

Syntactic Analysis of Marked Equative Sentences in Arabic: Minimality Program

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Abstract

The data investigated are drawn from three varieties of Arabic: Standard, Hijazi and Palestinian. The main aim of this paper is to analyze the marked usages of Equative sentences, henceforth ESs, in the three specified varieties of Arabic, within the framework of Minimality Program (MP), and where verbal devices of sentence focus are applied, in order to describe their internal syntactic mechanism. The three Arabic varieties display syntactic similarities in most of the marked ESs. However, more richness is displayed in the informal dialectal varieties than the formal standard variety of Arabic. As a result of the analysis, three formal statements are formulated in this paper, which describe and relate the marked (or focused) ESs to the unmarked ones. The first statement (in 15 below) shows the verbal devices that relate the marked to the unmarked ESs. The second formal statement (in 17 a&b below) accounts for the grammatical ESs in focus using these verbal devices. And, the third statement (in 21 below) excludes the ungrammatical (ill-formed) ESs usages and accounts only for the grammatical. Discussion is based on related previous studies in syntax.

0. Introduction:

The main aim of this paper is to analyze marked ESs in three Arabic varieties when verbal devices are applied within the limitations of the Minimality program in order to describe their internal syntactic mechanism. However, the main role of linguistic enterprise (theory) of grammar is its capability to attain a level of descriptive adequacy and formalizations that capture the rules and constraints of a particular linguistic code. Besides, it provides some insights into essential processes that enable the native speaker to carry out complex communicative tasks irrespective of the linguistic code they use. The theory must be able to describe, and not only predict, syntactically well formed sentences and a principled account of the native speaker's usage, [1] and [2]. Competing schools of linguistic theory have paid considerable attention to these processes. Although relatively high levels of formalization have been achieved to account for a great number of linguistic phenomena, there are still shortcomings that have been fairly well investigated in the literature. However, there remain some usages that appear to be problematic, and it is worthwhile casting some light on them within this linguistic framework.

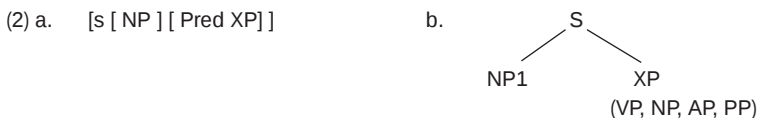
The linguistic framework adopted in this paper is the Minimality Program (MP). Its recent development [3] is drawn on here, in that it is a restriction of basic operations within universal grammar (UG). Everything must be justified according to MP, where no assumptions are allowed by the linguist. This means that every syntactic role must be justified empirically, as in UG, that is applicable in all languages, [4], [5] and [6].

0.1. Arabic Equative Sentences:

To the best of the author's knowledge, the topic of discussion of this paper has not been dealt with previously within MP limitations as is the case here, and so far as the marked ESs are concerned in the three specified Arabic dialects. Following the main role of linguistics enterprise within MP framework, the three varieties of Arabic scrutinized here: Standard (SA), Hijazi (HA) and Palestinian (PA) are utilized similarly in the discussion of ESs. ESs in these varieties are believed by many Arab syntacticians, [7] and [8], as well as the author of this paper, to predominate most, if not all, other dialects of Arabic. ESs as used in this paper, (9), (10) and (11), are verbless sentences, (12), or nominal sentences (according to Arab grammatical tradition). ESs consist of two main parts: NP/Subject (mubtada'), and XP/predicate (khabar), (13). It is one type of the two main root clauses in Arabic that occurs without any overt lexically realized verbal element, except in one case where a verbal sentence is one choice of the predicate in the XP. Instances in which the verb and the subject/NP are permitted in a verbal sentence, are excluded from this paper as they are not the focus of attention.

(1) 'al-walad-u nashiiT-un (SA): unmarked
the-boy-Nom active-Nom
“The boy (is) active.”

The following is the underlying configuration for the basic unmarked ES in Arabic, where noun-initial word order is suggested.



(3) $S \longrightarrow \text{NP-Pred/XP}$

I. Related Literature Survey:

Previous accounts of the absence of verbal forms in Arabic ESSs, and which refer to either deletion processes or the invisible nature of the copula, see among others: (18), (19), (20) and (21), have proved inadequate. It is because such previous studies account for some grammatical sentences, but failed to account for the ungrammaticality of others, and thus cannot provide the most adequate account, (22). Instead, INFL (inflectional) features are found to depend on the sentential head I^o, where selectional properties of

INFL are derived. Absence of verbal features, as in ESs, imposes selectional restrictions on I' which will be allowed to select for only non-VP complements. Verbless Clauses are found to be directly related to selectional restrictions of INFL of the functional categories, according to the binding theory. This is found in (23), to operate in a principled way with particular attention to the IP, or inflectional phrase, (see sections II.1 and II.2 below for discussion), and where this study proceeds on with the analysis.

A study such as that by (24) is relevant to our paper with reference to syntax/semantic properties, although Egyptian Arabic will not figure in the discussion of this paper. However, similarities between Arabic dialects relate to Eid's acknowledged three theta-roles of subject and predicate of ESs in Arabic. One theta-role occurs when predication ESs occur without the pronoun, and is considered as the basic 'matrix': **'ali Zariif** "*Ali is nice*". The second theta-role occurs where the copula/pronoun is obligatory in XP position; **'ali huwwa l-mudarris** "*Ali is the teacher*". Finally, the theta-role is attributed to both the subject and the predicate of the ES where optional pronoun occurs: **'ali (huwwa) mudarris** "*Ali (is) a teacher*".

Part of (25)'s recent study, also (26) and (27), directly relates to this paper where his analysis focuses on ES, word order in standard and dialectal Arabic. Use of existential explicit type of ES, among others, forms the basis of the discussion followed here. Conclusions of studies, (28), (29), (30), (31), (32), (33), and (34), confirm many facts and conclusions made by these previous studies.

The relative freedom of word order in Arabic clauses which has been fairly well known since the days of Sibawaihi (the Arab grammarian) in the 10th century, also (35) and (36), seems to be generally based on the conclusion which all previous studies have been discussing. This, of course, includes the direct or indirect link between each study and either the standard variety or other dialects of Arabic.

A study such as [37] develops a framework to analyze 'tense', 'aspect' and 'time reference' both in English and Cairene Arabic. It confirms conclusions of temporal and aspectual dual characteristics taken up in this paper. The study (38) also discusses the compula-auxiliary **kaan-a** "*to be*" in Egyptian Arabic, which relates to the insertion of "**kaan-a**" in the marked ESs here. The paper proposed alternative views where this auxiliary (among other verbal devices) is basically analyzed in a limited number of syntactic and semantic features. This proposed view coincides with ours where 'tense' and 'aspect' as dyadic predicates of dual roles to carry INFL relate the two aspects of times. Here, they head a maximal projection in syntax, and are of time-denoting phrases in semantics.

Two basic works are useful to our discussion for the standard variety of Arabic (SA), (39) and (40). They form a background to verify the Arabic grammar of ESs whenever it has occasionally been required.

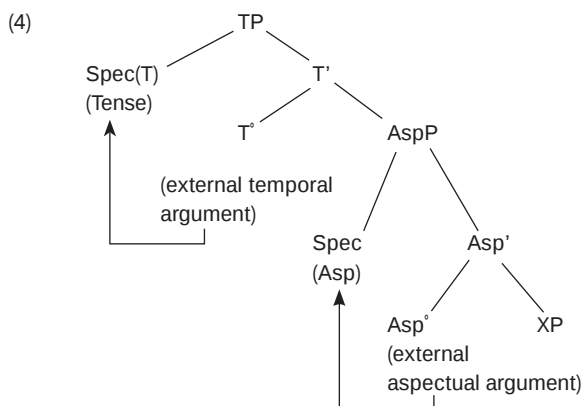
This section accounts for the previous related studies which complement the main topic of our syntactic description. However, as was stated earlier, past research shows that our topic has not been tackled before.

II. Hypothesis and discussion:

The hypothesis of this paper is presented in the following sub-section, with the tree diagram that explains its internal mechanism. The discussion follows, thereafter, where the three Arabic varieties are illustrated.

II.1. The Hypothesis:

No claim is being made here as to the finality of any suggestion made, since any study of ESs in Arabic must take into account a large array of facts that make crucial reference to the internal mechanism devices of the sentence. The study restricts itself to the devices required for the simple marked and unmarked ESs. To reveal the internal structure, INFL Phrase (IP) of tense and aspect are applied by utilizing IP. Collected data from naturally occurring social settings reveal some usages of ESs that are worth studying. This is in order to account for a large number of Arabic ESs. The following diagram accounts for the internal structure of the usages to be discussed:



where T° and Asp° represent the abstract/implicit semantic argument which is base-generated in the explicit syntactic specifiers: Spec(T) and Spec (Asp) respectively. Arabic simple unmarked ESs have in the tense phrase (TP) empty or featureless-verbal features. Thus, XP has the phrases (NP, AP, PP...) to predicate the NP subject with no violation of the ES as being grammatical. But if the ESs are marked then it is a requirement to add a verb or an auxiliary, as a verbal device, such as **kaan-a** "to be".

II.2. Discussion:

The following is a discussion of the proposal, where the maximal/minimal dual role of tense and aspect phrases bound to temporal relations in IP is exemplified in Arabic ESs.

II.2.1. INFL (or IP):

In order to understand fully the above-proposed tree (4), the mechanism of INFL (IP) and verbal devices are discussed briefly. IP is also related to the verbal devices discussed in section III below.

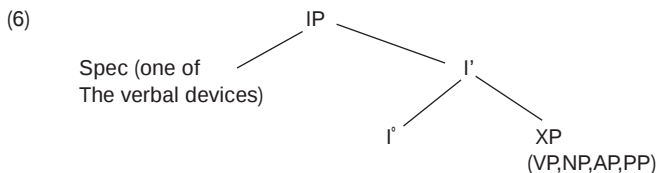
INFL in the IP properties of tense and aspect established on the syntax/semantic parallel must be accounted for in order to select a tensed INFL Phrase. Tense and aspect head a maximal projection, and tree (4) above, can be considered as extended to the above tree (2-b). The T° and Asp° of the INFL present the abstract/semantic or null features of lexical items. In this case, INFL is said to have its lexical items as null. However, INFL's lexical items are presented syntactically or structurally in the specific verbal-modal features. These modals are directly related to the structure without the mediation of the lexicon, as is the case in ESs. According to this discussion, the node of INFL in the IP would encode modal features such as tense, aspect, negation, interrogation, mood and modality, or 0 as the null or empty feature according to the input of the selectional properties of pragmatic information. Thus, the following formal principle is a brief presentation of this discussion:

(5) INFL: [TNS, ASP, NEG, INT, MOOD, MOD, 0]

INFL in (5) above plays the prominent role of selecting various syntactic phenomena including the 0 presentation discussed in this paper as well.

The syntax and semantics of Tense 'mirror' the syntax and semantics of Aspect, as diagram (4) above suggests. The TP is maximal (or m-commands) to the AspP, which is in turn maximal to the XP. The overt/explicit syntactic reference to tense (past/present/future) is T' . The T° is the abstract/implicit semantic argument base-generated in the specifier. The interpretation goes on likewise on Asp/Specifies and Asp° . Verbal feature devices become overt and appear on the tree (4) above, where the internal mechanisms of INFL in the IP are revealed.

Tree (4) above expresses the relation of maximal/minimal dyadic (or dual) description of TP and AspP bound to temporal relations in Arabic ESs. It is an extended description of the following INFL in the IP:



where I' is the type of complement that selects one phrasal predicational complement of the XP. The contents of INFL determine the type of the selected complement I' as well as the selected features of each complement, which are specifically selected.

In unmarked ESs, the INFL predication as we now know, is featureless, or [-F] of Tense and Asp. INFL heads maximal projection in Syntax, and takes time denoting phrases as arguments in Semantics, (41). The syntactic theory integrates the non-lexical INFL. Accordingly, when such categories are expressed lexically in the marked ESs, Tense and Aspect are the (abstract) dyadic/dual predicates that take maximal projection in Syntax, (42).

The following formal statement is a principle that determines Arabic marked ES-structure relying on the IP as the maximal level of the sentence, and which is related to the type of INFL node:

- (7) a. INFL features are base-generated on the sentence focus markers of verbal devices;
b. Verbs obligatorily move to INFL in Arabic marked ESs to support those features through such devices.

The above principles can be seen as a development of the Arabic ESs mechanism in the marked syntactic state by implementing sentence focus verbal features and temporal devices. It is to the best of the author's knowledge that applying these principles to some cases of marked ESs which contain explicit verbal devices of sentence-focus have not been discussed.

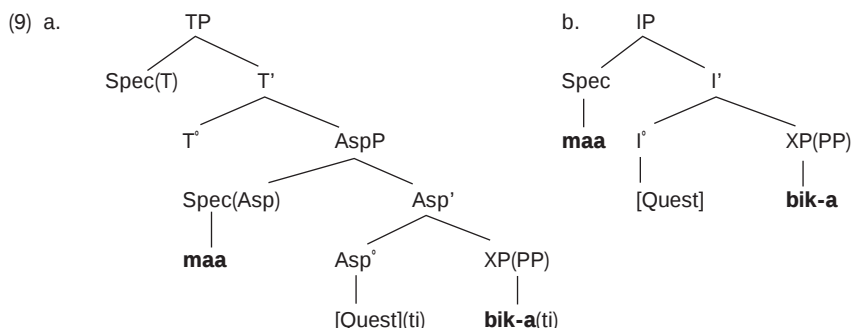
III. ESs discussed:

Along with our main aim in this paper, which is to account and then describe the internal syntactic mechanism of marked ESs in some varieties of Arabic, let consider the following unmarked and marked ESs in SA:

- (8) a. **'anaa Haziin-un** (SA): unmarked ES
I sad-Nom. Masc/Sing
"I am sad"
- b. **maa bi -k -a ?** (SA): marked for Quest
What with-you -Acc. Masc. Sing.
"What is wrong with you?"
- c. **kayfa ta- kuun-u Haziin-an** (SA): marked Quest
How you -are- Nom sad-Acc/Masc. Sing
"How is it that you are sad?"

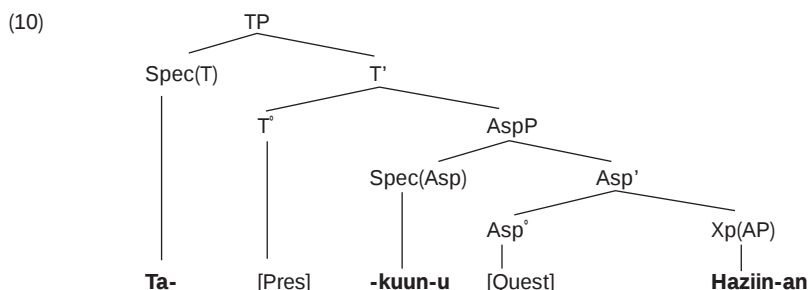
The three sentences above are related in that (8.a) is the unmarked basic matrix ES, and (8b & 8c) are the focused marked forms of the ES in SA. The pronoun '**anaa** "I" is the NP/subject (mubtada') in (8.a), and **Haziin-un** "sad" is the Adj, Phrase/predicate. The ES in (8.a) is a simple matrix clause, [43] with no overt verb, thus, a verbless clause. The simple ES is directly related to the selectional properties of INFL, [44], so that a larger number of marked ESs is accounted for. The occurrence of a copula is null, or zero in (8.a), and becomes explicit in both of the focused or marked contexts in (8b & c).

The presence of the wh-phrase **maa** "what" in (8.b) doesn't require a copula, whereas (8.c) is another type of wh-phrase, **kayf-a** "how" and requires the presence of the copula that carries INF in the IP of Tense and Aspect. **Kayf-a** is base-generated in INFL, and requires the copula to support its tense presence, whereas the **maa** "what" wh-phrase is not inside the IP and does not select a tensed INFL. Accordingly, (8b) reduces the grammar of tense and aspect properties of INFL as in natural languages, [45], and is presented as:

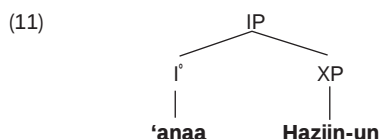


where (ti) is trace-index of the anaphor-a in bik-a "with you" under PP and is governed by Asp' to relate XP(PP) with Asp°, as in (9a) above. TP and AspP are reduced from (9.a) to only IP as in (9.b), where (8.b) is best presented.

The INFL property in (8.c) is tensed where the copula supports its tense and aspect presence, and can be shown in the following:



The INFL tense feature is [Pres] and [Quest]. The unmarked ES in (8.a) above is presented as follows:



where the bound morphemes of verb/tense and aspect in the INFL are null or 0, as is the case with ESs in SA.

The above tree construction (11) of the SA usage in (8.a) above is similar to the ES in the PA and HA that is considered a small simple matrix clause:

- (12) **'ana (ktiir) mniiH.** (PA): unmarked ES
 I (very) well-Masc/Sing.
 "I am (very) well."
- (13) **'ana (marra) farHaan** (HA): unmarked ES
 I (very) happy-Masc/Sing.
 "I am (very) happy."

where the AP/predicate is optionally pre-modified by the adverbial-phrase "very": **ktiir** and **marra** both in PA & HA, respectively. Similar modification of AP applies to SA, but it occurs as a post-modifier, using a different expression as: **jiddan**.

Section III.1. below provides more discussion and syntactic justification for cases as the Quest in (8.b), where **maa** "what" does not select a tensed IP. Verbal features that are used in focused sentences and their relation with the selectional properties are also discussed and exemplified in further Arabic ESs.

III.1. Verbal Feature Devices in marked ESs:

Verbal feature devices play a basic role in transforming unmarked ESs into marked ESs where the explicit verbal form becomes obligatory, and where they are of basic significance to the present analysis.

III.1.1. Relations between selectional properties and verbal devices:

In natural languages, temporal relations reduce the grammar of "Tense and Aspect" as properties of INFL, [46]. ESs are also found to be directly related to selectional properties within which the multiple functions of Tense/Aspect in INFL apply in order to express past/present/future, both perfectly or imperfectly at the aspectual level. SPs of Government Binding theory are those features of restrictions that are selected as textual features, and thus can also be referred to as Selectional Features (SFs), to relate a lexical term to the grammatical context (Bahloul 1993:211). SFs are reasons for having

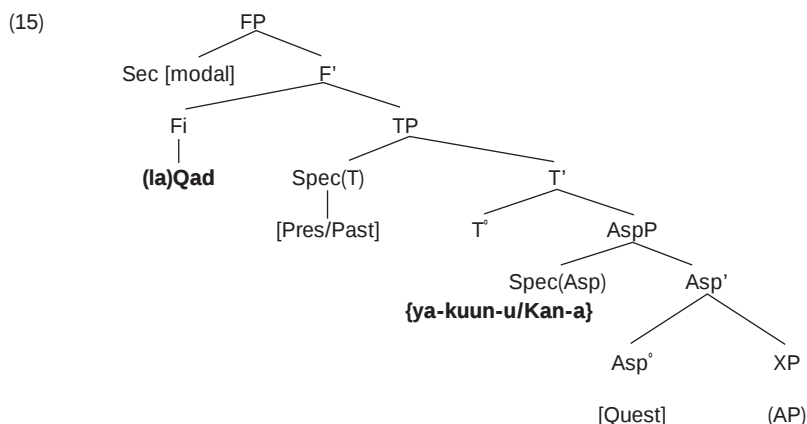
verbal features, such as the modal **Qad** (or **laQad**) “may be” (or “does”, “are”, etc.) They are described, [47], as focus markers that contain emphasis and reinforcement. Those features become necessary and obligatory in marked focused status (against the unmarked simple status), as in our examples of SA above (8.b&c).

The following are more SA ESSs to illustrate the usage of **Qad**:

- (14) .a **aT- TaQs -u baarid-un** (SA): Unmarked ES
the-weather -Nom cold -Nom
“The weather is cold.”
- b. **Qad ya-kuun-u/kaan-a aT-TaQsu baarid-an** (SA): marked ES
may be(Pres)-Nom/be(Past)the-weather cold-Acc
“The weather was (indeed) cold”

It becomes necessary, as in example (14-b), to use the copula verb, either in the imperfective aspect: **ya-kuun-u** “be Present” or in the perfect aspect: **kaan-a** “was” as one verbal device. The equivalent verbal device focus marked **Qad** “may be” in SA, is also found in PA and HA as “**yimkin**” “may be / might be”, using the same expression in both varieties of Arabic with the same structure as that of SA.

The focus marker is located under functional phrase (FP) a maximal projection higher than the TP presented in (10) above, as follows:



The above tree accounts for the usage (14.b) above, as well as the wh-Quest marked: **kayf-a** “how” that is also used with the obligatory coupla **kaan-a** “was”, as in (8.c) above. FP can also appear as CP (complementary phrase). The same tree structure (15) also accounts for all focus markers as the marked ESSs in SA, PA and HA, where the copula is obligatory to account within INFL for Tense Phrase and Aspect Phrase. (Such constructions are referred to as ‘problematic features’, [48], as focus marker cases (FM), [40]).

III.2. Final remarks on analysis of verbal devices in ESs:

ESs are grounded on a Semantic and Syntactic parallel between verbal devices of ESs. Those devices appear in the marked forms of ESs and reinforce or confirm the propositional content of a given simple basic ES, hence marked. As was mentioned earlier, these devices can also be described as sentence focus markers when they are applied in the unmarked ESs depending on the selectional properties of functional categories. They transform unmarked ESs into marked ESs.

Sentence-focus devices include the use of copula such as **kaan-a/ya-kuun-u** "is/was"; temporal complementisers as: **mataa** "when", **Hiinamaa** "while", **'indama** "while/when", **lammaa** "when"; wh-Interrogatives as: **mataa**, **'ayna (ween)** "where"; **kayf-a (keef)** "how"; NEG as: **maa**, **laa**, **lam**, **mesh**, **muu...**; complementisers as: **'anna/'inna/'an** "that"; moods and modals as: **Qad** "may be", **laazim** "must", **yajibu** "ought to", **mustaHiil-un**, "never", etc. Also, the expletive verbal element such as: **yuwjad-u** in SA, and **fii** in PA and HA "there is", is a common verbal device in all Arabic varieties. The focus devices allow one to identify the argument structure of such verbal implicitness. The equivalent to SA modal: **Qad** "may be" in PA and HA is **yimkin** "may be", in which the structure and the meaning are retained, as in:

- (16) a. **yimkin y-kuun/kaan (hwwa) za'laan-0** (PA&HA): marked for modality
may [present] is / was (he) sad -Msc/Sing
"He may/might be sad."
b. **yimkin za'laan-0** (PA&HA): marked for modality
may sad -Masc/Sing
"He may/might be sad."

Tree (15) fits for example, (16.a) above, where tense is carried in the aspectual reference in **y-kuun/kaan** "be" (present/past). Under the XP, where the NP/subject (mubtada') **huwwa** "he", as well as the INFL in the IP, is optionally reduced, as in (16-b). So far, it has been argued that marked ESs in Arabic have at least the copula verb (be) which is very sensitive to the content of the INFL in the IP, where tense and aspect are identified. But the simple matrix ES, as a non-verbal sentence where the VP is altogether absent, has the content of the INFL in the IP, where tense and aspect are identified. But the simple matrix ES, as a non-verbal sentence where the VP is altogether absent, has the content of the sentence identified under IP into I° and XP, as in (2-a&b), (3) and (11) above. Accordingly, the dual coordinating roles of Syntax/Semantic interpretation of ESs can be clearly realized in such analysis. Semantically, the ES in (16.b) has the implicit verbal reference "may/might" in either tense: present or past. Tense here is defined by the context.

However, it seems that only in the spoken variety of Arabic, as in (16-a) the INFL in the IP as well as the NP/subj (mubtada') can be optionally deleted as in: (16-b) leaving the marked ES component only with modal-P **yimkin** "may be", and the AP/predicate of the XP. In SA, the INFL in the IP as in (14-b) above, does not allow this optional deletion.

The interpretation of this structure depends on adopting the selectional properties (SPs) of the verbal devices hypothesis discussed under Section III.2.1. above, which determine the textual features. The SPs provide a straightforward account for the occurrence of the copula with modal/mood phrases, as in (14-b) of SA, and (16.a) of PA and HA above. The IP as well as NP/subject may be optionally deleted in less formal contexts, as in PA and HA, (16-b). Syntactically, these usages are discussed in the following section.

III.3. Marked ESs with no tensed IP selected

The grammaticality of the sentences (8.b) and (16-b) above, deleting the NP/subject, and the tensed IP of both tense and aspect is carried by the implicit copula. The SA modal **Qad** "may be" in SA, and "**yimkin**" in PA and HA is base-generated in the FP or (CP), as was shown in (15) above. But the optionality here leaves the gap tensed IP with the appropriate trace index (ti) of the XP/predicate as:

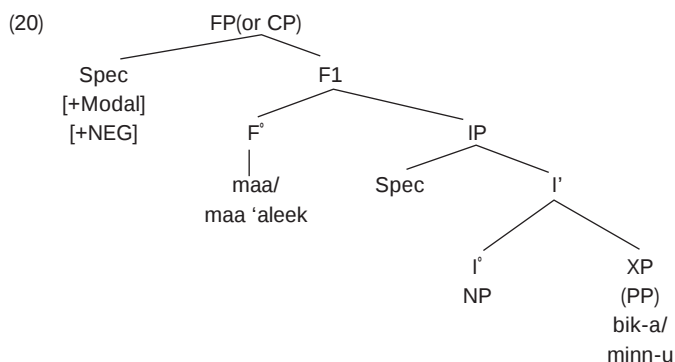
- (17) **yimkin (ti) za'laan (ti)** (HA) and (PA) marked for modality
 may (he) sad (he)
 "He might be sad."

Consider the following marked Arabic ESs from the three varieties:

- (18) a. **maa bi- -k -a?** (SA): Quest wh-phrase
 what with -you -Masc.Sing.?
 "What is the matter with you?"
 b. **eesh ba -k-0?** (HA): Quest wh-phrase
 what with-you/masc.Sing?
 "What is the matter with you?"
 c. **shuu maala -k-0?** (PA): Quest wh-phrase
 what matter -you/Masc.Sing?
 "What is the matter with you?"
 (19) a. **maa 'anaa Haziin-un** (SA): Negation-Phrase
 not I sad- -Nom/Masc.Sing.
 "I am not sad."
 b. **'ana muu Haziin-0.** (HA): Negation-Phrase
 I not sad-Masc.Sing.
 "I am not sad."
 c. **'ana mish Haziin-0.** (PA): Negation-Phrase
 I not sad-Masc.Sing.
 "I am not sad."

The unmarked ES that corresponds to the three marked ESs varieties above, is the basic matrix clause as in (8-a) and (11) above.

Syntactically, selectional properties determine the occurrence of the selected context of these examples as in (17-19) above, where tense which is carried in IP is left empty with the non-verbal category. The wh-phrases, IMP-NEG and IMP-Positive, are base-generated in the specifier of the FP (or CP), as appears in (15) above. Such devices in this special group of the marked ESs do not require an IP, which is usually presented with the occurrence of the copula **kaana** "to be". The internal structure of those cases with no copula verb is seen in (20):



Another principle is added to those in (7) above, in order to account for these particular marked ESs in Arabic which reads as follows:

- (21) Certain wh- and NEG types of marked Arabic ESs which carry tense INFL are base-generated in the maximal projection of FP, and require no verbal form.

The above formula statement will not account for ungrammatical ill-formed usages that are unacceptable in all three (if not all) varieties of Arabic under scrutiny, such as the Quest ESs in (22), and the NEG Ess in (23) below:

- (22) *a- **maa (yakuunu) bi -k -a ?** (SA): Quest wh-Phrase
 what (to be) with - you/Sing.Masc.
"What is the matter with you?"
- *b- **eesh (yikuun) b -ak ?** (HA): Quest wh-Phrase
 what (to be) with -you/Sing.Masc,
"What is the matter with you?"
- *c- **shuu (ykuun) maal -ak ?** (PA): Quest wh-Phrase
 what (to be) matter -you/Masc.Sing.
"What is the matter with you?"

The Copula is not allowed to occur with the wh-phrase **maa, eesh, shuu** "what" in: SA, HA and PA respectively. The same is true for the following:

- (23) *a. **maa ('akuunu) 'anaa Haziin-un** (SA): NEG-Phrase
not (to be) I sad -Nom
"I am not sad."
- * b. **'ana muu/maani ('akuun) Haziin.** (HA): NEG-Phrase
I not (to be) sad
"I am not sad."
- * c. **'ana mish ('akuun) Haziin.** (PA): NEG-Phrase
I not (to be) sad
"I am not sad."

It is noteworthy here that the choice of the negating article or question article in wh-phrases, depends totally on pragmatic contexts, and lies outside the scope of this paper. **Ya-kuun-u** "to be/present" may become possible in its past form (**kaan-a**) for emphasizing certain less formal contexts in some dialects, and not in the standard form, such as: **shuu kaan maal-ak?** "What was the matter with you?" in PA, or: **eesh kaan bak?** "What was the matter with you?" in HA. The tense there is marked for the past, and perhaps needs to be discussed in another research work.

IV. Conclusion

This paper presents a discussion of the internal syntactic mechanism of some verbal devices of the marked-focused ESs in three Arabic dialects where a modal auxiliary appears in the marked forms. It discusses within MP framework the syntactic role of IP, which carries the INFL of tense and aspect when marked by applying verbal devices. Syntactic internal mechanism has been presented on tree diagrams throughout the discussion. Three formal statements have been developed as conclusions of this study, and upon which the discussion has been based. The first formal statement is related to INFL and the related verbal devices and is presented in (5) above, where it relates the IP of the marked ESs to the unmarked ES as in (11). Relations between selectional properties and verbal devices that transfer the ESs from unmarked to marked focused sentences are discussed with relation to the previous studies and the selectional properties role was presented as textual features to relate a lexical term to its grammatical context. Selectional properties as reasons for having verbal features are then confirmed and illustrated in Arabic ESs in section III.2.a. above. The second formal statement of IP has been formulated in (7) above to account for the grammatical ESs in focus using verbal devices. The discussion also concludes that Arabic ESs are grounded on semantic and syntactic parallel which present some syntactic structures of marked ESs where certain verbal devices of sentence focus occur without an auxiliary modal. The reinforcement of the propositional

content of the focused/marked ES is grammatically base-generated in the FP (or CP), as (15) above shows. Accordingly, our third formal statement in (21) reveals that the INFL tense and aspect are carried by FP at a maximal projection with no need for the IP. This formal statement in (21), is provided to account for those usages, and to exclude the ungrammatical ones. At some points, richer usages in the informal variety of Arabic than the formal SA are seen in the data under scrutiny (see 16-a and 16-b above). Otherwise, there is a great similarity in the three varieties of Arabic structure at the levels discussed.

More analysis of syntactic and semantic features in ESs in Arabic involving wider data are needed both to discuss the rich syntactic usages in Arabic and to relate the analysis to recent frameworks of linguistic theory.

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