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Complementizer Agreement in Jordanian Arabic is Agree-based: Evidence from Fronted Objects

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Abstract

This study provides supporting evidence from fronted objects that complementizer agreement (CA) in Jordanian Arabic (JA) is the result of the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). The study demonstrates that CA with the local subject in JA can be disrupted only by an active intervening potential goal such as a clitic-left dislocated object as opposed to an inactive focus-fronted object, contra Chomsky's (2000) Defective Intervener Constraint. The study also shows that C^0 and T^0 may agree with different goals in JA, suggesting that there is no Φ-feature dependency between C^0 and T^0.

Keywords: Complementizer Agreement, Jordanian Arabic, Agree, fronted objects, Intervention.

1. Introduction

The complementizer in JA may either inflect for the Φ-features of the local subject or carry default agreement morphology. We illustrate in (1) below.[1]

(1) a. *kariim gaal ʔinn-uh/ha l-bint ʃarb-it l-ħaliib*
Kareem said.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M/3SG.F DEF-girl drank-3SG.F DEF-milk
'Kareem said that the girl drank the milk.'

b. … *ʔinn-uh/hin l-banaat ʃarb-an l-ħaliib*
COMP-3SG.M/3PL.F DEF-girls drank-3PL.F DEF-milk
'(Kareem said that) … the girls drank the milk.'

c. … *ʔinn-uh/hum l-wlaad ʃarb-u l-ħaliib*
COMP-3SG.M/3PL.M DEF-boys drank-3PL.M DEF-milk
'(Kareem said that) … the boys drank the milk.'

In all of the examples in (1), the complementizer *ʔinn* may appear with the affix *-uh*, which spells out the third person, singular and masculine default agreement morphology in Arabic. That the third person, singular and masculine features are the default agreement features in Arabic has been proposed by several researchers (see, e.g., Benmamoun 2000; Soltan 2007; Aoun et al. 2010). The complementizer may also carry agreement morphology that inflects the Φ-features of the local subject.

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Following the proposals by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002); Carstens (2003); van Koppen (2005) and Haegeman and Van Koppen (2012), the study shows that CA in JA is the result of the syntactic operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). In particular, we demonstrate that C^0 in JA, serving as a probe, is specified for unvalued uninterpretable Φ-features that need to be valued by a goal with matching valued interpretable features. The valuation of the features of C^0 takes place in the narrow-syntax under the condition that C^0 c-commands the goal and that the goal is active. A standard version of the Agree operation is given in (2) (Carstens 2000, 350):

(2) The Agree operation

Agree operates between a probe α and a goal β iff;

a. α has uninterpretable Φ-features;

b. β has identical, interpretable Φ-features;

c. β has an unchecked feature of structural Case;

d. α c-commands β;

e. There is no potential alternative goal ϒ such that α c-commands ϒ and ϒ c-commands β; and

f. The structural relation between (α, β) was not created by Merge (α, β).

The study demonstrates that CA with the local subject in JA can be disrupted only by an active intervening potential goal such as a clitic-left dislocated (CLLDed) object as opposed to an inactive focus-fronted object, contra Chomsky's (2000) Defective Intervener Constraint. The study also shows that C^0 and T^0 may agree with different goals in JA, suggesting that C^0 and T^0 are endowed with discrete uninterpretable Φ-features that qualify them as active probes that do not necessarily need to agree with the same goal (cf. Haegeman and van Koppen 2012). This argues against previous analyses which assume that there is a Φ-feature dependency between C^0 and T^0 such as the proposal that T^0 (or the features of T^0) move to C^0 (den Besten 1977, 1989; Hoekstra and Marácz 1989; Zwart 1993, 1997; Watanabe 2000), and the proposal that the features of C^0 are inherited to T^0 (Chomsky 2008, Omari and Branigan 2014).

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we discuss the interaction of CA with fronted objects, showing that the complementizer may agree only with active CLLDed objects, but not inactive focus-fronted objects. In Section 3, we argue that the inability of the complementizer to Agree with the object in VOS clauses follows from the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001) rather than the Phase Impenetrability Condition, contra Jarrah (2020). Section 4 concludes the study.

2. CA with fronted objects.

JA allows for three embedded word-order patterns where the object appears in a preverbal position. These include OSV, OVS, and SOV as shown in the examples in (3), (4) and (5), respectively. Note here and throughout the rest of the paper that, following the tradition, uppercase letters are used to mark focalized constituents. Note also that, following Ouhalla (1997), negative continuation is used in an attempt to contextualize examples with focus-fronted phrases and to show the contrastive focus nature of these examples.[2]

(3) a. *kariim gaal ʔinn-uh ʃ-ʃubbak salma kasara-t-uh*
Kareem said.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M DEF-window Salma broke-3SG.F-it
'Kareem said that the window, Salma broke it.'
b. … *ʔinn-uh ʃUBBAK salma kasara-t (muʃ baab)*
COMP-3SG.M window Salma broke-3SG.F (NEG door)
'(Kareem said) … that it is A WINDOW that Salma broke (not a door)'

(4) a. *kariim gaal ʔinn-uh ʃ-ʃubbak kasara-t-uh salma*
Kareem said.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M DEF-window broke-3SG.F-it Salma
'Kareem said that the window, Salma broke it.'
b. … *ʔinn-uh ʃUBBAK kasara-t salma (muʃ baab)*
COMP-3SG.M window broke-3SG.F Salma (NEG door)
'(Kareem said) … that it is A WINDOW that Salma broke (not a door).'

(5) a. *kariim gaal ʔinn-uh salma ʃ-ʃubbak kasara-t-uh*
Kareem said.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M Salma DEF-window broke-3SG.F-it
'Kareem said that the window, Salma broke it.'
b. … *ʔinn-uh salma ʃUBBAK kasara-t (muʃ baab)*
COMP-3SG.M Salma window broke-3SG.F (NEG door).
'(Kareem said) … that it is A WINDOW that Salma broke (not a door).'

These examples show that the object may appear in a preverbal position in JA under one of two conditions. The first condition requires resumption of the object with a weak pronominal clitic on the verb, giving rise to a clitic-left dislocation (CLLD) construction (Cinque 1977, 1990).[3] The second condition requires the object to bear prosodic prominence, giving rise to a focus-fronting construction. The difference between the two types of constructions from a discourse perspective is that CLLDed objects express old information while focus-fronted objects express new information that is not known to the hearer from previous discourse or information that is in conflict with existing information. Consequently, definite DPs are more compatible as CLLDed objects whereas indefinite DPs are more compatible as focus-fronted objects (Ouhalla 1997; Aoun et al. 2010). This is well expected as definite DPs express 'presupposed information' while indefinite DPs express new information (Ouhalla 1997: 29). In the reminder of Section 2, we will review previous analyses of CLLD and focus-fronting in Arabic, focusing on how these analyses used Case assignment to test the structural status of the fronted object in the two types of constructions.

There is consensus among Arabic generative grammarians that focus-fronting is an instance of movement whereby an expression moves to the left-periphery of its clause and is related to a gap in its initial position inside the clause (see, e.g., Bakir 1980; Moutaouakil 1989; Ouhalla 1994b, 1997; Aoun et al. 2010). However, it is controversial whether CLLD instantiates movement to the left-periphery or base-generation. One group of researchers advocates that CLLDed expressions are based-generated in the left-periphery and bind a weak pronominal clitic inside the clause (Soltan 2007; Ouhalla 1994b, 1997).

Another group of researchers suggest that CLLD involves movement of the CLLDed expression to the left-periphery (Aoun and Benmamoun 1998; Aoun et al. 2010; Jarrah 2019a).[4]

Case assignment has featured as one important test in previous studies on the structural status of CLLDed elements and focus-fronted elements in Arabic. For example, it has been observed that while a CLLDed object in Standard Arabic typically bears nominative Case as shown in (6a), a focus-fronted object carries the structural accusative Case marking of its corresponding gap as shown in (6b).

(6) a. *al-kitaab-u* *waʤad-a-hu* *muħammad-un*
DEF-book-NOM found-3SG.M-it Muhammad-NOM
'The book, Muhammad found it.'

b. *AL-KITAAB-A* *waʤad-a* *muħammad-un*
DEF-book-ACC found-3SG.M Muhammad-NOM
'THE BOOK, Muhammad found.'

Ouhalla (1994b, 1997) argues that the Case assignment facts from CLLDed phrases and focus-fronted phrases in Standard Arabic can be accounted for under a base-generation analysis of the former but a movement analysis of the latter. In particular, he proposes that CLLDed phrases are base-generated in their surface position either as left-peripheral topics in the sense of Chomsky (1977) or as adjuncts of the highest functional projection of the clause and are related to a pronominal clitic inside the clause. Focus-fronted phrases, on the other hand, are derived by movement form their initial position inside the clause to Spec,FocusP in the left-periphery of the clause. Building on the condition that movement chains have the same Case position (Chomsky 1986), Ouhalla suggests that a focus-fronted phrase bears the Case marking of its corresponding gap inside the clause because it forms a movement chain with that gap.[5] In contrast, a CLLDed phrase bears a Case marking that is different from the one of the clause-internal position that it is associated with because it does not form a movement chain with that position. Rather, a CLLDed phrase is based-generated in its surface position and bears nominative Case, the typical Case of elements that function as topics in the language. This analysis can readily account for the contrast in (6) above. The CLLDed phrase in (6a) bears nominative Case while the focus-fronted phrase in (6b) bears accusative Case even though both phrases are related to a direct object position inside the clause because the former is based-generated in its surface position, whereas the latter is derived by movement form the direct object position inside the clause.

The data that we present from the interaction of CA with CLLD and focus-fronting in JA in Section 2 argues against a unified movement analysis of the two constructions. The data we present here show that the complementizer may agree only with a CLLDed object but never with a focus-fronted object. This conclusion is in conformity with the movement analysis of focus-fronting and the base-generation analysis of CLLD. In accordance with the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001), a focus-fronted object has already checked its structural Case in its initial position against v^{0}* inside the clause prior to movement to CP where it can no longer function as an active goal for any further syntactic operations. A CLLDed object, on the other hand, may serve as an active goal for the agreeing

complementizer because it is base-generated in the specifier position of a functional projection above TP with its structural Case still unvalued.

We propose that both CLLDed objects and focus-fronted objects are located in the CP domain of the clause above TP. In order to accommodate this, we appeal to Rizzi's (1997) Split CP hypothesis. Rizzi (1997) proposes a cartographic theory of the left-periphery which suggests that CP should be split into several separate projections (i.e., phrases) whose order is fixed as represented in the diagram in (7) below.

(7) Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis

ForceP >> TopicP >> FocusP >> TopicP >> FinitnessP

The split CP hypothesis suggests that what was traditionally considered as one type of CP projection should be viewed as consisting of several CP projection types. ForceP hosts elements that mark the illocutionary force of the clause as declarative, interrogative, imperative, or exclamative.[6] FocusP hosts focused constituents which typically express information that is in conflict with previously mentioned information or new information (i.e., unfamiliar information that is not previously mentioned in the discourse). TopicP hosts elements that serve as topics with old information (i.e., information already mentioned in the discourse and familiar to the hearer). Finally, FinitenessP marks a clause as finite or non-finite. One advantage of this cartographic analysis of CP is that it designates different projections where fronted constituents can appear in the left-periphery and it therefore allows for a more elaborate analysis of how the constituents that form the different word-order patterns in JA interact with each other and with other elements of the clause such as the complementizer. Accordingly, we conjecture that CLLDed objects in JA are located in Spec,TopicP, whereas focus-fronted objects are located in Spec,FocusP in the left-periphery. From a discourse perspective, this is supported by the observation that CLLDed objects in JA express old information while focus-fronted objects express conflicting information or new information.

Let us now see how the proposals that we have made so far about the status of CLLDed objects versus focus-fronted objects and the cartographic nature of the CP domain in JA can account for CA in embedded clauses with a fronted object. To start with, the subject appears before the object in SOV clauses which indicates that the subject is obviously located in the left-periphery. We propose that the preverbal subject in SOV clauses is base-generated in Spec,TopicP where it has not been part of any agreement operation and therefore has its Case feature still unvalued. This predicts that the complementizer will always agree with the preverbal subject as its closest active goal in embedded SOV clauses regardless of whether the object is an instance of CLLD or focus-fronting. This is borne out as shown in the examples in (8).

(8) a. *Kariim ħaka ʔin-hin/*ha l-banaat l-liʕbih kasar-an-ha*
Kareem said.3SG.M COMP-3PL.F/*3SG.F DEF-girls.3PL.F DEF-toy.F broke-3PL.F-it
'Kareem said that the toy, the girls broke it.'

b. … *ʔin-hin/*ha l-banaat LIʕBIH kasar-an (muʃ kaasih)*
COMP-3PL.F/*3SG.F DEF-girls.3PL.F toy.F broke-3PL.F (NEG glass)
'(Kareem said) … that it is A TOY that the girls broke (not a glass).'

The examples in (8a) and (8b) show that the complementizer *ʔinn* may appear with an inflectional suffix which carries Φ-features that match those of the preverbal subject *l-banaat* 'the girls'. These examples also show that it is unacceptable for *ʔinn* to agree with the preverbal object regardless of whether the preverbal object is derived by CLLD or focus-fronting. Note here that the complementizer agrees with the leftmost preverbal subject. Therefore, CA in SOV clauses is not reliable to test the status of the active Case requirement for goals in JA. It might be the case that the complementizer agrees with the leftmost potential goal in embedded SOV clauses regardless of whether this goal is active or not. CA in SOV clauses is also not a reliable test for the involvement of movement or its lack thereof in the derivation of CLLDed and focus-fronted phrases. The complementizer cannot agree with either CLLDed objects or focus-fronted objects in SOV clauses and therefore has nothing to say about which might have been derived by movement and cannot serve as an active goal for the agreeing complementizer.

In fact, things become more informative in embedded OSV clauses where the object appears as the leftmost element to the complementizer. Interestingly, the complementizer may inflect for the Φ-features of the object in OSV clauses rather than the subject under the condition that the object is derived by CLLD as shown in the examples in (9).

(9) a. *ʃ-ʃurtˁi* *fakkar* *ʔinn-ha/*hum* *s-sajjarah* *l-ħaraamijjih*
DEF-policeman thought.3SG.M COMP-3SG.F/*3PL.M DEF-car.F DEF-thieves.M
sarag-u-ha
stole-3PL.M-it
'The policeman thought that the car, the thieves stole it.'

b. … *ʔinn-*ha/hum* *SAYYARAH* *l-ħaraamijjih* *sarag-u* *(muʃ baasˁ)*
COMP-*3SG.F/3PL.M car.F DEF-thieves.M stole-3PL.M (NEG bus)
'(The policeman thought) … that it is A CAR that the thieves stole (not a bus).'

The complementizer in (9a) may agree with the leftmost CLLDed object *s-sayyarah* 'the car' but not the distant subject *l-ħaraamijjih* 'the thieves'. The complementizer in (9b), on the other hand, may agree with the distant subject *l-ħaraamijjih* 'the thieves' but not the leftmost focus-fronted object *SAYYARAH* 'the car'. We argue that the contrast in (9) follows from the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001). A CLLDed object in OSV clauses may serve as an active goal for the agreeing complementize because it is base-generated in Spec,TopicP in the left-periphery with its structural Case still unvalued. A focus-fronted object in OSV clauses, on the other hand, may not serve an active goal for the probing complementizer because it has already valued its uninterpretable Case against v^0* in its initial position as complement of V^0 prior to movement.

When the complementizer fails to Agree with the focus-fronted object in OSV clauses, it searches its domain for other potential active goals where it locates the preverbal subject and establishes an Agree relation with it. Following Bakir (1980), Fassi Fehri (1988, 1989), Ouhalla 1988, 1991, 1994a), Demirdache (1991), Plunkett (1993, 1996) and Aoun et al. (2010), we assume that a preverbal subject in Arabic is a topic or a CLLDed element that is base-generated in an Ā-position which could be Spec,TP or Spec,TopicP and that binds a null pronominal element in the thematic subject position inside the clause. It

follows then that a preverbal subject in JA may serve as an active goal for C^0 because it has its Case feature still not marked for deletion.

Additional evidence that CA in JA is sensitive to structural Case comes from embedded OVS clauses. Here again, the complementizer may agree with the leftmost fronted object in embedded OVS clauses only when the fronted object is a CLLDed phrase; otherwise, it agrees with the subject as illustrated in (10) below.

(10) a. *ʔaʕtaqid ʔinn-ha/*hum l-qisʕsʕah gar-uu-ha tʕ-tʕullaab*
believe.1SG.M COMP-3SG.F/*3PL.M DEF-story.F read-3PL.M-it DEF-students.M
'I believe that the story, the students read it.'

b. … *ʔinn-*ha/hum QISʕSʕAH gar-uu tʕ-tʕullaab (muʃriwaajih)*
COMP-*3SG.F/3PL.M story.F read-3PL.M DEF-students.M (NEG novel)
'(I believe) … that it is A STORY that the students read (not a novel).'

The morphological form of the suffix on the complementizer in (10a) shows that it agrees with the leftmost CLLDed object *l-qisʕsʕah* 'the story' rather than the distant subject *tʕ-tʕullaab* 'the students'. The suffix on the complementizer in (10b), on the other hand, shows that it agrees with the distant subject *tʕ-tʕullaab* 'the students' rather than the closer focus-fronted object *QISʕSʕAH* 'a story'. We argue that the contrast in (10) follows from the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001). A CLLDed object in OVS clauses may serve as an active goal for the agreeing complementize because it is base-generated in Spec,TopicP in the left-periphery with its structural Case still unvalued. A focus-fronted object in OVS clauses, on the other hand, may not serve an active goal for the probing complementizer because it has already valued its uninterpretable Case against v^0* in its initial position as complement of V^0 prior to movement.

When the leftmost potential goal in embedded OVS clauses is a focus-fronted object, the complementizer searches its domain for other possible active goals where it locates the subject and establishes an agreement relation with it. We assume that the subject in OVS clauses with a focus-fronted object is underlyingly a preverbal subject that functions as a topic or a CLLDed element based-generated in its surface position with its Case feature still unvalued. We further argue that this subject appears in a postverbal position as an effect of subject-verb inversion or V-to-C movement on a par with subject-verb inversion in questions in Elizabethan English, French, Italian, Spanish and German (see Radford 2009). The derivation of an OVS clause with a focus-fronted object is assumed to proceed as follows. The object moves from the complement position of V^0 inside the clause to Spec,FocusP in the left-periphery. The verb then moves past the preverbal subject to $Focus^0$ passing through v^{*0} and T^0.[7] The structure of an OVS clause with a focus-fronted object would look like as in the representation in Figure (1) according to this analysis.

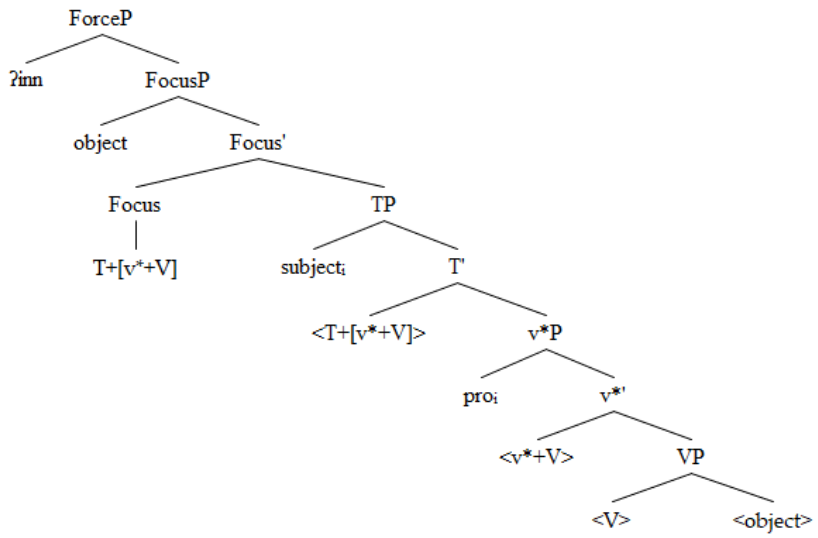


Figure 1: The derivation of OVS clauses (with a focus-fronted object) in JA

In fact, subject-verb inversion is obligatory in focus-fronting constructions in Standard Arabic, but only optional in the spoken varieties (Ouhalla 1994b, 1997; Aoun et al 2010). Consider the examples from Standard Arabic and JA in (11) and (12), respectively (uppercase is ours).

(11) a. **KITAAB-AN* *zaynab-u* *ʔiftarat*
book-ACC Zaynab-NOM bought.3SG.F
(Aoun et al 2010: 205)

b. *KITAAB-AN* *ʔiftarat* *zaynab-u*
book-ACC bought.3SG.F Zaynab-NOM
'It is A BOOK that Zaynab bought.'
(Aoun et al 2010: 205)

(12) a. *KTAAB* *zeenab* *ʔiftarat*
book Zeenab bought.3SG.F
'It is A BOOK that Zeenab bought.'

b. *KTAAB* *ʔiftarat* *zeenab*
book bought.3SG.F Zeenab

The examples in (11) show that the verb needs to invert with the subject and appear adjacent to the focus-fronted object in Standard Arabic. The examples in (12) form JA, on the other hand, show that subject-verb inversion with focus-fronted objects is optional; the verb is free to remain in its canonical position inside the clause (i.e., in v^{0*}) or move to the left-peripheral domain of the clause (i.e., to $Focus^0$) where it surfaces adjacent to the focus-fronted object. It bears mentioning here that although subject-verb inversion is optional in focus-fronting constructions in JA, speakers of the language strongly prefer to invert the verb with the subject in these constructions, which we take to indicate that the subject appears in a postverbal position in OVS clauses with a focus-fronted object as an effect of subject-verb inversion.[8] Before we conclude Section 2, one point is in order. The analysis of CA that we are presenting for JA here is in variation with Jarrah (2019b, 2020). Jarrah (2019b, 2020) argues against the involvement of

structural Case in CA in JA. He demonstrates that the complementizer in JA agrees with the leftmost object in OVS clauses regardless of whether the object is a CLLDed phrase or a focus-fronted phrase. Consider the examples in (13) below (uppercase is ours)[9]:

(13) a. *ʔabuu-j* *fakkar* *ʔinn-ha* *ʔis-sijjaarah* *sarag-u-ha* *ʔiz-zulum*
father-my believed.3SG.M COMP-3SG.F DEF-car.F stole-3PL.M-it DEF-men.M
'My father believed that the car, the men stole it.'
(Jarrah 2020: 154)

b. … *ʔinn-ha* *SIYYAARAH* *sarag-u* *ʔiz-zulum*
COMP-3SG.F car.F stole-3PL.M DEF-men.M
'(My father believed that) . . . it was A CAR that the men stole.' (Jarrah 2020, 154)

The bound form on the complementizer realizes the Φ-content of the preverbal object rather than the subject in both (13a) and (13b), although the object is a CLLDed phrase in (13a) but a focus-fronted phrase in (13b). Assuming that a focus-fronted object in Arabic undergoes movement to the left-periphery and that it already values its Case feature against v^{0*} before movement (see discussion above), Jarrah argues that the active Case requirement for goals is not operative for CA in JA. Alternatively, he proposes an Agree-based analysis of CA in JA that is consistent with the Principle of Closest C-command (Chomsky 2000:122). He argues that C^0 in JA agrees with the leftmost potential goal under the condition that C^0 (i.e., the probe) c-commands the goal (see also Lewis (2014)). Accordingly, the complementizer locates the preverbal object as its leftmost potential goal in both examples in (13) above regardless of whether it is a CLLDed phrase or a focus-fronted phrase.

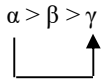
Jarrah, however, does not explicitly discuss whether it is also possible for the complementizer to agree with the subject in the sentences in (13). This is important because if it turns out that, besides the object, the complementizer may also agree with the subject in either or each sentence in (13), this would cast doubt on the Closest C-command Condition analysis of CA in JA since it is the preverbal object and not the subject that is the closest potential goal that the complementizer c-commands in both sentences in (13). If, nevertheless, it turns out that the complementizer may not agree with subject in both sentences in (13), we interpret this as a matter of morphosyntactic variation between the variety of JA that Jarrah discusses, which mainly represents the dialect of JA that is spoken in the north of Jordan, and the variety that we discuss in the current study, which represents the dialect spoken in the south of Jordan, specifically in the Governorate of Karak. A reviewer points out that it might be the case that CA in the dialect of JA that is spoken in the north of Jordan is disappearing (or abating) as it does not operate in distance, unlike the situation in the dialect spoken in the south of Jordan where Case is still a deciding factor that makes CA operate in distance and immune to the effect of intervening material.

To recap, the data presented in Section 2 show that CA in JA is sensitive to structural Case. In accordance with the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001), a CLLDed object can establish a Φ-agreement relation with the complementizer because it is base-generated in Spec,TopicP with its structural Case still unvalued; therefore, it may serve as an active goal for the agreeing complementizer. This results in C^0 agreeing with the CLLDed object and T^0 agreeing with the subject,

suggesting that C^0 and T^0 in JA are endowed with discrete uninterpretable Φ-features that qualify them as active probes that can agree with different goals (cf. Haegeman and van Koppen 2012). This opposes previous analyses which assume that there is a Φ-feature dependency between C^0 and T^0 such as the proposal that T^0 (or the features of T^0) move to C^0 (den Besten 1977, 1989; Hoekstra and Marácz 1989; Zwart 1993, 1997; Watanabe 2000), and the proposal that the features of C^0 are inherited to T^0 (Chomsky 2008).

A focus-fronted object, on the other hand, has already checked its structural Case in its initial position against v^{0*} as the complement of V^0 prior to movement and is therefore no longer active for any further syntactic operations. When the complementizer fails to agree with an inactive focus-fronted object, it searches its domain for other active goals where it locates the so-called preverbal subject in Spec,TP and agrees with it. This analysis challenges Chomsky's (2000) Defective Intervention Constraint. Chomsky (2000) claims that an Agree relation between a probe and a potential goal can be blocked by a defective intervener, another goal that intervenes between the probe its potential goal and that is inactive by virtue of having its features already valued in the derivation as schematized in (14) (Hiraiwa 2001, 68; cf. Chomsky 2000, 123):

(14) The Defective Intervention Constraint



(*AGREE (α, γ), α is a probe and β is a matching goal, and β is inactive due to a prior Agree with some other probe.)

The Defective Intervention Constraint incorrectly predicts that an inactive focus-fronted object that intervenes between the complementizer and the subject in JA would block agreement between the complementizer and the subject.

The sensitivity of CA in JA to structural Case is further supported by another type of clauses with fronted objects. These include VOS clauses that can tolerate only focus-fronted objects but not CLLDed objects, which we discuss in Section 3 below.

3. CA in VOS clauses

The Agree-based account of CA in JA can further be supported by data from embedded VOS clauses illustrated in (15).

(15) *kariim gaal ʔinn-uh kasara-t ʃ-ʃUBBAK salma (muʃ l-baab)*
Kareem said.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M broke-3SG.F DEF-window Salma (NEG DEF-door)
'Kareem said that it is THE WINDOW that Salma broke (not the door).'

Although VOS clauses include a fronted object, they are different from other word-order patterns with fronted objects that we have discussed in Section 2 in the sense that the fronted object in VOS clauses still appears to the right of the verb; hence, resumption of the fronted object with a weak pronominal clitic on the verb is not possible. This leaves us with the choice that the fronted object in VOS clauses can only be an instance of focus-fronting. This is supported by the observation that both the verb and the object (or at least the object) need to bear focal stress in VOS clauses.

Data from JA show that the complementizer may agree only with the subject in embedded VOS clauses as illustrated in (16) below in which the inflectional suffix on the complementizer bears Φ-features that match those of the subject *l-banaat* 'the girls' rather than the closer object *t-tufaaħah* 'the apple'.

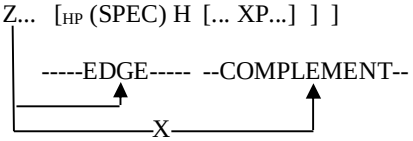
(16) *faaris* *ħassab* *ʔinn-*ha/hin* *ʔakal-an* *TUFAAĦAH* *l-banaat*
Faris thought.3SG.M COMP-*3SG.F/3PL.F ate-3PL.F apple.F DEF-girls.F
(muʃ moozih)
(NEG banana)
'Faris thought that it is AN APPLE that the girls ate (not a banana).'

Jarrah (2020) claims that CA with the subject rather than the closer object in embedded VOS clauses follows from the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001, 14) stated in (17) below.

(17) The Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)
In Phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

Phases typically include the categories of CP and v*P, which form complete propositional constituents in terms of either their clausal structure for CP or their thematic (i.e., argument) structure for v*P. The PIC imposes that the domain (i.e., complement) of a phase head is impenetrable to further syntactic operations. That is, only the head and the edge of a phase head are accessible to external probes according to the PIC, as schematised in (18) below (Gallego and Uriagereka 2007, 47).

(18)[ZP Z... [HP (SPEC) H [... XP...]]]



Jarrah (2020) argues that a VOS clause is derived first by movement of the subject to Spec,TP followed by movement of the remnant v*P to Spec,FocusP in the left-periphery. According to this analysis, the object in VOS clauses remains in-situ as the complement of V^0 and moves to CP as part of the phrasal movement of the entire v*P as one block to Spec-FocusP. The structure of embedded VOS clauses would then look like as in the representation in Figure (2) according to this analysis.

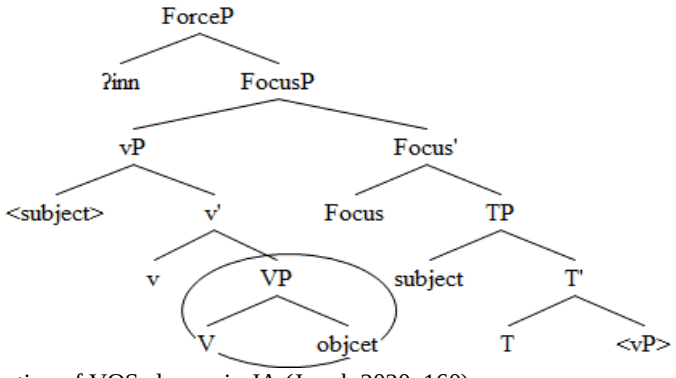


Figure 2: The derivation of VOS clauses in JA (Jarrah 2020, 160)

Accordingly, Jarrah argues that the object in VOS clauses is not an accessible goal for the agreeing complementizer because it is not within the visible c-command domain of the complementizer according to the PIC. The complementizer, instead, searches its domain for other accessible goals where it locates the subject and agrees with it under Closest-Command (Chomsky 2000).

Jarrah supports his analysis of the structure of VOS clauses by sentences that include an overt tense copula. He shows that all elements of a VOS clause appear to the left of the tense copula when the latter is present in the clause as illustrated in the example in (19) (uppercase is ours).

(19) *ʔil-muhanndis ʔitwaggaʕ ʔinn-uh ʔidʒahhiz*
DEF-engineer.M expect.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M prepare.3SG.M
ʔIL-MUXATʕATʕAAT ʔil-maktab kaan
DEF-charts.F DEF-office.M was.3SG.M
'The engineer expected that the office (staff) was preparing the charts.'
(Jarrah 2020, 159)

In (19), the past tense copula *kaan* 'was', which lexicalizes tense in JA, follows all elements of the embedded VOS clause. Jarrah suggests that this word order is obtained by first movement of the subject to Spec,TP and second phrasal movement of the remnant v*P that includes the verb and the object to Spec,CP. These two successive movements result in a structure where both the subject and the past tense copula are located to the right of the verb and its complement.

One problem with this analysis is that it does not extend to embedded VOS clauses where the subject appears to the right of the tense copula. In JA, it is acceptable for the tense copula to either precede or follow the subject in VOS clauses. In fact, speakers of the language even prefer the subject to follow the tense copula when the tense copula is present in VOS clauses as shown in the example in (20).

(20) *ʔil-muhanndis ʔitwaggaʕ ʔinn-uh ʔidʒahhiz*
DEF-engineer.M expect.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M prepare.3SG.M
L-MUWXATʕATʕAAT kaan ʔil-maktab
DEF-charts.F was.3SG.M DEF-office.M
'The engineer expected that it is THE CHARTS that the office (staff) was preparing.'

While the example in (20) does not totally exclude the phrasal movement of the verb and the object as one block to CP in embedded VOS clauses, it shows that this movement should include VP rather than v*P. Following the lines of Jarrah's analysis of the structure of VOS clauses, the subject of the embedded clause in (20) remains in Spec,v*P and does not move to Spec,TP. This is supported by the observation that the subject appears to the right of the tense copula *kaan*. Assuming that, by definition, only maximal projections can undergo phrasal movement, we are forced to assume that the verb and the object move as one block to CP as part of VP rather than v*P. Consequently, v*P will remain in-situ and the object will be located in the visible c-command domain of C^0 as the complement of VP in Spec,FocusP. This incorrectly predicts that the object will be an accessible goal for the agreeing C^0.

We propose an alternative analysis that shows that CA with the subject rather than the closer object in embedded VOS clauses follows from the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

The alternative analysis that we propose does not dispense with the predicate movement of the verb and the object to CP in VOS clauses, but it assumes that this phrasal movement includes VP rather than v*P. The analysis also assumes that the subject in VOS clauses is underlyingly a preverbal subject that functions as a topic base-generated in Spec,TP and that binds a null pronominal element in the thematic subject position in Spec,v*P. The structure of VSO clauses would look like as in the derivation in Figure (3) according to this analysis.

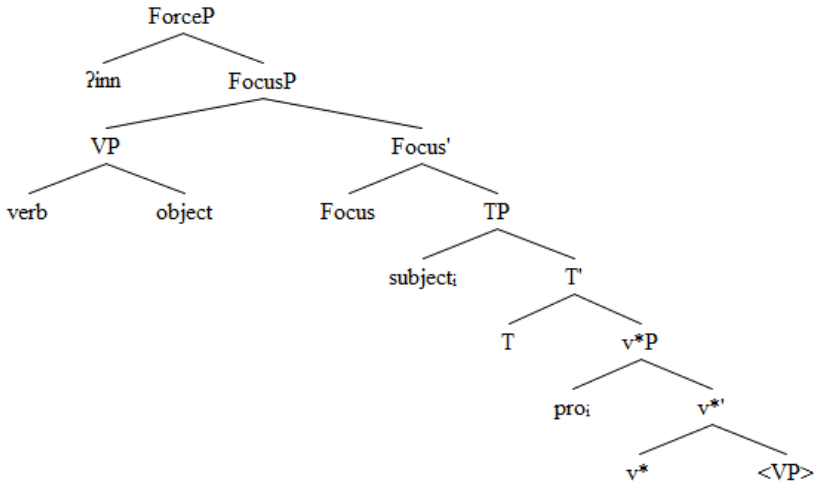


Figure 3: The derivation of VOS clauses in JA

When a tense copula is present in the structure, it may either remain in-situ after the subject or move to Focus^0 across the subject on a par with subject-auxiliary inversion or T-to-C movement in questions in English and other languages (see Radford 2009). It follows then that the complementizer cannot agree with the object in VOS clauses because the object has already checked its Case against v^0* and is therefore invisible as an active goal for the agreeing complementizer. The complementizer probes its domain for other active goals where it locates the preverbal subject that functions as a topic base-generated in Spec,TP and agrees with it.

4. Conclusion

In accordance with the active Case requirement for goals (Chomsky 2000, 2001), CA with the local subject in JA can be disrupted only by an active intervening goal such as a CLLDed object as opposed to a focus-fronted object. In a structure with a CLLDed object and a subject, the complementizer agrees with the left-most active object while the finite verb agrees with the subject, which suggests that C^0 and T^0 are endowed with discrete uninterpretable Φ-features that qualify them as active probes that do not necessarily need to Agree with the same goal (cf. Haegeman and van Koppen 2012). This argues against previous analyses which assume that there is a Φ-feature dependency between C^0 and T^0 such as the proposal that T^0 (or the features of T^0) move to C^0 (den Besten 1977, 1989; Hoekstra and Marácz 1989; Zwart 1993, 1997; Watanabe 2000), and the proposal that the features of C^0 are inherited to T^0 (Chomsky 2008). In a structure with a focus-fronted object and a subject, the complementizer Agrees with the active

subject rather than the closer inactive object, which is at odds with Chomsky's (2000) Defective Intervention Constraint.

توافق الأدوات المكمّلة مع الفاعل في اللهجة العربيّة الأردنيّة يعتمد على عملية التّوافق النحويّ: (Agree) دليل من المفعول به المقدّم

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الملخص

تقدّم الدراسة دليلاً على أنّ توافق شكل الأدوات المكمّلة في اللهجة العربيّة الأردنيّة مع الفاعل هو نتاج عملية التّوافق النحويّ (Agree)، إذ تبيّن الدراسة أنّ توافق شكل الأدوات المكمّلة مع الفاعل يمكن أن يعترضه مفعول به مقدّم نشط تكون وظيفته مبتدأ على خلاف المفعول به المقدّم غيرالنشط الذي تكون وظيفته مفعولاً به منبوراً، وذلك تنافياً مع قيد التّدخل الناقص لتشومسكي، كما وتُظهر الدراسة أيضاً أنّ الأدوات المكمّلة وأدوات الزمن قد يتفقان مع أهداف مختلفة في اللهجة العربيّة الأردنيّة، مما يشير إلى عدم وجود تبعيّة تخصّ الخصائص القواعديّة لهذين النوعين من الأدوات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: توافق شكل الأدوات المكمّلة مع الفاعل، اللهجة العربيّة الأردنيّة، التّوافق النحويّ، المفعول به المقدّم، التّداخل اللغويّ.

Endnotes

[1] All of the data from JA reflect the native intuition of the author and were also verified against the intuition of 20 other native speakers who mainly come from the Governorate of Al-Karak in the south of Jordan.

[2] 'Contrastive focus' in Arabic introduces information that is in conflict with previously mentioned information as opposed to 'new information focus' which introduces new information (Moutaouakil 1989; Ouhalla 1997).

[3] Cinque (1977, 1990) distinguishes between CLLD constructions and Left Dislocation (LD), a construction also known as hanging topic. He demonstrates that while CLLD can occur in both root and embedded clauses and is not limited to one constituent, LD is a root clause phenomenon and can affect only one constituent per sentence.

[4] In fact, Aoun and Benmamoun (1998) and Aoun et al. (2010) argue against a unified analysis of CLLD. They suggest that CLLDed expressions that are related to a clitic inside an island are based-generated elements, whereas CLLDed expressions that are not related to a clitic that is contained inside an island are derived by movement, albeit PF movement. They base their argument on reconstruction effects. In particular, they show that CLLDed expressions that are not related to a clitic that is contained inside an island can host a bound variable, whereas CLLDed expressions that are related to a clitic inside an island cannot do so. They take this to indicate that the former involves movement while the latter does not.

[5] Ouhalla (1994b) motivates the movement of a focus-fronted phrase through feature identification. He proposes that a focus-fronting construction projects an FP (i.e., FocusP) between CP and TP. FP is assumed to be the projection of an abstract head F^0 that bears a [+F] feature which, on a par with the [+Q] feature on C^0, needs to be identified. The identification of [+F] on the head F^0 of FP can be identified by the movement of a phrase that carries [+F] to Spec,FP.

[6] We will continue to refer to $Force^0$ as C^0 in the remainder of the paper for ease of reference and consistency.

[7] This amounts to saying that an OVS clause is derived from an SVO clause. It has already been noted that SVO is the unmarked word-order pattern in root clauses and embedded clauses in JA (El-Yassin 1985; Al-Shawashreh 2016; Jarrah 2019a). This supports the status of SVO as the underlying pattern for all other marked word-orders in JA. In Section 5, we propose an analysis for VOS clauses that is also compatible with the status of SVO as the basic structure for all other marked word-orders in JA.

[8] Following Bakir (1980), Shlonsky (2000) suggests the focus-fronting constructions are subject to an adjacency condition that requires the verb to appear adjacent to the element that bears a focus feature. Hence, the verb needs to move from its initial position inside the clause to $Focus^0$ where it surfaces in a position that is adjacent to the focus-fronted element in Spec,FocusP. The adjacency condition extends to wh-questions. Wh-questions instantiate an instance of focus-fronting and therefore they trigger the verb to move to $Focus^o$ where it can be adjacent to the wh-expression in

Spec,FocusP. We here propose that while the adjacency condition is strong in Standard Arabic, it is weak in the spoken varieties. We claim that this explains why subject-verb inversion is obligatory in Standard Arabic but optional in spoken varieties like JA.

[9] The gloss of the examples from other sources is slightly modified to be consistent with the convention used in this paper.

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