

Clitic Pronouns in Arabic: Agr Elements or Pronominal Arguments

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Abstract. Roberts and Shlonsky (1995) assume that clitic pronouns in Arabic and Hebrew are actually object Agr elements base-generated on the head they are associated with. On the contrary, we argue that clitic pronouns in Arabic are full-fledged arguments base-generated in the head position of the respective argument. We are depending upon several pieces of evidence from relative clauses, complement clauses, and genitive constructions.

1. Introduction

Cliticization in Arabic is a pervasive phenomenon, where the definite article, clitic pronouns, some prepositions, some emphatic markers, Agr elements, mood markers, and future tense markers, etc. are all clitics and here are some examples to support this argument; they are marked in bold in (a - f):

(a) *Definite article:*

e.g. **al**-qamar -u
the moon (Nom.)

(b) *Preposition:*

e.g. **li**- zayd -n hadiqat -un wasiʕat -un
For Zaid (Gen.) garden (Nom.) wide (Nom.)
'There is a wide garden for Zaid'

(c) *Emphatic marker:*

e.g. ʔnna zayd -an **la**- hakiim -un
Really Zaid (Acc. Emphatic) wise (Nom.)
'really Zaid is wise'

(d) *Agr and mood marker:*

e.g. ʔulaaʔika ar- rijaal -u yabn -**uuna** masjid- an
those the men (Nom. 3m.) build (Plm. Ind.)
mosque (Acc.)
'those men build a mosque'

(e) *Pronoun:*

e.g. raʔay -tu -**hu** y- asbah -u

saw (perf. 1sg) him (Acc. 3m.) swim (impf.
sg. ind.)

'I saw him swimming'

(f) *Future tense marker:*

e.g. **sa**- nazuur- u makkat- a
will (1pl.) visit (ind.) Mecca (Acc.)
'We shall visit Mecca'

Agr elements are the lexical affixes attached to the predicate or the adjective to express the subject-predicate agreement or the noun-adjective agreement, respectively. It is illustrative below in (1), where the prefix *y-* expresses person and gender features of the subject, while the suffix *-u* is amalgamation of the number and the indicative mood morphemes:

(1) *y*-aktub - *u*
3m.write.impf. sg.ind
'He writes' or 'He is writing'

We mean by the *clitic pronouns* the accusative and genitive suffixes which receive Case and thematic roles. (2) below is illustrative, where the outer suffix *-hu* 'it' is the direct object of the verb. It is the accusative/genitive form of the non-clitic nominative pronoun *huwa* 'he/it':

(2) *y*-aktub -*u* -*hu*
3m.write.impf. sg.ind. it (Acc.)
'He writes it' or 'He is writing it'

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 is an introduction. In Section 2, we display Roberts and Shlonsky’s analysis. In Section 3, we put forward our proposal. In Section 4, we critically discuss the previous analysis in detail. In Section 5, we adduce data and evidence that support our analysis. Section 6 is a conclusion.

2. The Previous Analysis

Roberts and Shlonsky (1995) assume that clitic pronouns in Arabic and Hebrew are actually object Agr elements, base-generated on the head they are associated with, rather than pronouns base-generated under the D of DP and moved to their host. In Roberts and Shlonsky’s analysis, the argument position is occupied by a null pronominal element *pro* identified by the Agr element (Ouhalla, 1999: p. 375).

The list of properties of Arabic and Hebrew clitics compiled by Roberts and Shlonsky (1995) is reproduced in (3) (drawn from Ouhalla, 1999: p. 374).

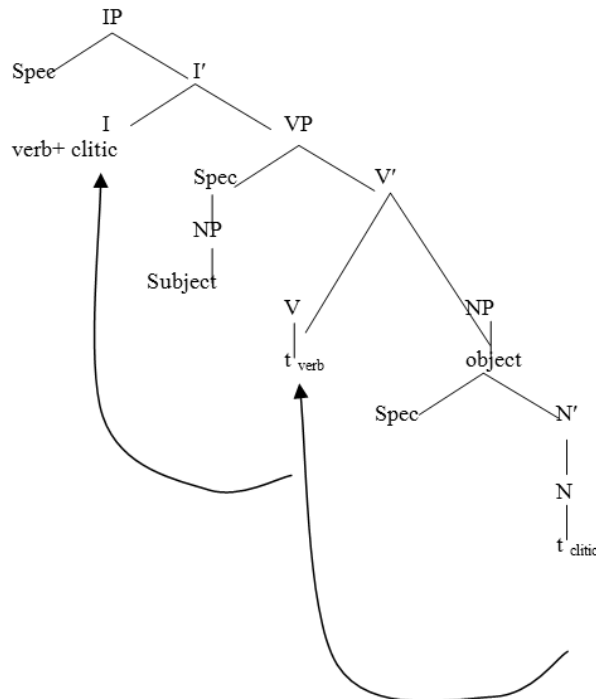
- (3) a. They occur on the right of their host, never on the left.
- b. They are always attached to the closest c-commanding head.

- c. They appear on lexical categories and on certain functional ones.
- d. they do not manifest case distinctions.
- e. They never cluster, i.e. a single clitic per host.
- f. They bear no morphological resemblance to nominal determiners.

3. The Proposal

We assume that the surface word order in all types of relative clauses in Arabic is VOS, when O is a clitic pronoun cliticized onto the verb and the surface word order in declarative complement clauses is SVO, where S is either a nominal subject or a clitic pronoun cliticized onto the complementizer. We assume, following the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, that the underlying word order for any main or subordinate clause in Arabic is SVO (see, at least, Chomsky, 1995: p. 121). Further, we assume that objects, nominals or clitics, are base-generated in thematic positions as complements of verbs or prepositions. Recall that complements in Arabic follow their heads, since Arabic is a right-branching language. Consequently, the clitic pronouns are moved up to cliticize onto their heads as it is illustrated in (4) below.

(4)



In (4) above, the clitic gets its thematic role assigned within the internal argument position and gets its case transmitted from its trace. In other terminology, we can say that it is assigned under government where C-command is crucial.

4. A Critical Review of the Previous Analysis

With respect to the list of properties of clitic pronouns compiled by Roberts and Shlonsky (1995), we feel that the properties *d* and *e* are not at issue in Arabic because each clitic pronoun in Arabic has a homophonous form which occurs only in accusative and genitive positions and they can cluster. We return to this point soon.

Property *a* can be seen in all the following examples. Property *b* is exemplified in (5) below, where the clitic *-hu* 'it' is cliticized onto the embedded verb *yaqra/uhu* 'he-read-it' and not onto the auxiliary *kaana* 'he-was':

- (5) al- kitaab -u ?allaḏi⁽¹⁾
kaan -a ?ab -∅ - ii
- the.book .nom RCP
 be.perf.3sgm father.nom.my
- y - aqra? -u **-hu**
 jayyid - un
- 3m.read.impf.sg.ind. it (acc)
 good. nom
 'The book which my father was reading is good.'

For the clitic to be immediately c-commanded by the main verb, not the auxiliary, means that the clitic is the internal argument of the main verb. Moreover, it means that the clitic is a head that respects the head-to-head movement and it is the head of the NP the tree diagram in (4) shows. The clitic cannot stand on its own. This is the syntactic requirement that motivates it to move to the head verb which is its host in the overt syntax. Hence, it cannot jump to the auxiliary skipping the main verb.

Property *c* is exemplified in (6-9) below:

- (6) with a verb:
 y - aqra? - u **-hu**
 3m. read.impf. sg.ind. it (acc)
 'He reads it.' or 'He is reading it.'

- (7) With a noun:
 bayt -u **-hu**
 house. nom. his (gen)
 'his house'

- (8) With a preposition:
 fii **-hi** and min **-hu**
 in. it (gen) from. it/him (gen)
 'in it' 'from it/him'

The vowel change of the final vowel of the clitic in (8) is only a matter of vowel harmony.

- (9) with a complementizer:
 qaal -a zayd -un ?inna
-hu
 say. perf. 3sgm Zaid. nom that.
 him (acc) sa - y -astaqiil
 -u
 fut. 3m. resign.impf. sg.ind.
 'Zaid said that he will resign.'

From (6-9), we infer that pronominal clitics in Arabic always occur in association with case assigning heads. According to Chomsky (1986a: pp. 186-204) and 9 Chomsky (1986b) nouns can assign inherent (not structural) genitive case.

With respect to property *f*, the definite article in Arabic *?al-* 'the', which is itself a morphological and phonological clitic, is invariant and occurs as a prefix on the left side of the nominals. It is not related to the case-marked clitic pronouns. It is worth mentioning here that the definite article *?al-* 'the' functions as a relative marker when it occurs in association with the deverbal nouns⁽²⁾.

With respect to properties *d* and *e*, Arabic permits two clitics to cluster on one host as (10) below shows, where the verb *?ataa* 'he-gave' takes two internal arguments, direct and indirect objects. See the Noble Qur'an (passim), Wright (1967, V.1: p. 103), and Hasan (1986, V.1: p. 273).

Note that the indirect object clitic should be the immediate adjacent clitic to the verb and the direct object clitic cliticizes (clusters) onto the indirect clitic and not vice versa.

- (10) sa -t -ajid -u
 ?ad-daliil -a fi l-kitaab -i
 fut .2. find.impf. sgm.ind
 the.evidence.acc in the.book. gen
 allaḏi ?tay -tu
-ka **-hu**

⁽¹⁾ RCP means Relative Copy Pronoun.

⁽²⁾ See Masroor (2005).

- (20) qaabal -tu -hu
nafs -a -hu
meet.perf. 1sg. him(acc)self. acc.
his (gen)
'I met him himself.'

In (20) above, the internal argument of the verb *qaabal* 'he-met' is the clitic *-hu* 'him' which is supposed to have left a trace in its thematic position, while the emphatic reflexive pronoun occupies a peripheral position and receives no thematic role. Rather, the reflexive pronoun is coindexed with its antecedent (the clitic) on which the reflexive depends for its interpretation, since the two NPs have the same referent.

It has to be noticed that (14) above, repeated below, in which the subject is *pro*, cannot be emphasized by the emphatic reflexive pronoun *nafsuhu* as (21) below shows:

- (14) jaaʕ -a
come.perf. 3sgm
'He came.'
- (21) *jaaʕ -a nafs -u - hu
come.perf. 3sgm self. nom.his
(gen)
'He himself came.'

The question that arises here is: if the object in (17), repeated below, is *pro*, then why this object *pro* can be emphasized by the reflexive pronoun, as in (20), while the subject *pro* in (14) cannot be, as (21) above shows. This means that *pro* is not present in (17):

- (17) qaabal -tu -hu
meet.perf. 1sg. him (acc)

From this asymmetry we infer that the reflexive pronoun can emphasize the explicit NPs only. Therefore, the result will be that the object in (17) above is not a null pronominal *pro*. Rather, it is the clitic pronoun *-hu* 'him' itself.

In (22) below, an additional nominative pronoun *huwa* 'he' occurs between the clitic pronoun and the reflexive. Being nominative means that *huwa* 'he' is not expected to alternate with an accusative null pronominal (*pro*):

- (22) qaabal -tu -hu
(huwa) nafs -a -hu
meet.perf. 1sg. him(acc)he (nom)
self. acc. his (gen)
Clitic

Reflexive
Lit : 'I met him, he himself.'

The nominative pronoun *huwa* 'he' in (22) is optional and is called by the Arab grammarians *dhamiiru lfasl* 'the separating pronoun' because it separates the emphatic reflexive pronoun from the clitic. This separating pronoun is always nominative (Hasan 1986, V.3: p. 524). Anyway, a full discussion of nominative separating pronoun is not in the scope of this paper.

In (23) below, the pronoun *ʕiyyaahu* 'him' renders the sentence ungrammatical:

- (23) *qaabal -tu - hu ʕiyyaa-hu nafs -a
-hu
meet.per.1sg .him (acc) ?
him self. acc. his (gen)
Lit: 'I met him him himself.'

On a par with the nominative separating pronoun in (22) above, the pronoun *ʕiyyaahu* 'him' in (23) above is not in the thematic position of the direct object which is occupied by the trace of the clitic. A closer look at the distribution of the pronoun attached to the word *ʕiyyaa* shows that it cannot occur adjacent to the verb on its right as (24) below shows:

- (24) *qaabal -tu ʕiyyaa-hu
meet.perf. 1sg ? him
'I met him.'

(25-26) below, show that while the clitic *-hu* 'him' can be an object of a preposition, the pronoun *ʕiyyaahu* 'him' cannot be:

- (25) saafar -tu maʔa -hu
travel.perf. 1sg with. him
(gen)
'I travelled with him.'
- (26) *saafar -tu maʔa ʕiyyaa -hu
travel.perf. 1sg with ?
him
'I travelled with him.'

Comparing (25) to (26) above and (17) to (24), repeated below, shows that the pronoun *ʕiyyaahu* 'him' does not occur adjacent to a governing head in the thematic object position. Hence, (24) and (26) are ungrammatical. While the clitic pronoun *-hu* is qualified enough to receive the thematic role and the accusative case of its governing head as being transmitted to it via its coindexed trace as in (17) and (25), the pronoun *ʕiyyaahu* 'him' remains caseless and without thematic role as in (24) and (26):

- (17) qaabal -tu -hu
meet.perf. 1sg. him (acc)
'I met him.'
- (24) *qaabal -tu ʕiyyaa -hu
meet.perf. 1sg ? him
'I met him.'

In conclusion, the previous examples show that clitics in Arabic are full-fledged objects, and not object agreement.

A further investigation of the distribution of the pronouns appended to the word *ʕiyyaa* provides us with more insights, with respect to the positions they occupy and the case they receive.

In (27) the transitive verb *naʔbud* 'we-worship' needs a direct object to assign its accusative case and thematic role to it. However, the compound pronoun *ʕiyyaaka* 'you' fails to saturate that predicate requirements. This means that *ʕiyyaaka* cannot occur adjacent to the verb. Rather, it is in a peripheral position:

- (27) *n - aʔbud -u ʕiyyaa-
ka
1pl.worship.impf.ind ? you
'We worship you.'

However, *ʕiyyaaka* 'you' can occur in the initial position of the clause, as in (28) below, translated by Al-Hilali (2004: p. 1) with our own gloss:

- (28) ʕiyyaa -ka n-aʔbud -u wa
ʕiyyaa -ka n-astaʔiin - (u)
? you 1pl.worship.impf.ind
and ? you 1pl.seek-
help.impf.ind
'You (alone) we worship, and you (alone)
we ask for help.'
(The Noble Qur'an 1,5))

We feel that Wright's (1967, V.1: p. 103) analysis according to which the pronouns appended to the word *ʕiyyaa* receive genitive case is considerably at issue. We find that the structure *ʕiyyaa-ka* is identical to the structure *baytu-ka* 'your house'. Hence, the mechanism by which the attached pronoun *-ka* in both of them receives its case has to be the same. This conclusion can be obtained from observing the behavior of *ʕiyyaa* in (25), (26) and (29) above repeated below.

In (25) the clitic pronoun *-hu* 'him' receives its genitive case from its governing preposition *maʔa* 'with', since it is its object:

- (25) saafar -tu maʔa -hu
travel.perf. 1sg with. him
(gen)
'I travelled with him.'

In (26) below, the compound pronoun fails to occur in the same position. Hence, the sentence is ungrammatical:

- (26) *saafar -tu maʔa ʕiyyaa -hu
travel.perf. 1sg with ?
him (gen)
'I travelled with him.'

This means that the position of the object of the preposition is empty. Hence, the preposition *maʔa* 'with' cannot discharge its genitive case. If the suffix *-hu* 'him' in *ʕiyyaahu* receives its genitive case from the preposition *maʔa* then the sentence would be grammatical.

In (29) below, the preposition *maʔa* 'with' is absent and the sentence is grammatical.

- (29) saafar -tu wa ʕiyyaa
-hu
travel.perf. 1sg and ?
him (gen)
Lit : 'I travelled and him.'
'I travelled with him.'

The verb *saafar* 'travel' in (29) is unaccusative, and there is no preposition. Therefore, the grammaticality of the sentence means that the pronominal clitic *-hu* 'him' receives genitive case inside the construct state *ʕiyyaa-hu*. The construction in (29) above gives a strong support to Wright's (1967) analysis that pronouns appended to the word *ʕiyyaa* are genitives. We comfortably adopt this analysis.

What is worth mentioning at the end of this discussion is that the nominative pronoun *huwa* 'he' can occur in (17) for the purpose of emphasis as in (30) below:

- (30) qaabal -tu -hu
huwa
meet.perf. 1sg. him (acc)
he (nom)
Lit : 'I met him he.'
'I met him himself.'

In this case the nominative pronoun *huwa* 'he' is called verbal (literal) emphatic pronoun.

In contrast, the compound pronoun cannot do so, where (31) below is ungrammatical:

- (31) *qaabal -tu -hu ζ iyaa
 -hu
 meet.perf. 1sg. him (acc)
 ? him (gen)
 Lit : 'I met him him (gen).'
 'I met him himself.'

It is only nominative pronouns that can function as emphatic pronouns in a marked way, while it is normal that emphasis is implemented by the reflexive pronouns.

5. Evidence from a Variety of Constructions

Subordinate clauses, prepositional phrases, and genitive constructions provide us with strong evidence that supports our claim that clitic pronouns in Arabic are full-fledged arguments rather than Agr elements.

5.1. Evidence from complement clauses

In complement clauses in Arabic the complementizer ζ anna / ζ inna 'that' assigns structural accusative case to the embedded subject which may be a noun as in (32) below or a clitic pronoun as in (33) below:

- (32) qaal -a zayd-un ζ inna
 hind-an
 say.perf.3sgm zaid.nom that
 hind-acc
 rafadh -at al- ζ ardh - a
 refuse.perf.3sgf the.offer. acc
 'Zaid said that Hind refused the offer.'

In (32) above, the embedded nominal subject *Hind* triggers subject-verb agreement on the embedded verb *rafadhadt* 'she-refused' which is third person singular masculine. In (33) below, the clitic subject *-haa* 'her' does the same:

- (33) qaal -a zayd-un ζ inna
 -haa rafadh -at
 say.perf.3sgm zaid.nom that.
 her (acc)refuse.perf. 3sgf
 al - ζ ardh - a
 the.offer. acc
 'Zaid said that she refused the offer.'

It is not plausible to think that the pronominal clitic subject in (33) above is an Agr element, since it is this clitic itself that triggers the presence of the Agr element *-at* (3sgf) on the embedded verb. Moreover, the complementizer ζ inna in (32-33) above does not bear any agreement neither with the matrix subject nor with the embedded subject. Therefore, how can the clitic pronoun in (33) above be diagnosed as an Agr element and why should the complementizer hold agreement only in some sentences and not in the others?

The minimal pair of sentences in (32) and (33) above shows that the clitic pronoun in (33) is a correspondent NP to the noun in (32), where this clitic receives the same case and bear the same thematic role.

We have argued in Masroor (2005) that the complementizer ζ anna / ζ inna has to obligatorily discharge its accusative case to a lexical embedded subject and that the null-subject (pro) is not permitted to occur in such complements, because of the presence of the lexical subject which may be a noun or a clitic pronoun. Once this clitic is assigned case, it is rendered visible for thematic role.

If we follow Roberts and Shlonsky (1995) in considering this clitic (in (33)) as an Agr element, then where is the lexical host of the accusative case assigned by the complementizer and how can a null-subject be permitted in an accusative case position? Given that null-subjects in Arabic normally occur in nominative case positions. What supports our analysis is that the co-occurrence of the two lexical subjects (the noun and the clitic) is ungrammatical as (34) below shows:

- (34) *qaal -a zayd-un ζ inna
 -haa hind -an
 say.perf.3sgm Zaid.nom that.
 her (acc)Hind.acc
 rafadh -at al - ζ ardh
 - a
 refuse.perf.3sgf the.offer. acc
 'Zaid said that Hind refused the offer.'

The complementarity between the noun and the clitic shown in (32), (33), and (34) above leaves no doubt that both of them are subject NPs. Once one of them occurs and receives the accusative case assigned by the complementizer, it leaves the other caseless. Hence, Case filter rules out the sentence.

5.2. Evidence from relative clause

Clitic pronouns emerge in relative clauses in Arabic as a syntactic necessity to host the case and

thematic role assigned by the verb or the preposition to the relativized position. For example, the genitive clitic *-humaa* ‘them’ in (35) below is a compulsory resumptive pronoun without which the sentence would be ungrammatical:

- (35) istaqaal -a r -rajul -aani
 alla - δ - aani
 resign.perf.3sgm the.man.dl.nom
 RCP.m.dl.nom
 y - a ?tamid -u ?alay - **humaa**
 zayd- un
 3m.depend.impf. sg.ind on them
 (gen) Zaid-nom
 ‘The two men [upon whom Zaid depends]
 resigned.’

The head noun *rajulaani* ‘two men’ is the nominative subject of the matrix clause. The relative copy pronoun $\text{?alla}\delta\text{aani}$ is dual and nominative by agreement with the head noun. The clitic pronoun *-humaa* ‘them’ receive genitive case from the embedded preposition and it is the legitimate replacement of the head noun in the restricting clause. This clitic is basically the internal argument (not Agr element) of the relative predicate *ya ?tamidu ?alaa* ‘he-depends-on’, whereas the head noun *rajulaani* ‘two men’ is the external argument in the matrix clause.

We argue in Masroor (2005) that movement is not involved in the formation of such relative clauses. Hence, preposition pied piping is impossible. On the other hand, stranded prepositions are not permitted in the Arabic language. Then a lexical element is necessarily required to occur in the relativized position as a last resort to host the case assigned to that position, and not to express any agreement features. These facts account for the presence of the clitic pronoun in (35) above.

Precisely, we assume that the head noun in (35) above is base-generated as an external argument in the matrix clause, and that the clitic pronoun is base-generated as an internal argument in the restricting clause. The former is nominative and the latter is genitive. Thus, it is difficult to assume that the nominative head noun has been extracted from a genitive position. We do not know, elsewhere in syntax, that NPs/DPs lose or change their case by movement. In other words, we do not know heads coindexed, in their chains, to traces with a different case. Similarly, the nominative relative copy pronoun, which agrees with the head noun in definiteness, number, gender, and case, cannot be assumed to have been moved from a genitive

position. Given that moved NPs always get their case transmitted to them from their traces in their base-position. This state of affairs is clear in the English counterpart of (35) above, ‘*the two men* [[upon whom]_j *Zaid depends* t_j] *resigned*’, where the relative pronoun together with the pied piped preposition are moved up from the trace position to [Spec, CP] of the relative clause.

If Roberts and Shlonsky (1995) are on the right track in postulating a null-object in association with any clitic pronoun in the assumption that clitic pronouns are Agr elements, then such a null-object can lexically realize as a noun or a pronoun. But this is never permitted in Arabic as (36) below shows:

- (36) *istaqaal -a r -rajul -aani
 all - δ - aani
 resign.perf.3sgm the.man.dl.nom.
 RCP.m.dl.nom
 y - a ?tamid - u ?alay - humaa
 - **humaa/ rajulayni**
 3m.depend.impf. sg.ind on.them. (gen)
 them (gen) man.dl.gen
 zayd -un
 Zaid.nom
 ‘The two men [upon whom Zaid depends]
 resigned.’

In fact, we are completely suspicious of the existence of a prepositional null-object in Arabic.

5.3. Evidence from prepositional phrases

Prepositions in Arabic do not agree with their complements which may be nominals or pronominals. In the latter case, the pronominal complement realizes as a genitive clitic attached to the preposition. Consider the following examples:

- (37) saafar -at hind -un **ma ?a zayd -in**
 travel.perf.3sgf Hind.nom with
 Zaid.gen
 ‘Hind travelled with Zaid.’
- (38) saafar -at hind-un **ma ?a -hu**
 travel.perf.3sgf Hind.nom with.
 him. (gen)
 ‘Hind travelled with him.’

If we follow Roberts and Shlonsky (1995) in considering the clitic pronouns as an Agr element expressing a prepositional agreement with a prepositional null-object, then we will expect (39) below to be grammatical, contrary to fact:

- (39) *saafar -at hind -un maʔa-
 hu zayd -in
 travel.perf.3sgf Hind.nom with.him
 (gen) Zaid.gen
 ‘Hind travelled with Zaid.’

We attribute the ungrammaticality of (39) above to case filter effect and theta-criterion violation. The preposition *maʔa* ‘with’ assigns only one genitive case which goes in (37) above to the nominal object *Zaid* and in (38) above to the pronominal object *-hu* ‘him’. In (39) above, if the clitic exhausts the prepositional case, the *Zaid* will remain vulnerable to case filter and vice versa. From another angle, the predicate *travel with* can take only one internal argument which may be either the proper noun *Zaid* as in (37) above or the clitic pronoun *-hu* ‘him’ as in (38) above, but not both of them as (39) above shows. If one of them receives the commitative thematic role, the other one will be stranded without any thematic role in the sentence.

5.4. Evidence from genitive constructions

One of the genitive constructions in Arabic is called a construct state. This construction is composed of a head noun and a genitive subject which may be a noun or a clitic pronoun as in (40) and (41) below, respectively:

- (40) [bayt -u zayd -in] fakhm -un
 house.nom zaid.gen magnificent.nom
 ‘[Zaid’s House] is magnificent.’
- (41) [bayt -u -hu] fakhm -un
 house.nom.his magnificent.nom
 ‘[His house] is magnificent.’

The fact that the clitic pronoun *-hu* ‘his’ in the construct state in (41) above is a satisfactory substitute for the genitive subject *Zaid* in (40) above shows clearly that clitic pronouns are arguments and not Agr elements. Moreover, *Zaid* and the clitic *-hu* ‘his’ cannot co-occur within one construct state for

reasons of case and thematic role assignment. (42) below is illustrative:

- (42) *[bayt - u -hu zayd - in] fakhm
 -un
 house.nom.his Zaid.gen magnificent.nom
 ‘[Zaid’s House] is magnificent.’

6. Conclusion

According to the above data and discussion, we come to the following conclusions:

- (i) Though Arabic is a pro-drop language, null-objects (pro) are not attested in Arabic sentences.
- (ii) Clitic pronouns in Arabic are arguments:
 - a) clitics attached to verbs and prepositions are objects, and not object Agr elements. They can be subjects as well.
 - b) clitics attached to the complementizer *ʕanna / ʕinna* are embedded subjects; and
 - c) clitics attached to nouns are subjects of DPs.

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الضمائر المتصلة في اللغة العربية:
هل هي عناصر تطابق مع الأسماء أو بدائل لها؟

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ملخص البحث. يفترض كل من روبرتس Roberts وشلونسكي Shlonsky في مقالتهما المنشورة عام ١٩٩٥م أن الضمائر المتصلة في اللغتين العربية والعبرية عناصر تطابق مع المفاعيل، ناشئة أصلاً في الموقع وثيقة الصلة به. وعلى العكس من ذلك، فالواقع أن الضمير المتصل في اللغة العربية قد يكون فاعلاً أو مفعولاً أو مضافاً إليه، بحيث ينشأ كل منها في الموقع المخصص له، وليس الموقع وثيق الصلة به. وقد اعتمدتُ في هذا الرأي على أدلة لغوية من جملة الصلة، والجملة التكميلية، وبنى الإضافة أيضاً.