form than in their original construct form. The topicalisation in this case involves a reduced pronominalised form, i.e. noun+PRO. In (7.69) and (7.70) the (b) expressions are paraphrases of the (a) expressions:

(7.69) a. rAAgil faliil ilbaxt

"An unfortunate man"

b. raagil baxtu faliil

(7.70) a. mudarris TAwiil ilbaal

"A patient teacher"

b. mudarris baalu TAwiil

The genitive noun in the case of the topicalised (b) sentences loses the definite article, follows the subject, and the pronoun underlined agrees with the subject and is suffixed to the inner Topic in the Comment clause followed by the adjective. Both the construct and the inner equative structure post-modify the preceding NP, and in (b) it is a relative clause, and the preceding element is the NH.

Most adjectival constructs in CCA are used in this state of reduced construct, which perhaps shows that stylistically the adjectival construct structure seems to have a certain formality about it. Below is a table that shows the distribution of synonymous expressions in both formal and colloquial style:



Formal Style		CCA	
Adj+N	N+Pro+Adj	Adj+N	N+Pro+Adj
sayyiḥ ilḥAZZ "unfortunate"	ḥAZZuḥu sayyiḥ	*wikiṣṣ ilḥAZZ	ḥAZZu wikiṣ
jamiilu lwajh "with a pretty face"	wajhuhu jamiil	*ḥilw ilwiṣṣ	wiṣṣu ḥilw
TAWiilu lqAAma "tall in body"	qAAmatuhu TAWiilah	*TAWiil ilCuud	Cuudu TAWiil
ḥaqiilu ZZill "insufferable"	Zilluhu ḥaqiil	? tifiil iddam	dammu tifiil

Another form which often replaces adjectival constructs in CCA is the use of ḥabu "(lit.)father of", ḥumm (Fem. Sing.), ḥum-maat (Plur.) in construct with a noun which is postmodified by an adjective. The whole structure admits no definite article but it is inherently definite in the sense that it is used only with a definite NH and serves to post-modify it:

(7.71) a. ḥirraAgil ḥabu ḥAZZ wikiṣ

"The unfortunate man"

b. ḥissit ḥum baal TAWiil

"The patient woman"

The particle ḥabu, unlike bitaaC, cannot take the pronominal suffix and although it is in construct with the following noun it does not admit the topicalisation of that noun. The particle can appear in construct with a non-modified noun and still serves to modify the NH:

(7.72) ʔirraAgil ʔabu burneeTA

"The man with the hat"

In all cases, the noun following the particle does not accept the definite article:

(7.73)\*ʔirraAgil ʔabu lburneeTA

Only when the particle is followed by an abstract noun, is the definite article permitted:

(7.74) ʔirraAgil ʔabu lmafhumiiyya

"The man who is very understanding"

Adjectival constructs generally admit no recursion:

(7.75) a.\*s̄idiid hubb ilwATAn

"(lit.) strongly loves his country"

b.\*kitiir kalaam ilfuShA

"(lit.) Much words(of)Classical(Style)"

These unacceptable expressions can be made acceptable by introducing the article to the noun following the adjective and adding the suitable preposition before the second noun:

(7.76) a. s̄adiid ilhubb lilwATAn

b. kitiiir ikkalaam bilfuShA

## CHAPTER 8

SENTENCE-INITIAL PREDICATES8.1 Right-dislocation

We have seen that verbs appearing in initial position as non-focal elements are ungrammatical. The same goes for other predicative elements such as predicate adjectives. I here repeat examples already given above for convenience:

(8.1) a. ɪidduktuur wASA1.

b. wASA1 idduktuur.

(8.2) a. mAnZAr ilbAhr gamiil

b. gamiil mAnZAr ilbAhr

(8.3) a. \*wASA1 idduktuur.

b. \*gamiil mAnZAr ilbAhr.

The clefting rules allow such predicative elements as in (8.3 a-b) to occur as part of the nominalisation in equative structures. The ungrammatical sentences above will be made grammatical if the verbs are preceded by the relative article ɪilli. This will assign an inverted cleft structure to the sentences, whereby the focus is relegated to end position, receiving end-focus which is, according to our interpretation, less emphatic than initial focus. (See Chapter 3). (b) sentences in (8.1) and (8.2) are however grammatical because the predicative elements in initial position are focussed. Rules assigning focus must recognise the structure where such elements in

initial position could be assigned focus. These structures will be derived by a rule of Right-dislocation from an underlying structure that has already undergone the obligatory T-Topic Raising, and the output of this transformation will serve as an input to the rule assigning focus to verbal and predicative elements in initial position.

Right-branching rules are all found by J. Ross to be upward-bounded rules (1968:162). The rule in our case will adjoin the Topic NP to the right of a variable in S, leaving the predicate in initial position. Such predicates acquire positional emphasis, and when the sentence functions in discourse, such elements become the centre of attention in a situation where something is expected to happen, as in (8.1 b) and (8.4):

(8.4) xArAb ilwalad ilCArAbiyya

"(lit.) Broke the boy the car."

"The boy broke the car."

Such sentences in isolation could express intense emotion, that can rise on the verge of exclamation. In continuous discourse, however, verbs are assigned initial emphatic position in narratives where action and movement seem to be of particular importance. Like all elements bearing focus in initial position, such elements are contrastive in the sense that the information they bear is not new, but rather refers to something that is already present in the situation or previous discourse and is selected as the

only possible topic for the assertion.

Ross's notion of "upward-bounding" in effect says that a rule is upward-bounded if it cannot move elements over the first S above the elements. A generalisation without exception follows: any rule whose SI is of the form ...A Y, and whose SC specifies that A is to be adjoined to the right of Y is upward-bound (Ross ibid.:166). A similar notion "command" is suggested by R. Langacker (1969: 167).<sup>1</sup>

(8.5) T-Right-dislocation

	S	X	NP	Y <sub>S</sub>	
SI:	1	2	3		$\xrightarrow{\text{OPT}}$
SC	1	∅	3+2		

X may be null

This rule will derive (b) from (a) in (8.6)-(8.9):

(8.6) a. mahammad fakal ittuffaaha  $\xrightarrow{\quad}$

b. fakal ittuffaaha mahammad

(8.7) a. ittuffaaha fakalha mhammad  $\xrightarrow{\quad}$

b. fakal mahammad ittuffaaha

(8.8) a. filmawqif da min fASCAb maa waagiht

fi hayaati

"This situation is one of the most

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<sup>1</sup>Node A commands node B if neither node dominates the other, and B is dominated by the first node S above A.

difficult in my life".

b. min fASCAb maa waagiht fii hayaati  
filmawqif da

(8.9) a. mini lfasbaab illi bitfaddi littaxalluf  
iddiraasi filfAfr

" One of the reasons that causes academic  
backwardness is poverty"

b. filfAfr min ffasbaab filli bitfaddi  
littaxalluf fiddiraasi

The process of Right-dislocation is the opposite of topicalisation, and will go through a reverse process of deleting the resumptive pronoun that is cliticised to the verb and which is coreferential with the Right-dislocated Topic NP.

## 8.2 Sentence-initial Predicates

Initial position is accessible to predicative elements by Right-dislocation too. We have mentioned earlier a rule of extraposition, which is obligatory in the environment of noun phrases realised as complement sentences with the complementiser finn. The class of verbs that are involved in this transformation is made up of three groups. The first type optionally takes an extraposed complement sentence in subject position, and these are either forms derived from morphologically related verbs that will take a complement sentence in object position in the active voice, whereby the object assumes the position of subject in the passive voice

(not all verbs in this group are actually used in the passive in CCA. Only those that are used are given in the second column of (a) in (8.10)); or as illustrated in the (b) column these are verbs that are intransitive but behave similarly, taking a complement sentence in subject place only optionally:

(8.10)

a. <u>active</u>	<u>passive</u>	b. <u>intransitive</u>
simiC "hear"		ʔittADAh "become clear"
nisi "forget"		hASAI "happen"
ʃaaf "see"		ʔitfADDAl "remain"
ʔaal "say"	ʔiʔʔaal	sabaʔ "precede"
Cirif "know"	ʔitCARAf	
ʔifTArAD "suppose"	furiD	
tawaqqAC "expect"		
ʔitmanna "hope, wish"		
habb "like"		
xammin "guess"		
SArrAh "declare"		
ʔakkid "assure, assert"		
fADDAl "prefer"		
rAACA <sup>1</sup> "observe"	yurAACA	

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<sup>1</sup>Verbs like rAACA, ʔifTArAD, tawaqqAC, yustahsan, yuktamal, yuntAZAr, yisurr, yisArrAf, yisCid, yidaayif, yizCig and yifisif all take verbal nouns in subject position when a complement sentence is not used. This will of course include more verbs than listed here.

ʔintAZAr <sup>1</sup> "expect"	yuntAZAr
ʔitSAwwAr "imagine"	
ʔaClan "declare; announce"	ʔuClin
riDi "agree, accept"	
ʔabal "accept"	
Caaz "want"	yuktamal"(it is ) probable" yustaksan <sup>2</sup> "(it is) preferred"

The second group consists of verbs that take a complement sentence obligatorily in object position if they are in the active voice and in subject position if they are in the passive voice or intransitive; unlike verbs in the first group, these will sound rather awkward when used with any other type of object/subject:

(8.11)

a. <u>active</u>	<u>passive</u>	b. <u>intransitive</u>
xaaf "be afraid"		yaguuz "be probable"
ʔitCawwid "get used to"		
xiṣi "fear"	yuxṣa	yabdu "seem"
ṣACAr "feel"		yiZhAr <sup>3</sup> "appear, seem"
ḥass <sup>4</sup> "feel"		
ʔiCtaqAd "believe"	yuCtaqAd	yiSAḥḥ "be right, possible"

<sup>1</sup> Another verb ʔintAZAr is homophonous with this one and means "wait: this verb behaves like an ordinary active form and does not take a complement sentence as object.

<sup>2</sup> These verbs are mostly used in the passive form in CCA and are not used in the active form.

<sup>3</sup> Another verb yiZhAr does not take a complement sentence in subject position and means "to appear."

<sup>4</sup> xaaf min, ḥass bi, ṣACAr bi are the alternative forms of these verbs when they accept a non-sentential object.



ʔiftakAr<sup>1</sup> "think"

ZAnn "suspect"

ʔASAd "mean"

ʔidir "can"

The third group consists of transitive verbs that will optionally take a complement sentence in subject position and whose alternative forms of subject is mostly a verbal noun:

(8.12)

yihimm "be important"

yimkin "be possible"

yisCid "make happy"

yisurr "please"

yidaayif "annoy, upset"

yis̄s̄ArrAf "honour"

wASAl "arrive"

balag "arrive"

yifisif "make sorry"

yiCizz "be difficult"

yithayyaif-li "seems to" is a verb that takes a sentence complement in subject position obligatorily.

I have not presented the above lists in any consistent form as far as the verb form is concerned; I have included those forms that are most commonly used. Most of those presented in past tense form can be plausibly

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<sup>1</sup>A form homophonous with this verb meaning "remember" will take a nominal object.

used in the present tense too. But verbs like yustaksan and yuktamal are hardly used in any other form. Verbs in (8.12) are presented in their present tense form but could also be used in the past tense. Verbs like yiCizz, and yiṣif, are invariable.

Complement sentences can occur as subject NP's in copular structures as well. When extraposed, these will leave predicative elements in initial position in the sentence. Predicate phrases can be either adjectival phrases, adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases or noun phrases. In CCA, these seem to fall into distinct classes. Adjectival phrases are of three types: adjectives, active participles and passive participles.

Adjectives are of two types: those that optionally take a complement sentence in subject place, such as Daruuri "necessary", SACb "difficult", sahl "easy"; and a second type which takes a sentential subject obligatorily. These mostly consist of adjectives in the comparative form, such as ṣaḥsan "better", ṣaḥal "easier", ṣawfAr "more economical", ṣafDAL "better" and when combined with the preposition min, they must be followed by a definite noun in the plural and in this case they can take a non-sentential subject, such as min ṣaḥal ilṣaḥila "one of the easiest questions", min ṣafDAL ilṣaḥyaaf "one of the best things". The rest of this type which takes a sentential subject obligatorily are positive adjectives

such as TAAbiiCi "natural" , WAADih "clear". The preposition min "from" could also combine with the definite forms of these adjectives: min ilWAADih, min iTTAbiiCi, min iSSACb, and these seem to behave exactly like the adjectives they derive from.

Participles which function adjectivally are of two types: active and passive. Those that combine optionally with a sentential subject NP are :

(8.13)

active

fAADil "remain"

baafi "remain"

nAAfiS "missing"

mustahiil "impossible"

passive

muktamal "probable"

mADmuun "sure"

muntAZAr "expected"

When they do not take a sentential subject, these participles usually take a verbal noun as subject. Those participles that combine obligatorily with a sentential subject are:

(8.14)

active

laazim "necessary"

fiZZAAhir "appear"

gaayiz "probable"

passive

mumkin "possible"

mAfruuD "supposed"<sup>1</sup>

mACruuf "known"

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the above elements are clearly of modal nature, and a correct translation in context will probably make use of "should", "can", "must" etc. in English. Among these for example are laazim, mumkin, yiZhAr, and mAfruuD.

## muḥakkad "sure"

It may be already clear that some of the participles above are derived from verbs mentioned in (8.10)-(8.12).

Participles can be used to function as NP's by attaching to them the definite article ḥil-:

(8.15) ḥilmAfruuD

ḥilmuntAZAr

ḥilmACruuf

and as shown in (8.14), this article is obligatory with items like ḥiZZAAhir. These can be made to function within prepositional phrases by the use of the preposition min (see below).

Prepositional phrases functioning predicatively could also be derived from adjectives of superlative form combined with min, such as min ilḥaksan, min ilḥASCAb, and these usually take a sentential subject. Passive participles can also combine with min in the same manner: min ilmuntAZAr, min ilmutawaqqAC, min ilmAfruuD, min ilmustaksan. These have no counterparts without preposition, but derive from morphologically related verbs which take sentential subjects.

More prepositional phrases which can take sentential subjects can be formed with the preposition min

combined with a construct NP:

(8.16) a. min fiasbaab ittaxalluf fi lCaalam  
issaalis suuf ittagziya

"One of the causes of backwardness in  
the Third World is malnutrition"

b. min faqdam fiasaliib ilf'dAARA fi mASr  
filf'ufluub ilbiiruqrAATi

"One of the oldest methods of administra-  
tion in Egypt was bureaucracy."

c. min mabaadiif issAwrA filCadaala  
lfiigtimaaCiyya

"One of the principles of revolution is  
social justice."

Other prepositional phrases are formed with  
the preposition fi "in", combined with a construct NP which  
usually, but not essentially, has a pronoun as its genitive  
component (the relevant phrases are underlined in (8.17)):

(8.17) a. fi CtiqAAadi fimilmasfala di malhaas  
hall

"In my belief, this probelem has no  
solution."

b. fi rAfyi finn ilf'ASCAAr miS hatinzil taani

"In my opinion, prices will never go down  
again."

c. fi tASawwuri finn ilmustaibal lissalaam.

"In my view, the future is for peace."

These prepositional phrases can be reduced further by deleting the preposition and using the construct NP alone without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. As prepositional phrases they are mobile elements, but as NP's they are not. They are predicative elements in an equative structure where the complementiser clause has been obligatorily extraposed. Therefore, a resumptive pronoun in copula position can be inserted in this case, but not in the case of the predicating prepositional phrase:

- (8.18) a. rAiyi huwwa inn lɪASCAAr miṣ̄  
           hatainzil taani  
       b. \*fi rAiyi huwwa inn ilɪASCAAr miṣ̄  
           hatainzil taani.

The complementiser can be deleted in the second case, but not in the first, which allows the sentence to undergo further permutations and results in a different SS that is transformationally related to (8.17). The mobility of the prepositional phrases in this case has tempted many linguists to classify them as adverbials.

- (8.19) a. ilmasɪala di fi CtiqAAdi malhaaṣ̄  
           hall.  
       b. ilɪASCAAr miṣ̄ hatainzil taani fi rAiyi .  
       c. ilmustaɪbal fi TASawwuri lissalaam.

The deletion of the complementiser + the movement of the prepositional phrase cannot take place when the preposition is deleted:

(8.20) \*fiilmasʔala di fiCtiqAAadi malhaas̄ hall

But as the Rule of Topic Raising specifies, a NP can be topicalised from an S. It follows that any NP contained in an extraposed sentential subject or object can be topicalised. This is supported by the following examples:

(8.21) a. fiilfiASCAAr fi rAfiyi fiinnaha miš  
hatinzil taani.

b. fiilmasʔala di fi CtiqAAadi fiinnaha  
malhaas̄ hall.

c. fiilCilaag yustaksan fiinnu yibʔa fi  
lmustašfa.

"(lit.) Treatment it is better that it  
be in hospital."

"It is better to have the treatment in  
hospital."

d. fišsunAT fAADil nihADDarha Cašan  
issAfAr.

"(lit.)The suitcases it remains to  
prepare them for travel."

There are some verbal nouns which can function as predicates, taking either sentential subjects or other verbal nouns in subject position; examples of these are fiistihaala "impossibility", šArT "condition".

(8.22) a. fiistihaala fiinn ilmašruuC da yitnaffiz

"(lit.) It is impossible that this project  
be carried out."

b. fiilmaṣruuC da fiistihaala finnu  
yitnaffiz.

(8.23) a. miṣ sArT finn illitneen yikuunu fixwaat.

"(lit.) It is not a condition that the  
two should be brothers."

"The two should not necessarily be brothers."

b. fiillitneen miṣ sArT yikuunu fixwaat.

Other forms that function in the same way and display similar properties are la hudd "(it is) necessary" and la ṣakk "no doubt". These are made up of la "no"+Noun.

The above predicative elements have repeatedly been classed as sentence adverbials, or what in R. Quirk's terms are called "disjuncts". They are generally regarded as a category of adverbial which has a wider mobility in the sentence because they can occur in several positions, initially, medially or finally. Among these are adverbs like biSArAAha "frankly" (Preposition bi+Noun), filwaaqiC "in fact" (preposition fi+Noun), xuSuuSan "especially", bittaṣkiid "certainly" (preposition bi+Noun), and gaaliban "most probably". These can all occur initially as adverbial predicates with an finn sentence following, at varying degrees of acceptability. With some of them finn deletion must precede raising, but others can undergo topicalisation without deleting the complementiser, as is illustrated in (8.24):



(8.24) a. gaaliban finn ilmasa la di malhaas  
hall.

b. filmasa la gaaliban malhaas hall.

(8.25) a. bitta kiid finn filmasa la malhaas  
hall.

b. filmasa la bitta kiid malhaas hall.

Similarly, filhafiiifa "in fact", hafiiifi "truly", TAbiiCi "naturally", biTTAbC "of course", rubbAma "may be", lisuuf ilhAZZ "unfortunately", lihusn ilhAZZ "fortunately", filgaalib "most probably", limaClumaatak "for your information", muhtamal "it is probable", min ilwAADih "it is clear, clearly", lilfasaf "regretfully."

Proper adverbials in the sentence have a different constituency and will be dealt with in Chapter 9. As for a subset of sentence adverbials, there is evidence that they are predicate phrases with a sentential subject, and that when they appear to be mobile, it is in fact due to the movement of other constituents that are being shifted about them.

Other predicative NP's occurring initially with extraposed sentential subjects are basically of modal function, (see Mallawany 1981:212-13). These occur in construct form: Noun+clitic Pronoun, which is variable, i.e. inflects for concordial categories of nouns: nifsi

"my wish", nifsu "his wish", nifsum "their wish"; gArADi "my intention", gArADu "his intention", gArADna "our intention", ɪASdi "my meaning", ɪASdu "his meaning", etc. There is also an open class of NP's that functions predicatively such as ɪinnatiiga "the result", ɪilħaɪiifa "the truth", etc.

### 8.3 The Indefinite Subject NP

We have discussed a class of predicates that takes a complement sentence as one of their argument, and have seen how these predicates can be rendered sentence-initial by the obligatory extraposition of the subject NP which is S. Earlier we referred to the fact that T-Topic Raising applies only to NP's with the feature  $[+Def]$ , and this NP could be the object of the verb or the subject of the verb or predicate. If the NP's in the sentence all happen to be  $[-Def]$ , and the transformation does not apply, the structure will not surface at all, as can be seen from (8.26):

(8.26) a. \*fASSAl tarzi badla

"(lit.) made a tailor a suit."

b. \*ɪakal walad tuffaaha

"(lit.) Ate a boy an apple"

c. \*naam duktuur filɪuuDA

"(lit.) slept a doctor in the room."

The above structures will not qualify for the application of T-Topic Raising, and so Right-dislocation will not apply either. Focus cannot be assigned to this structure

which has undergone no obligatory rules. In the case of complement sentences of the verb, the feature [+Def] is irrelevant. In cleft structures, we have already noticed that only prepositional phrases of Locative function can appear in initial position without the relative article filli (4.21). Relative clauses cooccurring with indefinite subject NP's must be obligatorily topicalised and can undergo the deletion of the relative article. This structure is restricted to this environment, because when the relative clause cooccurs with a definite NP, having undergone relative article deletion, the sentence can be interpreted only as a case of Left-dislocation and not as a cleft structure. In other words the initial predicate must be assigned focus, as in (8.27):

- (8.27) a. \*fiddurg ikkitaab  
 b. filli fiddurg ikkitaab  
 c. fiddurg kitaab  
 d. filli fiddurg kitaab  
 e. fiddurg ikkitaab.

Indefinite NP's, therefore, are ungrammatical in initial position. Cases like (8.26), where indefinite subjects follow their verbs, are also ungrammatical. But there is a class of predicates which includes verbs, prepositional phrases and some active participles which can co-occur with an indefinite subject NP in second place.

The case of (8.27) shows that:

1. Definite NP's following the predicate result from Left-dislocation, and the predicate receives focus.
2. If the Definite NP is focussed, it is part of a cleft structure.
3. Indefinite NP's following the predicate are always part of a cleft structure, and must receive focus. No Left-dislocation is applicable here because T-Topic Raising is not applicable in the first place.

But in the case of the following predicates, the above observations do not hold. The indefinite subject NP can occur in second position without bearing contrastive meaning, i.e. without necessarily being interpreted as part of a cleft structure. The verbs in this class are verbs of "appearance on the scene" like ZAhAr "appear", TiliC "come out", xArAg "go out", daxal "enter", WASAI "arrive", ɬittADAh "become clear"; verbs of occurrence like hASAI "happen", wifiC "fall", and verbs of communication like balag "reach",

The prepositional phrases are only a few, and these are exhaustively: Cand "at", maCa "with", li "for", and Cala "should, owe"--as distinct from the preposition Cala, meaning "on":

(8.28) u.maCaak haɬɬ

"You are right"

b. maCandiis̄ taCcliq Cala kkalaam da

"I have no comment on this."

c. Candi bACD ilmulaahaZAAt Cala TAriifit  
fiifintaag.

"I have a few remarks concerning the  
method of production."

Only Cala in this group can take a sentential subject, and  
the rest of the prepositional phrases take nominal subjects:

(8.29) a. Calayya finni fAnADDaf maktabi  
finnAhArDA

"I should be cleaning my office today".

b. Calayya waagib laazim faCmilu

"I have a duty which I must do".

c. Candi waagib laazim faCmilu

d. \*Candi finni faCmil waagib finnAhArDA

li can combine with any of the other prepositional phrases  
to yield lak Candi, lak maCaaya "I owe you", lak Calayya  
"I am obliged (to you) to".

The participles are for example baafi "remaining",  
nAAfiS "missing", fAADil "remain", mawguud "present, exist".

(8.30) a. fAADil kitabiin lissa maArithums̄

"There are two books that have not read yet."

b. ZAhAr kitaab gidiid fi ssuuf

"A new book has appeared in the market."

c. balagni xAbAr sAAr min ūwayya

"I heard good news a while ago."

d. hASAlit hadsa wiḥṣa fimbaarik.

"A bad accident happened yesterday."

e. fiTTADAhit hagaat gidiida fi lmasʔala  
di

"New things have come up in connection  
with this issue."

f. wASAl gawaab min ūwayya.

"A letter arrived a while ago."

g. xArAg naas kitiir min ilmaCab.

"Many people came out of the playground."

All these predicates are assigned focus in this position.

The question now is: how can these predicates be accounted for in the grammar? R-rules discussed so far apply negatively to indefinite NP's. These structures, then, cannot be accounted for by T-Topic Raising, Right-dislocation or Extraposition, and they do present a problem. I suggest the predicates be marked for the negative application of the obligatory rule in the lexicon, and as such the structures can surface and can be assigned focus.

#### 8.4 Existential Sentences

The particle fii expressing existence is often followed by an indefinite NP and can occur with most of the above mentioned predicates immediately preceding them

in initial position, with the exclusion of verbs. When it occurs with a verb, the indefinite NP must follow fii:

(8.31) a. fii Calayya waagib laazim faCmilu

b. fii fAADil kitabiin māfArithum̄

c. fii lak maCaaya fuluus

"I have some money for you."

d. fii hagaat gidiida fiTTADAhit

fi lmasfala di.<sup>1</sup>

e. fii gawaab wASAl min šuwayya

f. fii mawguud TArīiFA hadiisa litaCliim

illuga

"There is a new method for teaching  
language."

g. fii fikra bitrAAwiD kull ilmusaqqAfiin

fi mASr min zamaan.

"There is an idea that has appealed  
to the intelligentsia in Egypt for a  
long time."

Such constructions have been known as Existential Sentences and have been structurally contrasted with sentences where the NP in subject position has the feature [+Def]; in other words, they serve as alternative structures in case the

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<sup>1</sup>In continuous discourse, very casually, fii can be deleted leaving an indefinite NP in initial position. This structure has been approved by some native speakers, disapproved by others, which leaves a question mark on this issue. However, the grammar can account for it by a T-Fii-deletion. The context in which it has been accepted is that of story telling, jokes, anecdotes and so on. This is a matter of performance and will not be pursued any further here.

subject NP is [-Def]. Abu Ssaydeh (1980: 240-45) will not argue the nature of the relationship between the PredP in initial position and everything that follows, and goes to great lengths to describe what he calls "the internal structure of some of the most common constructions found in this position", enumerating NP; NP S, NP Locative/Temporal AdvP, NP PrepP, NP VP. Whether inserted by lexical rules, which are bound to be peculiar to it, or introduced by a T-rule, which is bound to be too powerful, the picture is full of complications (ibid.:240). He gives a close approximation to my hypothesis concerning existential structure (see below) and then goes on to reject it on the basis of some difficulties he encounters. Some of the difficulties in considering the particle fii as a PredP for a complex NP that follows is how to account for the occurrence of Locative AdvP in the following position:

(8.32) fii kitaab Cala rraff

"There is a book on the shelf."

There is also the problem that fii, unlike other fronted predicates, will always be sentence initial (ibid.:250).

Fii particle has been introduced transformationally by a T-fii Placement Rule (Wise: 131), and this was approved by Atiya:

T-fii Placement

SI:	X	-	NP	-	Y	-	[(Aux)+Z]	⇒
			[-Def]		Pred			
	1		2		3		4    5	
SC:	1	(4)	<u>fii</u>	2	3	4	5	

Condition: OPT where Z=VP,  
otherwise OBL



Such a rule cannot possibly account for structures where fii is followed by a definite NP modified by a relative clause.

First let us see whether fii can actually occur in the environment of definite NP's<sup>1</sup>; and in this case we have to discard the theory that it introduces a structure where the subject NP is necessarily [-Def]. Let us imagine a situation where fii can be followed by a definite NP: I am in a bookshop; I have been looking at some books, with the help of the shop assistant, who has already shown me samples of what I came looking for. I will make the remark:

(8.33) Speaker: ʔana Cawza haaga mutAxASSiSA

ʔAktor min kida.

"I need something more specialised than this."

Shop Assistant: TAbCan fii ʔilkitaab filli

fArrAgtik Caleeh min ʔuwayya,

wi fii kamaan kitaab taani hina.

"Of course, there is the book I showed you a while ago, and there is also another one here."

In the shop assistant's answer, the particle fii is followed by a NP which is definite, post-modified by a relative clause, introduced by the relative article filli. In almost every

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<sup>1</sup>Anwar (1972:69) rules that fii cannot be followed by a definite subject.

case where fii can be used with a following indefinite NP, the structure can be converted into a similar sequence with a definite NP and a relative clause. This leaves us with one conclusion: the indefinite NP which normally follows fii is always post-modified by a relative clause, in this case an indefinite relative clause, which does not require the presence of the relative article filli. The relative clause can be made up of any of the structures described by Abu Ssaydeh above, like any relative clause, and we do not have to set out describing the "internal structure" of the NP following fii because in this case it will not be different from any other NP. fii then is a PredP expressing existence, which as we can see from (8.31) above can combine with other items partly expressing existence as well, forming one morphological complex item that functions in a similar way as fii alone. This PredP is always followed by a complex subject NP, consisting of a NH+a relative clause. The NH is usually indefinite, but can also be definite, depending on the discourse. The following pairs will illustrate my point:

(8.34) a. fii Candi fuluus Caawiz řawaddiiha  
lbank.

"There is some money I have that I would like to put in the bank."

b. fii Candi lfuluus filli caawiz řawaddiiha  
lbank.

"There is the money that I would like to put in the bank."

(8.35) a. fii rAAgil Cawzak Cala lbaab.

"There is a man who wants you at the door."

b. fii rrAAgil filli Cawzak Cala lbaab.

"There is the man who wants you at the door."

(8.36) a. fii kitaab Cala rrAff.

"There is a book on the shelf."

b. fii ikkitaab filli Cala rrAff.

"There is the book on the shelf."

These sentences can be generated by the PSR's as copular structures. All of them can be preceded by the copula kaan. The relative clause can include a verb:

(8.37) a. fii kamaan ilkitaab filli ZAhAr  
fillimbarih.

"There is also the book that appeared yesterday."

b. fii waahid katab fi lmawDuuC da.

"Someone has written about this topic."

The same relative clauses can appear in other structures as well:

(8.38) a. fana fillistariit ilkitaab filli ZAhAr  
fillimbarih.

"I bought the book that appeared yesterday."

b. filli Cala waahid katab fi lmawDuuC da

"Tell me about someone who has written about this topic."

The NP realised as NP S' is functioning as a direct object in (a) and object of the preposition Cala in (b).

### Summary

To summarise the findings of this Part , I will make the following observations about the state of the elements in initial position:

1. Sentence-initial NP's can be focal or non-focal elements . The latter is derived from a basic structure with the predicate in first position, followed by one or more arguments, by an obligatory rule of Topic Raising, which Chomsky-adjoins a definite NP to S'. The second is derived from an underlying structure of an equative nature, of which one side is a relative structure whose NH is moved to focus position by a clefting rule. Cleft reduction can apply to the output of this transformation, deleting the resumptive pronoun and the relative article.
2. Sentence-initial predicative elements such as verbs, adjectives, and some prepositional phrases are derived by a rule of T-Right-dislocation which shifts an already raised topic to right-most position in the sentence. This rule is upward bound, and assigns focus to the initial predicate.

3. Predicative elements generally do not occur initially as non-focal elements unless they are included in the nominalisation of a cleft structure. Cleft reduction is possible only with adverbials in this case.
4. Predicates which take a complement sentence in subject position can be rendered sentence initial by a rule of Extraposition which obligatorily shifts the NP-dominated S to right-most position in the sentence.
5. T-Subject Raising applies optionally to S', once T-Topic Raising has applied to an underlying NP in object position. T-Topic Raising is made to apply to the subject NP in the first place, no optional rule can apply to S'. Other optional rules can apply to other NP's in the sentence but these are intrinsically ordered in order to guarantee the grammatical output to all these transformations.
6. Raising applies to NP's unboundedly and other elements are front-shifted by bounded rules. Raising is recursive in the case of NP's dominated by NP's, what is known as the construct form in CCA. This recursion is governed by rules of anaphoricity, whereby all resumptive pronouns must be preceded by their antecedents. This is a condition on the application of the rules.
7. There is a class of predicates which must be lexically marked for the negative application of T-Topic Raising

and that will accept an indefinite NP in subject position, the subject in this case must follow the predicate. This is a limited class which includes verbs, prepositional phrases, and participles.

8. Focus is a feature that is assigned by a rule which is last cyclic. Focus is assigned to the SS by matching presuppositions and foci by a method of question-answer. Normal focus is assigned to the rightmost lexical element in the sentence, hence it is called end-focus. Emphatic focus is assigned to any other element, unless the focus is specifically assigned by individual transformations.

9. fii is an existential predicate that must occur in initial position, and what is known as Existential Sentences is a structure which has fii as a sentence initial predicate followed by a relative structure.

## CHAPTER 9

### ADVERB MOVEMENT

#### 9.1 Aspects

Adverbials are another element of the sentence patterns examined in Chapter 4 which is indirectly related to rules of NP topicalisation, and which, therefore, will be dealt with here very briefly, leaving a good deal to be covered by further research. What concerns the present analysis of NP movement is the fact that some adverbials are realised as prepositional phrases whose object is subject to T-Topic Raising. Besides, it is important to find out if the topicalisation of an adverbial does in any way further limit the number of possible topics in the sentence.

Section 4.3 presents us with two types of adverbials; an optional type whose presence or absence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence, and an obligatory type which can be further subdivided into two groups: the first functions as a predicative element (already dealt with in Section 5.6 and 8.2), and the other functions as adverbial complement cooccurring with a subclass of verbs, both transitive and intransitive, and therefore considered to be part of the "nuclear" structure of the sentence. In this section, I will be examining optional adverbials and the second group of the obligatory adverbials.

Adverbials are a heterogeneous class, encompassing various functions that are difficult to pinpoint to one precise syntactic definition. They may be "the least satisfactory of the traditional parts of speech" (Quirk et al, 1972: 267), but more recent models of grammar have not been able to improve much on the picture. Adverbials subsume functions of such a compelling nature that they had to be represented in Chomsky's Aspects model under functional nodes such as "Time", "Place", "Manner", etc. And Chomsky's treatment of adverbials still remains an approximation which left a good deal to be challenged by linguists.

According to Chomsky, a constituency grammar is required to make very explicit the relationship among constituents and the degree of "cohesion" that exists between them. Time and Place adverbials have been noticed to occur freely with the verb phrase, "whereas Prepositional Phrases appear in much closer construction to verbs." (Aspects; 101). Chomsky introduces adverbials into the PSR's via three channels. VP-dominated Prepositional Phrases and Manner, assignable only to those verbs which can undergo the passive transformation, perform the function of Verbal Complement and by definition are involved in the subcategorisation of verbs. Prepositional Phrases will be rewritten as Direction, Duration, Place, Frequency etc.

Place and Time, on the other hand, are less closely associated with the verb and more with the category Aux,



the aspectual element in the sentence; they are therefore assigned the position of a sister node to Aux, that is immediately dominated by the Predicate Phrase, and are said to function as VP Complements. These are not subject to "pseudo-passivisation" like NP's in verbal complements.

A third class of adverbials is known as sentence adverbials which form a presentence unit in underlying structure.

This rather sketchy approach to adverbials has been remarked by many linguists (See E. Bach, 1974:106; R. Stockwell, et al, 1973: 26)<sup>1</sup>. Detailed studies of adverbial functions have been ever since attempted outside the framework of an Aspects model (see Greenbaum, 1969; Quirk et al, 1972; and Vestergaard, 1976).

## 9.2 Adverbial Functions

Vestergaard casts a shadow on the role of syntactic structure in determining constituency in connection with adverbials. In his functionally oriented study, he argues that the constituency model in Aspects is not enough to account for the "degree of cohesion" that exists between the verb and its adjuncts. (Ibid.: 19). Adverbials display semantic

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<sup>1</sup>Stockwell sees that to decide how many adverb nodes, where to introduce them, and what is their constituent structure is a problem whose solution can only be based upon "shaky evidence". Similarly, Bach considers the analysis of adverbials as "a major problem of English syntax."

functions that among themselves form a gradient of cohesion with the verb, and the dividing lines are fuzzy. Where in Aspects all the functions subsumed by the VP-dominated prepositional phrases are adverbial in nature, Vestergaard argues that some of these, and to varying degrees, tend towards object function. Aspects introduces "object" into the PM only through the category NP dominated by VP. To Vestergaard, not all the prepositional phrases dominated by VP are adverbial. (Ibid.:14). On the other hand, the three possibilities for introducing adverbials into the PM are not sufficient "to account for the range of Prepositional Phrases actually occurring." Introducing new nodes is a "dangerous course of action," because it will seem arbitrary and not independently motivated. Constituency alone is not enough to convey the full range of prepositional phrases, including adverbial functions. (Ibid.:19).

Vestergaard introduces a useful criterion for distinguishing free adjuncts (VP-Complements) from bound adjuncts (Verbal Complements), by means of what he calls a do/happen what test. (ibid.:16), which states that "a verb without its verbal complements may not be the focus of a do/happen what sentence." In other words, a prepositional phrase, and any other adjunct for that matter, must be unacceptable outside the scope of a VP proform, if it is a Verbal Complement. In the light of this criterion, "Place" is sometimes "free", sometimes "bound", and cooccur with "stative verbs of in/ert

perception and cognition" such as "know" only in the past tense. This makes "Place" a context with respect to which verbs are subcategorised, therefore a VP-dominated category. (Ibid.) By this test, Directional phrases remain Verbal Complements, but Frequency and Durational phrases are "free". So is Manner, although it may seem to be more closely tied to the verb by restrictions that do not apply to Time, for example. Vestergaard concludes that there are functions not derivable from constituency alone and these functions are relevant to syntactic phenomena.

For my immediate purpose, I will have to assume a clear-cut division between object-like and adverbial functions on the one hand, the former falling outside the scope of the present section; and on the other, I will overlook Vestergaard's (justified) claim for the necessity of adding new nodes to express the gradient nature of adverbial cohesion with the verb, adhering instead to Chomsky's standard nodes for introducing adverbials into the PM. However, I will make use of the above mentioned criterion in distinguishing between Verbal Complements and free adverbials.<sup>1</sup> Verbal Complements "may occur outside the scope of a do/happen what proform only if (a representative of) the adjunct is repeated in the answer (or identifying) clause." (Vestergaard, ibid.:132). Verbs

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<sup>1</sup>I have substituted this term for VP Complements as in the present grammar, VP is not assumed to be a constituent.

tolerate this detachment from their adjuncts with varying degrees of acceptability. In the light of Halliday's criterion for distinguishing "central" participants, using a pseudocleft form in which the verb alone is identifier, the identifier verb is obligatorily followed by a pronoun coreferential with the object NP. (1968, Part III:196):

What N' did to N'' was V Pro-N''.

This similarity in behaviour shows the affinity in syntactic status between such obligatory constituents as objects and what we have come to call Verbal Complement. Structures that respond positively to this criterion will constitute the obligatory category of Verbal Adverbial Complements. In CCA, there is a limited class of verbs, mainly positional, directional<sup>1</sup> and existential verbs, that take such complements; these are :

fiḍil "remain"	tann "stay"
raḥad "lie"	sikin "live, reside"
ḥaCad "sit"	nizil "descend"
Caas̄ "live"	TiliC "ascend"
ḥATT "put"	daxal "enter"
ḥittagah "head for"	ḥADDA "spend (time)"
wASAl "arrive"	xaṣ̄s̄ "enter"
nATT "jump"	rAAh "go"

Lyons classes these complements as "nuclear" elements, and Quirk regards them as one of the obligatory clause elements.

Applying the above criterion to constructions containing some of the above verbs, and other constructions with free adverbials, will yield the following results:

(9.1) a. huwwa wASAl iskindiriyya fissaCa  
xamsa.

"He arrived in Alexandria at five o'clock."

b. \*filli Camalu fi skindiriyya finnu wASAl  
fissaCa xamsa.

"What he did in Alexandria was arrive at  
five o'clock."

(9.2) a. huwwa daxal fi lfASl min šuwayya.

"He entered the class a while ago."

b. \*filli Camalu fi lfASl finnu daxal min  
šuwayya.

"What he did in the class was enter a while  
ago."

(9.3) a. mahammad Caas̄ fi ngiltira xamas siniin.

"M lived in England for five years."

b. \*filli Camalu fi ngiltira finnu Caas̄  
xamas siniin.

"What he did in England was live for five  
years."

(9.4) a. huwwa hATT fīgawaab Cala lmaktab.

"He put the letter on the desk."

b. \*filli Camalu Cala lmaktab huwwa finnu  
hATT iggawaab.

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<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion of Directional verbs in CCA, see Mallawany 1981:138.

"What he did on the desk was put the book."

(9.5) a. huwwa biyħibb yiʔADDi iSSeef fi skindiriyya.

"He likes to spend the summer in Alexandria."

b. \*ʔilli biyħibb yiCmilu fi skindiriyya

huwwa ʔinnu yiʔADDi SSeef.

"What he likes to do in Alexandria is  
spend the summer."

(9.6)a. Cadad ilmuSʔyyifiin biyziid CAṡArA ʔilmiyya  
kull sana fi skindiriyya.

"The number of tourists increases by  
ten percent each year in Alexandria."

b. ʔilli biyihSAI fi skindiriyya kull  
sana ʔinnu Cadad ilmuSʔyyifiin biyziid  
CAṡArA fi lmiyya.

"What happens in Alexandria each year is  
that the number of tourists increases by  
ten percent."

(9.7) a. ʔilmudarris ʔaam bitAgruba fi lfASl.

"The teacher made an experiment in the  
classroom."

b. ʔilli Camalu lmudarris fi lfASl huwwa  
ʔinnu ʔaam bitAgruba."

"What the teacher did in the classroom  
was make an experiment."

(9.8) a. huwwa daras Tibb fi ngiltirA.

"He studied medicine in England."

b. ʔilli Camalu fi ngiltirA ʔinnu daras Tibb .

"What he did in England was study medicine."

(9.9) a. huwwa katab ilgawaab Cala lmaktab.

"He wrote the letter on the desk."

b. ʔilli Camalu Cala lmaktab huwwa ʔinnu  
katab gawaab.

"What he did on the desk was write a letter."

Adverbial functions subsumed by Verbal Complements are Direction, Place, Path, Purpose, and I will include duration for verbs such as Caaṣ, ʔistanna "wait", ʔaCad:

(9.10) a. huwwa Caaṣ yiigi miit sana.

"He lived for nearly a hundred years."

b. ʔana ʔistaneetak rubC saaCa.

"I waited for you for a quarter of an hour."

c. ʔana ʔaCatt ṣAhr wunuSS min giir ṣaʔfa.

"I stayed half a month without accommodation."

Functions subsumed by free adjuncts are Time, Duration, Frequency, Reason, Measurement, Epithet or subject adjunct, Manner, Place, Instrument, Means, Having, Comitative, and Beneficial.

### 9.3 Adverb Movement

The mobility of adverbials and their ability to shift to sentence initial position seems to interact with these functions, yielding varying degrees of acceptability in the different cases. Topicalisation will, therefore, depend on the degree of cohesion between the verb and its adjunct:

cohesion will depend on the verb class and the function of the adverb. But function as such cannot be determined by constituency alone. This circularity definitely creates a problem. As it is difficult to accommodate functional concepts in an Aspects model, it will not be possible for transformations to identify the relevant structures which should provide an explicit index for them to apply. An attempt to overcome this sort of problem is a formidable task by any standards, a task far beyond the objective of this study. It has up to this date proved unapproachable and no extensive coverage has yet been achieved. My task here will simply be to suggest a rule for shifting adverbials to initial position in the sentence, hinting at the various degrees of acceptability that I may be able to spot, hoping that by doing so I may be inducing some future research which may throw more light on this problem in CCA.

Adverbials in CCA can be realised as adverbs (hina "here", dilwafti "now", ficlan "in fact", etc.); prepositional phrases (fi ddurg "in the drawer", Cand ilbaab "near the door", biSArAAhA "(lit.)with frankness; frankly); NP's (finnAhArDA "today", iissaaCa xamsa "at five o'clock", bukra "tomorrow") and these are similar to what Bolinger calls "substantive adverbs", or adverbs that name a place or a time (1965:306); and clauses (lamma yiigi "when he comes", makaan ma fult "where you told (me) to"):

(9.11) lamma giina kaanit bitikkallim CARAbi  
kuwayyis, dilwafti nisytu.



"When we first came, she could speak  
Arabic well, now she has forgotten it."

Certain functions tend to be realised more frequently in one form rather than another: NP's tend to realise Time and Direction rather than Place for example; Place is mostly realised as prepositional phrases, whereas clauses cover a large number of functions also covered by other categories.

Adverbials in initial position, like other elements, acquire positional emphasis which in some cases is obligatorily accompanied by focal emphasis, i.e. some adverbials moved to this position must be assigned focus.<sup>1</sup> Adverbials do have proforms (hinaak "there", hina "here", saCitha "then", etc.) and these can act resumptively in adverbial movement.

The unbounded R-Rules have been applied to NP's above. We have already stated that Postal (1974) divides bounded rules into two types: a rule that moves the element across just one S boundary and another that is clause :

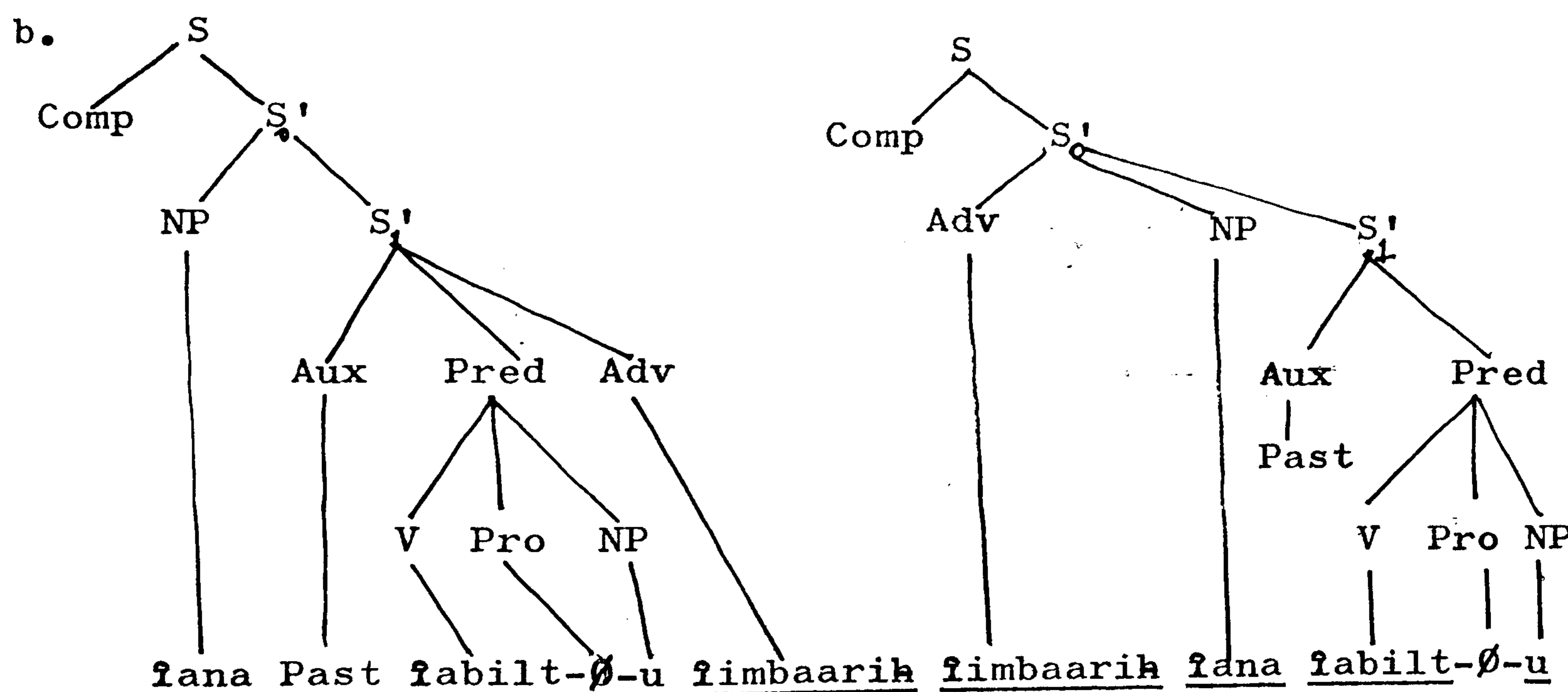
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<sup>1</sup> It has already been noticed that prepositional phrases can always be fronted with emphasis (H.T. Carwell and J. Svartvik, 1969:46). This fact is true of CCA to a large degree, and this may not lead to any conclusions as to the correlation between adverb movement and the constituent structure of the adverb itself. Ross (1968:169) notes that elements adjoined to the left of a variable are idiosyncratic, for the rules that move them are sometimes bounded, sometimes unbounded. Ross sees that such unbounded rules are not derived from "Topicalisation" but from Cleft Sentences by deletion. In CCA such a concept is difficult to apply because cleft structures cannot have an adverbial element in focus.

internal. Adverbs in this analysis will be seen to move by the first type of bounded rules. But in CCA, the boundary across which adverbs move is strictly that of S'. S' can be a Comment S', a relative clause or an adverbial clause.

In the case of a Comment S', adverbials are front-shifted to become sister nodes to NP S', as shown in (9.12):

- (9.12) a. ɪana ɪabiltu mbaarik.  
 "I met him yesterday".



As such they are raised across the S' Comment boundary. In (9.13) the adverb is raised across a relative clause boundary leaving the proform hinaak behind:

- (9.13) a. ɪilCARAbiyyAAt ɪilli fi lkuweet kullaha  
yabaani.

"The cars in Kuwait are all Japanese."

- b. fi lkuweet ɪilCARAbiyyAAt ɪilli hinaak  
kullaha yabaani.

"(lit.) In Kuwait all the-cars that (are) there (are) Japanese."

(9.14) a. fana fAriit kull ilkutub filli Cala rRAff.

"I read all the books on the shelf."

b.\* Cala rRAff kull ilkutub filli hinaak fAritha.

"(lit.) On the-shelf all the-books that are there I-read-them."

Similarly in a subordinate clause of adverbial function, which in this grammar is S', the same thing can happen:

(9.15) fi lundun fana haTTiSil bilmaktab fawwil mawSAI hinaak.

"In London, I will contact the office as soon as I arrive there."

Once more the underlined proform replaces the front-shifted adverbial of Place fi lundun. Adverbs then can be raised from embedded relative S' at varying degrees of acceptability, as shown in (8.13)-(8.14) above; they can be raised from subordinate adverbial clauses, and from the Comment S'. Adverbs, however, cannot be raised from a complement sentence, that is S. Any such movement results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (9.16); in fact, they cannot be moved in any direction at all across an S boundary:

(9.16) a. Tuul Cumri baħlam finni fA?ADDi leela fi SSAħArA.

" All my life I have been dreaming of spending a night in the desert."

b. \*ʔana baɬlam ʔinni ʔAʔADDi leela fi SSAɬArA  
Tuul Cumri.

c. \*fi SSAɬArA Tuul Cumri baɬlam ʔinni ʔAʔADDi  
leela.

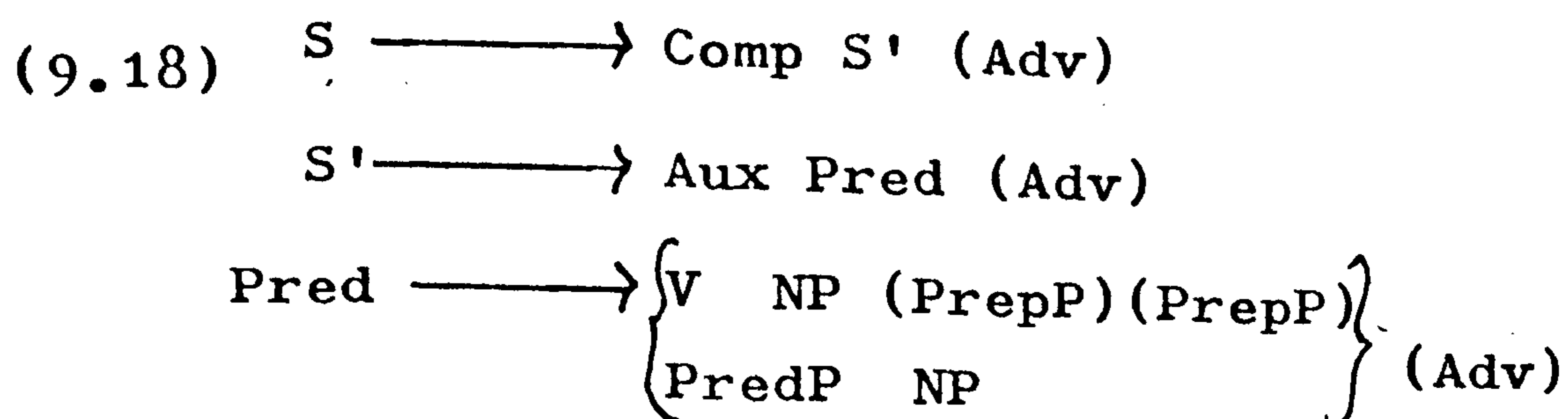
The place from which an adverbial has been shifted cannot always be resumed. The only proforms are hina, hinaak (Place) and saCitha (Time) as illustrated in (9.13 b), (9.15) and (9.17), but some cases as (9.14 b) are unacceptable:

(9.17) lamma tigibli ʔilli TAɬAbtu saCitha ʔaddiik  
ilfuluus.

"When you bring me everything I have ordered,  
then I can give you the money."

In case there is no resumptive proform, its dependency, not explicitly marked, will have to be interpreted from its surface position. This is perhaps why adverbs are confined in their movement within S boundaries unless like sentence adverbs (see below) they have sentential scope and their position will in no way affect their dependency. Adverbials are shifted to front position by a bounded rule for this reason.

Before moving on to formalising the rule, I will first have to introduce Adv into the basic structure of the grammar. The PSR (4.44) will be expanded as following:



The Adv sister node to S' is an optional category and will be discussed next under Sentence Adverbials. These are not tied to any particular constituent in the sentence; in fact they have a sentential scope which is evident in the functional criteria employed by Vestergaard (Ibid.:45) to distinguish such adverbials from other adverbials in the sentence. These criteria are expressed in terms of entailment: a sentence containing a non-role playing element (Sentence Adverbial) will entail any of the following:

1. Adverb it is  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{true} \\ \text{the case} \end{array} \right\}$  that S.
2. S. This is  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{true} \\ \text{the case} \end{array} \right\}$  Adverb.
3. S. This is Adjective (derived from the Adverb).<sup>1</sup>

Such entailment can be borne out only by the fact that these adverbs have the whole sentence as their scope, and this will justify their sister adjunction to S', which is the basic predication in the sentence.

Because of their sentential scope, what Stockwell calls "predicating over propositions", Sentence Adverbials

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<sup>1</sup>The form of this entailment has been modified to accommodate all the realisation forms of adverbials, not only prepositional phrases which are Vestergaard's main concern. As far as my judgment goes, there is nothing in his criteria that can prevent them from applying to adverbs generally.

are typically placed in initial position<sup>1</sup>: this gives them both precedence and positional emphasis. The prepositional phrase biSArAAhA "frankly" is readily interpreted as a sentence adverbial when occurring in initial position, but when sentence final, it is an epithet:

(9.19) a. biSArAAhA fana fult rAfyi limahammad.

"Frankly I told M my point of view."

b. fana fult rAfyi limahammad biSArAAhA.

"I told M my point of view frankly."

In (b) the prepositional phrase is a subject adjunct, unless heavily marked by a pause and low pitch.

Sentence Adverbials are either attitudinal, meaning "I can judge the situation by saying...about it" or they could be style adverbials meaning "I can say...about my attitude to the situation," or they could have a connective function. Examples are:

(9.20)

Cala lCumuum "generally"

Cumuuman "in general"

bilmunasba "incidentally"

filhaala di "in this case"

biSArAAhA "frankly"

biTABiiCit ilhaal "by the nature of things"

---

<sup>1</sup> Sentential scope is a property of initial elements in general. In fana suft mahammad fi lʔutubiis "I saw M on the bus" it is M alone who could be on the bus. But in fi lʔutubiis fana suft mahammad, it means that both of us were on the bus. (Also see Magretta, 1977: 124.)

TABiiCi "naturally"  
 bibASAATA "simply"  
 bixTiSAAr "briefly"  
 rubbAmA "perhaps"  
 Cala fikra "by the way"  
 TAbCAn "of course"  
 bimaCna ʔAAxAr "in other words"  
 hatman "definitely"  
 ʔasaasan "basically"  
 fiClan "in fact, actually"  
 ʔawwalan "first"  
 filhaʔiiʔa "truly, in fact"  
 wibaCdeen "then, next"  
 ʔaxiirAn "lastly"  
 kamaan "also, too"  
 masalan "for example"  
 maCa zaalik "however"  
 Cala ʔayy haal "at any rate"  
 fi nafs ilwaʔt "meanwhile"  
 Caṣaan kida "therefore"  
 bilʔiDAAfa ʔkida "furthermore, besides"  
 wiCaleeh "consequently"  
 birrAgm min kida "nevertheless"  
 bArdu "still"  
 min nahya tanya "on the other hand"

(9.21) a. filhaʔiiʔa huwwa lmACrAD biyDumm sitta

wxamsiin Camal fanni.

"In fact, the exhibition consists of fifty  
six works of art."

b. biSArAAhA Tuul mañihna binitnaafiš biTTAriiñā  
di miš haniwSAI lihall.

"Frankly, as long as we keep discussing  
things in this manner, we will never reach  
a solution."

These adverbials which roughly correspond to what Quirk labels "disjuncts" (Ibid.: 268) and characterises as being not integrated in the structure of the sentence, are highly mobile and in cases like (9.19) are best preposed to avoid ambiguity. When they appear initially, they are usually intonationally set off from the rest of the clause. Syntactically, they are distinguished from other adverbials by being uninvolved in the sentence processes, such as negation and interrogation.

Free adverbials can be the focus of negation and interrogation in the sentence (Vestergaard, ibid.: 269; Quirk et al, ibid.: 422). According to Quirk, they are more integrated into the structure of the sentence, but this statement is left unqualified in any way and the degrees of integration are not dealt with in his grammar. But he defines the semantic effect of adjuncts (free adverbials): a free adverbial means "the subject was in a state of...when the action took place, or the action was done in...a manner, in...place, at...time, etc." In



Aspects, these are seen to be connected with the aspectual element in the Verb Phrase, and the node is introduced in our case in the rewrite of S' as a sister of Aux. It is optional, and the rule will predict that it can occur with both types of sentences: verbal and copular.

The (PrepP)'s in the rewrite of Pred will account for the cases mentioned in Section 4.3 above, and these to my knowledge cannot exceed two: one of them is an indirect object with the preposition li-:

(9.22) a. huwwa samah Jibnu bilxuruug

"He allowed his son to go out."

b. huwwa wASSA liɣawlaadu bikull ittirka.

"He bequeathed everything to his sons."

c. ɣana baxaaf Cala ɣibni min ikkilaab.

"(lit.) I fear for my son from dogs."

The Adv node subsumes all the functions of Verbal Adverbial Complements and in all their realisation forms. Its optionality results from the fact that, as I have already noted above, this category occurs with a limited subset of positional, existential and directional verbs.

As the rule predicts, this category cooccurs only with structures containing verbs and has the same status as all the other elements involved in the subcategorisation of the verb.

9.3.1 Adverb Raising

As was noted above, Adverb Raising is a bounded rule. There is no way that the underlined adverbials in (9.23 a-b) can be seen to modify any element in the lower S. It can only modify the matrix clause:

(9.23) a. ɣimbaarih ɣana ɣult limahammad yigiib  
ɣilkitaab.

"Yesterday I asked M to bring the book."

b. ɣinnAhArDA Cirift ɣinn issikirteera  
fi ɣagaaza.

"Today I learned that the secretary is on  
holiday."

c. \*bukra ɣana Cirift ɣinn issikirteera fi  
ɣagaaza.

"Tomorrow I learned that the secretary is  
on holiday."

d. ɣana Cirift ɣinn issikirteera fi ɣagaaza  
ɣinnAhArDA.

"I learned that the secretary has a day  
off today."

While the adverbial in (a) and (b) determines the time of my asking and my learning respectively, (d) can only mean that the secretary is away today and the point in time of my learning about it is not determined. (c) however is unacceptable due to the incompatibility of the tense of the main clause verb and the time indicated by the adverb. The case of (c) cannot be improved by placing

emphasis on bukra as Ross suggests the case is in English (1968: 168). Adverbs in this case cannot be raised even when made emphatic: in both cases emphatic or non-emphatic, adverbs are fronted by a bounded rule which operates across S' boundaries only and daughter-adjoins the topicalised adverb to S'<sub>0</sub> which is immediately dominated by S. As is the case with other topicalised elements, such a movement will affect the communicative structure of the sentence and the pairing of questions and answers.

(9.24) T-Adverb Raising

	Comp	X	ADV	Y	
SI	1	2	3	4	⇒
SC	1	3+2	∅	4	

Sentence Adverbials will be daughter adjoined to S, while other adverbials will be similarly adjoined to S'.

Postal (1974: 105-6), following Ross's suggestion of dividing environments into weak and strong islands, regarding unbounded rules of extraction, and dividing the rules themselves into weak and strong rules, states that "while some contexts are islands for all extraction rules, others block only rules of weak strength." (Ibid.: 105). Adverb movement as he sees it seems to fall within the category of "weak rules" which normally does not allow extraction from S. But in CCA as in English there exists a class of verbs, of which fiCtAqAd "believe, think",

Caaz "want", waCad "promise", Zann "suspect",  
iftAkAr "think", inTAZAr "expect", iASAd "meant". are  
 examples of verbs which take sentence complements as  
 "weak islands" therefore permitting the raising of adverbials  
 from the lower S to the higher S:

(9.25) a. fi lhaala di iACTAqid iinnu laazim  
 yiksab.

"In this case I think that he must win."

b. yoom ilxamiis iAZunn iinnu haykuun  
 SACb Caleeh iinnu yiigi.

"On Thursday, I think it will be  
 difficult for him to come."

In (9.25 a-b) the underlined adverbial can be said to  
 modify the verbs yiksab and yiigi in the sentence complement.  
 In other cases like (9.26), the raised adverb cannot remain  
 constituents of the lower S and their constituency and scope  
 of modification changes once moved to front position:

(9.26) a. iinnAhArDA iana TALAbt minnu yikallim  
 ilmudhir.

"Today I asked him to speak to the  
 manager."

b. fi lhaala di iArfuD iinnu yisaafir.

"In this case I refuse to let him leave."

In (a) iinnAhArDA can only modify TALAbt, and in (b)

ʔArfuD.<sup>1</sup>

Free adverbials will topicalise both as emphatic and non-emphatic elements, at different degrees of acceptability. At one end of the scale is Time. In (9.27) the underlined Time adverbial has been shifted to initial position once with topical emphasis and once with both topical and focal emphasis, quite acceptably:

(9.27) a. ʔimbaarih ʔilmAts̄ ʔitʔaggil.

"Yesterday the match was postponed."

b. ʔimbaarih ʔilmats̄ ʔitʔaggil.

Place behaves similarly:

(9.28) a. fi mASr ʔiSSeef kArr.

"In Egypt the summer is hot."

b. fi mASr ʔiSSeef kArr.

Reason and Beneficial do the same. But Duration, Frequency, Measurement, Manner, Epithet, Instrument, Measurement and Comitative must be assigned focus in initial position. Having<sup>2</sup> is very awkward, almost unacceptable, when topicalised:

(9.29) a. ʔana ʔistanneetak saaCa kamla.

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<sup>1</sup>Atiya (1976: 140) also remarks that such verbs allow raising of Negative without change of meaning, unlike factive verbs such as Cirif "know", ʔaal "say", ʔidda "give". Certain Negative Adverbs which occur only in negative environment such as ʔabadan "never", bilmArrA "never" occur in complement sentences of such verbs when the matrix is negated, as evidence to the fact that Neg has been raised: maʔtikirs̄ ʔinnaha hatiCmil kida ʔabadan "I don't think she will ever do that."

<sup>2</sup> is exemplified in (9.32) below.

"I waited for you for a whole hour."

b. saaCa kamla fana fistanneetak.

(9.30)a. fittalg saah bisurCA.

"The snow melted quickly."

b. bisurCA fittalg saah.

(9.31)a. huwwa misaafir biTTAyyAArA.

"He is travelling by plane."

b. biTTAyyAArA huwwa misaafir.

(9.32) a. daxal Caleena bixAbAr muhimm.

"He entered with important news."

?? b. bixAbAr muhimm daxal Caleena.

Verbal complements can be topicalised only in very special contexts as focal elements, and even then they are rated marginal by native speakers.<sup>1</sup> It is with difficulty that contexts can be found where the topicalisation of Verbal Complement is adequately motivated.

(9.33) fi ddurg fana hATTeet ilkitaab.

"(It is) in the drawer (that) I put the book."

Most NP's dominated by Adv will topicalise by T-Topic Raising or T-Object Raising, provided their position can be resumed:

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<sup>1</sup>Mallawany (1981: 157) notes that "unlike other adverbials, the adverbial clause of purpose following a motion verb (Direction) cannot occur in initial position, not even when Calaṣaan be made explicit."

(9.34) a. ʔingiltirA huwwa Caaṣ̄ fiiha xamas  
siniin.

"(lit.) England he lived in-it five  
years."

b. ʔiTTAriiʔA di huwwa mumkin yixAllAS  
biha ṣuglu fi yoom waahid.

"(lit.) This way he can finish with-it  
his work in one day.

c. wiladha hiyya bitiCmil ʔilmustahiil  
Caṣanhum.

"(lit.) Her children she does the  
impossible for them."

d. ʔilCASAAYa di huwwa biyimṣi biha Cala  
Tuul.

"(lit.) This stick he walks with-it all the  
time."

Only objects of prepositions can leave a pronominal copy, and so adverbial phrases of Time and its related category of Duration, exhaustively dominating a NP, will not undergo this rule.

#### 9.4 How Many Topics

As to how many Topics a sentence of CCA can have, we have already discussed the recursiveness of T-Topic Raising in the case of construct NP's. The limit on such a recursion is grammatically unrestricted by syntactic criteria. Any limitation is due to reasons of performance.

As to how many topicalisation rules can apply to any one sentence, the above discussion suggests that only three NP's can be resumed in post-verbal position in any given sentence. (Note that in the case of recursion mentioned above, resumption is in preverbal position; see Section 7.3 ). To these, a number of raised adverbs can be added:

(9.35) fi lwaaqiC bstimrAAr fi TTAAbiiCA fiillun  
 illiAxDAr willfazrafi bihlaafihum munsagimiin maCa  
 bACD.

"In fact always in nature the colours blue and green are to be found in perfect harmony."

The number of raised adverbs of one category, however, is governed by a special hierarchical order (see Quirk et al, 1972: 476); this is defined by a kind of subordinate relation among the topicalised elements:

(9.36) ufiissanaadi fi SSeef fana nawya faaxud  
 fagaaza TAWiila.

"This year in summer I intend to have a long vacation."

b. fiṣṣaariC fiilli gayy Cala nnASyA Cand  
 fiṣṣArit ilmuruur hatlaafi yAfTA hamra  
 kibiira huwwa da lmaḥall.

"In the next street, on the corner at the traffic lights you will find a big red sign: this is the shop."



### 9.5 A Note On Interrogation

It was noted earlier that the immediate purpose of this study is an analysis of topicalisation in declarative sentences, and that imperatives and interrogatives are not at issue. It is, however, in the interest of the present analysis to present as much supporting data as possible to the rules suggested. Interrogatives seem to offer this support and therefore I will here give a brief note of how interrogatives behave in the light of the rules suggested above. Yes-No questions, known as polar interrogatives, in CCA can be distinguished from statements by the intonational contour; no question-word or special word order is involved, and therefore this type will not be dealt with here; as it does not offer any kind of syntactic contrast based on the application of movement rules. Non-polar questions are of interest because they utilise question words which are affected by movement rules.

Question words in CCA include the following:

miin "who"  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Sing} \\ + \text{ Masc} \\ + \text{ Human} \end{array} \right]$

ʔanhu/hi "which"  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Masc} \\ + \text{ Sing} \\ + \text{ Animate} \end{array} \right]$

<u>leeh</u> "what"	[	+ Sing	]
		- Masc	
		- Human	
		+ Animate	
<u>lizayy/</u>			
<u>lizzaay</u> "how"	[	+ Manner	]
<u>leeh</u> "why"	[	+ Purpose/ Reason	]
<u>limta</u> "when"	[	+ Time	]
<u>feen</u> "where"	[	+ Place	]
<u>kaam</u> "how many"	[	+ Numeral	]

Some of these can be preceded by prepositions, forming complex question words which can perform various functions performed by prepositional phrases, such as Adverbial, Beneficiary, etc. Question words will normally occur in the position of the element marked for question (Q) in the underlying structure of the sentence. No particular movement rule is required for question formation, as is the case in English, for example,<sup>1</sup> where, according to

<sup>1</sup>Schwartz (1975) observes that verb initial languages have verb fixed positions and so it is not likely that the verb will move. All the rules suggested in this study involve no verb movement, and this fact can be used to support the view that CCA structure is basically verb initial. Schwartz also adds that declarative and interrogative orders in VSO languages are the same. Whereas Wh-movement collapses both VSO and SVO types, in SS, Yes-No questions do not: verb fronting is consistent with SVO. Once more, CCA seems to display VSO qualities in this connection because no verb movement is involved in Yes-No questions and both interrogative and declarative orders are identical.

Halliday, this may be done to preserve the modal information that depends upon the order of subject and finite verb. In CCA the modal distinction between question and statement is not carried out by the word order; it is exclusively lexical and intonational.

The following examples illustrate the possible alternative positions of question words, with (a) sentences showing the unmarked positions of the underlined Q-elements and (b) sentences showing the positionally marked alternative:

(9.37) a. ʔinta ʔabilt miin ʔinnAhArDA?

"Whom did you meet today?"

b. miin ʔilli ʔinta ʔabiltu ʔinnAhArDA?

c. \*miin ʔinta ʔabiltu ʔinnAhArDA?

(9.38) a. maḥammad Camal ʔeeh fillimtahaan?

"What did M do in the exam?"

b. ʔeeh ʔilli maḥammad Camalu fillimtahaan?

c. \*ʔeeh maḥammad Camalu fillimtahaan?

(9.39) a. ʔeeh ʔAxxArAk?

"What delayed you?"

b. ʔeeh ʔilli ʔAxxArAk?

c. ʔAxxArAk ʔeeh?

(9.40) a. ʔinta ʔitʔAxxArt leeh?

"Why are you late?"

b. leeh ʔinta ʔitʔAxxArt?

(9.41) a. k̄atsaaf̄ir ʔimta?

"When will you leave?"

b. ʔimta k̄atsaaf̄ir?

(9.42) a. ʔilgawaab feen?

"Where is the letter?"

b. feen ilgawaab?

(9.43) a. sib̄t iṣṣ̄AnTA Cand miin?

"(lit.) At whom did you leave the suitcase?"

"Where did you leave the suitcase?"

b. Cand miin sib̄t iṣṣ̄AnTA?

(9.44) a. bitiftak̄ iṣṣ̄AnTA ʔizzaay?

"How do you open the suitcase?"

b. ʔizzaay bitiftak̄ iṣṣ̄AnTA?

In all the above sentences, the Q-word is the element bearing sentence stress. It is always the element with the intonation focus. In (9.37) the Q-word is the Direct Object of the verb, and it is positioned in the place where the Direct Object will appear, unmarkedly, in the answer:

(9.45) ʔana ʔabil ilCamiid.

"I met the Dean."

When optionally shifted to front position, it functions as the focus of a cleft structure where the rest of the sentence has undergone a process of nominalisation preceded by the relative article ʔilli.(c) is

ungrammatical because according to the rules of topicalisation discussed above, an initial NP bearing sentence focus can only appear in a cleft structure. The Q-word in (9.37)-(9.39) behave in exactly the same way that is predicted by the rules of NP topicalisation: (9.39a) is the case where Cleft Reduction has applied. I will not enter the discussion of why Cleft Reduction cannot apply in the first two cases as this discussion is bound to be as brief as possible. (9.39c) is the result of the application of Right-dislocation.

leeh, ʔimta, feen are Q-words that replace elements of adverbial function and these are subject to the rule of Adverb Raising, and can be fronted as focal elements subject to the condition of boundedness, which was discussed in connection with the topicalisation of adverbials.

I have earlier referred to the insignificance of Wh-movement to CCA: my discussion of Relative Clause Formation and Question Formation has illustrated this statement.

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