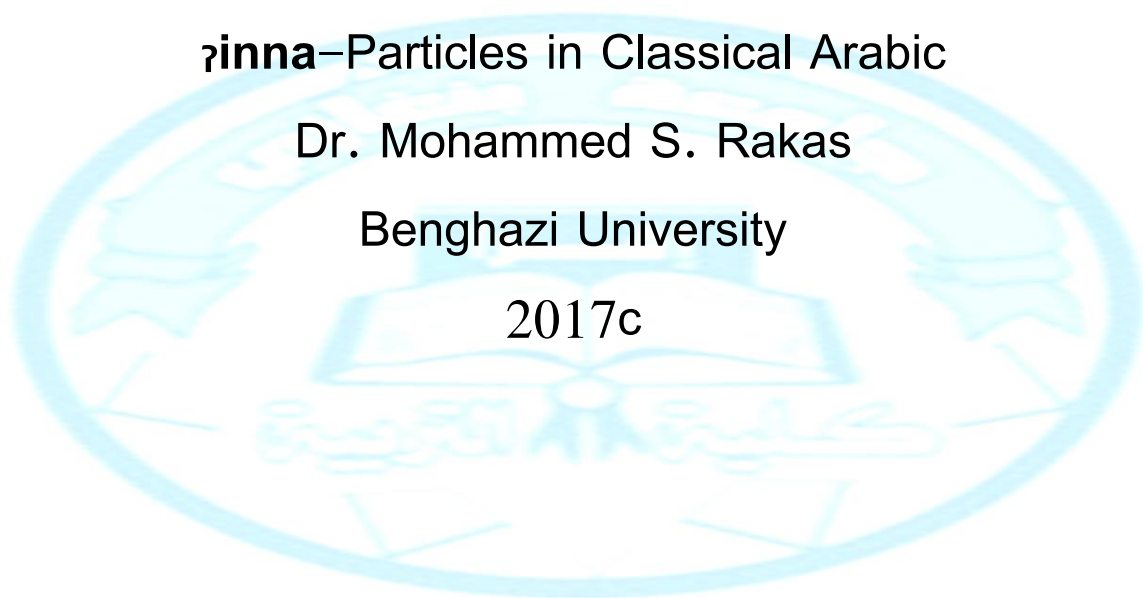


ʔinna–Particles in Classical Arabic

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Abstract:

This paper investigates a set of six particles named in Classical Arabic grammar as *ʔinna wa ʔaxawaatiha*, (Lit. *ʔinna* and its sisters). These particles are investigated as they stand in Arabic tradition in section one, and considered in terms of X-bar theory of syntax in section two. These particles are treated in the Arabic tradition as verb-like governors, and categorized in this paper as case and mood assigners. It is pinpointed in Arabic grammar that these particles introduce nominal clauses, and show a unified syntactic behavior in assigning accusative case to the subjects, and assigning different moods to the predicates of these nominal clauses (Rakas 2008a). In Arabic tradition, there is a consensus on accusative case assignment whereas mood assignment is a controversial issue. It is assumed in the Arabic tradition that nominal sentences have basic Topic-Comment structure. In this study, the particles in question are categorized as Complementizers, their maximum projections are Complementizer Phrases, and the subordinate nominal clauses are specified as Inflection Phrases. The structure of the embedded nominal clauses is treated in this study as Subject Verb Object, rather than Topic-Comment structure. Nominal (non)equative sentences, verbal sentences and Topic Comment structures are accounted for in terms of cyclic movements in section two below.

الخلاصة

تتناول هذه الدراسة الحروف الستة المتعارف عليها بالنحو العربي التقليدي باسم - إن وأخواتها - يتناول الجزء الأول من هذه الدراسة الحروف المعنية طبقاً للشرح التقليدي للنحاة العرب و تناولها الجزء الثاني في إطار علم اللغة المورفولوجي و النحوي الحديث. صنفت هذه الحروف في النحو العربي عوامل شبيهة بالفعل وتعمل نواسخ في الجمل الاسمية التي تقدمها وصنفت في هذه الدراسة كعوامل تقضي الأسلوب الإنشائي محل الأسلوب الخبري (complementizers). تؤكد الدراسات التقليدية و الحديثة بهذه الدراسة أن تلك النواسخ تقدم جمل اسمية وتقضي النصب علي المبتدأ لهذه الجمل الاسمية التابعة لها و كما يصنف المبتدأ إسماً لها وتقضي الأسلوب الإنشائي علي خبر تلك الجمل الاسمية (انظر رقص 2008) هناك إجماع على العمل الأول وخلاف حول العمل الثاني.

يتجه الجزء الثاني من هذه الدراسة نحوي توصيف هذه النواسخ و الجمل الاسمية التابعة لها وحدة واحدة تحت مسمي (CP) و الجملة الاسمية التابعة للعامل كتركيبية (IP) .

تحقق هذه الدراسة هدفها من خلال التحليل الشجري لهذا التركيب في العربية واثبات انه متجانسة مع وصف التحليل الشجري المقترح بالنظرية اللغوية العالمية لدراسة و تحليل المركبات اللغوية بكافة لغات البشر.

Introduction:

The topic taken up by this paper is a subset of particles categorized in Classical Arabic (CLA) grammar as verb-like governors. According to Al-Zajaji (Mubaarak 1979), the subject (S) Noun Phrase (NP) , is inherently declined for nominative (nom.) case, but when subordinated by any of these case and mood assigners, it is assigned accusative (acc.) case, and the Predicate (Pred.) Verb Phrase (VP) is assigned different moods, depending on the particle used. It is assumed in section two below that the underlying structure of the subordinate nominal clauses is Subject Verb Object (SVO) word order, rather than the CLA Topic-Comment structure (T-C). To decide whether the deep structure of nominal sentences in CLA is (T-C) or (SVO), is beyond the limit of this work.

CLA grammarians argue that these particles change the meaning of the nominal clauses they introduce. This is why this subset of particles are termed in CLA tradition as *ʔan-nawaasix*/(Lit. the converters). The term */nawaasix/* for CLA grammarians has three senses: (i) to copy, (ii) to replace or (iii) to obliterate constituents. The *ʔanna*-set falls under the second sense. This is explicitly expressed by Mejaahid, M. (2006), who claims that these particles transfer new meanings to their subordinate nominal clauses. This classical view of 'meaning change' is deemed below as assignments of different moods such as emphasis, wishing, supplicating, entreating, etc. hence, mood assigners to replace the real indicative (ind.) mood of the (Pred.).

This paper is structured as follows: Section one gives a detailed account of these particles as they are analyzed in the CLA normative grammar. The related classical rigid rules and constraints imposed on these particles are outlined. Section two examines these particles in terms of lexical categorization, syntactic position and structural relation. They are categorized in section two below as Complementizers (Cs) and identified

as Heads, projecting their maximum Complementizer Phrase (CP) categories. Accordingly, this set of particles are identified in CLA tradition as */ʔanna/*-set particles, and classed in section two below as case-mood assigning head Cs. The nominal clauses, introduced by these particles, are treated in section two as 'complements', subcategorized for by the Cs, and labeled as Inflectional Phrase (IP) categories, headed by the Inflection head (I).

Illustrative CLA material collected for analysis includes verses extracted from the holy Quran, indicated by their conventional verse and chapter numbers. Arabic elucidatory examples are provided in three levels: (i) sentences are transcribed in their phonetic script, with lexical words and functional affixes separated by hyphens, (ii) each lexical word is glossed with an English translation and each morpheme is expressed with an abbreviation indicating its morpho-syntactic function. For instance, the definite article */ʔal/* is marked as (def.-), declension case endings are denoted by nom., gen or acc., and (iii) each sentence is given a bracketed English translation.

1. Traditional Approach:

It is stipulated in CLA grammar, recall, that the */ʔanna/*-particles necessarily introduce nominal clauses. It is conjectured in this work that these clauses have basic (SVO) word order (Al-seghayer 1996). The (S) position of the nominal clause is identified in CLA grammar as */mubtada/* (Topic) (Lit. initiator of a sentence), the (Pred.) position is called */xabar/* (comment), and the internal structure of the clause is realized as *mubtada wa xabar* (T-C). It is often claimed that the basic sentence structure is (VSO), and (SVO) or (T-C) is a Topicalized structure. In contrast to (SVO), the (S) position in (VSO) is identified as */faasil/* (agent). Both (S) in (SVO) and the Agent in (VSO) word orders, are marked for structural nom. case.

Complementation in CLA grammar shows a wide range of subordination between */ʔal-ʔamil/* (the governor), and */ʔal-maʔmuul/* (the governed). Two types of modifying subordinate relation are established:

(i) relative clauses modifying relative markers, rather than head nouns, and
(ii) (pred.) clauses governed by, and relate back to particles. The /*inna*/-set of particles, the subject matter of this paper, is a subcategory of the second type known as /*al-huruuf l-mawsuulah*/ (lit. the connected particles). The structural relations shown by these two types of connective constructions are, respectively, expressed by examples (1) and (2) below.

(1) *ʔal-malika-t-u* *l-la-ti* *sakana-t* *l-qasr-a*
ʔintahara-t
def-queen-3fsg-nom def-that-3fsg dewled-3fsg def-palace-
acc suicide-3fsg
(The queen who/that lived in the palace, committed suicide)

(2) *ʔal-malik-u* *ʔaʕlan-a* *inna* *l-malika-t-a*
ʔintahara-t.
def-king-nom announced-3msg that def-queen-3fsg-
acc suicide-3fsg
(The king announced that the queen committed suicide)

In example (1), the subordinate relative clause, /*sakanat l-qasra*/, is called in CLA grammar /*silatu l-mausuuli*/ (Lit. the extension of the relative marker). This /*silah*/ is introduced by, and modifies the relative marker *l-lati*. The embedded verb, *sakana-t*, is inflected for (3fsg), in agreement with the relative marker. This is, possibly, why the relative markers are regarded in CLA grammar as 'nouns', rather than markers, and described as 'connected', rather than 'connectors'. The set of specific relative markers are termed in CLA grammar as /*al-ʔasmaʔu l-mawsuulah l-xaasah*/ (Lit. the specific connected nouns), in contrast to other set of relative pronouns, called /*al-ʔasmaʔu l-mawsuulah l-ʕaamah*/ (the common connected nouns). The common relative nouns are antecedent-less, invariable and unspecified for any agreement properties, other than animacy. Specific relative markers are identified as /*xaasah*/ (specific), most likely, because they show the inflectional properties of gender, number and case in agreement with the markers, rather than with the demoted antecedent head nouns. The relative markers in CLA grammar are held as antecedent head nouns. The modifying clause, i.e. /*silah*/, must contain

/*damiiir ʔaaʔid*/ (a resumptive pronoun), co-indexed with the relative marker. This co-referential relation between the specific relative markers and their modifying clauses is called in CLA grammar /*mutaabaqah*/ (agreement). The distinction between appositive and restrictive relative clauses in CLA is an interesting area of research. (see Rakas 2000).

The subordinate clause, *l-malikat-a ʔintaharat* in example (2) above is introduced, and governed by the particle /*ʔanna*/. This particle, is the proto-particle of the six *ʔanna*-set to be addressed below. The different *ʔanna* particles recognized in CLA grammar are the followings:

- (i) /*ʔinna*/ (that: matrix)
- (ii) /*ʔanna*/ (that: subordinator)
- (iii) /*laakina*/ (but)
- (iv) /*ka-ʔinna*/ (as if)
- (v) /*layta*/ (wish)
- (vi) /*laʔalla*/ (may)

(i). /*ʔinna*/ (that): It is the proto-particle, under which other particles are subsumed. It is a matrix/root particle, stylistically used for emphasis and certainty mood. When introduced by any of these particles, recall, the inherent nom. case of the (S) in the nominal clause is realized as acc. case, and the original (ind.) mood of the (Pred.) is assigned different subjective moods, depending on the particle used.

(3). *ʔinna rub-a-ka la-ʔu maghfira-t-i-n*
li n-naas-i (6/13)
 that God-acc-poss.2msg emphasis-of mercy-f-gen-indef
 to def-people-gen
 (verily, Good is rich in pardon for mankind)

(ii). /*ʔanna*/ (that): It is regarded by some CLA grammarians as a subordinate counterpart of the matrix *ʔinna*. Whether it is an independent particle or a positional variant of the matrix /*ʔinna*/, is a controversial issue. (Sibawayh: Antunus 2005)

The function of the two sisters, /inna/ and /anna/, is identical, i.e. they are specified in CLA grammar as /*huruf tawkiid wa nasb*/ (Lit. particles of emphasis and acc. case assignment); that is they introduce nominal clauses, assign acc. case to the (S), and assign subjunctive mood to the (Pred.) of these nominal clauses.

- (4). raṣlam-u ṛanna llaah-a shadiid-u l-ṣiqaab-i (98/5)
 know-3mpl that God-acc severe-ind. def-punishment-
 gen
 (know that God is severe in punishment)

(iii). /*lakinna*/ (but): It is called in CLA grammar /*harf ṛistidraak*/ (restrictive particle). It introduces what is contrary to the main statement.

- (5). raḫuu-ka ṣaalim-u-n laakina-hu
 baxiil-u-n
 brother-poss-3msg knowledgeable-nom-idef but-3msg
 mean-ind-indef.
 (your brother is a knowledgeable but he is mean)

(iv). /*ka-inna*/ (as if): It indicates simile and likeness in comparing two abstract or actual parts. Example (6) below shows that the PP category in CLA is a barrier for case and mood assignment.

- (6). kaṛinna fi ṛuṭun-ai-h-i waqr-a-n
 (7/31)
 as if in two ears-dl-poss(3msg)-gen deafness-acc-
 indef
 (as if there were deafness in his (two) ears)

(v). /*layta*/ (wishing): It is known in CLA as /*harf tamanni*/ (optative mood particle) to express the subjunctive mood of wishing, desire, yearn for and desideration.

- (7) yaa-layta qawm-i ya-ṣlam-u-n (26/36)
 Oh-wish people-poss.1sg imp-know-ind-3mpl

(I (sincerely) wish that may people know)

(vi) /*laʔalla*/ (may): It expresses the modality of possibility, as shown by the following Quranic verse:

- (8) *laʔalla* *s-saaʔa-t-a* *qariib-u-n* (17/42)
May def. hour-f-acc near-ind-indef.
(it may be that the Hour (day of judgment) is near)

Sibawayh, (Antunus 2005), proposes that the *ʔinna*-set comprises five, rather than six particles, because he merges the matrix *ʔinna*/ and the subordinate *ʔanna*/ into one particle. Arabic Language website: <http://www.drmosad.com/indexx34.htm> rejects this attitude, and claims that these two particles have different distributional functions, i.e. matrix vs. subordinate. According to Al-Zajaji (Al-Mubaarak 1979), recall, the subject of the nominal clause introduced by any of these particles is always marked for acc. case, expressed by the suffix *-a*, and the (pred.) is marked for subjunctive mood indicated, if not a default case, by the suffix *-u*.

- (9) *ʔat-taalib-u* *naajih-u-n*
def-student-nom successful-nom-indef.)
(the student is successful) cf.

- (10) *ʔinna* *ʔat-taalib-a* *naajih-u-n* (cf.3)
that def-student-acc successful-ind-indef.
(verily, the student is successful)

Antunus (ibid), points out that, on one hand, the CLA Basra School classifies the *ʔinna*-set as governors assign acc. case to the (S), and assign subjunctive mood to the (Pred.) of the embedded nominal clauses, the CLA Kufa School, on the other hand, claims that no mood is assigned to the (Pred.). They profess that the real (ind.) mood of the (T-C) structure is maintained. It is generally assumed in the Arabic literature that the *ʔinna*-set behave like verbs, hence classified by CLA grammarians as verb-like categories. In classical terms, verbs assign nom. case to their subjects and assign acc, case to their objects. Particles, in contrast to verbs, assign acc.

case to their nouns and assign subjunctive mood to their (pred). This parallel syntactic behavior shows that verbs and particles in Arabic are structural heads. AL-site (ibid) establishes morphological and syntactic parallelism between the verbs and the *inna*-set particles.

In support of the verbs-particles parallel behavior, the Arabic website (ibid) gives the following Arabic contrastive data:

- (i) *inna*-set and the perfect (3sgm) verb forms show the same suffix *-a*.
- (ii) *inna*-set assigns mood functions, e.g. emphasis, wish, supplication, etc.
- (iii) Like verbs, particles assign acc. case to their suffixed (enclitic) bound pronouns as in *i/a/na-hu* (that-him), *i/a/na-na* (that-us), etc.
- (iv) Like some invariable verb forms, these particles do not show inflectional paradigms.
- (v) Verbs assign nom. case to the agent, and acc. case to the object in (VSO) structure. In contrast to verbs, particles assign acc. case to the (S), and subjunctive moods to the (Pred.) of the nominal clauses, they introduce.

The range of predication selected by the *inna*-set particles includes the following categories:

- (i) The (pred.) of the subordinate nominal sentence can be a lexical word, called in CLA grammar */mufradah/* (single word), i.e. a lexical category such as adjective, active or passive participles, (im)perfect verb form, etc. e.g.

(11) a- *inna* r-rajul-a kriim-u-n
 that def-man-acc generous-ind-indef.
 (indeed, the man is generous)

b- *inna* llaah-a ghafuur-u-n rahiim-u-n
 that God-acc forgiving-ind-indef merciful-ind-indef,
 (Verily, God is forgiving, merciful)

(14) marar-tu ʔamam-a l-bayt-i
passé-1sg front-acc. def-house-gen.
(I passed in front of the house)

(15) marar-tu min ʔamam-i l-bayt-i
passé-1sg from in front-gen. def-house-gen.
(I passed in front of the house)

(iii) **jumla ʔismiya**: (non)equative nominal sentence), e.g.

(16) a- ʔinna l-hadiqa-t-a [ʔashjaar-u-ha muthmira-t-u-n
(non-equative
that def-garden-f-acc [trees-nom-3fsg fruitful-f-ind-indef.
nominal sentence)
(Indeed, the trees of the garden are fruitful)

(iv) **jumla fiʔliyah** (verbal sentence), e.g.

(17)- ʔinna l-hadiqa-t-a [tu-thmir-u ʔashjaar-u-ha
(equative nominal
that def-garden-f-acc [imp-gives-fruits-ind trees-nom-3fsg
sentence)
(verily, the trees of the garden produce fruits)

(18)- laʕalla-kum tu-flih-u-n
may-2mpl imp-prosper-ind.mpl
(You may prosper)

(19) ʔinna t-tabiib-a ja-ktub-u t-taqriir-a
that def-physician-acc imp-write-ind. def-report-acc
(Verily, the physician writes/is writing the report)

When the nominal clause is introduced by any of the **ʔinna**-set particles, the (S), /**t-tabiib-a**/ in (19), is called /**ʔism-u-ha**/ (its noun), and the (Pred.) /**ja-ktub-u**/, is named /**xabar-u-ha**/ (its (pred.)). Only imperfect verb forms show mood inflection in CLA, hence /**ja-ktub-u**/ in (19), shows ind. mood marked by the suffix **-u**.

Abda, A. (ibid) points out that parsing in CLA grammar is based on four fundamentals:

- (i) **raamil**: (governor) assigns case or mood function.
- (ii) **masmuul**: (governed) the category marked for case or mood inflection.
- (iii) **mawqif**: the syntactic functional positions in a sentence.
- (iv) **alaamah**: morphological markers to indicate morpho-syntactic functions such as:

(a) declension: /**damma**/ to mark nom. case, /**fatha**/ to express acc. case and /**kasra**/ to indicate gen. case in nouns and adjectives., and (b) conjugation: /**damma**/ to mark ind. mood, /**fatha**/ to express subjunctive mood and /**sukun**/ to indicate jussive mood in verbs.

Consider the following verbal sentence:

(20) [ja-dahab-u t-taalib-u ʔila l-madrasa-t-i
sabaah-a-n] (VSO)
 imp-go--ind def-student-nom to def-school-f-gen
 moring-acc-indf.
 (the student goes to school in the morning)

(21) ʔinna [t-taalib-a ja-dahab-u ʔila l-madrasa-t-i
sabaah-a-n] (SVO)
 verily, [def-student-acc imp-go-ind. to def-school-f-gen
 moring-acc-indf.]
 (Indeed, the student goes to school in the morning)

Example (20), is a verbal sentence (VSO), where the subject is adjacent to the verb complex, and always assumes the nom. case for being an Agent. The same principles hold for the gen. case assignor, (P), /**ʔila**/ in (20), called /**harf jar** (gen. particle), i.e. it governs into the NP **l-madrasa-t-i** and, inherently, assign the gen. case, expressed by the suffixed case marker **-i**.

On one hand, Abda (ibid) claims that the (S) lexical NP category in verbal structures like (20) above where the (S), *t-taalib-u* is assigned nom. case in virtue of the Agent position it occupies in the (VSO) word order. On the other hand, it is stipulated in CLA grammar that verbs are governors, and assign nom case to their adjacent subjects NP in VSO structure. It is not, however, clear whether the (S) NP, *t-taalib-u*, in (20) above, is assigned nom. case by the Agent position or the verb position. The adverb Phrase (adv.P) /*sabaahan*/, is assigned inherent acc. case, indicated by the suffix *-a*.

Based on intuition and acceptability, rather than syntactic arguments, CLA schools impose the following constraints on the distribution of the *ʔann*-set:

(i) The (Pred.) of the embedded nominal clause cannot precede the particle:

(22) *naajih-u-n ʔinna t-taalib-a
 passed-ind.-indef that def-student-acc.
 (passed that the student)

(ii) The (pred.) of the embedded nominal clause cannot precede its (S) NP:

(23) *ʔinna naajih-u-n t-taalib-a
 that passed-ind-indef. def-student-acc
 (that passed the student)

(iii) The (S) NP cannot precede the particle:

(24) * t-taalib-a ʔinna naajih-u-n
 def-student-acc that passed-ind-indef.
 (the student that passed)

(iv) A PP or darfP precedes the (pred.), particularly when the (pred.) contains a /*damiir ʔaʔid*/ (returning pronoun) co-referential with the (S) NP.

(25) ʔinna l-laah-a ʔala kul-i shayʔ-i-n qadiir-
u-n (20/2)
that def-God-acc on every-gen thing-gen-indef.
capable(3msg)-ind-indef.
(God is able to do all things)

Section one above, recall, examines the */ʔinna/*-set of particles as they are considered in CLA prescriptive normative grammar, where related rigid rules and constraints are set up to regulate language purity and correctness. Following Owen (1984), this CLA approach is a dependency grammar, where words are syntactically related in a linear order, e.g. particles introduce and govern the (S) and the (pred.) of the nominal sentences, the (S) and (pred.) are identified by the power of these particles. Various types of complement categories are given and distributional constraints are imposed.

(Owen 1984), provides a comprehensive account of CLA grammar. Such grammars, he states, are dependency grammars, observationally, rather than descriptively, adequate. In section two below, these traditional notions, and others, are considered in more recent linguistic .

2. Contemporay Analysis:

Having outlined the CLA grammarians' viewpoint on the so called *ʔann-* particles, this section tries to provide an X-bar analysis for this construction. Below, the Universal Generalized Phrase Marker (GPM) is adopted as a tool to analyze this type of particle complementation. Whether the subordinate (IP) nominal clause is (SVO) or CLA (T-C) Structure, is beyond the limits of this study.

Following Fehri, F. (1993) and Goldsmith, J. (1981) (Al-seghayer 1996), the *ʔinna*-set particles are classed here as (Cs), projecting maximum (CP) categories, in which the (IP) complements are subordinated. The term 'complement', here, refers to categories selected by Cs. This complementation is approve in CLA grammar by the claim that these

particles necessarily introduce nominal clauses. The particles are also treated in CLA grammar as verb-like categories, hence governing C-heads. These CLA particles can, therefore, be defined as case-mood assigning heads.

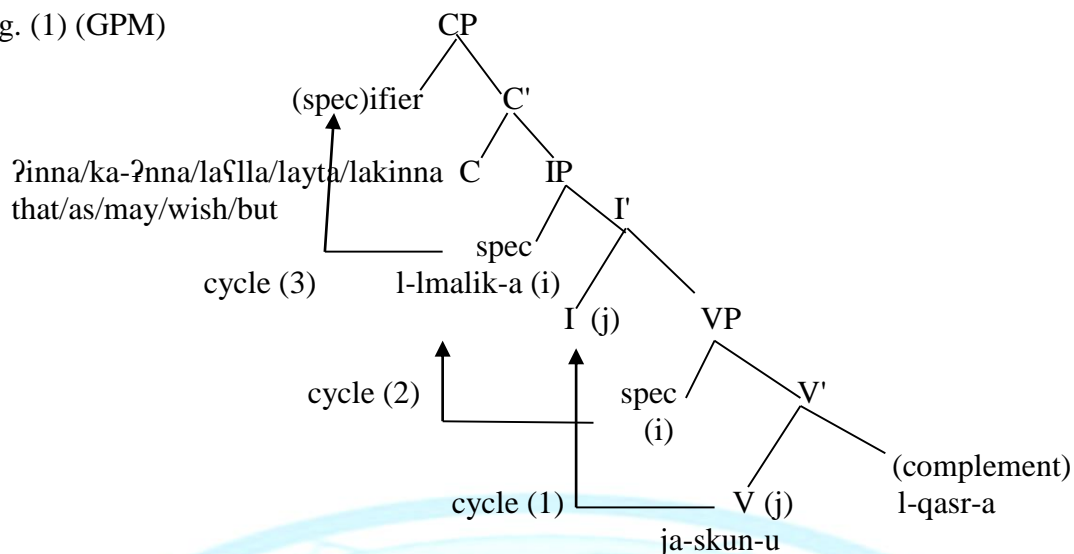
Strict Adjacency Principle (Radford 1988), reads that a complement must be adjacent to its head and precedes Adjuncts. This principle is expressed in Arabic tradition as *ʔal-ʕamil wa ʔal-maʕmuul* (the governor and the governed). It is implied, but not explicitly stated, that governors such as verbs, particles, position of initiation, etc are transitive categories and must subcategorize for complements.

The six Cs, show parallel syntactic behavior in the sense that they introduce nominal clauses as complements. They also share morphological properties in the sense that they are case and mood assigners.

(GPM) is adopted below to analyze the maximum (CP) projection, the embedded (IP) and (VP) categories. The deep structure of sentence (26) below is analyzed in terms of this marker. It displays the structural relations among the phrase constituents nodes and the structural movements needed to account for various surface structures in the language.

(26) inna/ka-ʔanna/laʕalla/layta/lakinna l-lmalik-a ja-skun-u
l-qasr-a
that/as if/may/wish/but def-king-acc imp-live-
ind def-palace-acc
(verily/as if/may/wishing/but the king live in the palace)

Fig. (1) (GPM)



The maximum projection is a (CP), (IP) is embedded within (CP) and (VP) is embedded within (IP). The head (I) contains tense and agreement features. The verb must move from its base generated head position (V) to (I) to collect these features, hence, cycle (1) is obligatory. This (V)-to-(I) movement, with the subject in situ, i.e. (spec: VP), results in (VSO) word order. Cycle (2) is normally optional to generate (SVO) structure.

To analyze the CLA (T-C) structure, I speculate that the (S) *l-malik-a* is base generated in (spec: VP), climbs up to (spec: IP) for (SVO) structure (cycle 2), and climbs further up to (spec: CP), the landing site for topicalization (cycle 3). Note that (S) movements are (spec-to-spec). When the verb has moved to (I) (cycle 1), and the (S) is in (spec: IP) (cycle 2), full subject-Verb agreement is triggered, i.e. number is expressed as in (27) below. When the verb is in (I) (cycle 1) and the (S) is in its base generated position (spec: VP), partial subject verb agreement is engendered, i.e. no number is expressed as in (28) below. The CLA grammarians' stipulation that Cs, must introduce nominal clause complements implies that cycle (2) application to generate SVO structure is a must. Example (29) below violates this agreement principle. Cycle (2) movement is an evidence for the claim that (Cs) are base generated under the head C.

- (27) ʔal-mudarisaa-t-u katab-na d-dars-a
 def-teachers-f-nom wrote-3fpl def-
 lesson-acc
 (the (f) teachers wrote the lesson)
- (28) katab-a-t ʔal-mudarisaa-t-u d-dars-a
 wrote-3sg-f- def-teachers-f-nom def-lesson-acc
 (the (f) teachers wrote the lesson)
- (29) * ʔallam-na ʔal-mudarisaa-t-u t-talamiiθ-a
 taught-3fpl def-teachers-f-nom def-pupils-acc
 (The (f) teachers taught the pupils)

This, seemingly, universal (GPM) shows that intermediate projection of (C) and its nominal complement IP, is a (C'). The maximum projection of (C') and (Spec) is (CP). It is assumed here that the (C) head is base generated under the head (C) node. The (S) of the nominal complement is base generated under (spec: VP), it moves to (spec: IP) for (SVO) structure, with (V) in (I). If the (S) takes a further movement to the higher (spec: CP) (cycle 3), (T-C) structure is projected.

The (im)perfect lexical verbs are realized in equative nominal sentences such as (30a) below, and the copula (be) is not spelled out in non-equative imperfective nominal sentences such as (30b). The perfect copula (be) is articulated as /**kaan-a**/ (was-3msg), In harmony with other (im)perfect lexical verbs, the perfect copula indicates agreement with (S), e.g. /kaan-a (was-3msg), /kaan-u/ (was-3mpl), /kun-na) (was-3fpl), etc.

- (30) a. ʔal -malika-t-u sakana-t/kaan-at ta-skun-a
 l-qasr-a
 def-queen-3fsg-nom lived-3fsg/was-3fsg 3fsgliving-ind.
 def-palace-acc
 (The queen lived/was living in the palace)
- b. ʔal -malika-t-u fi l-qasr-i
 def-queen-3fsg-nom in def-palace-gen
 (The queen is in the palace)

Before the optional (S) movement from (spec: VP) to (spec: IP), the head V, recall, must move (V) to (I), to collect aspect, mood and other grammatical features in agreement with (S) when moved to (spec: IP) (i.e. spec-head agreement), called in CLA grammar as */mutaabaqah/* (agreement)

The nom. case of (S) in (spec: IP) */ibtidaaʔ/* (initiation), is converted into acc. case by the force of the C-head government. CLA grammarians allege that the real nom. case of the (NP) in the basic (T-C) structure, is changed into acc. case whenever headed by any of the C-particles. The same argument holds for the real (ind.) mood marked on the (pred.), which they claim that it is changed to subjunctive mood inflections. Since these C-heads are */sawaamil/* (governors), and govern into the (S) and the (pred.) of the embedded (IPs), it is concluded here that they are case and mood assigners. This conclusion also implies that the (IP) category in Arabic is not a barrier for case and mood assignment. The claim of CLA grammarians that the C-particles are verb-like governors, is attested by these case and mood assignments. It is pointed out by Kuufa school, recall, that the C-particles assign case, but do not assign mood, hence, the (pred.) (VP) category is a barrier for mood assignment. Cycle (2), i.e. (spec: VP) to (spec: IP) movement and the CLA stipulation that the (pred.) cannot precede (S) are structural evidences to support the claim that these Cs are base-generated under C, and cycle (2) in this context is obligatory. Structure (25) above demonstrates that the (PP) and the (darfP) categories may precede the (pred.) suggests that these categories can be topicalized. The stylistic unmarked structure, with a pre-posed PP, in (25) above, is indicated by the acceptable marked structure of (31):

(31) ʔinna l-laah-a qadiir-u-n ʔala kul-i
shayʔ-i-n
that def-God-acc capable-ind-indef. on every-gen
thing-gen-indef.
(God is able to do all things)

Compared with example (25) above, where the (PP) is pre-posed for emphasis, example (31) above shows that the (pred) active participle /*qadiirun*/, and the embedded (PP) /*ʔala kuli shayʔin*/ are adjuncts, and hence can be exchanged.

Conclusion:

It is attested and concluded that the CLA *ʔanna*-particles are head (Cs), subcategorize for nominal (IP) complements. These Cs, are verb-like functional governors as described in CLA grammar.

The CLA Kufa school's attitude that no moods are assigned to the (pred.) shows that the (VP) category in CLA is a barrier for mood assignment, whereas the (IP) category is not a barrier for case assignment.

Full and partial subject-verb agreements are structurally accounted for in terms of cyclic movements. Our speculation that heads (Cs) are base generated under (C) node, and they must introduce nominal (IP) categories, excludes the CLA Topicalized (T-C) structure, and favors the (SVO) word order. The CLA (T-C) surface structure is generated by application of cycle (3). What CLA grammarians view as change of meaning within the (pred.) constituent, is treated in this study as different mood assignments dictated by the various particle Cs.

Two major issues are proposed for further research: (i) whether the internal structure of Arabic nominal sentences is (SVO) or (T-C) as claimed in CLA tradition, and (ii) whether the basic sentence structure in CLA is (SVO) or (VSO).

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