

Multiple agreement in Arabic

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This article analyzes multiple subject verb agreement in complex tense clauses in light of the Feature Inheritance (FI) approach (Chomsky 2008, 2013). After establishing that these complex tense clauses are bi-clausal with two TP projections and one CP, I argue that they present a challenge to FI according to which C is the locus of φ -features. I propose an analysis where I maintain that T is lexically specified for φ -features and show how this view can account for all the multiple agreement facts.

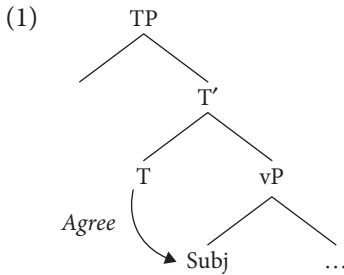
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1. Introduction

Agreement has been a central concept in the syntactic theory of human language. Within Government and Binding (GB) framework, agreement was a result of the structural relation of Government; within Principles & Parameters and early Minimalism it was a result of Spec-Head relations; and within recent Minimalism, agreement is a result of an Agree operation.

Under the Agree analysis, the head bearing agreement features establishes an Agree relation with an argument. Subject-verb agreement in English, for example, results from T, which bears φ -features, establishing an Agree relation with the subject as schematized below:

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Chomsky (2007, 2008, and 2013) has proposed, for conceptual and empirical reasons, that T is not the locus of φ -features but inherits these features from C. Richards (2007) provides further conceptual arguments for Feature Inheritance under the Phase theory (see also Miyagawa, 2010 and Ouali, 2008 and 2011). The Feature Inheritance approach seems to account for simple finite clauses and finite embedded clauses in English, which presumably have a single C and a single T. However, there are contexts in Arabic which seem to present a puzzle for this approach. These are cases of complex tense clauses that involve a copula and a main verb, both of which inflect for subject agreement as shown in (2):¹

- (2) *Kan-a l-walad-u j-aktub-u r-risalat-a*
 BE.PERF-3s the-boy-NOM 3s-write.IMPERF-IND the-letter-ACC
 ‘the boy was writing the letter’

Complex tense clauses, such as (1) exhibit subject-verb agreement on both the copula and the main verb but seem to involve structurally two T heads and one C. The goal of this paper is to examine the clause structure in complex tense constructions and its implication on the C-T feature inheritance. I will argue that the structure of clauses denoting complex tense involves two T heads and one C, and that agreement in Arabic does not involve feature inheritance from C to T as was proposed for English (Chomsky, 2008, 2013). I will argue that T is inherently specified for φ -features and demonstrate that agreement in these clauses is result of a multi-Agree relation between the matrix T, the lower T, and the DP subject. This paper is organized as follows: section two discusses the Feature Inheritance approach and the challenges it faces regarding the Arabic facts, section three presents the properties of complex tense clauses, section four details an analysis of multiple agreement found in complex tense clauses in Arabic, and section five concludes.

1. I use complex tense clauses to refer sentences with verb complex forms that involve the copula *kana* and a main verb in Arabic. The copula can be in either the perfective form or imperfective form and can combine with a main verb in either perfective form or imperfective. These combinations can yield different tenses that span from past progressive as in (2) to compound tenses such as future in the past.

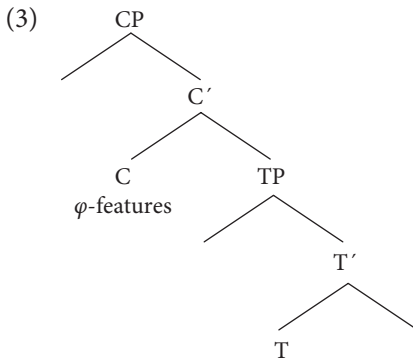
2. Feature Inheritance and multiple agreement in Arabic

Chomsky (2007, 2008, and 2013) proposes that Agreement features are associated with C, the phase head, and that T inherits these features in the course of the derivation prior to establishing an Agree relation with the subject (see also Carstens, 2003 and Richards, 2007 among many others). Chomsky (2013) writes:

... there is good reason to suppose that the ϕ -features of T are in fact inherited from C and ... the tense feature as well. The system is simplified if features of an LI cannot move independently of the feature bundle to which they belong. That would entail that all the features of C should be inherited by T, including not only tense (as is overt) but also Q. (p.15)

Chomsky (2008) also writes:

It seems problematic for T to fail to define a phase boundary along with C, since on the surface it seems to be T, not C, that is the locus of the ϕ -features that are involved in the Nominative-agreement system, and raising of the external argument subject or unaccusative/passive object to SPEC-T. There is, however, antecedent reason to suspect otherwise.... The antecedent reason is that for T, ϕ -features and Tense appear to be derivative from C. In the lexicon, T lacks these features. T manifests them if and only if it is selected by C... if not, it is a raising (or ECM) infinitival, lacking ϕ -features and tense. So it makes sense to assume that Agree- and Tense-features are inherited from C, the phase head. (p. 143)



There are conceptual reasons that necessitate Chomsky's C-T feature inheritance proposal and empirical facts that lend support to it. Regarding the conceptual reasons, Richards (2007) argues that grammatical features that are responsible for computations such as movement show up solely on the phase heads C/v. It is therefore conceptually reasonable to assume that C, being the upper phase head, is the locus of ϕ -features.

Empirical evidence for feature inheritance comes from ECM constructions such as (3) in English (Chomsky, 2008), where nonfinite embedded clauses can never begin with a complementizer because complementizers are associated with finiteness:

- (4) Bill wants (*that) her to win

Also, in some West Germanic languages and dialects such as Limburgian (below) and West Flemish, C inflects for agreement (Carstens, 2003, Haegeman, 1993, and recently Haegeman & von Koppen, 2012).

- (5) *Ich denk de- s doow Marie ontmoet- s.* (Limburgian)
 I think that-2SG you.SG Marie meet-2SG
 'I think that you will meet Marie' (Haegeman & von Koppen, 2012, p. 441)

In English, lack of subject-verb agreement indicates the absence of C in the derivation, as is the case in nonfinite clauses. Conversely, subject-verb agreement indicates the presence of C in the derivation hence the C-T ϕ -features yielding agreement, as is the case in finite clauses. In Arabic, however, this is not always true. That is, if we examine the sentence in (6), a case of multiple agreement from MA, one could argue that the higher T in the structure of the clause is selected by C and therefore inherits the ϕ -features from it, prior to establishing an Agree relation with the subject:

- (6) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & \text{Agree} & & & \\ & \text{---} & \text{---} & \text{---} & & & \\ \text{[}_{\text{CP}} & \text{C} & \text{Tya} & \text{j-kun-u} & \text{l-wlad} & \text{T} & \text{ka j-akl-u} \\ & & \text{FUT} & \text{3-BE.IMPERF-P} & \text{the-boys} & \text{T} & \text{ASP 3-EAT.IMPERF-P} \\ & & & & \text{'the boys will be eating'} & & \end{array}$

This would explain the full subject-verb agreement on the copula *kana*. The question that we would need to answer is: How do we get agreement on the main verb? This agreement is presumably a result of an Agree relation between the lower T and the subject.² However, since the lower T is not selected by C, it cannot inherit the ϕ -features. In fact, T cannot be selected by C, since overt Complementizers are prohibited in that context as shown by the ungrammaticality of (7):

2. The subject could either be the lexical argument *l-wlad* 'the boys', assuming that it is first merged as an argument of the main verb in lower vP:

- a. *ya j-kun-u l-wlad ka [vP l-wlad j-akl-u]*

or be a null pronoun if the lexical argument is merged higher in the structure:

- b. *ya j-kun-u l-wlad ka [vP pro j-akl-u]*

In Section 3, I will argue for the latter.

- (7) **ya j-kun-u l-wlad bālli ka j-aklu-u*
 FUT 3-BE.IMPERF-p the-boys Comp ASP 3-EAT.IMPERF-p

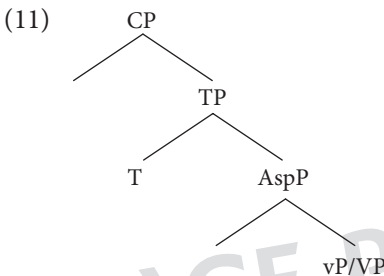
This leads us to conclude that C-T ϕ -feature inheritance must be parameterized. In English-type languages, C is inherently specified for ϕ -features, and T acquires these features through inheritance in the course of the derivation. In Arabic-type languages, however, T is lexically specified for ϕ -features. How can we account for multiple agreement in complex tense clauses? I will argue that these clauses are bi-clausal and their structures have two Tense projections. Both T heads establish an Agree relation with the closest DP. Before detailing this analysis, we will.

3. Properties of complex tense clauses

In both SA and the Arabic dialects, the simple past tense is expressed by using the perfective form of the verb, the present tense (continuous or habitual) by using the imperfective form, and the future tense by using the imperfective form combined with a future marker.

- (8) *katab-a salijj-un r-risalat-a* (SA)
 write.PERF-3s ali-NOM the-letter-ACC
 'Ali wrote the letter'
- (9) *ja-ktub-u salijj-un r-risalat-a* (SA)
 3M-write.IMPERF-IND ali-NOM the-letter-ACC
 'Ali is writing the letter'
- (10) *sa ja-ktub-u salijj-un r-risalat-a* (SA)
 FUT 3M-write.IMPERF-IND ali-NOM the-letter-ACC
 'Ali will write the letter'

There is almost a consensus that the clause structure of the sentences above involves one Tense projection (Benmamoun, 2000 and Soltan, 2007 among many others).³



3. See Fassi Fehri (2012) for a different analysis.

Complex tenses, such as the past perfect for example, are expressed by combining the copula *kana* and a main verb as illustrated by the SA example in (12) and the MA example in (13):

- (12) *kan-a katab-a r-risalat-a lamma daxal-tu* (SA)
 BE.PERF-3s write.PERF-3s the-letter-ACC when enter.PERF-1s
 ‘He had written the letter when I entered’ (Fassi Fehri, 2004, p. 238)
- (13) *kan-u kla-w* (MA)
 BE.PERF-3PL EAT.PERF-3PL
 ‘They had eaten’

As we can see in (12) and (13) above, the past perfect is expressed by using the perfective form of *kana* combined with a main perfective verb. The past progressive and habitual past are expressed by combining the copula *kana* in the perfective form and a main verb which must be in the imperfective form, as illustrated by (14) from SA, (15) from JA, and (16) from MA below:

- (14) *ka:n-a l-walad-u j-aktub-u r-risa:lat-a* (SA)
 BE.PERF-3s the-boy-NOM 3s-write.IMPERF-IND the-letter-ACC
 ‘the boy was writing the letter’ *Continuous*
- (15) *ka:n l-walad b-j-aktub r-risa:la* (JA)
 BE.PERF-3s the-boy-boy ASP-3-write.IMPERF the-letter
 ‘the boy was writing the letter’
- (16) *ka:n l-wald ka-j-ktab r-risa:la* (MA)
 BE.PERF-3s the-boy-boy ASP-3sm-write.IMPERF the-letter
 ‘the boy was writing the letter’

Future in the past is denoted by the perfective form of *ka:na* and a main verb in the imperfective form combined with the future marker, as illustrated by the MA example in (17):

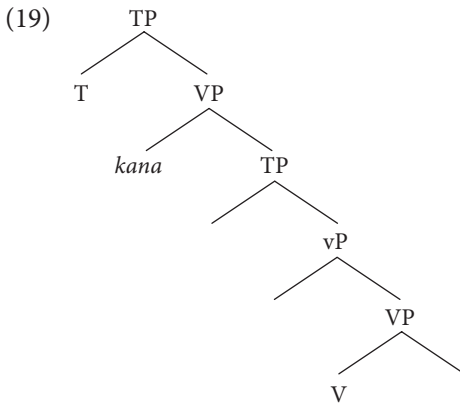
- (17) *ka:n-u ya j-akl-u*
 BE.PERF-3p FUT 3-EAT.IMPERF-p
 ‘They were going to eat’

These facts have been described and discussed extensively in the literature. Haak (2006, pp. 219–220) provides a full paradigm of this verb complex. What is lacking is an analysis of agreement in these clauses in light of recent developments in the theory of agreement in Minimalism.

As we can see in all the examples listed above and the example in (18) below, both the auxiliary and the main verb are marked for tense and inflected for agreement. For example the auxiliary *kana* is preceded by the future maker *sa* denoting future, and the main verb is in the perfective form denoting past.

- (18) *sa-ja-ku:n-u* *ʕali katab-a* *r-risa:lat-a* *yadan* (SA)
 FUT-3SM-BE. IMPERF-IND ali write.PERF.3s the-letter-ACC tomorrow
 ‘Ali will have already written the letter tomorrow’

Agreement with the subject is also marked on both the auxiliary and the main verb, a fact that I refer to as multiple agreement. These facts are attested in all Arabic dialects and raise a question about the structure of complex tense clauses. Ouali and Fortin (2007) have argued that these complex tense sentences are biclausal with two Tense projections in the structure as shown in (19), a position I take here as well (see also Soltan, 2007, 2011, and Fassi Fehri, 2004, 2012).



Having two T projections explains the complex tense paradigm in Arabic where the auxiliary can be marked for past, present, or future and combine with a main verb marked for any of these tenses. The multiple agreement facts also follow from the assumption that both the lower T and the higher T enter into an agreement relation with the subject, as will be detailed in the next section.

These facts, however, raise a challenge to the Feature Inheritance approach (Chomsky, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2013), according to which the subject-verb agreement (in finite clauses) is a result of T inheriting ϕ -features from C and then entering into an Agree relation with the subject. C is specified for ϕ -features in the lexicon but T is not. The next section discusses this topic further.

4. Multiple agreement and the subject positions

Considering the subject position in complex tense clauses, one could argue that both the higher T and the lower T establish an Agree relation with the same thematic subject. A Multiple Agree relation has been proposed in the literature where

a probe F can establish multiple (Simultaneous) Agree relations with more than one goal as schematized in (20) (see e.g. Hiraiwa, 2001, 2005; Henderson, 2007).

$$(20) \left[\begin{array}{cccc} \text{CP} & \text{T}_{\varphi} & \text{VP} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{TP} & \text{T}_{\varphi} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{vP} & \text{DP}_{\varphi} & \text{V} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]]]$$

For complex tense clauses with *kana* such as (21), one could argue that matrix T Agrees with both the lower T and the DP subject as shown in (22):

(21) *ya j-kun-u kla-w l-wlad*
 FUT 3-BE.IMP-PL EAT.IMP-3PL the-boys
 ‘the boys will have eaten’

(22) $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CP} & \text{C} & \text{T} & \text{ya} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{VP} & \text{j-kun-u} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{TP} & \text{T} & \text{kla-w} & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{VP} & \text{l-wlad} & \text{kla-w} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]]]$
|----- Agree -----| |----- Agree -----|

This would account for examples such as (21) where the DP subject is in a post-verbal position. However, the picture is not as simple as it seems. The Subject can occupy different positions in such constructions as illustrated in (23), (24), and (25):

(23) *za j-kun-u ka j-akl-u l-wlad*
 FUT 3-BE.IMPERF-p ASP 3-EAT.IMPERF-p the-boys
 ‘the boys will be eating’

(24) *za j-kun-u l-wlad ka j-akl-u*
 FUT 3-BE.IMPERF-p the-boys ASP 3-EAT.IMPERF-PL
 ‘the boys will be eating’

(25) *l-wlad za j-kun-u ka j-akl-u*
 the-boys FUT 3-BE.IMPERF-p ASP 3-EAT.IMPERF-p
 ‘the boys will be eating’

In SA, it is known that the position of the subject affects subject-verb agreement. For example, in (26) below where the subject precedes the main verb and follows the auxiliary, the main verb must be marked for full agreement and the auxiliary must be marked for person and gender agreement only; otherwise the sentence would be ungrammatical, as in (27).

(26) *ka:n-a l-za:wla:d-u j-aktub-u:-na r-rasa:zil-a*
 BE.PERF-3s the-boys-NOM 3-write.IMPERF-p-IND the-letter-ACC
 ‘the boys were writing/ used to write letters’

(27) **ka:n-u: l-za:wla:d-u j-aktub-u:-na r-rasa:zil-a*
 BE.PERF-3PS the-boys-NOM 3-write.IMPERF-p-IND the-letters-ACC
 ‘the boys were writing/ used to write letters’

When the subject precedes both the auxiliary and the main verb, both verbs must be marked for full subject-verb agreement as shown in (28); otherwise the sentence would be ungrammatical as shown in (29).

- (28) *l-ṭawla:d-u ka:n-u: j-aktub-u:-na r-rasa: ṭil-a*
 the-boys-NOM BE.PERF-3PM 3-write.IMPERF-p-IND the-letter-ACC
 ‘the boys used to write/were writing letters’
- (29) **l-ṭawla:d-u ka:n-a j-aktub-u:-na r-rasa: ṭil-a*
 the-boys-NOM BE.PERF-3SM 3-write.IMPERF-p-IND the-letters-ACC
 ‘the boys used to write/were writing letters’

The position of subjects in simple SVO vs. VSO sentences is highly debated in the Arabic syntax literature (see for example Fassi Fehri, 1982, 1988, 1993, 2012; Mohammad, 1990, 2000; Benmamoun, 2000; Aoun, Benmamoun & Chouieiri, 2010; Eid, 1991; Bahloul & Harbert, 1993; Aoun, Benmamoun & Sportiche, 1994; Shlonsky, 1997; and recently Soltan, 2007, 2011 – to cite just a few). The analyses of the subject position in Arabic could be summarized in two major approaches: the so-called Movement Analysis and the Topic/Left Dislocation Analysis. According to the movement analysis, SVO and VSO sentences have the same underlying structure. SVO sentences are derived by moving the subject out of ν P to Spec, TP. The Subject enters in a Spec-Head agreement relationship with T, which then results in full subject-verb agreement. This is schematized in (30):

- (30) [_{TP} DP_{Subj} [_{νP} $\overline{\text{DP}}_{\text{Subj}}$ V DP_{Obj}]] (full agreement)
-

The VSO order is derived by moving the verb to T, whereas the subject stays *in situ* as schematized in (31):

- (31) [_{TP} *pro*_{Exp} V [_{νP} DP_{Subj} V DP_{Obj}]] (partial agreement)
-

Partial agreement is a result of the Spec-Head relation between T and the null expletive *pro*.

According to the Topic/Left Dislocation Analysis, the derivations of SVO and VSO involve two different underlying structures. In SVO sentences, the thematic subject is a null *pro* base-generated in Spec- ν P. The full DP on the other hand is merged as a Topic. This analysis is schematized in (32):

- (32) [_{TP} DP_{Top} [_{νP} *pro*_{Subj} V DP_{Obj}]] (full agreement in SA)

The underlying structure of VSO involves an overt DP subject, which stays *in situ*. The verb moves to a higher T as schematized in (33):

- (33) [_{TP} T V [_{vP} DP_{Subj} V DP_{Obj}]] (partial agreement in SA)
-

For detailed reviews of the Movement analysis and the Left Dislocation/Topic analysis see Benmamoun (2000), Aoun, Benmamoun & Choueiri (2010), and Soltan (2007) among others.

Soltan (2007, 2011) adopts the second analysis and argues that the subject-verb agreement in sentences such as (34) is a result of an Agree relation between T and the thematic subject *pro*. The DP *l-Ɂawla:d-u* ‘the boys’ is not the thematic subject but a Topic merged directly in the Topic position, which he argues could be Spec,TP as illustrated in (35):

- (34) *l-Ɂawla:d-u j-aktub-u: r-rasa:Ɂil-a*
 the-boys-NOM 3-write.IMPERF-PM the-letters-ACC
 ‘the boys are writing /write the letters’

- (35) [_{TP} *l-Ɂawla:d-u* T [_{vP} *pro j-aktub-u: r-rasa: Ɂil-a*]]
-

According to Soltan (2007, 2011), there are two main advantages of such an analysis. First, it accounts for the topic interpretation of the preverbal DP. Second, it accounts for the case form of the preverbal DP when embedded under the complementizer *Ɂinna*, for example, as in (36):

- (36) *Ɂinna l-Ɂawla:d-a j-aktub-u: r-rasa:Ɂil-a*
 Comp the-boys-ACC 3-write.IMPERF-p the-letters-ACC
 ‘the boys are writing /write letters’

Soltan’s analysis makes the important prediction that if full agreement is associated with a null pronoun, then it would also be expected with a regular pronoun. That is exactly what we find in SA as shown in (37) and (38), where full subject-verb agreement is obligatory with overt personal pronouns:

- (37) *katab-u: hum r-rasa:Ɂil-a*
 write.PERF-3p they the-letters-ACC
 ‘they wrote the letters’

- (38) **katab-a hum r-rasa:Ɂil-a*
 write.PERF-3SM they the-letters-ACC

In (39), as discussed previously, only partial agreement is obligatory with full DPs.

- (40) *katab-a l-Ɂawla:d-u r-rasa: Ɂil-a*
 write.PERF-3SM the-boys-NOM the-letters-ACC
 ‘the boys wrote the letters’

Why is agreement with full DPs partial? There are no convincing answers to this question in the literature, but some stipulations have been put forward. For example, Soltan (2007, 2011) suggests that partial agreement could be a result of the properties of the T head. He suggests that the T head itself is impoverished. Benmamoun (2000) and Aoun, Benmamoun & Choueri (2010) suggest that it could be a post-syntactic process. In other words, the full agreement gets lost once the derivation reaches the Morpho-Phonology component. A couple of possibilities could also be added to these previous stipulations. One possibility is that DPs are opaque and their φ -features are not visible to higher probes. Another possibility is that DPs have a complex structure where each φ -feature heads its own projection. Agree establishes a relation between T and the outer layer of the DP, which could be Gender Phrase (GenP). All of these will remain speculative answers. Further research is needed to determine which of them is on the right track, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Returning now to the complex tense clauses, I argue, extending Soltan's (2007, 2011) analysis, that the underlying structure involves merging a null *pro* in Spec, ν P as the thematic subject. The full DP is externally merged in Spec, TP. Given the bi-clausal structure of these sentences, the lower T establishes an Agree relation with the closest Goal, which is the thematic subject *pro*. The higher T establishes an Agree relation with the full DP. This is illustrated in (40):

- (40) [T ~~ka:na~~ [_{VP} ka:na [_{TP} /-*ɾawla:d-u* [T [_{VP} *pro j-aktub-uu-na r-rasa: ɾil-a*]]]]]
- └─── Agree ───┘ ▲
└─── Agree ───┘ ▲
- BE.PERF.3SM the-boys-NOM 3-write.IMPERF-3PM-IND the-letters-ACC
 'the boys were writing/used to write the letters'

How can we extend this analysis to sentences where the subject is in a post-verbal position as in (41) or pre-copula position as in (42)?

- (41) *ka:n-a j-aktub-u l-ɾawla:d-u r-rasa: ɾil-a*
 BE.PERF-3PM 3-write.IMPERF-p-IND the-boys-NOM the-letter-ACC
 'the boys used to write/were writing letters'
- (42) *ɾal-ɾawlad-u Kan-uu j-aktub-uu-na r-rasa: ɾil-a*
 the-boys-NOM BE.PERF-3PM 3-write.IMPERF-p-IND the-letter-ACC
 'the boys used to write/were writing letters'

I argue that the derivations of examples (41) and (42) involve multiple-Agree with the subject as schematized in (43) and (44) respectively:

(43) [_{TP} T *ka:n-a* [_{VP} ~~*ka:na*~~ [_{TP} T *j-aktub-u* [_{VP} *l-ʔawla:d-u* *j-aktub-u* *r-rasa:ʔil-a*]]]]

(44) [_{TP} *ʔal-ʔawla:d-u* T ~~*Kan-u:*~~ [_{VP} *Kan-u:* [_{TP} T... ~~*j-aktubu:na*~~ [*pro* *j-aktubu:na* *r-rasa:ʔil-a*]]]]

In (43) both T heads establish an Agree relation with the lexical thematic subject *l-ʔawla:d-u*, and in (44) the two T heads establish an Agree relation with the thematic subject *pro*. This analysis inherits the same problem of why we get partial subject agreement with the overt lexical post-verbal subjects and full agreement with the null *pro* in the same position. I do not have any solution to this problem.

The analysis can be extended to MA (and presumably other dialects). Sentences such as (45) from MA, are derived in the same fashion as (40). This is shown in (46):

(45) *ʔa j-kun-u l-wlad kla-w*
 FUT 3-BE.IMP-PL the-boys EAT.IMP-3PL
 ‘the boys will have eaten’

(46) [_{TP} *ʔa* [_{VP} *j-kun-u* [*l-wlad* T *kla-w* [_{VP} *pro* *kla-w*]]]]

To conclude this section, I will discuss briefly the properties of complementizers, mainly null complementizers, in Arabic. I have argued that Feature Inheritance is not active in deriving Arabic clauses. T in Arabic is lexically specified for Tense and ϕ -features. The question then arises: How about complementizers in this language? If C in English is inherently specified for ϕ -features, what about C in Arabic? I argue that at least null complementizers are not specified for ϕ -features. Null complementizers do not enter in an Agree relation with any argument and therefore no feature interpretability issues arise. In a sentence such as (39) above [repeated as (47) below], null C does not bear any ϕ -features, but the two T heads do:

(47) [C [_{T ϕ} [_{VP} *ka:na* [_{TP} *ʔa-wlawla:d-u* [_{T ϕ} *j-aktub-u:* [_{VP} *pro* *r-rasa:ʔil-a*]]]]]]]]

BE.PERF.3SM the-boys-NOM 3-write.IMPERF-3PM the-letters-ACC
 ‘the boys were writing/used to write the letters’

5. Conclusion

In this paper I argued that complex tense clauses are structurally bi-clausal involving two TP projections. I also argued that Arabic agreement facts in these clauses seem to indicate that C-T Feature inheritance must be parameterized. In languages such as English, C is inherently specified for ϕ -features, and T inherits these features from C in the course of the derivation prior to establishing an Agree relation with the DP subject. In languages such as Arabic, I argued that null C is not specified ϕ -features. T is inherently specified for ϕ -features and therefore does not acquire these features by inheritance. This explains why agreement is manifested in contexts where there could be no complementizers. I adopted Soltan's (2007, 2011) analysis of simple SVO and VSO sentences and argued that the agreement facts in complex tense clauses are a result of two Agree relations, the first between the lower T and the thematic subject *pro* and the second between the higher T and the full DP. In cases where the subject is in post-verbal position, both the higher T and lower T establish a simultaneous Agree relation with the subject.

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