Participles as Non-Verbal Predicates

by

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of participles in MA which show verbal and nominal features but are not nouns or verbs. Participles pattern with verbs, combine with adverbs and take objects. Like nouns, they partially agree with their subjects, are negated with *mu* or inflected *ma* and cannot appear in VSO order nor do they allow subject-drop. I propose that without the functional projection vP, bare VPs are not fully verbal. When participles occur in a finite present-tense sentence, they act like non-verbal predicates and the resulting copula construction conforms to Benmamoun's (2008) framework of verbless sentences in Arabic. The existence of VP explains the verbal properties, and the absence of vP explains the nominal ones. The lack of vP explains lacking full agreement and using non-verbal negative particles with participles. Viewing participles as bare VPs is consistent with Croft's (1991) de-verbalizing hierarchy where verb types range from being fully finite to completely nominalized forms.

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List of Abbreviations

NMLZ	Agentive Nominalization
AC. NMLZ	Action Nominalization
EX. NMLZ	Exaggerative Nominalization
PT. NMLZ	Patient Nominalization
NOM	Nominative Case
ACC	Accusative Case
GEN	Genitive Case
PASS	Passive
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
sg	Singular
pl	Plural
masc	Masculine Marker
fem	Feminine Marker
perf	Perfective Verb Form
imperf	Imperfective Verb Form
Q	Question Word
NEG	Negation Word
CON.PR	Confirmation Particle
VOC	Vocative Term
NUN	Nunnation

IND	Indicative Mood
SUB	Subjunctive Mood
JUSS	Jussive Mood
pres	Present Tense
past	Past Tense
fut	Future Tense

1. Introduction

Participles are hybrid forms that provide linguists with various challenges regarding how they are distributed in sentences and what category they belong to. Participles in Arabic are more intriguing for many reasons. First of all, a small subset of participles has been lexicalized to become fully nominal forms which I will call 'agentive nominals'. Those fully nominalized forms are often confused with the larger set of forms that have more eventive readings, namely participles. In addition, participles and agentive nominals share the same morphological form in Arabic. This has caused strong debates and disagreement between traditional Arabic grammar schools regarding the category of these forms and whether they are 'agentive nominals' or 'continuous verbs'.

The situation in modern Arabic dialects gets more complicated with the loss of Case markers that help determine the category and function of forms in sentences. In Standard Arabic, nominal case markers appear on all participles. However, participles in modern Arabic dialects, including Makkan Arabic, have less nominal features especially in the absence of nominal case markers. Because I will be discussing Makkan Arabic, it is important to distinguish it from Standard Arabic. Standard Arabic is the written language that is shared by all Arab dialects and countries. It is used in books and journal articles, in formal speeches and lectures and also in some formal TV programs. It is also the language taught in schools and grammar books. Makkan Arabic is a colloquial urban Arabic that is spoken in the western region of Saudi Arabia and more specifically in Makkah and which distinctively differs from the other tribal dialects spoken in the city. It is used in conversations, informal speech, texting and social programs like Facebook and Twitter. It

is only within the last few years that Makkan Arabic is used heavily as a written language in informal contexts like text messages, and social networks.

In this thesis, I start by introducing Case marking and agreement patterns in both dialects, Standard Arabic (SA) and Makkan Arabic (MA). After that, I describe the categories of NPs and VPs in SA and MA and provide several diagnostic tests used to determine the lexical category of each element. I then introduce the major functional categories of vP, nP and PredP along with a brief characterization of their usage and role in my analysis.

In chapter two, I present Agentive nominalization in Arabic along with some of the main types of nominalization, and discuss how they are all derived by following the root-and-pattern approach. In chapter three, I discuss the theories of how agentive nominals are viewed in the literature of SA only. In chapter four, I describe the major differences between agentive nominalization in SA and MA and show why I need to develop an analysis that is independent of what is proposed in the literature. I divide participles in chapter five into a small category of fully nominalized forms of agentive nominals, which I compare to underived nouns, and another large category of participles. I compare participles with nouns to show that they are nominal, and then to verbs to show similarities and differences between participles and verbs. I conclude the chapter by proposing that participles are not fully verbal elements either. In chapter six, I suggest that participles pattern with nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases when occurring in present-tense sentences. They form verbless sentences that lack copular verbs according to Benmamoun (2008). By employing this analysis, I account for the distribution of participles, namely the obligatory presence of overt preceding subjects, non-verbal negation and non-verbal agreement. At the end of the chapter, I propose two analyses of how participles are derived

either by having a nominalizing head selecting VP or by being a bare VP not selected by any verbalizing heads, and I show why the second analysis is preferred. Analyzing participles as bare VP explains the nominal and verbal properties of participles. The absence of vP accounts for the absence of verbal agreement and negation. Claiming that lexical VP exists is contrary to what is suggested in the Distributive Morphology (DM) model where Root Phrases exist instead. RootP are not specified for category until being selected by category-defining heads. I conclude my thesis by summarizing my argument in favor of categorizing participles as bare VPs.

1.1 Case marking in Standard and Makkan Arabic

The case marking system in Standard Arabic is a way of distinguishing syntactic functions by marking the end of the words with different case markers (Eid 1975, Hassan 1975). In the example below, the noun *walad* 'boy' is marked differently depending on whether it is a subject (1a), an object (1b) or a complement of a preposition (1c). We see that *-u* is used to mark the nominative case, *-a* the accusative case and *-i* the genitive case[1].

1.   a. Gaa'a   **al-walad-u**
          come.perf.sg.masc.   the-boy.sg-NOM
          'The boy came.'

         b. shahd-to   **al-walad-a**
          see.perf-1.sg   the-boy.sg-ACC
           'I saw the boy.'

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[1] These markers each undergoes phonological changes depending on the stem. Different morpho-phonological actual forms are listed in Table 1.

c. eltaqay-to　　　　　　**bi-l-walad-i**
　　　　　meet.perf-1.sg　　　with-the-boy.sg-GEN
　　　　　'I met with the boy.'

Case marking is important in a language with relatively free word order like Standard Arabic. One of the most famous examples that shows the importance of case markers in delivering the intended meaning is a verse from Holy Quran [FaaTir:28].

2.　　　ennma　ya-xsha　　　　　　　　**Allah-a**　min　ʕibad-ih-i
　　　　CON.PR　3.masc-fear.imperf.sg　**God-ACC**　from　worshiper.pl-3.sg.masc-GEN

　　　　al-ʕolama'-o
　　　　the.scientist.pl-NOM

　　　　'It is the scientists who fear God (the most) among His worshipers.'

In this sentence, the subject "the scientists" occurs at the end unlike the expected order where the subject comes before the object as in (3):

3.　　　ya-xsha　　　　　　　　　　　al-ʕolama'**-o**　　　　Allah**-a**
　　　　3.masc-fear.imperf.sg　　　　the.scientist.pl-**NOM**　God-**ACC**
　　　　'Scientists fear God.'

The subject can also come after the object as in example (2) above. Case markers distinguish the subject from the object in such sentences. If the sentence in (3) is marked differently, the meaning changes.

4.　　　ya-xsha　　　　　　　　　　　al-ʕolama'**-a**　　　　Allah**-o**
　　　　3.masc-fear.imperf.sg　　　　the-scientist.pl-**ACC**　God-**NOM**
　　　　'God fears scientists.'

There are many morphological factors that affect the form of the previously mentioned case markers in Standard Arabic. For example, the plural masculine forms are marked with a different set of affixes:

5.   a. Salla   **al-muslim-oon**
              pray.perf.3.masc.   the-muslim.pl.masc-NOM
              'The Muslims prayed.'

              b. shahd-to   **al-muslim-een**
              see.perf-1.sg   the-muslim.pl.masc-ACC
              'I saw the Muslims.'

              c. eltaqay-to   bi-**l-muslim-een**
              meet.perf-1.sg   the-muslim.pl.masc-GEN
              'I met with the Muslims.'

Phonological factors can also affect Case markers in Standard Arabic. For example, when the noun ends with a vowel, case markers are not overt:

6.   a. Gaa'a-t   **nada**
              come.perf-3.sg.fem   nada.NOM
              'Nada came.'

              b. shahd-to   **nada**
              see.perf-1.sg   nada.ACC
              'I saw Nada.'

              c. eltaqay-to   **bi-nada**
              meet.perf-1.sg   with-nada.GEN
              'I met with Nada.'

The following table summarizes the main case markers for nouns in singular, dual, feminine plural, masculine plural and irregular plural forms in Standard Arabic.

	Nominative Case -u	Accusative Case -a	Genitive Case -i
Singular Consonant-Final Stem	walad-u 'boy'	walad-a 'boy'	walad-i 'boy'
Singular Vowel-Final Stem	Nada-ø	Nada-ø	Nada-ø
Dual Stem	walad-aan 'two boys'	walad-ayn 'two boys'	walad-ayn 'two boys'
Irregular Plural Stem	awlad-u 'boys'	awlad-a 'boys'	awlad-i 'boys'
Masculine Plural Stem	muslim-oon 'Muslims'	muslim-een 'Muslims'	muslim-een 'Muslims'
Feminine Plural Stem	banat-u 'girls'	banat-i 'girls'	banat-i 'girls'

Table1: Case Markers for Nouns in Standard Arabic

Imperfective verbs can also appear with Case marking according to Traditional Arabic Grammars (Eid 1975, Hassan 1975). The verb Case marking system marks three verbal functions that are equated with nouns cases. Nouns and verbs get the nominative case marker [-u] and the accusative case marker [-a], but the genitive case marker [-i] does not appear on verbs. Instead, verbs get the null vowel to mark the *Jazzam* Case which is roughly translated as the genitive case. In modern Arabic grammar, the suffixes at the end of imperfective verbs are considered mood markers rather than case markers (Benmamoun 1999). According to Benmamoun, imperfective verbs in Standard Arabic have indicative mood (IND) that is marked by [-u] suffix, subjunctive mood (SUB) marked by [-a] suffix and jussive mood (JUS) marked by the final [-ø] null vowel. The following examples show verbs in these three moods:

7.   a. mona   **t-zhab-u**   ela   al-sooq-i
         mona.NOM   3.fem-go-sg-IND   to   the-mall.sg-GEN
       'Mona goes to the mall.'

b mona	**lan**	**t-zhab-a**	ela	al-sooq-i
Mona.NOM	NEG.fut	3.fem-go.sg-SUB	to	the-mall.sg-GEN

'Mona will not go to the mall.'

c. mona	**lam**	**t-zhab-ø**	ela	al-sooq-i
Mona.NOM	NEG.past	3.fem-go.sg-JUS	to	the-mall.sg-GEN

'Mona did not go to the mall.'

Words such as *lan* "will not" in the second example and *lam* "did not" in the third example require the subjunctive and jussive mood markers respectively on the imperfective verbs that follow them. These negation particles also carry tense since Arabic verbs do not themselves inflect for tense (Aoun, Benmamoun, Choueiri 2010). In both examples (7b) and (7c), the same imperfective form of the verb is used after the negation particles which supports the idea that such imperfective verb forms do not encode tense themselves as discussed above (see also section 1.4 about diagnostic tests). Other categories like perfective verbs and imperative verbs as well as determiners and prepositions are not marked for case in Standard Arabic.

The situation in modern Arabic dialects, including Makkan Arabic, is completely different as case markers are lost and not applied to differentiate functions or words. Accordingly, the nouns like *al-walad* "the-boy" in example (8) of Makkan Arabic all look the same without any case markers at the end.

8.	a. Gaa'a	**al-walad**
	come.perf.3.sg.masc	the-boy.sg

'The boy came.'

	b. shof-t	**al-walad**
	see.perf-1.sg	the-boy.sg

'I saw the boy.'

c. ajtmaʕ-t   **bi-l-walad**
   meet.perf-1.sg   with-the-boy.sg
   'I met with the boy.'

The absence of overt case markers in Makkan Arabic means that the language relies instead on strict word order to reveal the functions that words fulfil in the sentence. The following sets of sentences show the difference between Standard and Makkan Arabic regarding the interaction between case markers and word order.

9.   a. shahada   al-walad-**u**   al-raGul-**a**   (Standard Arabic)
          see.perf.3.sg   the-boy.sg-**NOM**   the-man.sg.**ACC**
          'The boy saw the man.'

       b. shahada   al-walad-**a**   al-raGul-**u**   (Standard Arabic)
          see.perf.3.sg   the-boy.sg-**ACC**   the-man.sg.**NOM**
          'The man saw the boy.'

10.   a. shaaf   al-walad   al-riGal   (Makkan Arabic)
          see.perf.3.sg   the-boy.sg   the-man.sg
          'The boy saw the man.'

       b. shaaf   al-riGal   al-walad   (Makkan Arabic)
          see.perf.3.sg   the-man.sg   the-boy.sg
          'The man saw the boy.'

Having illustrated how nouns and imperfective verbs are marked with Case in SA compared to the absence of Case marking in MA, I now turn to describe how verbs and non-verbal constituents agree with their subjects in both SA and MA.

1.2 Agreement in Standard and Makkan Arabic

In this section, I will only discuss person, number and gender inflections on verbs leaving aside nominal inflections.

Verbs in Standard Arabic can have agreement suffixes attached to them to encode person, number and gender. For example, the suffix *–t* encodes third person feminine singular marker as in *kataba-t* 'she wrote', while *–ow* encodes third person plural suffix as in *katab-ow* "they wrote" (See table 2 for the full set of verbal agreement suffixes). These suffixes do not appear on nouns, as the (b) examples show.

11.   a. hya   kataba-**t**   ar-resalat-a
            she   write.perf-3.sg.fem   the-letter.sg-ACC
          'She wrote the letter.'

         b. *haza   kitab-**t**
            this   book.sg-sg.3.fem

12.   a. hum   katab-**ow**   ar-resalat-a
            they   write.perf-3.pl.masc   the-letter.sg-ACC
          'They wrote the letter.'

         b. *haza   kitab-**ow**
            this   book.sg-3.pl.masc

In addition to these agreement suffixes, there is a set of pronominal suffixes that can be attached to both nouns and verbs to encode entities. These suffixes refer to objects when they are attached to verbs and possessors when they are attached to nouns. (See table 3 and 4 for more details). On verbs, they follow subject agreement suffixes.

13.   a. hya   katab-at-**ha**
            3.sg.fem   write.perf-.3.sg.fem-3.sg.fem
          'She wrote it.'

         b. haza   kitab-o-**ha**
            this   book.sg-NOM-3.sg.fem
          'This is her book.'

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b. hum   katab-ow-**hum**
   3.pl   write.perf-3.pl.masc-3.pl.masc
   'They wrote them.'

c. haza   kitab-o-**hum**
   this   book.sg-NOM-3.pl.masc
   'This is their (masc.) book.'

Verbs in Makkan Arabic, just like Standard Arabic, carry agreement suffixes that encode person, gender and number. However, these suffixes encode only gender in the singular as there is no feminine plural suffix in Makkan Arabic. Pronominal suffixes in Makkan Arabic are also similar to Standard Arabic as they can be attached to nouns, as possessors, and verbs, as objects, with minor differences in pronunciation (See table 4).

The following tables give the forms of the three sets of suffixes in SA. The first table gives a list of the agreement suffixes that appear on verbs. The second table exemplifies the object pronouns that are attached to verbs following the agreement suffixes. In this table, all verbs agree with a third person singular feminine subject. The last table gives a list of all the possessive pronouns that can be attached to nouns. These examples are for Standard Arabic.

	Singular		Dual	Plural	
1	kallam-t		kallam-na		
2	kallam-ta (masc.)	kallam-ti (fem.)	kallam-tuma	kallam-tum (masc.)	kallam-tunn
3	kallam (masc.)	kallam-t (fem.)	kallam-a	kallam-u (masc.)	kallam-n

Table 2: Agreement Suffixes in Standard Arabic

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	Singular		Dual	Plural	
1	kallam-t-ni		kallam-t-na		
2	kallam-t-ak (masc.)	kallam-t-ik (fem.)	kallam-t-kuma	kallam-t-kum (masc.)	kallam-t-kunn (fem.)
3	kallam-t-o (masc.)	kallam-t-ha (fem.)	kallam-t-huma	kallam-t-hum (masc.)	kallam-t-hun (fem.)

Table 3: Pronominal Object Suffixes in Standard Arabic (Verb is given in Feminine Singular)

	Singular		Dual	Plural	
1	kalam-i		kalam-na		
2	kalam-ak (masc.)	kalam-ik (fem.)	kalam-akuma	kalam-akum (masc.)	kalam-akunn (fem.)
3	kalam-aho (masc.)	kalam-aha (fem.)	kalam-ahuma	kalam-ahum (masc.)	kalam-ahun (fem.)

Table 4: Pronominal Possessive Suffixes in Standard Arabic

Makkan Arabic is the same except for the complete absence of dual pronouns in all sets. There is also no distinction in gender in plural pronouns. Dual and plural pronouns are treated as the masculine plural pronouns as shown in the corresponding tables below.

	Singular		Plural
1	kallam-t		kallam-na
2	kallam-t (masc.)	kallam-ti (fem.)	kallam-tu
3	kallam (masc.)	kallam-t (fem.)	kallam-u

Table 5: Agreement Suffixes in Makkan Arabic

	Singular		Plural
1	kallam-t-ni		kallam-t-na
2	kallam-t-ak (masc.)	kallam-t-ik (fem.)	kallam-t-kum
3	kallam-t-o (masc.)	kallam-t-ha (fem.)	kallam-t-hum

Table 6: Pronominal Object Suffixes in Makkan Arabic (Verb is given in Feminine Singular)

	Singular		Plural
1	kalam-i		kalam-na
2	kalam-ak (masc.)	kalam-ik (fem.)	kalam-akum
3	kalam-u (masc.)	kalam-aha (fem.)	kalam-ahum

Table 7: Pronominal Possessive Suffixes in Makkan Makkan Arabic

1.3 Diagnostic Test for Nouns and Verbs in Standard and Makkan Arabic

Speech in any given language is composed of many categories among which nouns and verbs form the basic ones. There are different types of diagnostic tests that can be applied to a given language to syntactically categorize words and differentiate them from each other. Other than the agreement suffixes that appear on verbs and distinguish them from nouns, nouns in Standard Arabic are identified by many other criteria (Hassan, 1975). First, they can be preceded by definite articles as in (14) and vocative words as in (15).

14.   al-koop
        the-mug.sg
        'The mug'

15.   ya   mohammad
        VOC   mohammad
        'O Mohammad'

According to the literature (Hassan 1975, Eid 1975, Abdul-Hameed 1974), nouns and imperfective verbs in Standard Arabic can both take the nominative and accusative Case markers[2] as shown in (16) and (17). However, the Case markers on nouns can be followed, in certain contexts, by an extra *-n* sound which is called *tanween* 'nunation'. This sound usually appears on the case marker of indefinite nouns while verbs do not appear with such an *-n* sound.

16.   a. al-katib-o   b. ya-ktob-o
          the-writer.sg.masc-NOM   3.masc-write.sg-NOM
          'The writer'   'He writes'

17.   a. al-katib-a   b. ya-ktob-a
          the-writer.sg.masc-ACC   3.masc-write.sg-ACC
          'The writer'   'He writes'

18.   a. katib-on   b. *ya-ktob-on
          writer.sg.masc-NOM/NUN   3.masc-write.sg-NOM/NUN
          'A writer'   'He writes'

19.   a. katib-an   b. *ya-ktob-an
          writer.sg.masc-ACC/NUN   3.masc-write.sg-ACC/NUN
          'A writer'   'He writes'

Additionally, only nouns can take the genitive case marker as in *al-koob-i* "the mug-GEN". Nouns are marked as genitive when they follow a preposition or another noun in the construct state:

20.   a. sharib-t-o   al-qahwat-a   **fi al-koob-i**   (preceded by a preposition)
          drink.perf-1.sg the-coffee.sg-ACC in the-mug.sg-GEN
          'I drank the coffee in the mug.'

---

[2] Nouns and verbs are believed to have case markers in traditional Arabic grammar. Another view is that verbs have moods rather than cases. This idea was explained in section 1.1 on Case marking in Arabic.

b. hazhi **yad-o** **al-koob-i** (construct state)
this.sg.fem handle.sg.fem.NOM the-mug.sg.masc.GEN
'This is the mug's handle.'

Turning to verbs, they can follow words that encode tense, since verbs in Standard Arabic do not encode tense themselves (Aoun & Benmamoun & Choueiri 2010, Moshref 2012). Such words include the negation particle *lam* "past negation particle" and *lan* "future negation particle" which precede the imperfective form of the verb and encode tense. Nouns in Standard Arabic, on the other hand, usually follow a different negation particle *leesa* which has a scope over the copula construction rather than on individual words. *Leesa* belongs to a category of particles with different semantic meanings that precede only copula structures or 'nominal sentences'.

21.   a. lam **a-ktub** ad-dars
      NEG.past   1-write.imperf.sg   the-lesson.sg
      'I did not write the lesson.'

     b. lan **a-ktub** ad-dars
      NEG.fut.   1-write.imperf.sg   the-lesson.sg
      'I will not write the lesson.'

     c. *leesa a-ktub ad-dars
      NEG.pres 1-write.imperf.sg   the-lesson.sg
      'I do not write the lesson.'

22.   a. *lam kitab jayd
      NEG.past book.sg.masc   good.sg.masc.
      'It is not a good book.'

     b. *lan kitab jayd
      NEG.fut book.sg.masc   good.sg.masc.
      'It is not a good book.'

c. leesa   kitab   jayd
    NEG.pres   book.sg.masc   good.sg.masc.
    'It is not a good book.'

One more property of verbs is the ability to assign Case to nouns. Intransitive verbs are able to assign nominative Case to their subjects; transitive verbs assign nominative Case to their subject and the accusative case to their objects, and di-transitive verbs additionally assign the accusative Case to a second object (Hassan 1975, Eid 1975).

In Makkan Arabic, the situation is slightly different since the Case marking system is completely lost as discussed in section 1.1 above. Because of this, the main diagnostic tests rely on collocations.

Nouns can follow determiners (example 23a), vocative words or prepositions (example 23b and 23c). They can also be modified by adjectives (example 23d), or participate in the construct state structure (example 23e). The noun *kitab* 'book' exemplifies those usages.

23.   a. ashtrai-t   **al-kitab**   (preceded by a determiner)
        buy.perf-1.sg   the-book.sg
        'I bought the book.'

       b. **ya**   **kitab**-i   (preceded by a vocative)
       VOC   book.sg-1.sg
       'O my book'

       c. kul   al-maʕluma-t   **fi**   **al-kitab**   (preceded by a preposition)
       all   the-information-pl.fem   in   the-book.sg
       'All the information is in the book.'

       d. ashrai-t   **kitab**   **mufeed**   (modified by an adjective)
        buy.perf-1.sg   book.sg   useful.sg.masc
        'I bought a useful book.'

e. **maʕlumat**   **al-kitab**   mufeed-a   (a part of construct state)
information.pl.fem the-book.sg   useful.sg-fem
'The book's information is useful.'

Verbs are modified by adverbs and have perfective and imperfective forms as example (24)

shows.

24.   a. **katab**   ad-dars   **besorʕa**
       write.perf.3.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg quickly
       'He wrote the lesson quickly.'

     b. **ya-katab**   ad-dars   **besorʕa**
       write.imperf.3.sg.masc the-lesson.sg quickly
       'He wrote the lesson quickly.'

Negation in Makkan Arabic is an important diagnostic test to distinguish nouns from verbs.

Nouns are negated with the negation particle *mu* while verbs are negated with *ma*.

25.   a. da **mu**   daftr-i   (before nouns)
      this NEG   notebook.sg-1.sg
      'This is not my notebook.'

     b. ana **ma**   fehim-t   ad-dars   (before verbs)
      1.sg NEG   understand.perf-1.sg the-lesson.sg
      'I didn't understand the lesson.'

In this section, I described the categories of NPs and VPs in Standard and Makkan Arabic

and provided several diagnostic tests used in the language to determine the lexical category

of each element. Arabic. I turn now to the major functional categories of vP, nP and PredP

that along with a brief characterization of their usage and role in my analysis.

1.4 Theoretical Assumptions

In this section, I summarize the basic theoretical assumptions on which I base my arguments in this research regarding the category and syntactic structure of participles in MA. In my analysis, I make use of the functional projections vP, nP and PredP in addition to NP and VP. I show later how such projections play a role in the hybrid nature of participles. I start with the verb phrases and distinguish between the lexical projection VP and the functional projection vP and show why it was suggested. I later explain the importance of the functional projection nP with the nominalizing head n° as well as the Predicate Phrase. All these categories are fundamental parts of my analysis, and I dedicate this section to outline the history of these syntactic categories.

The idea that VP is only a lexical projection that presents the content of the verb phrase but none of the functional properties started with an observation by Larson (1988) who proposes the existence of an additional clause-like VP projection to account for the double object construction. So, in a sentence like 'John sends Mary a letter', the second VP has the inner subject 'the letter' that takes 'send-to Mary' as a predicate. This whole projection is a complement of another higher VP where John is the subject. The verb moves to the higher VP in head-to-head movement.

Another suggestion for the functional projection above VP comes from Pollock's (1989) work. He explains the structural differences between English and French in terms of Universal Grammar and one abstract parameter which is the transparency of Agreement. He proposes that verbs can move to Tense through the head Agr only when the Agr head is morphologically rich or 'transparent' as in the case of French, otherwise, Agr blocks movement as in English main verbs and also blocks theta-role assignments. The AgrP,

which is a functional projection that is responsible for case assignment and verb movement, is located above the VP projection.

In later works, the idea that subjects are not generated within VP, but introduced by a higher projection is pursued. Hale & Keyser (1993) propose that subjects are external to the VP projection. In their analysis, Hale and Keyser make use of 'denominal' verbs like *bottle* and *shelve* to propose that they do not simply undergo a process of category change, but they are derived by head movement or incorporation. They also explore the difference between ergative (as in *the door opens*) and unergative verbs (as in *she sleeps*). Hale and Keyser conclude that argument structure is viewed as syntax and is determined by syntactic principles suggesting that syntactic processes might apply in the lexicon. However, their work does not suggest anything about the nature of the projection that introduces subjects. In another related work, Kratzer (1996) also proposes that the verb's arguments are determined in syntax not the lexicon. She suggests that agent arguments are external to the lexical verbal projection, and not true arguments of the main verb but are rather added via a secondary projection. She adds that agent arguments are introduced by a non-overt functional head that is higher than VP. This projection is VoiceP, and agent arguments are arguments of Voice and generated in SPEC of VoiceP. Kratzer points out that the hybrid nature of gerunds and participles comes from nominalizing different segments of the verbal projection and that fully nominalized constituents do not contain Voice. This is similar to Baker and Vinokurova (2009) who shows that Voice and nominalizing heads are in complementary distribution. They both select VP.

In my analysis, I make use of a verbal functional projection. I believe that this projection is where subjects are generated, following Kratzer's (1996) VoiceP and where verbal

agreement and case assignments take place, which goes with Pollock's (1988) AgrP. I call

this functional projection vP which is headed by v°. In this way, the functional head v°

selects the lexical projection VP to add the verbal properties and verbalize the lexical verbal

projection. In the absence of this functional projection vP, the bare VP does not show any

verbal properties like verbal agreement and case assignment, but still retains the lexical

content of VP (as will be explained below in section 6).

This concept of the verbalizing head is partially in the spirit of Distributive Morphology

(DM) model developed by Halle & Marantz (1993, 1994). DM is distinguished by three

main characteristics. The first one is "late insertion" which means that terminal nodes are

actually only a complex of semantic and syntactic features that lack phonological features.

After syntactic processes are over, these terminal nodes are supplied with the phonological

features by the insertion of vocabulary items into terminal nodes. This allows words to

undergo changes. The second characteristics of DM is that terminal nodes to which

vocabulary are inserted are organized in a syntactic hierarchical structure determined by

the principles and operations of syntax. In this way, word formation is not an extra-

syntactic process but rather is done within syntax. The last characteristics of DM is that of

"under-specification" which contrasts with "full specification" where lexical entries carry

all the identifying features. In other words, Halle & Marantz assume that words are not

specified for category until they are selected by category-defining heads during syntax.

In my analysis, I partially adopt the DM model where words can undergo changes during

syntax and where word formation is determined by syntactic principles. However, I

assume, for now, that words are already specified with lexical categories which can be

selected later by functional categories to add functional properties. In this way, the

functional projection vP that I already suggested is headed by v° that can select the lexical projection VP to add verbal properties, but the head v° is not a category-defining head that selects Root Phrases as suggested in DM.

I assume that words are derived in Arabic from consonantal roots that are already specified as a verb or a noun. These consonantal roots are supplied with vocalic patterns that correspond to different nominal, verbal or adjectival heads. In this way, a tri-consonantal root as *KTB* 'to write' is lexically a verb that can be selected by a verbalizing functional head [..a..a..] which supplies the vocalic pattern to create the perfective verb *KaTab* 'he wrote'. This is traditionally known in Arabic as the root-and-pattern approach. Traditional Arabic grammarians believe that such roots are verbal (Hassan 1975, Eid 1975) which is consistent with native speakers' intuition about words.

The same idea applies to nominal heads as well. I assume that there is a parallel nominal correspondence where a nominalizing head n° selects NP to add the nominal properties to lexical nouns to derive forms like the plural or the diminutive forms. This nominalizing projection appears in many studies to explain the process of nominalization where by such n° heads can select lexical VPs to nominalize verbs. I discuss the role of such nominalizing heads in order to show later that participles in Makkan Arabic are not a case of nominalization.

Many researchers have utilized the nominal projections and n° to account for the process of nominalization. One of the studies that employ a nominalizing head is provided by Hazout (1995). Hazout uses what he calls a non-lexical approach to explain the mixed properties of action nominalization in Arabic and Hebrew. According to this approach, morphologically complex words can be the output of syntactic operations. He suggests that

deriving such 'verbo-nominal' elements involve a nominal head which selects a VP and also involves head movement of the verb to the nominal head that governs it.

Baker and Vinokurova (2009) also make use of nominalizing heads. They suggest that nominalizers as *–er* and *–ee*, combine with a bare VP to create a nominal construction that cannot be selected by any verbal functional heads like tense or mood. Rather, the resulting nominals combine with determiners, possessors and quantifiers. Baker and Vinokurova suggest that agentive nominalizers are similar to Voice in that they are both attached to the same kind of elements, and both heads of Voice and nominalizers add agents to the construction. Accordingly, agentive nominalizers cannot be added to a structure that contains a Voice head.

Kornfilt & Whitman (2011) adopt the same approach of the nominalizing functional heads that can select not only VP, but also different constituents at higher levels to nominalize different 'chunks' of the sentence. They state that "the nominal properties of nominalizations are contributed by the functional categories that dominate them" and associate their discussion as shown in (26) below:

26. Functional Nominalization Thesis (FNT)
    Nominal properties of a nominalization are contributed by a nominal functional projection. The nominalization has verbal properties below the nominal functional projection, nominal properties above it.

In this way, Kornfilt and Whitman acknowledge the existence of the verbal functional projection vP, too. They assume that core arguments are introduced by these 'light' heads that can come in both verbal and nominal flavors. They call this nominal light head as Ag_n that stands for agentive nominalizer and select a lexical root. In their study, Kornfilt and

Whitman assume that nominalizing heads can select different projections like a fully verbal vP that license accusative case, or nominalize CP at a higher level that include embedded clauses.

Harley (2007) also uses the nominalizing head but adopts the DM approach where such nominalizing heads are category-defining heads that select acategorial roots. She employs the nominalizing projection nP as a solution for the one-replacement problem. In a noun phrase like *the long-haired student of chemistry*, one-replacement targets the whole NP *student of chemistry* while in a noun phrase like *the long-haired student from Spain*, the PP can be stranded. Harley suggest the existence of an nP projection, following the Distributive Morphology approach where the nominalizer head n° *-ent* selects a root phrase *stud-*. The modifying PP *from Spain* and the argument PP *of chemistry* are in distinct positions in the phrase structure where only the latter is a complement and in internal position. She describes category-defining heads as follows

> N°s are equally the product of n° + √. Little n° is a nominalizer, just as v° is a verbalizer (and a° an adjectivalizer, all can be realized by category-changing derivational morphology, though in many cases in English they are all of course null affixes.
>
> (Harley 2007: p.12)

The last functional projection that plays an important role in my analysis is related to predication. Predicates follow subjects and have the semantic function of providing information about the subject. In my analysis, I employ the PredP that is first suggested by Bower (1993) to describe the structure of small clauses (SC) as in *I consider John crazy*. Bowers' predicate phrase is a functional category that has a subject of predication in its specifier position, and the Pred° head selects the maximal projection of any lexical category

as V, N, A or P. This projection has the semantic function of predication that holds between the specifier of PredP and the complement of the head Pred°.

In my interpretation of Bowers' predicate phrase, I assume that fully verbal vPs are excluded from being complements of Pred° as they are functional categories, not lexical as Bowers suggests[3]. In this way, in spite of including lexical VP, complements of Pred° are non-verbal predicates because they lack all verbal properties as will be discussed later.

An advantage to adopting predicate phrases is that it allows me to differentiate between subjects of predication and structural subjects of fully verbal predicates. I show, adopting Baker's theory of person agreement (2008, 2011, and 2013) that subjects preceding verbs are generated inside the functional verbal projection where verbs assign thematic roles to those subjects. This allows verbs to access the person feature. However, non-verbal predicates can only partially agree with their subjects. Such subjects of non-verbal predication are not actual arguments that are generated inside the nominal or adjectival projection of non-verbal predicates.

To sum up, in this sections I outlined the major lexical categories of VP and NP, along with the diagnostic tests used in SA and MA to determine the lexical category of each element. I also introduced the functional categories of vP, nP and PredP, along with a brief characterization of their usage. I turn now to discuss nominalization in Arabic.

2. Nominalization in Arabic

There many types of nominalized forms in Arabic where verbs function as nouns. These nominal forms are believed to be derived from verbs (Eid, 1975) and appear to retain some

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[3] The question of including fully nominal nP as a complement of Pred° needs to be addressed in future research. For now, I exclude the verbal functional projections only.

of their verb-like functions. The most frequent ones in Arabic are agentive nominals, patient nominals, action nominals and exaggerative forms. I begin this section by agentive nominalization since it is the focus of this research and exemplify how these forms are derived. Then I briefly describe the other types of nominalization in the second part of this section by showing the usage and grammatical contexts as well as the morphological form of each type.

2.1 Agentive Nominalization

Agentive nominals are nominalized forms that simultaneously indicate actions and the doer of those actions. There are a few differences between Standard and Makkan Arabic in terms of the contexts in which agentive nominals can appear, which will be discussed in detail in section 4 below. In general, although these forms do not carry tense, they can have a temporal interpretation which comes from the context (Al-Balushi, 2011).

27.   hwa   **Qatil**   aba-ho
        3.sg.masc   kill.NMLZ.sg.masc   father.sg-3.sg.masc
        'He is (the) killer (of) his father/ he has killed his father.'

Agentive nominals, like all derivations in Arabic, follows the root-and-pattern approach. Most roots consist of three consonants although four-consonant and five-consonant roots exist, but they are not as common. It is worth noting that traditional Arabic grammarians believe that such roots are always verbal, and thus all derivations are applied to verbs (Hassan, 1975). Three-consonant roots follow the vocalic pattern (CaaCiC)[4] to derive

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[4] C represents consonants in the root.

agentive nominalization where a long vowel follows the first consonant and a short vowel follows the second.

	C-C-C	CaaCiC		C-C-C	CaaCiC
a.	K-T-B "write"	KaaTiB	g.	A-K-L "eat"	AaaKiL
b.	L-ʕ-B "play"	LaaʕiB	h.	N-A-M "sleep"	NaaYiM
c.	D-R-S "study"	DaaRiS	i.	X-A-F "fear"	XaaYiF
d.	F-H-M "understand"	FaaHiM	j.	B-A-ʕ "sell"	BaaYiʕ
e.	K-S-R "break"	KaaSiR	k.	ʃ-R-A "buy"	ʃaaRi
f.	F-T-Ħ "open"	FaaTi Ħ	l.	B-K-I "cry"	BaaKi

Table8: Agentive nominals derived from three-consonant roots

As we can see in table (8) above, when the root starts with a vowel, as in (g), the vowel is not affected while producing the agentive nominal form. However, when the vowel comes in the middle of the root, as in (h)-(j), it is turned into a glide, and when comes at the end, as in (k) and (l), it is deleted all together.

In roots that exceed three consonants whether they contain four, five or even six consonants, the derivation pattern is slightly different. The agentive nominalization forms are preceded by *mu* and two short vowels are inserted after the second and the third consonants as table (9) shows.

	C-C-C-C-C	MuCCaCiC		C-C-C-C	MuCaCCiC
a.	ʔ-N-T-ʃ-R "spread"	MuNTaʃiR	c.	B-ʕ-θ-R "disarrange"	MuBaʕθiR
b.	ʔ-S-T-H-L-K "consume"	MuSTaHLiK	d.	D-M-M-R "destroy"	MuDaMMiR

Table 9: Agentive nominals derived from four-consonant and five-consonant roots

As the first column of table (9) shows, five-consonant roots often start with a glottal sound that often deletes in the derivation of the agentive nominal form.

2.2. Other Nominalizations

Although this research focuses on agent nominals, it is useful to briefly explore the other nominalized forms that have both verbal and nominal features. I discuss patient, action and intensive nominalization in Arabic as summarized by Eid (1975).

Patient nominals are forms that encode the patients, the entities upon which the action takes place. They are derived by following the vocalic pattern of *maCCuC*. Thus, the patient nominal of *KTB* 'to write' is *maKTuB* 'a written thing'. Patient nominals are believed to be morphologically and semantically related to passive verbs[5] (Hassan 1975, Eid 1975). The examples below show the difference between a passive verb *KuTiB* 'has been written' (28) and a patient nominalized form (29).

28.   **kutib**   al-Gawab
        write.PASS.3.sg.masc   the-letter.sg.masc
        'The article has been written (it was not written earlier).'

---

[5] Passive verbs and patient nominals share the semantic feature of lacking the agent as their main argument is the patient. Morphologically speaking, patient nominals are reported in the literature (Hassan 1975, Eid 1975) to be derived from passive verbs unlike the other nominal forms that are derived from active verbs. Further exploration of this idea is beyond the scope of this thesis.

29.   waSal   **al-maktub**
        arrive.perf.3.sg.masc   write.PT.NOM.sg.masc
        'The written (thing) arrived.'

Another type of nominalization yields forms called action nominals because they indicate

an action. Action nominals have many morphological forms such as *CiCaaCa*, *taCCeeC*

and *CaCC*. Thus, the action nominal form of KTB 'to write' is *KiTaaBa* 'writing' and

taKTeeB 'to make writing'. As described by Hazout (1995), action nominals are a class of

verbo-nominal constructions. They resemble verbs in indicating actions, but unlike verbs

cannot have temporal associations.

30.   a. **kitabat**   al-walad   (Action Nominalization)
           write.AC.NOM.sg   the-boy.sg
           'The boy's writing'

        b. **katab**   al-walad   (Perfective Verb)
            write.perf.3.sg.masc   the-boy.sg
             'The boy wrote.'

The first sentence employs the action nominal form and refers to writing in general whereas

the second sentence refers to writing in the past. Action nominals can participate in a

construct state either by being combined with the noun that denotes the agent of the writing

process, e.g. *al-ensan* 'the person' in (31) or with the noun that denotes the patient of the

writing process, e.g. *al-maqal* 'the article' in (32):

31.   kitabat   **al-ensan**   ta-dol   ʕla shaxSyat-o
        write.AC.NOM.sg.fem the-person.sg 3.fem-show.sg on personality.sg-3.sg.masc
        'The person's writing shows his personality.'

32.   kitabat   **al-maqal**   ta-Htaj   mahara
         write. AC.NOM.sg.fem   the-article.sg.masc   3.fem-need.sg   skill.sg.fem
         'Writing the article needs skill.'

The last type of nominalization discussed here is intensive nominals which indicate actions and the doer of those actions as well. They are derived by following the pattern of CaCCaC where the second consonant is geminated. Thus, the derived form of *KTB* 'to write' is *KaTTaB* 'the one who writes constantly'. Intensive nominals differ from agentive nominalization in that they entail the frequency of the action so that it becomes a habit of the doer. In that sense, *Darrab* 'hitter' is not a person who has hit others once, but who has a habit of hitting others.

33.   hwa   saar   **Qattal**
         3.sg.masc   become.perf.3.sg.masc   kill. EX.NOM.sg.masc
         'He became a (serial) killer.'

Intensive nominals are often used in Makkan Arabic to express the thematic role of instruments like *qaTTa'a* 'the cutting board', *nashshafa* 'dryer', *gallaya* 'fryer', *farrama* 'chopper', *ghallaya* 'kittle', *TaHHana* 'grinder' and a lot more.

At this point, we can generalize how such nominalized forms are derived employing the nP projection. The different vocalic patterns that correspond to different forms of nominalizations represent the nominalizing heads that select verbal consonantal roots. In this way, vocalic patterns like [..a..i..] for agentive nominals and [ma..u..] for patient nominals are n° heads that select VP represented in the consonantal roots [C-C-C] like [K-T-B]. I purse this idea of nominalized agentive forms later.

Having discussed agentive nominals and their derivation, along with their syntactic distribution and morphological properties, I discuss now in details the theories of how agentive nominals are viewed in the literature of Standard Arabic only. In a later section, I show how these patterns in Standard Arabic differ from those in Makkan Arabic.

3. Theories about Agentive Nominalization in Standard Arabic

As mentioned earlier, agentive nominals in Standard Arabic are derived forms that have both verbal and nominal properties. They simultaneously indicate a temporary action along with the doer of this action (Hassan 1975, Eid 1975). Due to this hybrid nature of such forms, there is a huge disagreement in the literature on the name of these forms. The name 'agentive nominal' was suggested by the Basri School[6] because of the nominal features of such structures. However, the Kufi School maintains that such forms are verbs and calls them 'continuous verbs' because they have the same distribution as verbs, indicate actions, and can assign nominative and accusative Cases just like verbs do (Mugadi, 2004).

To illustrate the property of verbs, and also agentive nominals, to assign cases, I present in (34) below the perfective verb versus the agentive nominal for the sake of comparison. The perfective verb *shareba* 'drank' in the following sentence assigns nominative Case to the subject *al-walad* 'the boy' and accusative Case to the noun *al-Haleeb* 'the milk'. Similarly, the agentive nominal form that is derived from the same verb *shareb* 'has drunk' assigns nominative and accusative Case to *al-walad* 'the boy' and *al-Haleeb* 'the milk respectively.

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[6] The Basri and Kufi schools are the oldest and most popular schools in Arabic syntax that started in the sixth century (Daif, 1968).

34.   **shareba**   al-walad-o   al-Haleeb-a
       drink.perf.3.sg.masc   the-boy.sg-NOM   the-milk.sg-ACC
       'The boy drank the milk.'

35.   ma[7]   **shareb-un**   al-walad-o   al-Haleeb-a
       NEG   drink. NMLZ.sg.masc.NOM   the-boy.sg-NOM   the-milk.sg-ACC
       'The boy is not a drinker (of) the milk.'

Agentive nominals with VSO order as in (38) are ungrammatical unless they follow

specific elements such as negation. In the literature, it is believed that the agentive nominal

is able to assign nominative case to its following subject only in VSO order (Al-Kawari

2008).   In a sentence with a SVO order like the one in (39) below, the pre-verbal noun

receives the nominative case because of its position as the topic. It is reported in the

literature that in this case, the subject of the agentive nominal is a null pronoun that refers

to *al-walad* 'the boy' (Al-Kawari 2008). The agentive nominal *shaareb* 'drinker' in (36a)

still assigns accusative Case to its direct object. Underived nouns as *Sadeeq* 'friend' in

(36b) can only assign genitive Case to the following noun.

36.   a. al-walad-o   **shareb-on**   al-Haleeb-a
          the-boy.sg-NOM   drink. NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM   the-milk.sg-ACC
          'The boy is a drinker (of) the milk.'

       b. al-walad-o   **Sadeeq-o**   al-ʕa'ilat-i
          the-boy.sg-NOM   friend.sg-NOM   the-family.sg-GEN
          'The boy is a friend (of) the family.'

Because of the nominal properties of agentive nominals, they can occur in the subject

position themselves but still assign accusative Case to their direct objects as shown in the

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[7] Negation is one of the conditions that allow agentive nominals to assign cases as will be discussed later.
That is why it is added to the example.

following example in (37). The perfective form of the verb *Darab* 'hit' is provided for comparison.

37.   a. Gaa'   **al-Dareb-u**   <u>zayd-an</u>   (agentive nominal)
         come.perf.3sg.masc   the-hit.NMLZ.sg-NOM   zayd.sg-ACC
         'The one hitting Zyad came.' or 'The hitter (of) Zyad came.'

      b. hwa   **Darab**   <u>zayd-an</u>   (perfective)
         3.sg.masc   hit.perf.3.sg   zayd.sg-ACC
         'He hit Zyad.'

According to Arabic grammar books, a sentence like (37a) contains a null subject pronoun (Al-Kawari 2008). The agentive nominal form assigns accusative Case to its direct object 'zayd' in the example.

There are various restrictions in order for agentive nominals to have the verbal function of assigning Cases in SA. When the agentive nominal forms are indefinite, as in (38a), the sentence must be in a non-past tense. Past indefinite agentive nominals fail to assign accusative Case to their direct objects. In such cases, direct objects receive genitive Case as in (38b), just as they would in a construct state.

38.   a. al-walad-o   shaareb-on   **al-Haleeb-a**
         the-boy.sg-NOM   drink.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM   the-milk.sg-ACC
         'The boy is a drinker (of) the milk.'

      b. kaan   al-walad-o   shareb-an   **al-Haleeb-i**
         be.perf.3.sg.masc the-boy.sg-NOM drink.NMLZ.sg.masc-ACC the-milk-GEN
         'The boy was a drinker (of) the milk.'

39.   ye-Hub   al-walad-o   raXwa-t-a   **al-Haleeb-i**
         3.masc-like.imperf.sg the-boy.sg-NOM foam-sg.fem-ACC   the-milk-GEN
         'The boy likes the milk's foam'

Indefinite agentive nominal that are non-past may function as verbs and assign accusative Case when they serve as a predicate in a copular construction as shown in (38) and (39) above. They can also take accusative objects when they appear as a modifier to a preceding noun as in (40) below:

40. al-tadxeen   'aada   **mudamer-at-un**
    the-smoking.sg   habit.sg.fem   destroy.NMLZ-sg.fem-NOM

    al-SeHa-t-a
    the-health-sg.fem-ACC
    'Smoking is a habit that destroys health.' (Lit= smoking (is) a destroyer-(of)-health habit)

In example (40), the agentive nominal *mudammera* 'destroying' modifies the noun *ʕada* 'habit' and thus is qualified to assign the accusative case to the object which is *al-SeHa* 'health'.

41. a. hwa   **kazeb-o**   al-kalam-**a**
       3.sg.masc   lie.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM   the-speech.sg-**ACC**
       'He (is a) liar (in) speech.'

    b. kan   **kazeb-o**   al-kalam-**i**
        was   lie.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM   the-speech.sg-**GEN**
        '(He) was a liar (in) speech.'

When agentive nominals are non-past and are not modifiers or predicates in a copula construction, they must be preceded by a question word (example 42), a vocative case marker (example 43) or a negation marker (example 44). Agentive nominals that are

preceded by negation, question or vocative words can assign accusative case to the following nouns[8].

42. a. **hal** anta **munjiz-u** foroD-a-k
    Q 2.sg.masc accomplish.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM assignment.pl-ACC-2.sg.masc
    'Do you accomplish your assignments? (Lit= are you an accomplisher?)'

   b. **hal** anta **ghafir-u** al-esaa'a-a
      Q 2.sg.masc forgive.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM the-mistake.sg-ACC
      'Do you forgive mistakes? (Lit= are you a forgiver?)

43. **ya** **bani** mustaqbal-a-k
    VOC build.NMLZ.sg.masc future.sg-ACC-2.sg.masc
    'O the builder of your future'

44. **ma** **muxlif-o** ʕahd-a-ho sharif
    NEG break.NMLZ.sg.masc.NOM promise.sg-ACC-3.sg.masc honest.sg
    'An honest (one) is not a breaker of his promise' (Lit=Not a breaker of his promise
    is honest)

When the agentive nominal is definite, it directly functions like a verb in assigning cases

to the subject and the object without conditions.

45. al-walad-o **al-HafeZ-o**
    the-boy.sg-NOM the-memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM

    dars-a-ho jahiz lil-emtiHan
    lesson.sg.masc-ACC-3.sg.masc ready.sg.masc for-exam.sg

    'The boy who has memorized his lesson is ready for exam.'
    (lit=the boy (who is) the memorizer (of) his lesson (is) ready for exam)

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[8] The literature in all grammar books divides those restrictions on indefinite agentive nominals into two conditions. The first is being in non-past tense. The second condition is either to be preceded by question word, negation or vocative or to be a modifier or a predicate in a construct state.

In this example, the definite article *al-* is attached to the agentive nominal form *al-HafeZ-o* 'the memorizer' which allows assigning cases even when it is in the past tense according to some schools (Mugedi, 2004). However, some Arabic grammarians assumed that such marker 'al-' is in fact a relativizer rather than a definite article. Accordingly, *al-HafeZ-o* in the previous context is not 'the memorizer' but rather 'the one who memorizes'. I will discuss this further in the next section.

There is one last factor that affects Case assignment in agentive nominals which is whether the object of the agentive nominal form is a noun or a pronoun. In all the examples mentioned above, the objects after the agentive nominals are nouns. These objects can be assigned accusative Case as shown in the examples, or can be a part of a construct state and receive genitive Case:

46. ma   anta   **muSaHib**   al-luSooS-**a**   (Object)
     NEG   2.sg.masc   accompany.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-thief.pl-ACC
     'Don't accompany thieves.' (Lit= not you an accompanier (of) thieves).

47. ma   anta   **muSaHib**   al-luSooS-**i**   (CS)
     NEG   2.sg.masc   accompany.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-thief.pl-GEN
     'Don't accompany thieves.' (Lit= not you thieves accompanier).

However, pronominal objects suffixes attached to agentive nominals are always genitive.

48. walid-ak   **mukrim-ak**
     father.sg-2.sg.masc   be generous.NMLZ.sg.masc-2.sg.masc.GEN
     'Your father is generous to you.' (Lit= your father is the one generous to you).

Having discussed how the structure of agentive nominals in SA is represented in the Traditional Arabic literature, I turn to a comparison between agentive nominals in Standard and Makkan Arabic.

4. Differences between Agentive Nominalization in Standard and Makkan Arabic

The morphological formation of agentive nominals is similar in Standard and Makkan Arabic. However, the syntactic contexts in which agentive nominals occur differ. Although agentive nominals in Standard and Makkan Arabic can both take determiners[9] (example 49 and 50) and also take accusative objects (examples 51), only agentive nominals in Standard Arabic can simultaneously take the definite article and accusative object as shown in (52):

49.   a. haZa   katib-un   (Standard Arabic, Indifinite)
          this.sg.masc write.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM
          'This is a writer.'

        b. haZa   al-katib-o   (Standard Arabic, Definite)
          this.sg.masc   the.write.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM
          'This is the writer.'

50.   a. da   katib   (Makkan Arabic, Indifinite)
          this.sg.masc write.NMLZ.sg.masc
          'This is a writer.'

        b. da   al-katib   (Makkan Arabic, Definite)
          this.sg.masc the.write.NMLZ.sg.masc
          'This is the writer.'

51.   a. hwa **katib-un**   maqal-a-ho   (Standard Arabic)
          he   write.NMLZ.sg.masc-NOM article.sg-ACC-3.sg.masc
          'He has written his article.'

        b. hwa **katib**   maqal-o   (Makkan Arabic)
          he   write.NMLZ.sg.masc   article.sg-3.sg.masc
          'He has written his article.'

52.   a. haza **al-katib**   maqal-a-ho   be-Htraf (SA)
         this   the-write.NMLZ.sg.masc   article.sg-ACC-3.sg.masc   skillfully
        'This is the (one who) has skilfully written his article.'

---

[9] Only lexicalized agentive nominals can take determiners in Makkan Arabic and in Standard. The definite articles in Standard Arabic are relativizers as will be explained below.

b. *hada/da **al-katib** maqal-o (MA)
     this   the-write.NMLZ.sg.masc   article.sg-3.sg.masc
     'This is the writer (of/to) his article.'

We see above in (52a) that the agentive nominal *al-katib* 'the one writing' is followed by the direct object *maqalaho* 'his article' to which accusative Case is assigned. This is grammatically acceptable in Standard Arabic, but the corresponding sentence in Makkan Arabic, (52b) is unacceptable. Definite agentive nominals in Makkan Arabic cannot be directly followed by any bare object noun.

It is has been proposed that the definite article attached to agentive nominals in Standard Arabic serves the function of relativization rather than definiteness (Hamza 2004, Al-Kawari 2008). The suggestion that *al-* is a relativizing prefix supports the eventive reading of agentive nominals which consequently explains why direct objects are assigned accusative Case. Relativizers precede verbs of the relative clause, and verbs take accusative objects. However, the definite article *al-* in Makkan Arabic seems only to serve the purpose of definiteness. Definite agentive nominals are preceded by the definite article *al-*. Makkan Arabic has a relativizing particle '*elle*' which appears before indefinite agentive nominals, and before verbs as well.

53. a. hada/da elle   **katib**   maqal-o
     this   REL   write.NMLZ.sg.masc article.sg-3.sg.masc
     'This is who has written his article.'

   b. hada/da elle   **katab**   maqal-o
     this   REL   write.perf.sg.masc   article.sg-3.sg.masc
     'This is who has written his article.'

54. hada/da   al-**katib**   al-Gadeed
    this   the-write.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-new.sg.masc
   'This is the new writer.'

As shown in the examples, determiners do not precede verbs, and verb-like elements like the agentive nominals forms. Relativizers can precede verbs. This supports the assumption that the definite article attached to agentive nominals in Standard Arabic is actually a relativizer not a definite article. Definite agentive nominals cannot take bare objects in Makkan Arabic. They are rather lexicalized and function like underived nouns.

55.   a. hada/da   **katib**   al-maqal
           this   write.NMLZ.sg.masc the-article.sg
           'This is the writer of the article.'

          b. *hada/da   **al-katib**   al-maqal
           this   the-write.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-article.sg
           'This is the writer of the article.'

Definite agentive nominals can take an object via the preposition *Hag* which encodes possessive meaning (56a). Such a preposition suggests that the agentive nominal is fully nominal here just like other underived nouns (56b). This preposition cannot be added before nouns that act as direct objects of verbs, in Makkan Arabic (57).

56.   a. hada/da   al-katib   Hag   al-maqal
           this   the-write.NMLZ.sg.masc   of   the-article.sg
           'This is the writer of the article.'

          b. hada   al-ʕeeb   Hag   al-maqal
           this   the-deficiency.sg   of   the-article.sg
           'This is the deficiency of the article.'

57. a. *ana   katib   Hag   al- maqal
        1.sg   write.NMLZ.sg.masc   of   the-article.sg
        'I am writer of the article.'

     b. *ana   katabt   Hag   al-maqal
        1.sg   write.perf.sg.masc   of   the-article.sg
        'I wrote of the article.'

As the examples in (57) show, the preposition '*Hag*' cannot occur before direct objects in Makkan Arabic, although such sentences are completely acceptable in some Arabic dialects like Kuwaiti Arabic[10].

Finally, Standard and Makkan Arabic negate agentive nominals differently. Standard Arabic is negated with the general negation particle *ma* that is used before any category or with the non-verbal negation particle *leesa*. The general negation particle *ma* appears before agentive nominals as well as verbs (58a, 58b). *Leesa* is used to negate copula constructions in SA. Agentive nominals usually appear as the predicate of copula constructions, and thus are negated with the non-verbal sentential negation *leesa* (58c).

58.   a. ma   **HafeZ-un**   ahmad ad-dars-a
          NEG   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc.NOM   ahmad the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'Ahmad didn't memorize the lesson.'(Lit= Ahmad is not memorizer the lesson).

       b. ma   **HafiZa**   ahmad ad-dars-a
          NEG   memorize.perf.sg.masc   ahmad the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'Ahmad didn't memorize the lesson.

       c. leesa ahmad-un   **HafeZ-an**   ad-dars-a
          NEG ahmad.NOM memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc-ACC   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'Ahmad is not a memorizer (of) the lesson.'

---

[10] This observation is based on my familiarity with the dialect as it is one of the most common in the Arab countries due to the popularity of Kuwaiti TV series in the Arab world in addition to Egyptian and Syrian ones.

Verbal negation particles are not used before agentive nominals in SA. The negation

particle *lam* 'past negation' (59a, 59b) and *lan* 'future negation' (59c, 59d) as well as *laa*

which is used for present tense (59e, 59f) and imperatives (59g, 59h) all appear before

verbs but not before agentive nominals. I will not go beyond this in regard to negation in

Standard Arabic as the goal is to show that it is different from Makkan Arabic and not to

investigate those differences in detail.

59.   a. lam   **ye-HafaZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.past   3.masc-memorize.imperf.sg   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'He didn't memorize the lesson.

       b. *lam   **HafeZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.past   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'He didn't memorize the lesson.

       c. lan   **ye-HafaZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.fut   3.masc-memorize.imperf.sg   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'He will not memorize the lesson.

       d. *lan   **HafeZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.fut   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'He will not memorize the lesson.

       e. laa   **ye-HafaZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.fut   3.masc-memorize.imperf.sg   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'He does not memorize the lesson.

       f. *laa   **HafeZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.fut   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'He does not memorize the lesson.

       g. laa   **ta-HafaZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.fut   2-memorize.imperf.masc.sg   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'Do not memorize the lesson.

       h. *laa   **HafeZ**   ad-dars-a
          NEG.fut   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg-ACC
          'Do not memorize the lesson.

In Makkan Arabic, agentive nominals are negated like other underived nouns (See section 5.1 for comparisons between agentive nominals and underived nouns). As the examples below show, there are only two negation forms: *mu* as in (60a, 60b) and the inflected *ma* that appears with a pronominal suffix as in (60c) to negate nouns. *Ma* by itself does not occur before agentive nominals (60d) but only before verbs (60e) without any indication of tense. When *kaan* 'was/were' is inserted before agentive nominals to refer to an event in the past, the negative particle *ma* is used (60f) instead of *mu*.

60. a. ana mu   **HafeZ**   ad-dars
         1.sg NEG   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg
         'I don't memorize the lesson.' (Lit= I am not memorizer the lesson).'

     b. ahmad   mu   **HafeZ**   ad-dars
        ahmad   NEG   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg
        'Ahmad is not a memorizer (of) the lesson.'

     c. ma-ni   **HafeZ**   ad-dars
        NEG-1.sg   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg
        'I don't memorize the lesson.' (Lit= I am not memorizer the lesson).

     d. *ahmad   ma   **HefeZ**   ad-dars
         ahmad   NEG   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg
        'Ahmad did not memorize the lesson.'

     e. ahmad   ma   **HifiZ**   ad-dars
        ahmad   NEG   memorize.perf.sg.masc   the-lesson.sg
        'Ahmad did not memorize the lesson.'

     f. ahmad   ma   **kaan**   **HafeZ**   ad-dars
        ahmad   NEG   was   memorize.NMLZ.sg.masc the-lesson.sg
        'Ahmad was not a memorizer (of) the lesson.'

To sum up, the morphological form of agentive nominals is the same in SA and MA, but they differ in many syntactic properties. Definite agentive nominals can take bare objects

in SA, but can do so only via the preposition *Hag* 'of' in MA. Agentive nominals are negated in SA by the neutral negation particle *ma* or the sentential negation particle *leesa* which has a scope over the copula structure as a whole. In MA, agentive nominals are negated like other non-verbal elements by *mu* or inflected *ma*.

5. Agentive Nominals and Participles in MA

In this section, I distinguish two types of elements: participles and agentive nominals which both have the same morphological form but different syntactic properties. Participles have a more eventive reading, take objects and adverbs but are still negated like nouns. A small subset of participles has been lexicalized to become fully nominal. This category is what I will keep calling agentive nominals. The following example shows the difference between agentive nominals and participles. The word *katib* 'writer/has written' can act like a noun as shown in (61a) and also like a verb as shown in (61b).

61.   a. hwa   **katib**   mumtaz   (agentive nominalization)
          3.sg.masc   write.NMLZ.sg.masc excellent.sg.masc
          'He is an excellent writer.'

      b. hwa   **katib**   kteer   (active participle)
          he   write.NMLZ.sg.masc a lot
          'He has written a lot.'

The word *katib* 'writer' is acting as a noun in the first example since it is modified by an adjective *mumtaz* 'excellent' while the same word *katib* 'has written' acts as a verb in the second example as it is modified by an adverb *kteer* 'a lot'. I start this section with the small set of lexicalized items, agentive nominals. Then I move to describe the larger set of participles that do not necessarily have fully lexicalized nominal counterparts.

5.1. Agentive Nominals in MA

In Makkan Arabic, there is a small set of agentive nominals that can act exactly like underived nouns in certain contexts although they can still have an eventive reading that resemble verbs in other contexts as will be discussed in the next section.

The following table lists agentive nominals that display fully nominal properties in Makkan Arabic. This list is not exhaustive, but it presents the most common nominalized agentive forms. The translation encodes the meaning of the noun only and not the participial meaning, which is also available, depending on context.

(a)	kaafir	disbeliever	(h)	saahib	friend
(b)	kaatib	writer	(i)	saHer	magician
(c)	laa'ib	player	(j)	'aamil	worker
(d)	baayi'	seller	(k)	gaatil	killer
(e)	shaari	buyer	(l)	Haakim	governor
(f)	Taalib	student	(m)	shaahid	witness
(g)	'aalim	scientist 'knower'	(n)	muSlih	reformer

Table 10: Agentive nominals

To show the nominal aspects of agentive nominals, I compare them with underived nouns and exemplify various nominal properties that both structures exhibit. First of all, agentive nominals and underived nouns can be modified by adjectives as the following pairs of sentences show.

62. a. hwa **Talib** mumtaz
3.sg.masc require.NMLZ.sg.masc excellent.sg.masc
'He is an excellent student.' (Lit. He is an excellent requirer)[11].

b. hwa **walad** mumtaz
3.sg.masc boy.sg excellent.sg.masc
'He is an excellent boy.'

63. a. de **ʕaamil-a** Tyib-a
this.sg.fem work-NMLZ.sg.fem kind-sg.fem
'This is a kind worker.'

b. de **Horma** Tyib-a
this.sg.fem woman.sg kind. Sg-fem
'This is a kind woman.'

As the examples show, the derived Arabic nouns *Talib* 'student' and *ʕaamila* 'female worker' are modified by the adjectives *mumtaz* 'excellent' and *Tayba* 'good' respectively just like underived nouns are. The adjectives agree with the modified nouns in number, gender and definiteness. Adjectival modification is a property of nominal structures. Using determiner is another property of nominal structures. Both the agentive nominals shown in table (10) above and underived nouns can be used with the definite marker *al-* as the next three pairs of sentences show:

64. a. hwa **al-Talib** al-waHeed hina
3.sg.masc the- require.NMLZ.sg.masc the-only.sg here
'He is the only student here.' (lit: he is the only requirer here)

b. hwa **al-walad** al-waHeed hina
he the-boy.sg the-only.sg here
'He is the only boy here.'

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[11] The word "Talib" which literally means "requirer" used to refer to "the requirer of knowledge" which eventually started to be used in referring to students in general.

65. a. ana   shof-t   **al-gaatil**
       I.1.sg   see.perf-1.sg   the-kill.sg.masc.NMLZ
       'I saw the killer.'

    b. ana   shof-t   **al-riGaal**
       1.sg   see.perf-1.sg   the-man.sg
       'I saw the man.'

66. a. **al-gaatil**   Ga
       the-kill.NMLZ.sg.masc   come.perf.1.sg
       'The killer came.'

    b. **al-riGal**   Ga
       the-man.sg   come.perf.1.sg
       'The man came.'

In (64), the nouns are functioning as predicates, in (65) as direct objects and in (66) as subjects.

Finally, agentive nominals and underived nouns are negated using the *mu* or *ma-* pronominal suffix in Makkan Arabic. This is evidence that they both belong to the same category unlike verbs that are negated using *ma*. The examples below show both masculine and feminine derived and underived nouns.

67. a. hwa   mu/ma-hu   **Talib**   zaki
       3.sg.masc   not/not-sg.masc   require.NMLZ.sg.masc   smart.sg.masc
       'He is not a smart student.' (lit: he is not a smart requirer).

    b. hwa   mu/ma-hu   **walad**   zaki
       he   not/not-sg.masc   boy.sg   smart.sg.masc.
       'He is not a smart boy.'

68. a. hya   mu/ma-hi   **talib-a**   zaky-a
       she   not/not-sg.fem require.NMLZ-sg.fem   smart.sg-fem
       'He is not a smart student.' (lit: she is not a smart requirer).

    b. hya   mu/ma-hi   **bent**   zaky-a
       she   not/not-sg.fem   girl.sg   smart.sg-fem
       'She is not a smart girl.'

69. a. al-walad   da   mu/ma-hu   **shahid**   Sadiq
        the-boy.sg   this   NEG-3.sg.masc   witness.NMLZ.sg.masc   honest.sg.masc
        'This boy is not an honest witness.'

     b. al-walad   da   mu/ma-hu   **ensaan**   Sadiq
        the-boy.sg   this   NEG-3.sg.masc   person.sg.masc   honest.sg.masc
        'This boy is not an honest person.'

In examples (67), (68) and (69), we see agentive nominals modified by adjectives resulting in a complex or even ambiguous structure. It is uncertain, for example, whether the adjective in the noun phrase *shaaid Sadiq* 'an honest witness' describes the person himself in general or only describes the person as a witness which means describing the event of witnessing. Larson (1998) states that a noun phrase like 'a beautiful dancer' could have an 'intersective reading' where the person is a dancer and he is beautiful, or a 'non-intersective reading' where the person is beautiful as a dancer only. In this last reading, the event is what is actually modified which "yields evidence for an event argument inside the nominal" (Larson, 1998, pp. 145). A similar observation can be made about the noun phrase *shaaid Sadiq* 'an honest witness' in comparison to *ensaan Sadiq* 'an honest person. The nominalized forms, like the witness, are semantically more complex than underived nouns, like the person, as they include events in addition to the doer of the event. I will not discuss the idea of complex modification any further in this thesis.

5.2. Participles in MA

In the previous section, we saw a set of agentive nominals that can function exactly like underived nouns by allowing the definite article to be attached to them and being modified by adjectives. However, this set of agentive nominals constitutes a small set within the larger set of participles in Makkan Arabic.

In this section, I show first how participles are different from nouns. Then I move to describe the similar patterns that participles display compared to verbs: perfective and imperfective. In spite of these similarities, I ultimately show that participles are not verbs either.

5.2.1. Participles are not Nouns

Participles are often confused with agentive nominals because they both have the same morphological form, and because they are both called agentive nominals in Arabic grammar books. Additionally, participles in SA display more nominal properties than they do in MA. These reasons may lead us to assume that participles are nouns. In this section, I show that participles are different from nouns, and from their agentive nominal counterparts.

Unlike agentive nominals and underived nouns, participles cannot be modified by adjectives or take determiners. The larger set of participles is not lexicalized and do not have any fully nominal counterparts. Thus, they cannot be interpreted as agentive nominals in any context. The participle form *TaabiX* 'has cooked' is not a lexicalized nominal which means it cannot be modified by an adjective (70a) or preceded by a determiner (70b).

70. a. *hwa   **Taabix**   mumtaz
        3.sg.masc   cook.NMLZ.sg.fem   good.sg.masc
        'He is a good cook.'

     b. *hwa   **al-Taabix**
         he   the-cook.NMLZ.sg.fem
         'He is the cook.'

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In the case of participles that have nominal counterparts as shown in table (10) above, modification can be used to determine whether they are agentive nominals or participles. In the pair of examples in (71) below, the adjectival modifier *muħtarif* 'professional' and the adverbial modifier *beħtiraf* 'professionally' are used to distinguish between the agentive nominal and the participle. Adjectives such as *muħtarif* 'professional' are used with agentive nominals, and they agree in definiteness. Adverbs such as *beħtiraf* 'professionally' are used with participles and determiners are not allowed.

71. a. da   **al-laʕib**   al-muħtarif   (agentive nominal)
         this   the-play.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-professional.sg
         'This is the professional player.'

    b. ahmad   **laʕib**   beħtiraf   (participle)
       ahmad   play.NMLZ.sg.masc   professionally
       'Ahmad has played professionally.'

    c. *ahmad   **al-laʕib**   beħtiraf   (participle)
        ahmad   the- play.NMLZ.sg.masc   professionally
       'Ahmad the has played professionally.'

To sum up, participles are not modified by adjectives nor are they preceded by determiners. Simply, participles are not nouns. We need to examine next the verbal properties of participles in order to determine whether participles are verbs. I show first how participles are similar to verbs in general, and then how they are more similar to perfective than to imperfective verbs.

5.2.2. Verbal Aspects of Participles

The main question that needs to be addressed at this point is what the category of participles is according to their behavior in Makkan Arabic. Are they fully verbal items since they

display many verbal features? How is it possible to account for the fact that they are negated like nouns?

Unlike Standard Arabic, Makkan Arabic completely lacks morphological case marking on nouns and on verbs which makes the argument a little bit more challenging. Participles seem to share distribution as verbs which may lead us to assume that they are fully verbal elements, and may just be a third form of verbs in addition to perfective and imperfective.

72.　　a. ana **ashtra-yt**　　　　al-kitab　　　　　　(perfective)
　　　　　1.sg　buy.perf-1.sg　　the-book.sg
　　　　　'I bought the book.'

　　　　b. ana **ashtri**　　　　　al-kitab　　　　　　(Imperfective)
　　　　　1.sg　buy.imperf.1.sg　the-book.sg
　　　　　'I buy the book.'

　　　　c. ana **shariy-a**　　　　al-kitab　　　　　　(participle)
　　　　　1.sg　buy.NMLZ-sg.fem　the-book.sg
　　　　　'I have bought the book.'

First of all, participles and verbs can be modified by manner adverbs, which is generally a verbal property.

73.　　a. hwa **Talib**　　　　　　　　musaʕdat-i　**be-gilat-eHtram**　(Participle)
　　　　　he　require.NMLZ.sg.masc　help.sg-1.sg　disrespectfully
　　　　　'He has required my help disrespectfully'

　　　　b. hwa **Talab**　　　　　　　musaʕdat-i　　**be-gilat-eHtram**　(Perfective)
　　　　　he　require.perf.sg.masc　help.sg-1.sg　**disrespectfully**
　　　　　'He required my help disrespectfully'

　　　　c. hwa **ya-Tlub**　　　　　　musaʕdat-i　**be-gilateHtram**　(Imperfective)
　　　　　he　3.masc-require.imperf.sg　help.sg-1.sg　disrespectfully
　　　　　'He always requires my help disrespectfully'

In (73a), participle *Talib* 'has required' is modified by an adverb exactly like the perfective verb *Talab* 'required' in (73b) and the imperfective verb *yaTlub* 'requires' in (73c) which shows the verbal properties that all these structures have.

Another property that participles and verbs share is that they both can take direct objects. Although direct objects are not marked by accusative case in MA, they do not co-occur with the particle Hag 'of' that may appear before genitive nouns and can be considered a genitive marker.

74. a. hya   gerya-t   **al-kitab**   (perfective)
     3.sg.fem   read.perf-3.sg.fem   the-book.sg
     'She read the book.'

   b. hya   te-gra   **al-kitab**   (imperfective)
     3.sg.fem   3.fem-read.imperf.sg the-book.sg
     'She reads the book.'

   c. hya   gary-a   **al-kitab**   (participle)
     3.sg.fem   read.imperf.sg.fem   the-book.sg
     'She has read the book.'

75. a. *hya   gary-a   Hag   **al-kitab**   (participle)
     3.sg.fem   read.NMLZ.sg.fem   of   the-book.sg
     'She has read of the book.'

   b. Habet   al-ghilaf   Hag   al-kitab
     like.. perf.1.sg the-cover.sg   of   the-book.sg
     'I liked the cover of the book.'

One more feature that participles and verbs shares in Makkan Arabic is that they both can be followed by the same pronominal object suffix as shown in example (76) below where participles and perfective are followed by *–ni* for the first person singular object. However, agentive nominals, which do not have such an eventive reading, are followed by the

possessive suffix *–i* as shown in (77) (see tables 2 and 3 above for more details on object and possessive pronoun suffixes).

76. a. hwa **Talib-ni**   asaʕd-o (participle)
       He   require.NMLZ.sg.masc-1.sg.ACC   help.imperf.1.sg-2.sg.masc.ACC
       'He has required me to help him'

     b. hwa **Talab-ni**   asaʕd-o   (perfective)
        he   require.perf.3.sg.masc-1.sg.ACC   help.imperf.1.sg-2.sg.masc.ACC
        'He required me to help him'

77. huw   **Talib-i**   al-mufaDal
     he   require.NMLZ sg.masc-1.sg.GEN   the-favorite
     'He is my favorite student'

In summary, participles resemble verbs in that they are modified by manner adverbs. Moreover, they all can take direct bare objects and also followed by object suffixes which are different from possessive suffixes. In addition to these general properties that participles share with verbs, participles display similar patterns to perfective and imperfective verbs as the next section shows.

5.2.3 Participles and Tensed Verbs

In this section, I compare participles with perfective verbs on one hand and imperfective verbs on the other with respect to the specific contexts they occur in.

Participles and perfective verbs can pattern differently from imperfective verbs. Only imperfective verbs directly follow verbs like *abXa* 'want' and *agdar* 'be able to' to form non-finite clauses. Perfective and participles are ungrammatical in this context.

78.   a. agdar/abXa   ashtri   al-kitab
           be able/want.imperf.1.sg   buy.imperf.1.sg   the.book.sg
           I want/am able to buy the book'

       b. *agdar/abXa   ashtret   al-kitab
           be able.1.sg.perf   buy.perf.1.sg   the.book.sg
          'I want/am able to buy the book'

       c. *agdar/abXa   shary-a   al-kitab
           be able/want.imperf.1.sg   buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
           'I want/am able to buy the book'

Second, participles pattern with perfective verbs in that they cannot appear with various

grammatical tense particles and prefixes like the future prefix *Ha-* 'will' (example 79) and

the progressive prefix *bi-* (example 80).

79.   a. Ha-ashtri   al-kitab
           fut-buy.imperf.1.sg   the.book.sg
          'I will buy the book.'

       b. *Ha-ashtret   al-kitab
           fut-buy.perf.1.sg   the.book.sg
          'I will bought the book.'

       c. *Ha-shary-a   al-kitab
           fut.buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
          'I will have bought the book.'
80.   a. bi-ashtri   al-kitab
           cont.-buy.imperf.1.sg   the.book.sg
          'I am buying the book.'

       b. *bi-ashtret   al-kitab
           cont.-buy.perf.1.sg   the.book.sg
          'I am bought the book.'

       c. *bi-shary-a   al-kitab
          cont..buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
          'I am have bought the book.'

Third, participles and perfective verbs pattern similarly with various adverbials. They can both occur with adverbs associated with the past like *ams* 'yesterday' and *ged* 'already'. When participles and perfective verbs appear with *dHeen*, they pick the past sense which means 'recently' while imperfective verbs pick the future sense of *dHeen* 'soon'.

81.   a.*ged   ashtri   al-kitab
          already   buy.imperf.1.sg   the.book.sg
        'I have already buy the book'

        b. ged   ashtret   al-kitab
         already   buy.perf.1.sg   the.book.sg
        'I have already bought the book'

        c. ged   shari-a   al-kitab
         already   buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
        'I have already bought the book'

82.   a. dHeen   ashtri   al-kitab
         soon   buy.imperf.1.sg   the.book.sg
        'I will buy the book soon'

        b. dHeen   ashtret   al-kitab   (fe al-yomeen   de)
         recently   buy.perf.1.sg   the.book.sg   (in the-days.DUAL   these
        'I have recently bought the book (in the last two days)'

        c. dHeen   shary-a   al-kitab
         recently   buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
        'I have recently bought the book'

		Imperfective Verb	Perfective Verb	Participle
		…ashtari al-kitab …buy.1.sg.imperf the-book.sg '… I buy the book'	…ashtrait al-kitab …buy.1.sg.perf the-book.sg '… I bought the book'	…shari-a al-kitab …buy.1.sg.NMLZ.fem the-book.sg '… I have bought the book'
Tense particles and prefixes	b- (continuous prefix)	√	X	X
	Ged (past participle) =already	X	√	√
	Ha- (future prefix)	√	X	X
Verbs	Gedrt (I was able)	√	X	X
	abXa	√	X	X
Adverbs	dHeen (soon = future)	√	X	X
	dHeen (recently)	X	√	√
	Ams (yesterday)	X	√	√

Table 11: Perfective verbs and participles' similar patterns

The reason behind similarities in structure and collocations between participles and perfective verbs is possibly related to semantic associations between the two elements. Perfective verbs and participles both have past temporal interpretations. Although participles lack the tense node, they seem to be mostly associated with past temporal interpretation in Makkan Arabic[12]. This is distinct from Standard Arabic where participles, as suggested by Al-Balushi (2011), seem to have a default unmarked non-past temporal interpretation and does not exclusively refer to future nor do they show tense distinctions. According to his suggestion, participles lack tense and thus do not have T node.

There is a major semantic distinction between participles and perfective verbs. Participles indicate a resultative meaning unlike perfective verbs that describe past events. The following examples in (83) and (84) show this difference. The sentences in (83) report an event in the past while the sentences in (84) imply the completion of the event of reading

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[12] Participles of certain verbs of motion like rayH (going) – Gaay (coming) – musafer (traveling) – naagel (moving out/in) have future interpretation. These verbs are called 'motive' verbs by Mitchell (1952).

a book at a specific point in the past. It is acceptable to use the adverb 'slowly' to describe

how the event, of my brother reading the book, took place in the past (83c), but we cannot

describe the resultative state, where my brother has already finished reading the book, by

taking place 'slowly (84c)'

83. a. axoya   **giri**   al-kitab   beshwesh
        brother.sg.poss   read.perf.sg.masc   the-book.sg   slowly
        'My brother read the book slowly.'

     b. axoya   **giri**   al-kitab   ams
        brother.sg.poss   read.perf.sg.masc   the-book.sg   yesterday
        'My brother read the book yesterday.'

     c. axoya   **giri**   al-kitab   beshwesh ams
        brother.sg.poss   read.perf.sg.masc   the-book.sg   slowly   yesterday
        'My brother read the book slowly yesterday.'

84. a. axoya   **gari**   al-kitab   beshwesh
        brother.sg.poss   read.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg   slowly
        'My brother has read the book slowly.'

     b. axoya   **gari**   al-kitab   min   ams
        brother.sg.poss   read.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg   since   yesterday
        'My brother has read the book since yesterday.'

     c. *axoya   **gari**   al-kitab   beshwesh
        brother.sg.poss   read.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg   slowly

        min   ams
        since   yesterday
        'My brother has read the book slowly since yesterday.'

These semantic differences in meaning between the two are discussed in a study conducted

by Mitchell (1952) where a Libyan Arabic dialect is considered. Mitchell provides several

grammatical contexts where tense verb forms, i.e. the perfective and imperfective forms,

and participles may occur but result in different meanings. The study also discusses

differences between participles and tense verbs in collocating with temporal expressions. Time words like *ams* 'yesterday' are used with perfectives while time words like *min ams* 'since yesterday' are used with participial forms.

In Makkan Arabic, both *ams* 'yesterday' and *min ams* 'since yesterday' are acceptable with perfectives and eventive participles. However, these temporal expressions are interpreted differently. In the case of perfective verbs, there is a focus on the time of the event but, with participles the focus is on the time since the event was completed. Participles indicate completion of the event which shows the resultative nature of participles compared to perfective verbs.

85. a. ana **ashtray-t**   al-film   (min) ams   (Perfective)
        1.sg buy.perf-1.sg   the-movie   since yesterday
        'I bought the movie yesterday/since yesterday'

     b. ana **shari**   al-film   (min) ams   (Participle)
        I   buy.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-movie   since yesterday
        'I have bought the movie since yesterday/yesterday '

Perfective verbs that are eventive (like buy and hit) and stative (like understand and love) in addition to participles of eventive verbs can occur with both temporal expressions *ams* 'yesterday' and *min ams* 'since yesterday'. However, participles of stative verbs can only appear with *min ams* 'since yesterday.

86. a. ana **fehim-t**   ad-dars   **(min) ams**   (perfective)
        1.sg understand.perf-1.sg the-lesson.sg since yesterday
        'I understood the lesson yesterday/since yesterday'

     b. ana **fahim**   ad-dars   **min ams**   (participle)
        1.sg understand.NMLZ.sg.masc the-lesson.sg since yesterday
        'I have understood the movie since yesterday'

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c. *ana **fahim** ad-dars **ams** (participle)
   1.sg   understand.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-movie yesterday
   'I have understood the movie yesterday'

In spite of the similar patterns that participles and perfective verbs display, participles pattern with imperfective verbs when following verbs 'to be', just like nouns and adjective as in the examples below.

87.   a. kont **ashtari** al-kitab (imperfective)
      be.perf.1.sg   buy.imperf.1.sg   the-book.sg
      'I was buying the book.'

    b. *kont **ashtrait** al-kitab (perfective)
       be.perf.1.sg   buy.perf.1.sg the-book.sg
      'bought the book.'

    c. kont **shary-a** al-kitab (participle)
      be.perf.1.sg buy.NMLZ-sg.fem   the-book.sg
      'I have bought the book.'

    d. kont **mateen-a** (adjective)
      be.perf.1.sg   fat-sg.fem
      'I was fat.'

    e. kont **Tefl-a** (noun)
      be.perf.1.sg   child-sg.fem
      'I was a child.'

To sum up, the similar patterns that participles and perfective verbs display indicate that they share semantic interpretation associated with the past. Participles are semantically different from perfectives with respect to the resultative meaning associated with them, although exploring the semantics of participles is beyond the scope of this thesis. The end of the section points out how the distribution of participles is similar to imperfective verbs in some areas.

After exploring the similarities between participles and perfective and imperfective verbs, it may seem that participles are verbal elements that happen to have verbal and aspectual properties different from other verbs. However, I show in the following section that participles are not verbs.

5.2.4. Participles are not Verbs

I dedicate this section to showing that although participles show verbal distribution, they are not verbs. First of all, the distinctive patterns that participles display whereby they sometimes resemble perfective verbs and some other times imperfective verbs collectively show that participles, perfectives and imperfectives comprise three different categories.

In the rest of this section, I argue that participles are not fully verbal elements. Al-Balushi (2011), dedicates a complete section to Case in participial sentences. According to his work on Standard Arabic, participles are quasi-verbal elements that lack tense, mood and agreement heads which means that they do not have a full verbal projection.

I explore the distinctions between verbs and participles in Makkan Arabic to decide whether participles belong to the category of verbs, or whether they form a category of their own as suggested by Al-Balushi (2011).

First of all, perfective and imperfective verbs are grammatical in both orders, SVO and VSO. However, participles are ungrammatical in VSO sentences regardless of whether the subject is overt or covert.

88.   a. ashtra (V)   al-kitab (O)   (perfective)
           buy.perf.3.sg.masc   the-book.sg
           'He bought the book.'

b. ashtra (V)   al-walad (S)   al-kitab (V)   (perfective)
    buy.perf.1.sg.masc   the-boy.sg   the-book.sg
    'The boy bought the book.'

c. al-walad (S)   ashtra (V)   al-kitab (O)   (perfective)
   the-boy.sg   buy.perf.1.sg.masc   the-book.sg
   'The boy bought the book.'

89.   a. ye-shtri (V)   al-kitab (O)   (Imperfective)
          3.masc-buy.imperf.sg   the-book.sg
          'He buys the book.'

       b. ye-shtri (V)   al-walad (S)   al-kitab (O)   (Imperfective)
           3.masc-buy.imperf.sg   the-boy.sg   the-book.sg
           'The boy buys the book.'

       c. al-walad (S)   ye-shtri (V)   al-kitab (O)   (Imperfective)
           the-boy.sg   3.masc-buy.imperf.sg   the-book.sg
           'The boy buys the book.'

90.   a. *shari (V)   al-kitab (O)   (participle)
          buy.NMLZ.masc.sg   the-book.sg
          'He has bought the book.'

       b. *shari (V)   al-walad (S)   al-kitab (O)   (participle)
          buy.NMLZ.masc.sg   the-boy.sg   the-book.sg
          'The boy has bought the book.'

       c. al-walad (S)   shari (V)   al-kitab (O)   (participle)
          the-boy.sg   buy.NMLZ.masc.sg   the-book.sg
          'The boy has bought the book.'

Second, unlike regular verbs, participles are also ungrammatical in embedded clauses
without overt subjects. For example, perfective and imperfective verbs can follow
conjunctions like *ʕashan* 'because' while participles cannot without an overt subject. Such
sentences are acceptable when the subject pronoun is inserted before the participle or
attached to the conjunction itself as a suffix.

91.   a. ruHt   ʕashan   **ashtaret**   al-kitab   (Perfective)
           go.perf.1.sg   because   buy.perf.1.sg   the.book.sg
           'I went because I bought the book.' (So I have no purpose to stay longer).

        b. ruHt   ʕashan   **ashtari**   al-kitab   (Imperfective)
           go.perf.1.sg   because   buy.imperf.1.sg   the.book.sg
           'I went to buy the book.' (So I can buy book).

92.   a. *ruHt   ʕashan   **shari-a**   al-kitab
           go.perf.1.sg   because   buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
           'I went because I bought the book' (So I have no purpose to stay longer).

        b. ruHt   ʕashan   **ana**   **shari-a**   al-kitab
           go.perf.1.sg   because   1.sg   buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
           'I went because I bought the book' (So I have no purpose to stay longer).

        c. ruHt   ʕashan**-i**   **shari-a**   al-kitab
           go.perf.1.sg   because-1.sg   buy.NMLZ.sg.fem   the.book.sg
           'I went because I bought the book' (So I have no purpose to stay longer).

Notice that the word *ʕashan* 'because' can precede a perfective verb and have a finite reading (because I bought) or an imperfective verb and have a non-finite reading (to buy). Third, participles are negated in the same way as underived nouns using the negation particle *mu* or inflected *ma* which is a negation particle followed by a pronominal suffix that agrees with the subject in gender and number. Thus, *ma-hu* agrees with *hwa* as they both refer to singular third person. Non-verbal negation will be discussed in detail in section 6.3.2 below.

93.   a. hwa   mu   **katib**   kteer   (participle)
           3.sg.masc   NEG   write.NMLZ.3.sg.masc   a lot
           'He has not written much.'

        b. hwa   ma-hu   **katib**   kteer   (participle)
           3.sg.masc   NEG.3.sg.masc   write.NMLZ.3.sg.masc   a lot
           'He has not written much.'

Verbs in Makkan Arabic are negated with the negation particle *ma* as briefly stated earlier. Using the negation particle *mu*, which appears with participles, is not acceptable with verbs.

94. a. hwa ma **katab**   kteer
   3.sg.masc NEG write.perf.3.sg.masc a lot
   'He did not write much.'

  b. *hwa mu **katab**   kteer
   3.sg.masc NEG write.perf.3.sg.masc a lot
   'He did not write much.'

  c. *hwa ma-hu   **katab**   kteer
   3.sg.masc NEG-3.sg.masc write.perf.3.sg.masc a lot
   'He did not write much.'

Fourth, verbs agree with their subjects differently from participles (See section 1.2 for more details on verbal agreement). Verbs take verbal agreement that encode person, number and gender (95-97). Participles, like nouns and adjectives, take non-verbal agreement that only encode number and gender but not person. (98-100).

95. a. huma **ashtar-ow** al-kitab   (perfective)
   3.pl   buy.perf-3.pl the-book.sg
   'They bought the book.'

  b. huma **ye-shtar-ow** al-kitab   (Imperfective)
   3.pl   3-buy.imperf-pl the-book.sg
   'They buy the book.'

96. a. hwa **ashtar-a** al-kitab   (perfective)
   3.sg.masc buy.perf.3.sg.masc the-book.sg
   'He bought the book.'

  b. hya **ashtar-t** al-kitab   (perfective)
   3.sg.fem buy.perf-3.sg.fem the-book.sg
   'She bought the book.'

97.   a. hwa   **ye-shtari**   al-kitab   (Imperfective)
          3.sg.masc   3.masc-buy.imperf.sg   the-book.sg
          'He buys the book.'

        b. hya   **te-shtari**   al-kitab   (Imperfective)
          3.sg.fem   3.fem-buy.imperf.sg   the-book.sg
          'She buys the book.'

98.   a. ana **shari**   al-kitab
         1.sg buy.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg
         'I have bought the book.'
        b. eHna   **sharee-n**   al-kitab
         1.pl   buy.NMLZ-pl   the-book.sg
         'We have bought the book.'

99.   a. enta   **shari**   al-kitab
         2.sg.masc   buy.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg
         'You (sg.) have bought the book.'

        b. ento   **sharee-n**   al-kitab
         2.pl   buy.NMLZ-pl   the-book.sg
         'You (pl.) have bought the book.'

100.   a. hwa   **shari**   al-kitab
         3.sg.masc   buy.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg
         'He has bought the book.'

        b. huma   **shar-een**   al-kitab
         3.pl   buy.NMLZ-pl   the-book.sg
         'They have bought the book.'

As shown in the examples, participles agree with their subjects in number. The suffix *–en* that appears on participles is the same one that appears on nouns and adjectives as the plural marker. Participles also agree in gender with their singular subjects but take different markers from perfective and imperfective verbs. Perfective verbs take the feminine agreement suffix *-t* while imperfective verbs take the singular feminine agreement prefix *te-* as shown in (101). Participles, however, are followed by the feminine marker *-a* that also appears on nouns and adjectives.

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101. a. hwa   **shari**   al-kitab   (Participle, Masculine)
          3.sg.masc   buy.NMLZ.sg.masc   the-book.sg
          'He has bought the book.'

      b. hya   **shary-a**   al-kitab   (Participle, Feminine)
          3.sg.fem   buy.NMLZ-sg.fem   the-book.sg
          'She has bought the book.'

102. a. hwa   **Taweel**   (Adjective, Masculine)
          3.sg.masc   tall.sg.masc
          'He is tall.'

      b. hya   **Taweel-a**   (Adjective, Feminine)
          3.sg.fem   tall-sg.fem
          'She is tall.'

103. a. hwa   **ensaan**   (Noun, Masculine)
          3.sg.masc   human.sg.masc
          'He is a human.'

      b. hya   **ensaan-a**   (Noun, Feminine)
          3.sg.fem   human.sg-fem
          'She is a human.'

Table (11) below shows all the agreement markers of perfective and imperfective verbs in addition to participles in Makkan Arabic. Table (5) in section 2.1 above presents only the first column of this table below which illustrate the verbal suffixes on perfective verbs.

	Singular			Plural		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Perfective	ashtare-t	ashtare-t	ashtra (masc.) ashtara-t (fem.)	ashtare-na	ashtare-t-ow	ashtar-ow
Imperfective	a-shtari	te-shtari	ye-shtari (masc.) te-shtari (fem.)	ne-shtari	te-shtar-ow	ye-shtar-ow
Participle	shari (masc.) shari-a (fem.)			sharee-n		

Table11: Agreement suffixes on perfective and imperfective verbs and on particples

To summarize, participles are different from perfective and imperfective verbs. Participles are ungrammatical in VSO sentences as well as in embedded sentences that start with conjunctions like *ʕashan* 'because' without following overt subjects. Participles are negated just like other non-verbal predicates. Finally, participles agree with their subjects in number and gender differently than verbs do as shown in table (11) above.

6. Analysis of Participles in MA

My proposal in this thesis is that participles are not fully verbal forms. In a regular finite sentence starting with a DP subject (or a topic as will be discussed later), participles do not form a verbal projection but rather a copula construction or verbless sentence. In other words, participles act like other non-verbal predicates including nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases. However, we may divide non-verbal predicates in Arabic into two types. The first type includes nouns, adjectives and participles which are all non-verbal predicates that agree with their subject in number and gender. The second type includes prepositional phrases which do not show any agreement with the subject.

In this section, I show first how participles form a class with other non-verbal predicates such as nouns and adjectives. Second, I present Benmamoun's (2008) analysis of such verbless sentences and compare it to the analysis of participles proposed in Al-Balushi (2011). I adopt Benmamoun's analysis of verbless sentences to account for the distribution of participles regarding negation, agreement and the obligatory SVO order displayed in such verbless sentences.

6.1. Participles are Non-Verbal Predicates

Arabic allows non-verbal predicates to directly follow subjects without verbal elements in between. Such non-verbal predicates can be noun phrases (104a), adjective phrases (104b), and prepositional phrases (104c). In this research, I employ Bowers' (1993) Predicate Phrases (PredP) and suggest that NP, AP and PP can be viewed as complements of Pred head. I also add the class of participles, which I suggest to be bare VP, in addition to NP, PP and AP to the inventory of non-verbal predicates in Makkan Arabic.

104.   a. hya   Tefl-a   (NP)
            3.sg.fem   child.sg-fem
            'She is a child.'

           b. hya   Helw-a   (AP)
            3.sg.fem   beautiful.sg-fem
             'She is beautiful.'

           c. hya   fe   al-madrsa   (PP)
            3.sg.fem   in   the-school.sg
            'She is in the school.'

           d. hya   shari-a   al-kitab   (VP)
            3.sg.fem   buy.NMLZ.sg-fem   the-book.sg
            'She has bought the book.'

I argue here that the properties which participles display are properties shared by all non-verbal predicates. These properties distinguish verbal predicates from all non-verbal ones, including participles. In other words, non-verbal predicates carry non-verbal agreement of gender and number only. In this way, singular non-verbal predicates can be followed by the feminine gender marker –*a* or the neutral plural marker –*en* which are completely different from those appear on verbs (See section 1.2 for more details on verbal agreement).

All non-verbal predicates are negated with the constituent negation particle *mu* or with the

negation particle *ma* plus a pronominal clitic that agrees with the subject.

105.　a. hya　　　　mu/ma-hi　　　　　Tefl-a
　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG/NEG-3.sg.fem　child.sg-fem
　　　　'She is not a child.'

　　　　b. hya　　　　mu/ma-hi　　　　　Helw-a
　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG/NEG-3.sg.fem　beautiful.sg-fem
　　　　'She is not beautiful.'

　　　　c. hya　　　　mu/ma-hi　　　　　fe　　　al-madrsa
　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG/NEG-3.sg.fem　in　　　the-school.sg
　　　　'She is not in the school.'

　　　　d. hya　　　　mu/ma-hi　　　　　shari-a　　　　　　al-kitab
　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG/NEG-3.sg.fem　buy.NMLZ.sg-fem　the-book.sg
　　　　'She has not bought the book.'

Non-verbal predicates obligatorily follow an overt subject in main clauses, as shown in

(105) above, as well as in embedded clauses. Subjects of embedded clauses can be attached

to the conjunction *ʕashan* 'because' as a pronominal suffix *–ha* (See section 5.2.4 above

for more details on properties of non-verbal predicates).

106.　a. Habb-o-ha　　　　　　　ʕashan-**ha**　　　　Tefl-a
　　　　like.perf-3.sg-3.sg.fem　because-3.sg.fem　child.sg-fem
　　　　'They liked her because she is a child.'

　　　　b. Habb-o-ha　　　　　　　ʕashan-**ha**　　　　Helw-a
　　　　like.perf-3.sg-3.sg.fem　because-3.sg.fem　beautiful.sg-fem
　　　　'They liked her because she is beautiful.'

　　　　c. Habb-o-ha　　　　　　　ʕashan-**ha**　　　　fe　　　al-madrsa
　　　　like.perf-3.sg-3.sg.fem　because-3.sg.fem　in　　　the-school.sg
　　　　'They liked her because she is in school.'

     d. Habb-o-ha   ʕashan-**ha**   shari-a   al-kitab
      like.perf-3.sg-3.sg.fem   because-3.sg.fem buy.NMLZ.sg-fem the-book.sg
      'They liked her because she has bought the book.'

Having exemplified how participles pattern with nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases as predicates in present sentences without overt verbs, I now present the analysis of such verbless sentences.
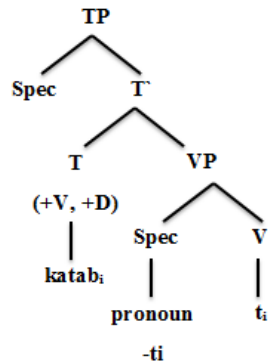
6.2. Verbless Sentences

I assume that topic-nonverbal predicate structures lack verbs, or more accurately the verbal functional projection. The main question that we need to address at this point is what kind of other functional projections may exist in such verbless sentences. In order to answer this question, we need to explore the syntax of tense, being one crucial functional projection, in Arabic first followed by how verbless sentences in Arabic are analyzed in the literature.

6.2.1. Tense in Arabic

According to Aoun, Benmamoun and Choueiri (2010), henceforth AB&C, tense in Standard Arabic has its own projection separate from verbs. This projection is located between CP and VP, and subjects move to the specifier position of the TP projection to satisfy EPP. Tense is an abstract morpheme that may be hosted by the closest possible head. Although the present and past tense are both abstract morphemes, their structures are radically different. Past tense in T needs to be lexically supported which forces verbs to raise to T to merge with tense. This means that stem verbs always precede agreement inflection which only appears as suffixes (107). This explains why Arabic needs an overt
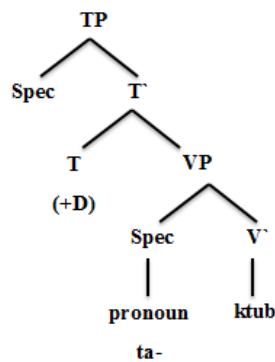
copula in the past tense. Since verbs obligatorily moves to T, this means that Tense is checked and subjects may optionally move to the specifier position in TP.

107. katab-ti
      write.perf-2.sg.fem

```
            TP
           /  \
        Spec   T`
              /  \
             T    VP
          (+V, +D)  /  \
             |    Spec   V`
          katabᵢ   |     |
                pronoun  tᵢ
                  -ti
```

Present tense in T does not need to be lexically supported, so it does not force verb movement and the copula is not overt. Because verbs stay in lower a position, person agreement, which is traditionally believed to be evolved out of pronouns, appears as a prefix (108). Future tense projects a TP node above VP which is not abstract but usually realized as an independent marker or proclitic.

108. ta-ktub
      3.sg-wrtie.imperf

```
            TP
           /  \
        Spec   T`
              /  \
             T    VP
           (+D)  /  \
             Spec   V`
              |     |
           pronoun ktub
             ta-
```

67

According to Chomsky (1995), tense is specified for the categorical feature +D, for nominal, which entails that subjects move to the specifier of TP, and +V, for verbal, which entails that verbs move to T. In Standard Arabic, present tense only has +D but past tense has +D and +V. The verbal feature +V causes the verb to move. In this way, past tense establishes dependency with verbs.

To summarize, present tense has only +D feature which means that the subject must move higher appearing before predicates while this movement is optional in past-tense sentences that have verbs. Seemingly, +D and +V together represent the EPP feature, and checking the +V by moving the verb is sufficient to have the EPP checked. Accordingly, subjects do not need to move to a higher position in present tense. In the following sections, I compare the syntax of tense in Standard Arabic to that of Makkan Arabic and account for the distribution of non-verbal predicates.

6.2.2. Functional Categories in Verbless Sentences

The main question regarding verbless sentences that contain a subject followed by a non-verbal predicate is whether such constructions contain any functional categories above the lexical categories. That is, we need to prove the absence of any verbal projections that could contain a null copula and also decide if there is a tense projection. According to Benmamoun (2000) and AB&C (2010), there is no evidence that such sentences in Standard Arabic have any verbal elements in a form of a present null copula. With modal heads that select verbs as complement, a present copula verb must be inserted for the sentence to be grammatical. Makkan Arabic behaves the same way. Such modal heads as

lazem 'should' occur before present verbs (109), but do not directly occur before non-verbal predicates without a present copula verb:

109.　　a. (hya)　　　lazem　te-shtari　　　al-kitab
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 should 3.fem-buy.sg　the-book.sg
　　　　　 'She should buy the book.'

　　　　 b. (hya)　　　lazem　te-koon　　　　Tefl-a
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 should 3.fem-be.sg　　child.sg-fem
　　　　　 'She should be a child.'

　　　　 c. (hya)　　　lazem　te-koon　　　　Helw-a
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 should 3.fem-be.sg　　beautiful.sg-fem
　　　　　 'She should be beautiful.'

　　　　 d. (hya)　　　lazem　te-koon　　　　fe　　　al-madrsa
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 should 3.fem-be.sg　　in　　　the-school.sg
　　　　　 'She should be in the school.'

　　　　 e. (hya)　　　lazem　te-koon　　　　shari-a　　　　　　al-kitab
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 should 3.fem-be.sg　　buy.NMLZ.sg-fem　　the-book.sg
　　　　　 'She should haven bought the book.'

If there is no null copula verb in such verbless sentences, there is consequently no verbal projection. Another piece of evidence presented in AB&C (2010) is the obligatory presence of past copula verbs. This is because past tense attracts verbs to move to T and when there is no verb, one must be inserted.

110.　　a. hya　　　　 kan-at　　　　Tefl-a
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 be.perf.sg-fem child.sg-fem
　　　　　 'She was a child.'

　　　　 b. hya　　　　 kan-at　　　　Helw-a
　　　　　 3.sg.fem　　 be.perf.sg-fem beautiful.sg-fem
　　　　　 'She was beautiful.'

c. hya   kan-at   fe   al-madrsa
   3.sg.fem   be.perf.sg-fem   in   the-school.sg
   'She was in the school.'

d. hya   kan-at   shari-a   al-kitab
   3.sg.fem   be.perf.sg-fem   buy.NMLZ.sg-fem   the-book.sg
   'She had bought the book.'

Having argued that verbless sentences lack null copula, and consequently lack verbal elements, I go back to explore the other functional categories that exist in verbless sentences. AB&C (2010) suggest that verbless sentences display the syntax of fully tensed clauses. That is, they have a TP projection to which the subject moves to satisfy the EPP property of T. This feature is important in explaining why participles are only grammatical in SVO order as will be discussed later.

Hazout (2010) also argues that verbless sentences have Tense, just like tensed finite clauses, and thus have an EPP property which licenses the subject. His argument relies on the differences between verbless sentences and familiar instances of small clauses like infinitival embedded clauses that do not have Tense and thus do not allow overt subjects.

I already argued that participles belong to non-verbal predicates that compose verbless sentences. In accordance with Benmamoun's (2008) and Hazout's (2010) analyses of verbless sentences and the functional categories that may exist in those structures, I suggest that participles have a tense projection although they lack the functional verbal projection. Al-Balushi (2012) explains the reason why verbless sentences in Standard Arabic lack verbs. He suggests that verbless sentences are composed of topics and predicates that receive lexical Case by default. Thus they do not need structural cases that are licensed by verbs since the case filter is satisfied by default case. He also suggests that they encode indicative mood since they express facts, beliefs and assertions. Benmamoun (2008) argues

that verbless sentences in Standard Arabic also have a CP projection. Embedded verbless sentences can be headed by the complementizer that occurs in finite complete clauses. This is true of my data in Makkan Arabic as well where the complementizer *eno* occurs in embedded verbless and verbal finite sentences. In non-finite embedded clauses, there is no complementizer C. The presence of C signals the presence of T according to Benmamoun (2008), and verbless sentences headed by complementizer must contain a functional category T.

111. a. adri   **eno**   al-bent   ashtara-t   al-kitab
         know.imperf.1.sg   Comp   the-girl.sg   buy.perf-3.sg.fem   the-book.sg
         'I know that the girl bought the book.'

      b. adri   **eno**   al-bent   shary-a   al-kitab
         know.imperf.1.sg   Comp   the-girl.sg   buy-NMLZ.sg.fem   the-book.sg
         'I know that the girl has bought the book.'

112. al-bent   te-ba   (*eno) te-shtari   al-kitab
      the-girl.sg   3.fem-want.imperf.sg Comp 3.fem-buy.imperf.sg the-book.sg
      'The girl wants to buy the book.'

To sum up, the clausal structure of verbless sentences includes no verbal elements or null copula which means that it does not have any functional verbal projection. However, verbless sentences display the syntax of fully tensed clauses that have mood and also have CP projection which itself signals the presence of Tense. The following tree diagram shows the layout of verbless sentence structure.

113.

```
                    TP
                  /    \
              Spec      T`
                      /    \
                    T        PredP
                   (+D)     /    \
                        Spec      Pred`
                                /     \
                             Pred      NP,AP,PP
                                       Participles
```
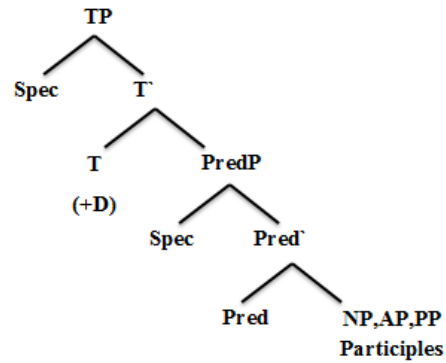
6.3. Distribution of Participles in Verbless Sentences

Having suggested that participles form verbless sentences that contain functional categories of tense but lack verbal projection, I now account for the behavior and distribution of participles. As shown before, participles obligatorily follow overt subjects, are preceded by non-verbal negation particles and carry non-verbal agreement.

6.3.1. Overt Subject before Participles

There is a debate in the literature about the status of preverbal subjects. Some have considered them topicalized elements that are not actually subjects and that get the nominative case by default (Al-Balushi, 2011, 2012) following the traditional Basran school. The difference between structural nominative case and default or lexical nominative case as explained by Benmamoun (2008) and Al-Balushi (2012) is that structural cases must be checked by a functional category and licensed only by verbs. However, default or lexical cases are usually assigned by lexical elements to non-arguments like topicalized or left-dislocated elements and predicates. Accordingly, such preverbal nouns are not assigned nominative cases in the Tense projection by the EPP

feature. However, others have considered preverbal nominals to be subjects that have moved to a higher projection, (AB&C, 2010).

Let us assume that such preverbal DPs in SVO sentence are subjects following AB&C's, (2010) assumptions. The main issue here is why SVO order is obligatory in verbless sentences, and why subjects cannot be null although Arabic allows VSO order and null subjects in verbal sentences. First of all, recall that verbless sentences are all in the present tense. Following Benmamoun's (2000, 2008) analysis, present Tense projection has only the nominal feature +D in Arabic but lacks the verbal feature +V. As shown before, the nominal feature +D requires the subject to move to the specifier position of TP while the verbal feature +V requires the verb to move to the Tense head. In the absence of the verbal feature +V in present-tense verbless sentences, subjects obligatorily move to the specifier position of TP to check the Tense feature. This also explains the ungrammaticality of verbless sentences without subjects since null subjects cannot satisfy +D. It explains as well why SVO order is the default unmarked order in present-tense verbal sentences. Verbal sentences in the present tense also have +D and lack +T in the Tense projection which means that subject must move to the specifier of TP to check Tense.

In past-tense verbal sentences, including past copula sentences, where verbs move to Tense to check the tense feature, subjects may optionally delete as they can be inferred from the inflections on the verbs or stay in a lower position yielding VSO sentence. As pointed out by Kiss (2002), "the EPP feature is satisfied if V merges with an inflectional suffix that is specific enough to license pro-drop". Note that such inflectional suffixes are properties of verbal projections only and are different than those appearing in verbless sentences as will be discussed below in 6.3.3 below.

6.3.2. Non-Verbal Negation

Negation is an important evidence for the existence of tense projection. According to AB&C (2011) and Benmamoun (2008), NegP is an intermediate projection below TP (114). However, I suggest in this study to add the functional projection of PredP that dominates the predicative elements of VP, NP, AP and PP.

114.
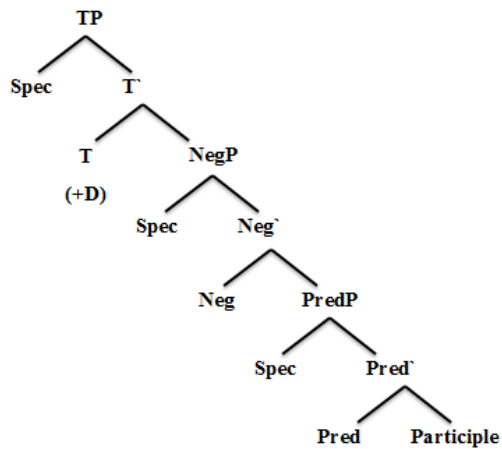
AB&C (2011) and Benmamoun (2008) argue that in Standard and Moroccan Arabic, subjects must move to TP to satisfy the property of EPP. If there are no functional categories in verbless sentences, it is not clear why the movement of the subject is forced and why a sentence like (115) is unacceptable.

115. *mu   hya   shari-a   al-kitab
        NEG   3.sg.fem   buy.NMLZ-sg.fem the-book.sg
       'She has not bought the book.'

In Standard Arabic, past and future verbs raise to T through the negative projection while verbs in the present do not raise to T, but may raise to the negative projection only. Generally, negation particles inflect for tense in Standard Arabic while verbs remain in the imperfective form (AB&C 2011). However, the situation is completely different in modern dialects including Makkan Arabic where negation does not inflect for tense. The same negative particle is used regardless of tense.

116.   a. lan   a-ktub-a   ad-dars-a   (Standard Arabic)
           NEG.fut   1.sg-write.imperf.SUBC   the-lesson.ACC
           'I will not write the lesson.'

           b. lam   a-ktub-ø   ad-dars-a   (Standard Arabic)
           NEG.past   1.sg-write.imperf.JUS   the-lesson.ACC
           'I did not write the lesson.'

           c. laa   a-ktub-u   ad-dars-a   (Standard Arabic)
           NEG.present   1.sg-write.imperf.IND   the-lesson.ACC
           'I did not write the lesson.'

117.   a. ma   katab-t   ad-dars   (Makkan Arabic)
           NEG   write.perf-1.sg   the-lesson
           'I did not write the lesson.'

           b. ma   Ha-a-ktub   ad-dars   (Makkan Arabic)
           NEG   FUT-1.sg-write.imperf   the-lesson
           'I will not write the lesson.'

           c. ma   a-ktub   ad-dars   (Makkan Arabic)
           NEG   1.sg-write.imperf   the-lesson
           'I will not write the lesson.'

In Makkan Arabic, there are two negation particles: *ma* and *mu*. As indicated by the examples above (117), the negation particle *ma* selects verbal complements. *Mu*, on the other hand, selects non-verbal complements. That is, nouns, adjectives, prepositional phrases and participles are all negated with *mu*.

118.　a. hya　　　　mu　　Tefl-a
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　child.sg-fem
　　　　　'She is not a child.'

　　　　b. hya　　　　mu　　Helw-a
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　beautiful.sg-fem
　　　　　'She is not beautiful.'

　　　　c. hya　　　　mu　　fe　　al-madrsa
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　in　　the-school.sg
　　　　　'She is not in the school.'

　　　　d. hya　　　　mu　　shari-a　　　　　al-kitab
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　buy.NMLZ-sg.fem　the-book.sg
　　　　　'She has not bought the book.'

Although negation particles do not usually agree with the subject in Makkan Arabic, *mu*

sometimes inflects for gender, such that *mi* may optionally be used with the feminine

subjects. However, *mu* is neutral and does not indicate gender.

119.　a. hya　　　　mi　　Tefl-a
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　child.sg-fem
　　　　　'She is not a child.'

　　　　b. hya　　　　mi　　Helw-a
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　beautiful.sg-fem
　　　　　'She is not beautiful.'

　　　　c. hya　　　　mi　　fe　　al-madrsa
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　in　　the-school.sg
　　　　　'She is not in the school.'

　　　　d. hya　　　　mi　　shari-a　　　　　al-kitab
　　　　　3.sg.fem　　NEG　buy.NMLZ-sg.fem　the-book.sg
　　　　　'She has not bought the book.'

There is an alternative strategy to using *ma* for negating non-verbal predicates. Non-verbal

predicates can be negated by *ma* when pronominal clitics are attached to it. In this case,

subjects may appear clause-initially, but they are optional.

120.   a. (hya)   ma-**hi**   Tefl-a
              3.sg.fem   NEG-3.sg.fem   child.sg-fem
              'She is not a child.'

        b. (hya)   ma-**hi**   Helw-a
              3.sg.fem   NEG-3.sg.fem   beautiful.sg-fem
              'She is not beautiful.'

        c. (hya)   ma-**hi**   fe   al-madrsa
              3.sg.fem   NEG-3.sg.fem in   the-school.sg
              'She is not in the school.'

        d. (hya)   ma-**hi**   shari-a   al-kitab
              3.sg.fem   NEG-3.sg.fem   buy.NMLZ.sg-fem   the-book.sg
              'She has not bought the book.'

Doron (1986) describes these pronominal clitics as extra pronouns that may show up in

present tense nominal sentences. She calls them 'Pron' and proposes that they are a

phonological realization of agreement features. Prons are not independent NP nodes but

part of INFL. Doron concludes that

> "the difference between sentences with verbal predicates and nominal
> sentences is that AGR obligatorily becomes part of the morphology of V, but
> does not in the case of N, A and P. The features of AGR in nominal sentences
> do not become agreement suffixes as they do in sentences with verbs. Rather,
> those features remain 'unattached' in INFL and absorb any unassigned
> Nominative Case feature, thereby becoming a pronominal clitic".

[Doron 1986: p.332]

Now, I go back to my data where negation particles are followed by pronominal clitics in

(120). It seems that the negation particle *ma* must appear with phi-features that are either

attached to verbs or to the negation particle in the absence of verbs. When *ma* precedes a non-verbal predicate, those phi-features remain unattached and are thus realized as a pronominal clitic or as a 'Pron'. This explains why the subject is optional in (120d) although it is still a verbless sentence. The reason is that the verbal inflections appear on the negation particle which allows subjects to drop. In addition, such verbal inflections on *ma* also explains why sentences with the inflected negation particle are ungrammatical when they are used with verbs.

121. *Hya   ma-hi   Gaat
       3.sg.fem   NEG. 3.sg.fem   come.perf.3.fem.sg
       'She didn't come.'

Note that past sentences are always negated with *ma* as the past copula verb is overtly used in copula constructions. As we discussed earlier, past Tense has the verbal feature +V that attracts the verb to move to Tense and when there is no verb, one is inserted. In this case, the subject may remain in a lower position or drop all together.

122. a. (hya)   ma-kan-at   Tefl-a
         3.sg.fem   NEG-be.perf.sg-fem   child.sg-fem
         'She was a child.

      b. (hya)   ma-kan-at   Helw-a
         3.sg.fem   NEG-be.perf.sg-fem   beautiful.sg-fem
         'She was beautiful.'
      c. (hya)   ma-kan-at   fe   al-madrsa
         3.sg.fem   NEG-be.perf.sg-fem   in   the-school.sg
         'She was in the school.'

      d. (hya)   ma-kan-at   shari-a   al-kitab
         3.sg.fem   NEG-be.perf.sg-fem   buy.NMLZ.sg-fem   the-book.sg
         'She had bought the book.'

To sum up, verbs in Makkan Arabic are negated with the particle *ma* while non-verbal elements are negated with the particle *mu*. The later can also be negated with the inflected particle *ma* where verbal inflections appear on the particle as a suffix.

6.3.3. Non-Verbal Agreement

In this section, I explore the differences between subject-verb agreement and subject-predicate agreement when the predicate is non-verbal. I specifically show that participles agree with their subjects exactly like nouns and adjectives do. In Arabic, non-verbal predicates agree with the subject of predication in gender and number as discussed before in section 5.2.4. Verbs agree with their subjects in gender, number and person.

Baker (2008, 2011, 2013) proposes a theory of agreement based on a syntactic principle 'SCOPA' which stands for 'the structural condition on person agreement' to account for such partial agreement of adjectives in comparison to full agreement of verbs. He suggests that agreement in person needs more specific syntactic configurations. Subjects are generated inside the verbal projection where verbs can assign thematic roles to those subjects. This explains why only verbs can access the person feature. On the other hand, predicative adjectives can partially agree with their subjects. Such subjects of non-verbal predication are not actual arguments that are generated inside the AP projection.

By applying these concepts to participles in Makkan Arabic, I accounts for the partial agreement of participles with their subjects. Since participles lack the verbal projection where subjects are generated and thematic roles are assigned,[13] they lack the person feature

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[13] Assuming that participles lack vP projection where theta-roles are assigned makes it difficult to explain how the subjects of predication get construed as Agents. In other words, participles should not have Agents because they lack the projection in which Agents are generated. I am thankful to Dr. Will Oxford who raised the issue of agentivity for subjects of participles. I leave this issue for future research.

according to Baker's principle of SCOPA. Participles can only agree with their subject of predication in gender and number but not in person. Person features are only present if agreement occurs within a verbal projection where thematic role assignment also takes place. Since participles lack the vP projection, they do not agree in person features.

6.4 The Category of Participles

The hybrid nature of participles is represented in the fact that they display nominal or non-verbal morphological inflections as they do not inflect for the person feature and carry non-verbal agreement suffixes. However, their syntactic distribution is partially nominal and partially verbal. Participles pattern with verbs in that they take bare objects and adverbs rather than taking determiners and adjectives as nouns do. They also do not occur in positions of nouns like functioning as subject, object or complement of preposition. However, participles, just like nouns and adjectives, co-occur with non-verbal negation particles and follow an obligatory overt subject.

Since participles are derived elements, it is necessary to explore how they are derived. Remember that derivation in Arabic follow the root-and-pattern approach where consonantal roots, which are lexically verbal as discussed before, are supplied with vocalic patterns that correspond to different functional projections. In other words, these vocalic patterns represent functional heads that can verbalize or nominalize the constituents (See section 1.4 for more details). I discuss the process of deriving participles in Makkan Arabic in the rest of this section.

6.4.1 Participles: Nominalized or Just Non-Verbalized?

In this section, I show two possible analyses of deriving participles. I first suggest that participles could possibly be analyzed as nominalized verb phrases where the vocalic pattern [..a..i..] is a nominalizing head nº that selects VP. Another analysis is that participles could rather be viewed as bare VP that is not selected by any verbalizing or nominalizing head, and the vocalic pattern [..a..i..] is just a morphological form supplied during spell-out. I show then why the second analysis is preferred.

6.4.1.1 Participles are Nominalized Forms

In this section, I show the first possible analysis of how participles are derived. Participles can be analyzed as nominalized forms headed by the functional nominalizing head n° (see section 1.4 above for more details on the nP projection). The nominal vocalic pattern [..a..i..] selects the verbal projection VP that may contain internal objects and adverbs[14]. In this case, the resulting nominal construction is event-nominalization according to Baker & Vinokurova (2009) (henceforth B&V, 2009). They suggest that in event-denoting nominals, verbs take theme arguments internally, thus accusative case is assigned in VP projection. However, verbs do not themselves take agent arguments which are added by the Voice head. B&V suggest that in the case of nominalization, VP is not selected by a Voice head but rather a nominalizing head selects VP.

Event-denoting nominals allow clause-like elements as bare objects and adverbs like the English gerundive example 'finding the wallet quickly'. This projection becomes nominal

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[14] I claim in this research that the category of VP exists which is contrary to DM, but this does not necessarily entail that Root Phrases do not exist below VP. I leave the finer structure of below the level of VP for future research.
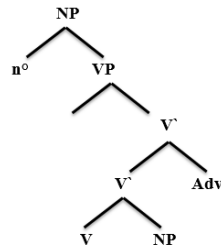
in a higher level after accusative Case is assigned and adverbs are generated. True agentive nominalization, however, are nominalized at a lower level where the nominalizing head selects V before adding objects or adverbs. Thus, true agent nominals can allow determiners but cannot be modified by adverbs nor can they have bare accusative objects. In the case of English, objects are marked with 'of' as in 'the finding of the wallet'.

Following B&V (2009), participles in Makkan Arabic can be analyzed as event nominalization since they allow adverbs and bare objects. Their fully nominal counterparts (See section 5.1 for more details on agentive nominals), on the other hand, take determiners but not bare objects since the nominal projection is introduced at a lower level before V combines with objects or adverbs which goes along with B&V's (2009) theory regarding true agentive nominals.

The idea that participles, or event-denoting nominals, are possibly nominalized in projections higher than that of agentive nominals is also supported by Kornfilt & Whitman's (2011) typological study about levels of nominalization. They suggest that the nominalized projection has nominal properties above it and verbal properties below that projection. The nominal functional head can be introduced to the projection at any point and "close off" the verbal properties of the structure. In this way, we may assume that agentive nominals in Makkan Arabic are nominalized in a lower projection while the nominalizing head in the case of participles selects larger constituents at a higher projection. Thus, the entire VP, where accusative case is internally assigned and adverbs are generated, is nominalized in the case of participles. This also explains why participles only have subjects of predication but not real subjects due to the absence of the functional

projection VoiceP according to B&K (2009) where subjects are externally licensed. The structure of deriving participles is represented in (123) below.

123.

```
              NP
             /  \
           n°    VP
                /  \
                    V`
                   /  \
                 V`    Adv
                /  \
               V    NP
```

The problem with this analysis is that although the resulting projection shows nominal and verbal properties as explained earlier, they are not completely nominal. They do not occur in positions of nouns like subjects, objects, or complement of prepositions as in the case of English gerundive examples (124) or like true agentive nominals in MA (125). Because of this, we cannot consider them as nominalized projections.

124. **Finding the wallet** is not easy

125. a. shoft   **katib**   **Gayed**
         see.perf.sg.1   write.sg.masc.NMLZ good.sg.masc
         'I saw a good writer.'

      b. *Shoft   **katib**   **kateer**
         see.perf.sg.1   write.sg.masc.NMLZ a lot
         'I saw writing a lot.'

To sum up, although the idea that participles could be a case of event nominalization that take place at a higher level after V combines with adverbs and direct objects seem appealing, it is rejected because the resulted projection in Makkan Arabic is not nominal. Because of this, we must find another analysis for the how participles are derived.

83

6.4.1.2 Participles are Non-Verbalized Forms

In this section, I show an alternative analysis of the derivation of participles in MA. I suggest that participles are bare VP that lack the verbalizing head v°, and accordingly lack the functional projection vP where subject assignment and verbal agreement take place.

In the case of perfective and imperfective verbs, functional verbalizing heads v°, with corresponding vocalic patterns, select the lexical projection VP and verbalize it. In this intermediate projection of vP, subjects are assigned the nominative case while verbs in return assign the thematic roles to the internal arguments and fully agree themselves with their subject including the person agreement.

Participles seem to be less verbal than perfective and imperfective verbs because of the absence of the functional verbal projection in the structure. In this way, the bare lexical projection VP is what is left which explains why verbal properties, such as taking complements and optional adverbs, are retained. However, these elements are verbal consonantal roots that are not yet supplied with a vocalic pattern. In order for bare VP to have a phonological realization, they are supplied with a vocalic pattern [..a..i..] during spell-out stage which corresponds to participles.

This analysis that participles are bare VP goes with Croft's (1991) de-verbalizing hierarchy where he suggests that verb types can range from being fully finite to completely nominalized forms. He gives an example of English infinitives, participles and gerunds. According to Croft, these elements do not take tense/aspect inflections, do not take subjects in the way main verbs do but still take direct objects like main verbs.

The second analysis is a better explanation for how participles are distributed in sentences. Participles are not nominal constructions because they are not selected by nominalizing

heads which accounts why they do not take determiners or adjectives. Participles in MA are not fully verbal constructions either since they are not selected by any functional verbalizing heads. The absence of such verbalizing heads explains the absence of verbal agreements which allow verbs to appear without subjects and combine with verbal negation particles. The verbal properties that participles exhibit are due to the existence of the lexical projection VP which dominates a V head. Such V heads can select an internal NP complement and optionally combine by adverbial modification. In other words, participles seem to move away from the verb "zone" but did not make it to the noun "zone". Because of this, it is more suitable to assume that participles are not derived by the process of nominalization, but rather by a de-verbalization process.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have developed an analysis of participles in Makkan Arabic which are usually confused with agentive nominals due to many factors, one of which is the morphological form they both share. I have suggested that agentive nominals constitute only a subset of participles and that they have undergone the process of complete nominalization. I analyze the rest of the participles as bare VPs that are not selected by any nominalizing or verbalizing heads.

Participles are not nominal projections in the sense that they are not selected by any nominalizing heads. Participles are not true agentive nominals, where n° selects V head before combining with objects or adverbs, nor are they event nominalization where n° targets the entire VP that may contain NP arguments and adverbial modification. The

suggestion that they are not nominal projections explains why these constituents cannot be combined with determiners or adjectives.

Participles are not verbalized projections either the way perfective and imperfective verbs are, where the lexical projection VP is selected by v° head supplying it with different vocalic patterns that correspond to different verbal forms. This means that the functional projection vP is absent in the structure of participles. The functional projection vP is where subjects are introduced as external arguments to the verb and also assigned a thematic role and structural nominative Case by verbs. Having the subject in the verbal projection allow verbs to have access to the person feature.

In the absence of vP in the case of participles, participles in present-tense sentences obligatorily follow overt subjects because subjects move to the specifier position of TP to check EPP feature in Tense head. In the case where verbs are present, verbs move to Tense to check the EPP feature which makes subject movement optional. In addition, the absence of vP and verbal features explains why participles are negated with the non-verbal negation particle *mu* that combines only with non-verbal complements or alternatively negated with the inflected *ma* which carries the verbal agreement suffix. In the absence of subjects generated in vP, participles agree with their subjects of predication, or topics, only in number and gender but have no access to the person feature.

I ultimately conclude in this thesis that participles are bare VP which accounts for the verbal and nominal properties of participles. On the one hand, assuming that VP exists, which is contrary to DM, explains the verbal properties of participles as they take objects, combine with adverbs rather than adjectives and pattern with verbs. On the other hand, the absences of vP explains the absence of verbal properties as participles lack verbal

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agreement and verbal negation. All these nominal, or non-verbal, properties that participles exhibit resemble these of nouns and adjectives. In present-tense sentences, bare VP, NP and AP, along with PP, are selected by Pred° head to form PredP whose semantic function is predication. Sentences consisting of subjects, or topics, and predicates are verbless sentences in Arabic that lack the copular verb but contain a tense projection. Assuming that participles are bare VP goes with Croft's (1991) de-verbalizing hierarchy where verb types range from being fully finite to completely nominalized forms.

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