

# الجملة شبه الفعلية ذات الفاعل المضمر في اللغة العربية الفصيحة: دراسة نحوية

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## الملخص

تهدف هذه المقالة إلى تقديم دراسة نحوية عن الجملة شبه الفعلية ذات الفاعل المضمر في اللغة العربية الفصيحة. وتتناول هذه الدراسة الجملة شبه الفعلية التي لا تُظهر زمناً وستوضح أن ما يشبه الفعل (Verbals) في هذه الجملة قد يتوافق مع فاعله عن طريق الضمير المتصل به (Clitic) فتسمى (Finite Clauses) أو لا فتسمى (Non-finite Clauses). إنَّ هذه الدراسة تعمل على إظهار الفرق بينهما مع التركيز على النوع الثاني. إنَّ قلةً من الباحثين قد تطرأوا إلى موضوع هذا البحث منهم Aziz (1989), Hasan (1990) and Alkhuli (1999) وقد يعود السبب إلى الفكرة التي تُنهي وجود (Non-finite Clauses) في اللغة العربية حيث إنه لا وجود لفعل دون زمن في تلك اللغة، وهي فكرة ليست بدقيقة. ولكن تبني هذه الفكرة الباحث Farghal (1986) حيث لم يوافق الرأي الباحث Hasan (1990) لسببين. أولاً، لا يُستدل على الجملة المسماة ب (Non-finite Clauses) بأن لها فعلاً لا يملك زمناً فقط بل إنه أيضاً لا يُظهر توافقاً مع فاعله حتى. فمثلاً لا يُظهر الفعل في جملة أن المصدرية والأمر زمناً ولكن يُظهر توافقاً مع الفاعل عن طريق الصرف (Agreement Markers) ما يجعلهم جملة فعلية: (Finite Clauses). ثانياً، يشير الباحث إلى أن هناك (Non-finite Clauses) في اللغة العربية الفصيحة على خلاف ذلك المعتقد. إنَّ هذه الدراسة توضح آلية رسم الأشجار النحوية التي تُظهر ما إذا كانت الجملة شبه الفعلية (Finite) أو (Non-finite)؛ فقد تمتلك ذات الجملة معنيين مختلفين لأنها تتضمن تركيبين نحويين أحدهما فيه يُظهر الفعل توافقاً مع فاعله بواسطة: (Clitic) والآخر لا يُظهره أبداً وهذا يمكن استنباطه عن طريق الأشجار النحوية ذات القراءات المختلفة. وفي الختام، قد تسهم هذه المقالة إلى تعزيز الكفاءة النحوية للقارئ بما يتعلق بموضوع هذا البحث.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الفاعل المضمر، أشباه الأفعال، المصادر، الأسماء المشتقة.

## Subjectless Non-finite Clauses in Standard Arabic: A Syntactic Account

### Abstract

This study is conducted to enhance the syntactic competence of the reader regarding subjectless non-finite clauses in Standard Arabic. In fact, a few studies have discussed or have been conducted on this topic like Aziz's (1989), Hasan's (1990) and Alkhuli's (1999). Nevertheless, Farghal (1986) highlights that SA lacks subjectless non-finite clauses, and he generally connects the lack of PRO<sup>1</sup> in SA clauses with the absence of tenseless clauses only. However, this association between tense and PRO "leaves no role for AGR" in accordance with Hasan's (1990, p. 243)<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that Hasan (1990) already rejects Farghal's conclusion (1986) of the lack of PRO in SA by emphasising that PRO can be observed in specific noun phrases and small clauses<sup>3</sup> in this language.

**Key words:** PRO, verbals, gerunds, derived nouns, ?an clauses.

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<sup>1</sup> PRO stands for a null subject pronoun in a non-finite clause. PRO should have/ be assigned a null case, and it should not be properly governed.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is generally assumed in "generative syntactic theories that the [ $\pm$ finiteness] feature is closely related to tense and agreement" (Dalmi, 2005, p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> Small clauses "not only normally lack TNS but also will never allow it" (Hasan, 1990, p. 259).

## 1. Introduction

This article is dedicated to the study of subjectless non-finite clauses in Standard Arabic (henceforth, SA). It proves that the Standard Arabic *ʔan* clauses are finite. Furthermore, it examines SA subjectless (Non-finite) adverbial clauses. A subjectless clause is a meaningful clause that has an implicit subject, and non-finite clauses are subordinate clauses that do not show “tense, person/ number agreement or any of the other grammatical categories associated with finite verbs, such as aspect or mood” (Tallerman, 2015, p. 84). The implicit subject pronoun in a non-finite clause is referred to as the big PRO (Landau, 2000).

## 2. Standard Arabic *ʔan* Clauses

SA *ʔan* clauses are finite subjunctive<sup>4</sup> dependent clauses (Hasan, 1990). Consider the following SA examples; root clauses are in bold and subordinate clauses are in italics:

<b>(1) ʔuri:du</b>	<b>pro<sub>i</sub></b>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>ʔalʕab-a</i>	<i>pro<sub>i</sub></i>
1SG.want	1SG	to	1SG.play-SUBJ	1SG

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<sup>4</sup> The subjunctive mood is generally used to express a wish or an idea that is hypothetical (Ryding, 2005).

*kurata lqadami.*

football

‘I want to play football.’

(2) <i>ʔuri:du</i>	<i>pro<sub>i</sub></i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>nalʕab-a</i>	<i>pro<sub>j</sub></i>
1SG.want	1SG	to	1PL.play-SUBJ	1PL

*kurata lqadami.*

football

‘I want to play football.’

The covert subject in the embedded clause in (1) and (2) is a pronominal co-indexed with an antecedent that does not exist within the same clause containing it/ the pronominal. The *pro*<sup>5</sup> of the embedded clause in (1) and (2) is a deictic pronominal (Ackema et al., 2006). In fact, Ackema et al. (2006, p. 236) distinguish between three types of *pro* in terms of reference:

- (3) **a.** Deictic *pro*: null pronouns marked [+speaker]/ [+hearer]
- b.** Anaphoric *pro*: null third person pronouns that take up a discourse referent previously introduced in the discourse
- c.** Non-anaphoric *pro*: null third person pronouns that do not take

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<sup>5</sup> The little *pro* stands for a null subject pronoun in a finite clause.

up a discourse referent previously introduced in the discourse

In (1) and (2), AGR of the embedded clause is identifying, so it properly governs a *pro* because a PRO cannot be properly governed in accordance with Chomsky's (1981). Besides, *pro* reference cannot be arbitrary in *ʔan* clauses simply because the verb at AGR in SA *ʔan* clauses shows person, number and gender distinctions of a deictic *pro* (i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns) or an anaphoric *pro* (i.e., the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns). Furthermore, the antecedent of *pro* is not required to be in the root clause as in (2). In addition, an anaphoric *pro* in an *ʔan* clause in SA can be substituted with an R-expression inflected/ marked with the nominative *-u* as in (4) below (Hasan, 1990). Furthermore, the nominative case "typically occurs on the subjects of finite clauses" (Tallerman, 2015, p. 79). Therefore, *ʔan* clauses are finite (dependent) clauses; the verb in *ʔan* clauses is in the subjunctive mood, and it has full agreement with the implicit subject but lacks tense markers<sup>6</sup>. In fact, the SA mood marking only appears "on the present tense or imperfective stem" (Ryding, 2005, p. 444). The verb form of the embedded clauses in (1) and (2) indicates the imperfective aspect, and it is inflected with the subjunctive marker *-a*. The following examples taken from Hasan (1990, p. 248) illustrate that an *ʔan* clause may have either an identifying or non-identifying AGR, exactly like other SA finite clauses; *ʔan* clauses are in bold:

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<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Hungarian subjunctive clauses show agreement with the implicit subject, and according to Dalmi (2005, p. 15), though the predicate does not show "any morphological tense marking," Hungarian subjunctive clauses are "unambiguously finite."

(4) ʔawaddu pro ʔan jazu:ra zajd-un l-ʔahra:ma.

1SG-like pro to 3SGM-visit Zayd-NOM the-pyramids

‘I like Zayd to visit the pyramids.’

(5) ʔawaddu pro ʔan jazu:ra l-ʔawla:du l-ʔahra:ma.

1SG-like pro to 3SGM-visit the-children the-pyramids

‘I like the children to visit the pyramids.’

(6) ʔawaddu pro ʔan jazu:ru:<sup>7</sup> pro l-ʔahra:ma.

1SG-like pro to 3PLM-visit pro the-pyramids

‘I like them to visit the pyramids.’

Because the verb always appears in the singular form before a nominal subject in VSO constructions, the verb of the embedded clause in (4) and (5) does not agree in number with the postverbal nominal subject. Accordingly, AGR is non-identifying in (4) and (5). On the contrary, AGR

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<sup>7</sup> It is noteworthy that the imperfect verb in the indicative mood, agreeing with the 3PLM, is suffixed with *-na*, e.g., the *-na* in *jazu:ru:-na*; however, the imperfect verb in the subjunctive mood, agreeing with the 3PLM, ends with *-u*-, e.g., the suffix *-u* in *jazu:r-u*: (Salih, 1985).

of the *ʔan* clause in (6) is identifying since it specifies the person, number and gender grammatical properties of *pro* (i.e., the null subject referential contents are uniquely recovered). Actually, a nominal subject may appear before the subjunctive verb and its particle *ʔan*. Consider the following SA sentence taken from Hasan (1990, p. 232).

- (7) turi:du      l-walad-a      ʔan      jaʔraba      d-dawa:ʔ-a.  
she.want    the-boy-ACC    to    he.drink    the-medicine-ACC  
‘She wants the boy to drink the medicine.’

### 3. PRO in Standard Arabic

An *ʔan* clause in SA can be substituted with a noun phrase; however, they cannot always be interchangeable. Consider the following illustrative SA examples:

- (8) ʔuri:du    pro    ʔan    ʔuka:dir-a    pro    lhaflat-a.  
I.want    pro    to    leave-SUBJ    pro    the party-ACC  
‘I want to leave the party.’
- (9) ʔuri:du    pro    muʔa:darat-a    PRO    lhaflat-i.  
I.want    pro    leaving-ACC    PRO    the.party-ACC  
‘I want to leave the party.’

(10) ?uri:du pro lmu?a:darat-a PRO.

I.want pro the.leaving-ACC PRO

‘I want to leave.’

(11) bada?a pro lqira:?at-a PRO.

he.started pro the.reading-ACC PRO

‘He started reading.’

(12) bada?a pro qira:?at-a PRO lkita:b-i.

he.started pro reading-ACC PRO the.book-ACC

‘He started reading the book.’

(13) \*bada?a pro ?an jaqra?-a pro.

he.started pro to read-SUBJ pro

‘He started to read.’

The sentences in (8), (9) and (10) are paraphrases. The infinitive clause in (8) can be substituted either by a noun phrase in the possessive construction as in (9) or by a definite noun phrase as in (10). The noun phrase in (9) and (10): *mu?a:darata lhaflati* and *lmu?a:darata* can be thought of as non-finite clauses. In fact, particular noun phrases can be

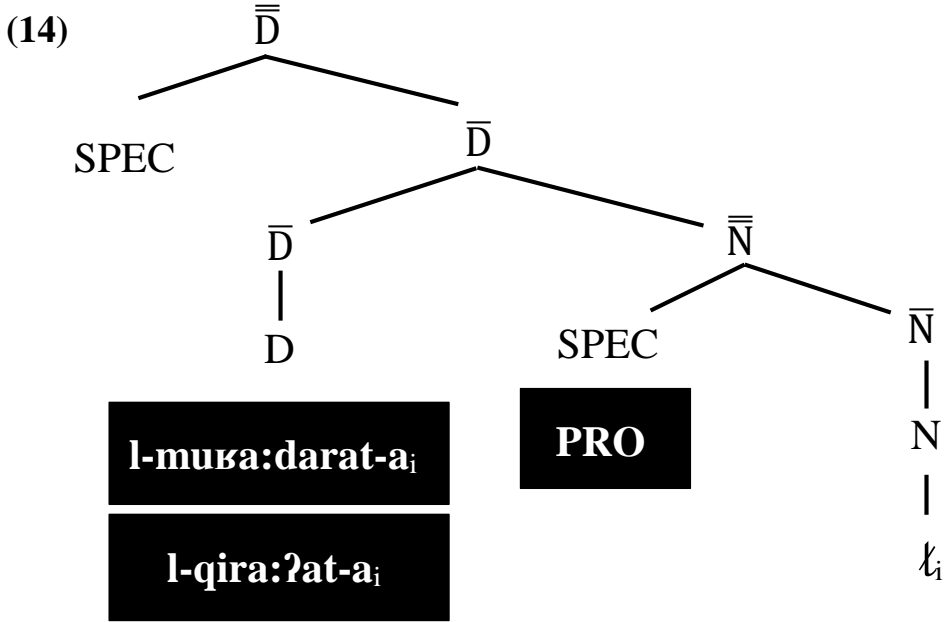


viewed as non-finite clauses in SA. Hasan (1990) argues that those noun phrases, headed by a verbal noun lacking an explicit subject, are headed either by a gerund<sup>8</sup> or by a noun derived from a verb, and that they are typically not inflected for number. In general, the gerund and the derived noun do not have tense or agreement markers, but they are marked for definiteness and case, like any other lexical noun. In (11) and (12), the non-finite clauses/ the noun phrases *lqira:ʔata* and *qira:ʔata lkita:bi* cannot be replaced by an *ʔan* clause as the ungrammaticality of the example in (13) illustrates. This is mainly because the act of reading is not hypothetical, yet it is real or has already started. The sentence in (13) can be grammatical if the imperfect verb in the subjunctive mood is replaced by an imperfect verb in the indicative mood, i.e., *badaʔa jaqraʔ-u*<sup>9</sup>. The SA noun phrases which can be considered non-finite clauses are “projections of the functional head D for determiner” (Hasan, 1990, p. 266). The tree-diagram of the non-finite clauses *lmuka:darata* in (10) and *lqira:ʔata* in (11) can be drawn as in (14):

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<sup>8</sup> According to Alkhuli (1999, p. 110), SA has “a counter-gerund”/ “the abstract noun” yet not a gerund; “a general gerund” in English cannot take the definite article *the*, while “the general abstract noun” in SA usually takes the definite article *ʔal*. For example, *reading* is a gerund whose equivalent in SA is *ʔal qira:ʔa/ the reading*. However, for the sake of simplicity and consistency, the term gerund will be used to indicate the counter-gerunds/ abstract nouns in SA in this work.

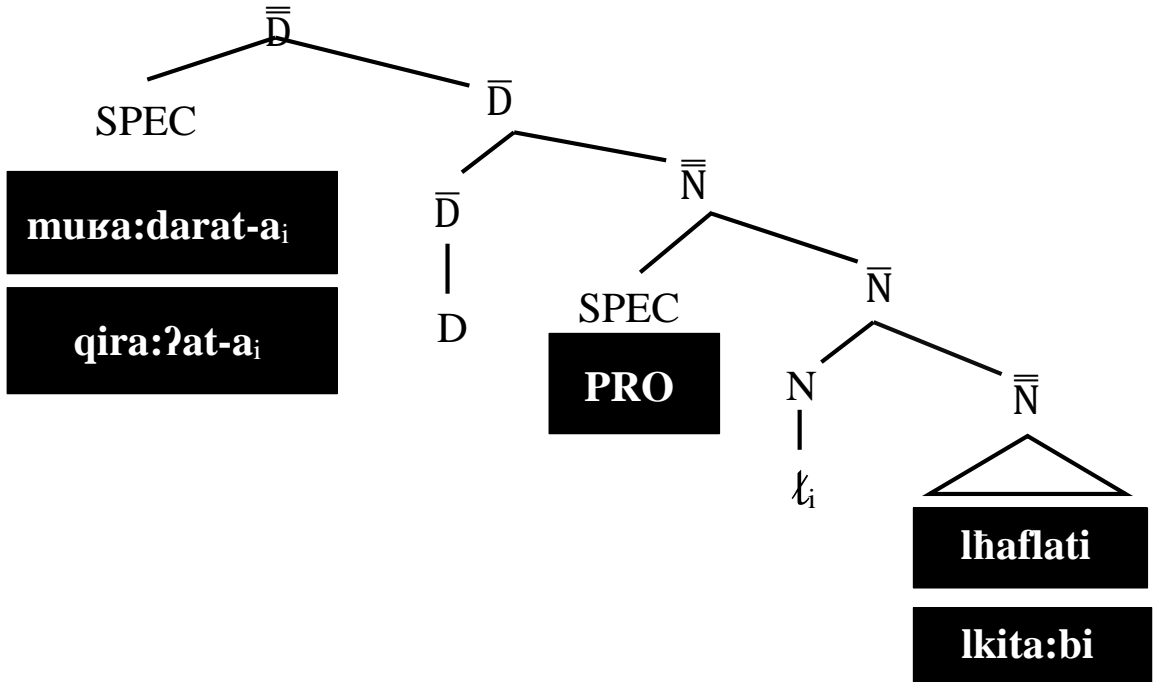
<sup>9</sup> The imperfect verb in the indicative mood, agreeing with the 3SGM, is suffixed with *-u*, e.g., the *-u* in *jaqraʔ-u*; however, the imperfect verb in the subjunctive mood, agreeing with the 3SGM, is suffixed with *-a*, e.g., the *-a* in *ʔan jaqraʔ-a* in accordance with Ryding’s (2005) and Salih’s (1985).



In (14) the movement from  $[N, \bar{N}]$  to  $[D, \bar{D}]$  is crucial for the gerund to get its definiteness inflection and to host the case marker/ inflection. The  $\bar{N}$  is an adjunct as it is the daughter and sister of distinct  $\bar{D}$ s. That being so, the gerund in  $D$  is blocked from assigning case<sup>10</sup> to its subject: *PRO* (Hasan, 1990). Therefore, the tree diagram conveys that *PRO* is not properly governed and that it has a null case. The same tree-diagram in (14) can apply to the non-finite clauses *muḡa:darata lḥaflatī* in (9) and *qira:ʔata lkita:bi* in (12) as the following phrase structure tree representation shows:

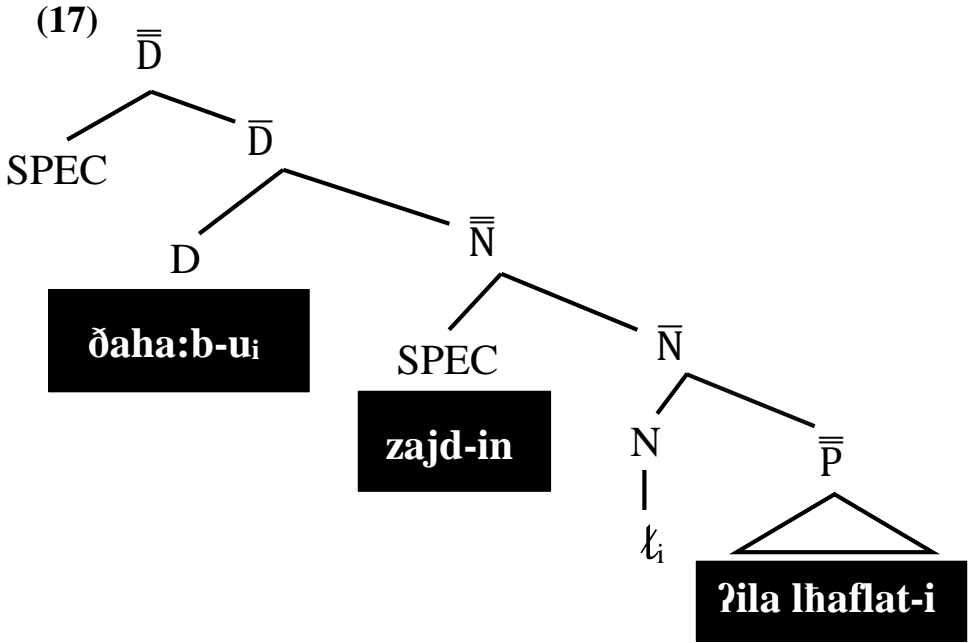
<sup>10</sup> The case assigner assigns case to a case assignee under the structural relation of c-command (Radford, 2009).

(15)



In fact, the subject of a gerund or a derived noun is not always a *PRO*. That is, gerunds and derived nouns may assign case to their subject changing the configuration accordingly (Hasan, 1990). Consider the following noun phrase along with its tree-diagram taken from Hasan (1990, p. 266):

- (16) *ḏaha:b-u*      *zajd-in*      *ʔila*      *l-haflat-i*  
going-NOM      Zayd-GEN      to      the-party-GEN  
'Zayd's going to the party'



In (17), the  $\bar{N}$  is the sister of  $D$  which allows the derived noun *ḏaha:bu* to assign the possessive case to its subject via c-command (Hasan, 1990). Moreover, *zajdin* can be replaced by *pro* iff the derived noun is inflected with a bound pronominal/ a clitic<sup>11</sup>; *pro* can be replaced by an explicit pronoun as well. For instance, the noun phrase *ḏaha:bu zajdin ʔila lhaflat-i* can be restructured as in (18):

- (18) ḏaha:b-u-hu      pro      ʔila      l-ḥaflat-i  
 going-NOM-his      pro      to      the-party-GEN  
 ‘His going to the party’

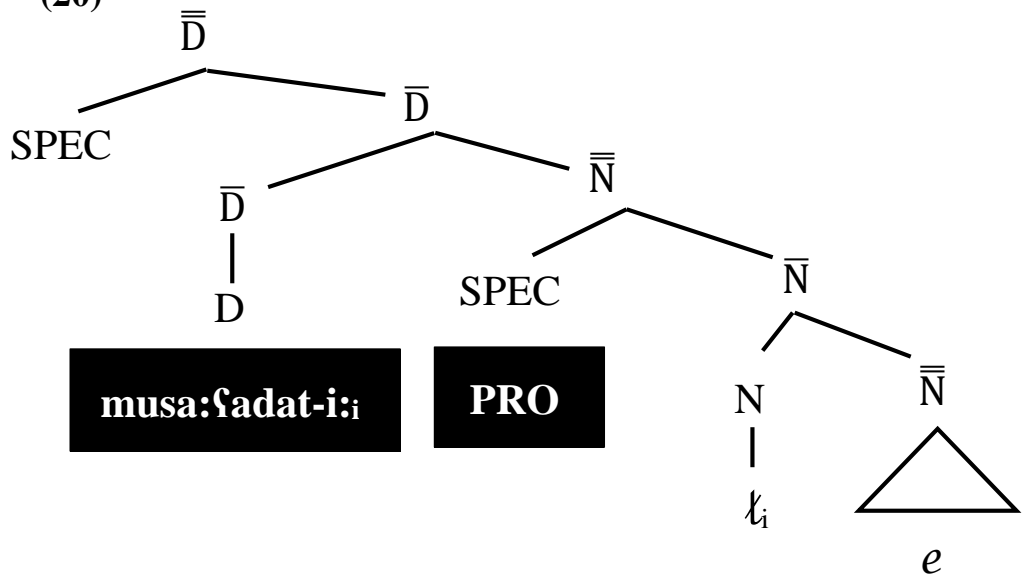
<sup>11</sup> Clitics are affixes "realising an otherwise unexpressed argument" (Alotaibi & Borsley, 2013, p.8).

(19) ?a                  turi:du                  musa:ʃadat-i:?

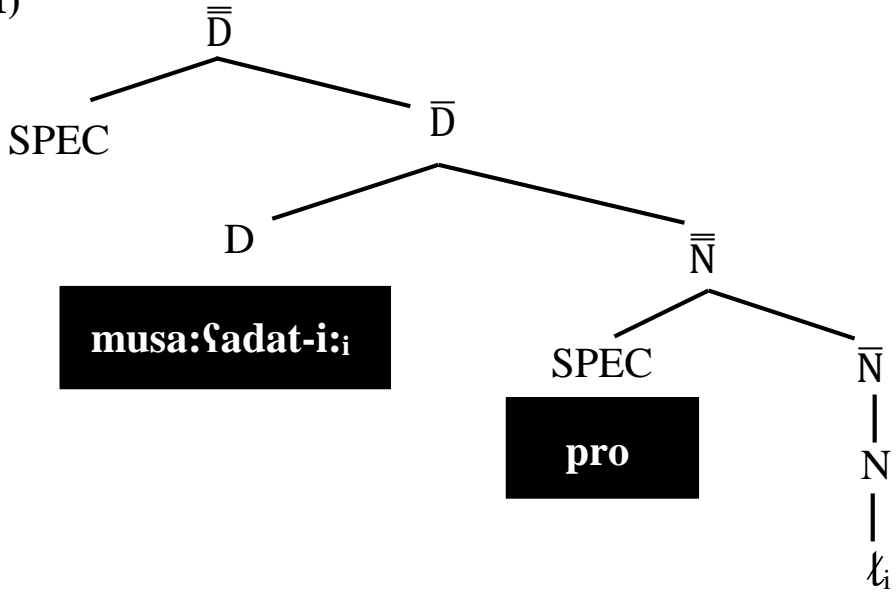
question word      you.SGM/she.want      help.me/ my.help

‘Do you/ does she want to help me?’ or ‘do you/ does she want my help?’

(20)



(21)



In (19), *musa:ʕadati:* can be a non-finite clause whose subject *PRO* has *you.MSG/ she* as its antecedent/ controller from the root clause; the bound pronominal *i:* in *musa:ʕadati:* refers to the object which is an empty category that can be substituted by an overt pronoun, *ʔana:*. This information is illustrated in the tree-diagram in (20). Moreover, in (19), *musa:ʕadati:* can be thought of as a finite clause whose pronominal subject is cliticised on the gerund; this information is illustrated in the tree-diagram in (21). In fact, in SA, a gerund or a derived noun that is indefinite may have either an overt subject in the genitive case as in (17) or a caseless covert subject/ *PRO* with an object in the genitive case as in (15) and (20). Though the indefinite gerund in (21) does not have an overt subject in the genitive case, it is inflected with a bound pronominal. Note that a gerund and even a derived noun are not expected to have tense or agreement

markers; however, they may have *pro* in a case-marked position recovered due to the bound pronominal/ clitic attached to that gerund or derived noun, and *pro*, which exists only in finite clauses, can be replaced by an explicit pronoun for emphasis. On the contrary, in (20), though the indefinite gerund which has a caseless covert subject/*PRO* does not have an overt object, the object pronoun is cliticised on the gerund, and the pronoun can be explicit in object position for emphasis. Semantically, the speaker in (20) is the one receiving the help, while the speaker in (21) is the one offering the help. Therefore, the tree diagrams in (20) and (21) disambiguate the noun phrase *musa:ʕadati:* in (19) due to representing two distinct phrase structure trees. Besides, it is noteworthy that the NP *musa:ʕadati:* in (21) may have an NP assigned the accusative case functioning as the object of the gerund. For instance, consider the following SA noun phrase:

- (22) *musa:ʕadat-i: pro j al-mari:d<sup>ʕ</sup>-a*  
 help-my pro inserted semi-vowel the-patient-  
 ACC  
 ‘My help of the patient’

The above noun phrase can be viewed as a finite clause whose covert subject assigned the genitive case is recovered morphologically by a clitic attached to the indefinite gerund. Moreover, the gerund has an object assigned the accusative case. In fact, it is noteworthy that the indefinite gerund must assign a genitive case to the nearest lexical noun or pronoun

proceeding it in SA. This entails that if the indefinite gerund: *musa:ʕada*<sup>12</sup> in (22) had a *PRO* followed by the overt object *lmari:dʕa*, that overt object would no longer be assigned the accusative case yet the genitive one and accordingly marked with the genitive case marker *-i* instead of the objective case marker *-a* (i.e., *lmari:dʕ-i*) because though *PRO* immediately proceeds the indefinite gerund, *PRO* cannot be assigned the genitive case but the null case.

#### 4. Subjectless Non-finite Adverbial Clauses in Standard Arabic

In general terms, *PRO* in an adverbial clause which begins with a subordinator whether in English or in SA must be identical in reference to the matrix subject. Consider the following examples taken from Alkhuli (1999, p. 174):

(23) \*baʕda      l-muʕa:darat-i,      haɖʕaru:.

after      the-leaving-GEN      they.arrived

‘After leaving, they arrived.’

(24) baʕda      muʕa:darat-i:,      haɖʕaru:.

<sup>12</sup> The case of *musa:ʕada* depends on its distribution in the main clause. In (19) and (22), *musa:ʕadati:* is assigned case but not marked/ inflected for case mainly because of its ending.



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after leaving-my they.arrived

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‘After my leaving, they arrived.’

(25) After my leaving, they arrived.

The ungrammaticality in (23) lies in *PRO* reference as it cannot refer to the matrix subject. This information is concluded because semantically there is no point for the same individuals to depart from a location to reach the same location. In examples (24) and (25), the gerund has a subject that does not refer to the matrix subject; the subject pronoun is cliticised on the gerund in the SA example (24), while it is a free root morpheme in the English example (25). In (25), the adverbial clause has its own subject explicitly realised. However, in (24), the subject pronoun of the adverbial clause is not identical to the matrix subject (i.e., it is not a *PRO*), but it is a *pro* cliticised on the gerund. The adverbial clause in (24) can be viewed as a finite clause. In addition, the subordinator in (24) acts like a preposition followed by an NP complement headed by a noun, the indefinite gerund, assigned yet not marked for the genitive case mainly because both the genitive marker *-i* and the bound pronominal inflection/ the clitic *-i*: combined may complicate or create a challenge for pronunciation. Similarly, the subordinator in (25) acts like a preposition followed by an NP headed by the gerund yet not the participle *leaving*. This is because the explicit subject of a participle in an absolute clause should be in the nominative case (Phythian, 1980). In (25), the preposition

*after* is followed by an NP headed by the verbal noun/ gerund: *leaving* preceded by a possessive adjective as its subject. Hence, the prepositional phrase in (24) and (25) can be considered an adverbial non-finite clause. Moreover, the antecedent of PRO in an adverbial (non-finite) clause must be the matrix subject in English and SA. In other words, the subject pronoun of an adverbial non-finite clause must be coreferential with the matrix subject, otherwise the verbal noun must properly govern a *pro* by a clitic as in the SA example (24) or the subject pronoun of the adverbial clause must be overtly realised as in the English example (25). Consider the following SA examples taken from Alkhuli (1999, p. 174):

(26) qabla      muḵa:darati:,      ʕamiltu      wa:ʒibi:.

before      my.leaving,      I.did      my.homework

‘Before my leaving, I did my homework.’

(27) \*qabla      muḵa:darat-i,      ʕamiltu      wa:ʒibi:.

before      leaving-GEN,      I.did      my.homework

‘\*Before the leaving of, I did my homework.’

(28) qabla      l-muḵa:darat-i,      ʕamiltu      wa:ʒibi:.

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before the-leaving-GEN, I.did my.homework

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‘Before leaving, I did my homework.’

In (26), *muḥa:darati:* has a covert subject/ *pro* recovered due to the clitic attached to the gerund; thus, it is not required to be identical to the matrix subject. That is, the gerund is inflected with the 1SG bound pronominal - *i:* which implies that the implicit subject of the adverbial clause is optionally identical to the matrix subject. On the contrary, in (28), the subject of the adverbial clause is covert and not recovered morphologically on the definite gerund. Therefore, *PRO* is obligatorily identical to the matrix subject. The ungrammaticality in (27) lies in its incompleteness. In other words, an indefinite gerund should assign a genitive case to the nearest lexical noun or pronoun proceeding it. Therefore, the indefinite gerund should at least have an overt subject or a covert subject/ *pro* in the genitive case, or it should have a caseless covert subject/ *PRO* with an object in the genitive case. In general, each example above in this section illustrates that adverbial clauses of time can be non-tensed in both English and SA. However, consider the following examples taken from Aziz (1989, p. 219) and Alkhuli (1999, p. 174) respectively:

(29) When in Rome, they met a number of interesting people.

(Aziz, 1989, p. 219)

(30) bajnama: kuntu ma:ʃi:jan, raʔajtu-hu.

while I.was walking, I.saw-him

‘While I was walking, I saw him.’

(31) \*bajnama: ma:ʃi:jan, raʔajtu-hu.

while walking, I.saw-him

‘While walking, I saw him.’

(Alkhuli, 1999, p. 174)

The above examples illustrate that adverbial clauses that are introduced by a subordinator can be subjectless verbless clauses in English, while in SA, they cannot be so as the ungrammaticality of (31) illustrates. In general terms, in SA, not every tensed adverbial clause as in (30) can be reduced into a non-tensed adverbial clause. In (31), *ma:ʃi:jan* indicates that the subject is [+masculine] and [+singular] (i.e., it only shows gender and number specifications); the subject accordingly can be in the first, second or third person. In other words, the deletion of the copula verb in (31) is followed by the failure of the predicate to specify the person distinction. The subject of the adverbial clause in (29) is obligatorily identical to the matrix subject; however, in (30), it is optionally identical to the matrix subject because of the full agreement between the subject of the adverbial clause and the copula verb (i.e., because of the identifying AGR). Consider the following examples taken from Hasan (1990, p. 261):

(32) ʔakalat wida:d-un ʔaddaʒa:ʒaʒ [PRO<sub>j</sub> maqli:jan].

she.ate Widad-NOM the.chicken PRO fried

‘Widad ate the chicken fried.’

(33) ʒa:ʔa ʒajd-unʒ [PRO<sub>j</sub> ra:kiðʕan].

he.came Zayd-NOM PRO running

‘Zayd came running.’

The above examples illustrate that SA may have a subjectless verbless/ small clause functioning as an adverb of manner. In (32), *ʔakalat* is a transitive verb that has two arguments: the subject *wida:dun* and the object *ʔaddaʒa:ʒa*. In (33), *ʒa:ʔa* is an intransitive verb that has one argument: the subject *ʒajdun*. Therefore, the covert subject of the small clause in (32) and (33) is not exceptionally assigned case by the matrix verb mainly because an intransitive complementiser assigns PRO the null case according to Radford (2009) and because the whole small clause does not constitute an argument to the matrix verb. Indeed, the covert subject of the small clauses in (32) and (33) is the caseless *PRO*, probably assigned the null case by the intransitive null complementiser of the small clause. Moreover, though the predicate of the small clause in (32) and (33) shows number and gender distinctions, it fails to show the person specification. The predicate in SA small clauses does not show person distinction which prevents the occurrence of *pro* in such constructions; however, *PRO* can

be occurred in specific adverbial (dependent) small clauses in SA in which the subject is not properly governed and assigned a null case. Eventually, the next section summarizes what is covered in this article.

## 5. Summary

This study focused on Standard Arabic noun phrases, headed by a verbal, that can be viewed as non-finite clauses; it is particularly concerned with subjectless non-finite clauses of the language in question. Besides, it examined the potential for a PRO in SA adverbial (dependent) non-finite and small clauses.

A non-finite clause cannot stand alone as a sentence as it cannot be independent. Moreover, the verb of a non-finite clause is not marked for tense or agreement. Subjectless non-finite clauses in SA are particular noun phrases headed by a derived noun or a gerund (Hasan, 1990). The head of those NPs acts as a verb that does not show tense or agreement. Nevertheless, whenever the head of those NPs is attached to a clitic (i.e., a bound pronominal), the covert subject becomes recoverable, and accordingly, the whole NP can be viewed as a finite clause. In SA, the equivalent of English non-finite to-infinitive clauses is the finite *ʔan* clauses which are not marked for tense but for agreement; the verb in *ʔan* clauses is in the subjunctive mood. Indeed, the verbal of a subjectless non-finite clause does not show tense; however, a subjectless finite clause may not show tense either, yet the verb/ verbal is inflected with agreement markers or a clitic/ bound pronominal as in SA imperative and *ʔan* clauses along with particular noun phrases, headed by a verbal. Consequently, tense is not

the only test to rely on to examine finiteness (Dalmi, 2005). That is, AGR can disclose finiteness, too. Besides, independent clauses cannot be non-finite clauses simply because they/ the latter cannot stand alone in a sentence. To conclude, unlike a subjectless finite clause, a subjectless non-finite clause has a null subject assigned a null case and not properly governed.

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