Object Shift in Modern Standard Arabic

Ala'a Khalifa Owaidi
The University of Jordan, Jordan
Department of English Language and Literature

Prof. Mohammad Irshaid Al-Khawalda
Mu'tah University, Jordan
Department of English Language and Literature
khawaldeh@mutah.edu.jo

Abstract

Despite the considerable effort in the field of syntax, several aspects of object extraction remain uncharted area. One such area is Object Shift. The aim of this paper is to examine three interrelated keys to Object Shift. First, it seeks to test Case Theory as a key to Object Shift (i.e. A movement). Secondly, it tests Equidistance Theory as another key to Object Shift. Finally, the present study looks into Focalization as a key to Object Shift. The study adopted four approaches and theories, namely (1) Chomsky’s (2000,2001,2005,2007) latest version on Minimal Program, (2) Holmberg’s (1986) Generalization, (3) Chomsky’s (1993,1995) Equidistance Theory, and (4) Rizzi’s (1997) Cartographic Approach. Different examples from MSA were selected based on Arabic specialists at the University of Jordan and Arabic Language Academy. The analysis demonstrated that Object Shift in MSA can be A-movement in certain constructions and an A-bar movement in others.

Keywords: Case Theory, Focalization, Equidistance Theory, Object Shift.

1. Introduction

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA, henceforth) has a flexible grammatical system which justifies the diversity in word-order variation. Syntactic operations contribute to such type of variation where constituents move from their original occurrences to new positions (i.e. landing site). Mohammad (1990, p.115) examines the diversity in MSA, shading the light on marked and unmarked word-orders; arguing that the unmarked word-order is VSO whereas SVO, OVS, VOS, OSV and SOV are the marked ones. The present study tests VOS, SOV word-order variations since its concern is directed to the process of Object Shift (i.e. Object shifts within sentence structure other than being in left periphery).

When dealing with word-order variation, syntax works alongside other disciplines (e.g. pragmatics) in order to posit why such variations do exist in MSA. In other words, syntactic operations (e.g. Object Shift) and constraints (e.g. Phase Theory) operate with pragmatic functions (Focalization and Topicalization) to differentiate using specific word-order permutation over another.
An essential property distinguishes MSA is overt case marking. This property makes the process of word-order variation easier for Arabic learners since subjects with their overt NOM case can be distinguished from Objects with their ACC case. Consequently, changing the positions of subjects or objects do not affect their case-marked features in general. Three main points were studied thoroughly by researchers (see Bakir, 1980; Mohammad, 1990,2000; Ouhalla, 1997; Soltan, 2007, among others); the first one is the diversity in word-order, the second is word-order variation's relation with pragmatic functions, and case marking with respect to word-order. The current study investigates these three points with reference to Object Shift.

This study aims at answering the following questions:

(1) Can Object Shift in MSA be case-driven and focus-driven movements?
(2) If so, what are the cases, restrictions that govern each type of movement?

* abbreviations are listed in Table 1 in Appendix A.

2. Methodology

2.1 Corpus

The corpus of data consists of examples chosen from MSA. Furthermore, the examples illustrate the process of Object Shift.

The researchers select the data according to two criteria as follows:

(1) All chosen examples are attested in MSA.
(2) The examples represent Object Shift in two cases illustrated in the analysis.

2.2 Data analysis procedures

As a qualitative analysis, the current study analyzes the data based on different approaches and theories. Four main approaches are adopted in this study. Generally, Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2005, 2007) latest version on Minimalist Program is adopted. Following Holmberg's (1986) Generalization, the present study examines Object Shift as a case-driven movement. More attention is paid to Chomsky's (1993,1995) Equidistance Theory which goes against Holmberg's Generalization. Following Rizzi (1997), the current study introduces the cartographic approach to syntactic structures.
2.3 Validity and reliability

In order to check the accuracy and suitability of examples, the researchers selected them seeking the help of specialists in the language; Arabic professors in the Department of Arabic Language and Literature at the University of Jordan and Arabic Language Academy. In addition, the researchers asked the specialists to provide them with their feedback regarding the suitability of examples with respect to certain syntactic restrictions and constraints.

2.4 Transliteration

In the present study, Arabic characters are presented following International Phonetic Alphabet/Arabic (IPA). Phonetic symbols are given in (Table 2 in Appendix A).

3. Analysis and Discussion

For not being misleading, the researchers use the term object shift in MSA (in comparison with other languages) as a process where object (definite or indefinite noun phrase) is extracted and its landing site is not the left periphery. Moreover, this process can be A- movement in certain structures and A-bar movement in others. Consequently, the current study examines three keys to object shift, namely, (1) Case Theory, (2) Equidistance Theory, and (3) Focalization. Within case theory, the present study views object shift as an A- movement where objects move to assign its case feature. However, within Focalization, it presents the process as an A-bar movement for emphatic reason (i.e. focalized element).

3.1 Case Theory as a key to Object Shift (as an A- movement)

The main assumption underpinning Object Shift with reference to Case Theory is that the movement of object is an Argument movement (A- movement, henceforth) from its original occurrence (inside v*P) to a position (spec of functional head: outside v*P) within the same clause to assign its feature (i.e. case) (Vikner, 2005). This means that it moves from theta-marked position to case-marked position which named as a case-driven movement.

According to Woolford (2006, p. 111), case is divided into two major categories; structural and non-structural cases. Drawing a distinction between both, syntacticians refer to structural case as a case which is licensed based on the landing site. It emphasizes that the movement of an argument (i.e. object) is changed regarding the case-marked position. In contrast, non-structural case (i.e. lexical or inherent), the argument preserves its case whenever it undergoes A-movement. As a consequence, our attention will be directed to the structural case in order to prove that object can be shifted for case feature checking in certain structures as illustrated later.

A related assumption is that such type of movement is considered as an overt movement, so sometimes researchers called the process an Overt Object Shift. In other words, object with its uninterpretable feature (case) is raised to check its feature (Bošković, 2007; Chomsky, 1995; cf. Musabhien, 2009). To make the picture more complicated, let us examine this movement based on Split Inflectional Hypothesis (Chomsky, 1991, 1993; Pollock, 1989; among others). Both researchers claim that there are two functional projections, namely (1) Agree Subject Phrase (AgrSP, henceforth) and (2) Agree Object Phrase (AgrOP, henceforth). AgrSP which dominates
IP hosts subjects as specifiers for NOM case checking, while AgrOP which dominates v*P hosts objects as specifiers for ACC case checking as shown in the tree diagram below:

Two terms (i.e. object shift or Scrambling) are used referring to the process of object shift; the first general one is Object Shift in Scandinavian languages where it affects definite NPs and pronominal and is governed by finite verb raising (see, Collins & Thraínsson, 1996; Holmberg, 1999; Holmberg & Platzack, 2005; Vikner, 1994). Also, it is considered as a case driven movement (i.e. A- movement). The second terminology is Scrambling in Germanic languages which affects different projections, like NPs, PPs, etc. and no need for verb raising (see Müller & Sternefeld, 1994; Zwat, 1996). The present study uses Object Shift terminology in different ways where it is similar with Object Shift of Scandinavian languages in some aspects and with Scrambling of Germanic languages in others as illustrated in the discussion below.

The tree diagram in (1) above shows that the overt movement of object involves a kind of substitution; an A-chain property posits an object movement from theta-marked position (i.e. non-case position) complement of the verb to case-marked position [AgrOP, spec] (Déprez, 1994). If we take a look at this movement from a different angle which is the Copy Theory, we will find two copies of the same constituent (i.e. object) entering the derivation. One of these copies should be given the privilege to be spelled-out, otherwise the derivation will crash.

According to Bobaljik (2002), the lower copy is the only candidate to be deleted avoiding the violation of syntactic constraint (i.e. Precedence Condition). Based on this condition, the optimal choice is keeping the higher copy which should precede the v*P and deleting the lower one as a consequence of Chain Reduction.

It seems that the researchers appear unrelated when referring to AgrSP since the current study's concern is directed to objects. However, The present study tests two projections; AgrSP and AgrOP in order to highlight two types of raising where the first one exhibits subject to object raising (i.e. the subject becomes the object occupying [AgrOP-spec]). whereas the other posits object to subject raising (i.e. the object becomes the subject occupying [AgrSP-spec]) and this is not called Object Shift (i.e. raising) but the researchers use it to show that object can be raised in case-marked position (cf. Ouhalla, 1994). Ouhalla (1994) claims that both types are Object Raising since the object is the targeted argument. However, this study separates between both and consider one of them as an object shift depending on Splitting Inflectional Hypothesis.
introduced above where in a situation of having an argument occupied [AgrOP-spec] with an ACC case can be put under the umbrella of Object Shift, otherwise is not.

3 The landing site of object has been controversial among syntacticians regarding Auxiliary and main verbs. Déprez (1989) claims that the position of object is above all the VPs as illustrated in (i):

(i) [ AgrOP Object [ Agr ' [ AUXP [AUX' [VP[ V']]]]]].

Bobaljik (1995, p.83) situates the object between AUX and main verb phrases as illustrated in:

(ii) [ AUXP [AUX' [AgrOP Object [ Agr ' [VP[ V']]]]]].

The present study adopts Déprez (1989) since no AUXP is used in our analysis and most researchers depend on it.

An equivalent way of introducing Object Shift is taking it from Government Theory. In MSA, V’ is the only case assigner of object under government while I’ is the case assigner of subject under agreement.

So, from now on, we generalize this approach where the ACC case of object is only assigned by verbs (see Al-Balushi, 2011, p.7; Bowers, 2002, p.183). In other words, Object Shift is applicable whenever the verb is raised to I’ position (v’-to-I’) as a strong feature, otherwise, the object is blocked from movement (i.e. Holmberg's Generalization). To simplify, the verb is raised first and then permits the movement to object in order to assign its case feature in I’ position which is the same (raised verb).

My previous discussion leads to claim that MSA has Object Shift which is similar to the same process in Scandinavian Languages where it is an A-movement seeks checking of its case feature, (cf. Mohammad, 2000; Soltan 2007). This argument in support of what the researchers have already claimed comes from examining specific constructions, namely (1) Object Raising in Exceptional Case Marking clauses (ECM clause, henceforth), (2) Object to Subject Raising, (3) passive predicates. A closer look into each makes it possible to dispel doubts on what previously claimed.

Within ECM clauses, the subject of the embedded clause raises up to become the object of the matrix clause by operation termed Object Raising (Shift) (Radford,2009, p.343), e.g. in structures such as the following:

(2) a. أرادَ المدرسُ الطلابَ أن يكتبوا الرسالة


wanted-3SG.M DEF-teacher-NOM DEF-students-ACC to write-3PL.M DEF-letter-ACC

'The teacher wanted the students to write the letter.'

b. أرادَ المدرسُ أن يكتب الطالبُ الرسالة

?ara:d-a ?al-mudarris-u ?an jaktub-a

wanted-3SG.M DEF-teacher-NOM to write-3SG.M

?atf'- fulla:b-u ?ar-risa:lat-a

DEF-students-NOM DEF-letter-ACC (see Soltan, 2007)
The teacher wanted the students to write the letter.

In (2a,b), Soltan (2007) argues that there is no A-movement claiming that the object \( \texttt{at}^- \texttt{t}ull\a:b-a \) in (2a) receives its ACC case from the matrix verb since it originates in the surface position as a complement of matrix verb. Also, he claims that this kind of construction is only used with want-type verb. However, this study does not agree with him based on different views. It is noticed that this construction can be used with other type of verbs as we have in (2c,d), the verb is \( \texttt{talab}^- \) in Additional, the subjects in the embedded clauses \( \texttt{at}^- \texttt{t}ulla:b\u2013\texttt{u} \) and \( \texttt{al}^- \texttt{ʕ}m\a\texttt{u} \) are assigned with NOM case by the verbs within their clauses, but when they raise up, they are assigned with ACC case by the matrix verb which is the core of Object Raising in ECM. In other words, these arguments have structural case where they change according to the landing site (Woolford, 2006).

More specifically, let us examine the derivation of (2c) to see how the whole operation takes place. The verb \( \texttt{jaysil}^- \) merges with its thematic complement \( \texttt{as-sajja:rat}^- \) to form the VP \( \texttt{jaysil}^- \texttt{as-sajja:rat}^- \), the resulting VP merges with the light verb whose external argument is \( \texttt{al}\texttt{ʕ}m\a\texttt{u} \). The light verb assigns the ACC case to \( \texttt{as-sajja:rat}^- \) and triggers movement of \( \texttt{jaysil}^- \) from V-to-v. As being an external argument, \( \texttt{al}\texttt{ʕ}m\a\texttt{u} \) can move out the v*P which is a phase without violating PIC. The resulting vP is merged with \( [\texttt{a}] \) forming the I-bar. The I-probe is active only with EPP feature but lacks uninterpretable \( \Phi \) features since they are handed over from CP to IP. What concludes this is that in ECM clauses, the embedded clause lack CP layers, forming the IP below:

(3)
This IP is then merged with the matrix verb \( t'alab-a \) to form the VP \( t'alab-a \ ?al-\dot{\text{a}}:m\text{i}l \ ?an \ j\text{\texta}sl-a \ ?as-sajja:rat-a \). Then \( ?al-\dot{\text{a}}:m\text{i}l \) moves to become the specifier of VP and the verb \( t'alab-a \) is attracted by light verb triggering the movement from V-to-v where it assigns ACC case to \( ?al-\dot{\text{a}}:m\text{i}l-a \) as a phase. In other words, it hands over its ACC case to the V immediately beneath it. Since the light verb has an external argument, it merges with \( ?al-mudi:r-u \) forming the vP. In this case, the object is blocked from being raised further, so it raises from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. The derivation then proceeds by merging [null I] with TNS feature attracting V'-to-I' movement forming I-bar. The I-probe with its unvalued features attracts \( ?al-mudi:r-u \) as an appropriate goal to become its specifier forming the IP. Finally, this IP is merged with XP which is occupied by the matrix verb following the word order of VSO, as shown in (4):

\[
\text{(4)}
\]

The analysis in (3) and (4) accounts for how subject raises up to become the object of matrix clause where it is assigned with ACC case and undergoes A-movement. Another essential piece of evidence in support of my argument against (Soltan, 2007) comes from (Ouhalla, 1994).
analyzing Double Object Constructions. He claims that the subject of the embedded clause cannot assign with NOM case by default in ECM clause since it has structural case (ibid, p.54). Furthermore, this process can be applicable with ditransitive verbs (i.e. verbs with two object), e.g., believe-type verbs. To make the discussion more concrete, consider the following examples:

(5)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.}& \quad \text{ظٍّ انسجمُ أٌّ انىندَ يكربُ} & \text{ðˤann} & \text{-a} & \text{ʔar} & \text{-radʒul} & \text{-u} & \text{ʔanna} & \text{ʔal-walad} & \text{-a} \\
& \quad \text{believed-3SG.M} & \text{DEF-man-NOM} & \text{that} & \text{DEF-boy-ACC} \\
& \quad \text{jakðib-u} & \text{lie-3SG.M} \\
& \quad \text{The man believed that the boy lies.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.}& \quad \text{ظٍّ انسجمُ} \quad \text{الولدَ} & \text{يكربُ} & \text{ðˤann} & \text{-a} & \text{ʔar} & \text{-radʒul} & \text{-u} & \text{ʔanna} & \text{ʔal-walad} & \text{-a} & \text{jakðib-u} \\
& \quad \text{believed-3SG.M} & \text{DEF-man-NOM} & \text{DEF-boy-ACC} & \text{lie-3SG.M} \\
& \quad \text{The man believed the boy lies.}
\end{align*}
\]

As we see from (5a), the subject of the embedded clause ʔal-walad-a is assigned with ACC case by the C (ʔanna) not by the default NOM case. However, in (5b), the subject of the defective IP (embedded clause) is assigned with ACC case by the matrix verb ʔann-a in the same way illustrated above.

Further evidence in support of Object Shift as a case driven movement comes from Object to Subject Raising in complete CPs not only in ECM clauses (also see, Alburarabi,2015, p.24) in relation to a sentence such as the following:

(6)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.}& \quad \text{يثدو انعايمُ أٌّ انًديسَ خاصٌهُ} & \text{jabdu:} & \text{ʔal} & \text{-ʕa:mil} & \text{-u} & \text{ʔanna} & \text{ʔal-mudi:r} & \text{-a} \\
& \quad \text{seem.3SG.M} & \text{DEF-worker-NOM} & \text{that} & \text{DEF-boss-ACC} \\
& \quad \text{xa:sˤama} & \text{hu} & \text{scolded-3SG.M-him} \\
& \quad \text{The worker seems that the boss scolded him.'}
\end{align*}
\]

The grammaticality of (6) suggests that the subject ʔal-ʕa:mil-u of the matrix clause originated as an object of the embedded CP taking the evidence from the resumptive pronoun (-hu) which refers to it (see Jake & Odden, 1979; Massam,1985). However, for not being mistaken, the original occurrence of the object is spec of embedded CP (i.e. base-generated as spec-CP). Consequently, the object ʔal-ʕa:mil raises carrying [Proximate] feature which is not valued yet and seeks an appropriate functional head to agree with (Bruening, 2001, p.255). This leads to have an A- movement and have the object ʔal-ʕa:mil occupying the position of [AgrSP, spec]. The overall sentence has the structure (7) below:

(7)
A class of predicates which can be used as an interesting evidence for Object Shift are passive predicates. Within these constructions, the object raises up to become the subject of the clause. To illustrate this point, consider the following sentence in (8):

(8) a. قرأ الطالب الدروس
qaraʔ-a ʔatʕ-ʔalib-u ʔad-dars-a
read-3SG.M DEF-student-NOM DEF-lesson-ACC
'The student read the lesson.'

b. المدرس قُرِّسَ الدروس
quriʔ-a ʔad-dars-u
was read-3SG.M DEF-lesson-NOM
'The lesson was read.'

As it is known, (I) carries EPP which should be satisfied. Within passive constructions, no overt subjects are available, so an alternative way must be used. In other words, the object ʔad-dars-u moves from its original position as a complement of the verb qaraʔ-a to becoming [AgrSP-spec] with respect to Agr categories- (higher position to spec-IP). It is highly important to shade the light on the role of the phase (v*P) about passives. The object ʔad-dars-u moves out of the phase v*P without violation of PIC since it is not assigned with ACC case by the light verb because it raises to I' (V'-to-I'). Instead ʔad-dars-u becomes [VoicePassiveP-spec] first which is a phase by virtue, then moves out. As a consequence, the object moves to satisfy EPP feature where it enters in agreement and is assigned with NOM case from I (Vikner, 2005), forming the structure below:

(9)
3.2 Equidistance Theory as a key to Object Shift

Throughout the previous section so far, the present study adopts Holmberg's Generalization (1986) which claims that two functional projections (i.e. [AgrOP, spec] and [AgrSP, spec] ) host the moved objects and subjects, respectively. With respect to Holmberg's Generalization, Chomsky (1991) argues that AgrOPs dominate VPs where the object is assigned with ACC case and AgrSPs dominate IPs where the subject is assigned with NOM case. However, Chomsky (1993, 1995) goes against this generalization for different reasons and introduces a new theory (i.e. Equidistance Theory). In the light of these two different arguments (Holmberg’s Generalization and Equidistance Theory), this section explains the implications of Equidistance Theory and views how it is applicable in MSA.

An essential question is raised by most syntacticians about the correct position of object after being raised. Is it raised to an adjoined position (e.g. adjoined to vP or IP) or to a specifier position (i.e. AgrOP, spec). What is widely used is the second assumption which the researchers follow in the present study with object shift. However, Chomsky (1993, 1995) suggests that an argument (e.g. object) moves out its original site landing on specifier position of vP termed this (outer specifier). Within Multiple Specifiers Approach, Chomsky gives a birth to a theory which is Equidistance. To make the picture clearer, the present study introduces how Chomsky instantiates this theory till reaching the final version of it. Equidistance Theory appears to solve a problem in Holmberg's Generalization: How can Object
Shift become an A-movement without violating Relativized Minimality Condition and Shortest Movement Condition when it crosses the subject in [vP, spec].

In order to answer this question, Chomsky (1993, p.15-19) claims that in Object Shift, the verb should raise up first as Holmberg’s Generalization. Then, the Object has the permission to move where it has two choices as landing sites. The first one is [vP, spec] as the outer specifier of the vP and as its Last Resort and the inner specifier is the subject. Whereas the second choice is [AgrOP, spec]. Under this assumption, these two phrases belong to the same minimal domain. In other words, they are equidistant, so the object can choose one of them without any violation of mentioned conditions as illustrated in (10) below:

(10)

The same process operates with subjects when they cross their base-generated positions; they have two choices where they can land either in [IP, spec] or [AgrSP, spec] as both phrases are equidistant. In contrast, another scenario blocks arguments from movement is when the verb does not raise. This means that these phrases (i.e. ([vP, spec] and [Agr OP, spec]),([IP, spec] and [Agr SP, spec])) are not equidistant if the verb does not leave the vP shell (see, Vikner, 2005). As a consequence, Objects cannot undergo Object Shift and remain in situ.

It is highly important to shade the light on what Bruening (2001) termed (Inverse). The process of Object Shift paves the road for Inverse operation by letting objects take the scope over subjects. This evidence is used in support to Chomsky's Theory which claims that objects can move across subjects.

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5 The researchers add another problem that Chomsky's Theory solves; the movement of objects to [AgrOP, spec] cannot violate PIC since the two landing site are equidistant. As a consequence, their arguments about Object Shift are not contradictory with Object Extraction with respect to Phase Theory.

A key assumption made in Object Shift is that the movement of object is a case-driven movement which urges objects seek functional heads as case assigners. Subsequently, they become visible for theta role assignment at Logical form (i.e. Visibility Condition), (Aoun, 1978). However, Chomsky (1995) eliminates Agr phrases arguing that they are not interpretable at logical form. More specifically, they violate Inclusiveness Condition which does not permit any new features from entering syntactic computation. Although what it is claimed here,
Chomsky (2001) concludes that Multiple Specifiers Approach feeds only A-bar movement not A- movement.

To sum up, many researchers find out that the landing site of objects is controversial and is not limited to restricted positions. On this view, the present study follows Holmberg's Generalization when Object Shift is considered as A- movement looking for checking its case feature in specific constructions. In the other scenario, it follows Chomsky's Multiple Specifiers Approach when Object Shift is considered as A-bar movement which some Arab syntacticians claim. In addition, the motivation of Object Shift here is focus-driven movement.6

3.3 Focalization as a key to Object Shift (as an A-bar movement)

Parallel to Scrambling in Germanic Languages, Object Shift in MSA is an A-bar movement in all constructions except what the present study examines in § 3.1. From what has been said, this posits that Object Shift is a Focus-driven movement where syntactic operations work alongside pragmatic interpretations (see Chomsky, 2001, 2005; Musabhien, 2009).

This raises the possibility that object moves from its original position to satisfy certain interpretations. Givon (1976) and Lambrechts (2000) propose that the movement of object in general introduces a new information (i.e. focus). Moreover, Ouhalla (1997,1999) claims that MSA examines this phenomenon as a part of pragmatics in addition to syntax since in discourse contexts, speakers introduce new information using different syntactic operations, such as Object Shift.

Consequently, new information to audience is expressed through manipulating the order of words within sentence structure (Hale, 1992, p.66). Keiser (2000) argues that when object undergoes Object Shift, it carries a stronger interpretation than being in situ using the term (contrastive focus). In other words, speakers expect that interlocutors have no ideas or background information (see Lam 2008, p.13; Zimmermann, 2008).

A tacit assumption made in Holmberg's Generalization which views Object Shift as a process that affects definite NPs. Based on this assumption, Object Shift in Scandinavian languages represents old information (i.e. Topic) not new information (i.e. Focus), (Bobaljik, 2002). In contrast, Object Shift in MSA includes definite and indefinite NPs since Focalization is not sensitive to definiteness. This means, objects which undergo shift can be definite or indefinite.

6 Many Arab syntacticians consider Object Shift as only focus driven movement. However, the current study introduces it as Focus driven movement, touching on topicalized objects in order to shade the light on the contradictory issue about object shift as a topicalized element.

It is interesting to note that some syntacticians (see Musabhien, 2009, p.241) go against this generalization by arguing that in MSA, Object Shift can also represent Topicalization. A plausible analysis of their claim is that the NP is definite and a resumptive pronoun refers to is used, and this is Topicalized NP not Focalized NP. A hypothetical answer is made to what has been argued and explains this controversial point here. Through examining this operation in MSA, the researchers use Object Shift only for focus-driven movement not Topic-driven movement based on the assumption that Topicalized elements with resumptive pronouns involve...
no movement as base-generated elements (see Aoun et al., 2010). In addition, this study introduces Objects when topicalized here, in this section, as a process of extraction (involves movement or base-generated), but not as Object Shift. Another support for the key claim here, Holmberg (1999) concludes that shifted Objects are marked with [-Focus] which look for a focus phrase [FP] to occupy the position of [FP, spec] and value their feature.

Multiple Specifier Theory (Chomsky, 1995) paves the road for Arab syntacticians in suggesting that the landing site of the shifted object is the outer specifier of vP [vP, spec], (see Chomsky, 2001, 2005; Musabhién, 2009; Soltan, 2007). Clearly, an adequate conclusion posits that focalized objects occupy two positions in MSA; the first one is [vP, spec] where the object shifts within sentence structure except being left dislocated. The other scenario where focalized objects - in general - occupy [CP, spec] and are displaced at the left periphery. 7

Because shifted objects occupy [vP, spec], this section discusses Object Shift with respect to word-order permutations of (VOS and SOV).

Within these word orders, the present study examines six cases providing the syntactic structures of shifted object in MSA, except the sixth one (Topicalized objects). In term of the first case, the permutation of word order is VOS. As we see from this variation, object shifts from its original position as a complement of the verb to the outer specifier of it, (Ouhalla, 1994). Under the assumption that considers the basic word-order in MSA (i.e. unmarked word order) is VSO, shifted objects do not violate any syntactic constraints (Al-Horais, 2009, p.13). In this connection, consider the following sentences:

(11)

a. 
\begin{verbatim}
za:r-a  \&al-mari:dˤ-a  zajd-un
visited-3SG.M  DEF-patient-ACC  Zaid-NOM
\end{verbatim}
'Zaid visited the patient.'

b. 
\begin{verbatim}
qa:bal-a  \&al-\&a:mil-a  \&al-mudi:r-u
met-3SG.M  DEF-worker-ACC  DEF-boss-NOM
\end{verbatim}
'The worker met the boss.'

Sentences in (11a,b) provide us with a clear picture of how objects \&al-mari:dˤ-a and \&al-\&a:mil-a shift to satisfy certain interpretations.

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7 Focalized objects move to [FP, spec] which split out of CP, but this study uses the general phrase (CP) referring to all its split phrases.

In other words, these shifted objects are focalized as new information for interlocutors within the discourse. A closer look into these shifted objects, both of them are definite NPs which support the idea of having definite focalized arguments. 8 For more illustration, consider the following structure of (11a) in (12) below:

(12)
What our discussion illustrates in (11a,b) is having definite shifted objects, but having indefinite shifted objects also leads to grammatical sentences (Majdi, 1990), which is introduced in (13) below: (The second case)

(13)  
a. شاز مريضاً زيد
za:r mari:dʔ-an zajd-un  
visited-3SG.M patient-ACC Zaid-NOM  
'Zaid visited a patient.'
b. قابل عاملاً المدير
qa:bal-a ʔa:mil-an ʔal-mudi:r-u  
met-3SG.M worker-ACC DEF-boss-NOM  
'The boss met a worker.'

The third case of having shifted objects, based on VOS permutation, manifests the relation between the subject and object. This relation serves Binding Theory which illustrates how the antecedent (i.e. subject) c-commands its bound constituent (i.e. a pronominal within the object). This means that the position of subject must be higher than the position of object, otherwise, the structure is ungrammatical (Soltan, 2007). Using Binding Theory here proves our analysis of shifted objects by indicating that objects are originally positioned lower than subjects, but undergoes movement for position higher than subjects (i.e. outer specifier). So in sentence like this in (14) below:

(14)  
a. رأى أخي زيد
raʔa: ʔaxa:-hu zajd-un  
saw.3SG.M brother. ACC-his Zaid-NOM  
'Zaid saw his brother.'

It would seem that the sentence in (14) violates Binding Theory where the pronoun attached to the object ʔaxa:-hu is positioned higher than its antecedent zajd-un.  

Zubizarreta (1998, p.348) posits the role of prosody in syntactic operations justifying the order of VOS within Object Shift as a contrastive focus. The fact that different disciplines participate with syntax to elaborate the variation of word orders cannot be inevitably ignored. So, the analysis introduces Object extraction from different perspectives.

However, no violation occurs since the object is originated lower to the subject, but it undergoes the operation of shift where it is finally landing in a higher position. Similar to
Object Shift in Scandinavian Languages, Object in MSA undergoes obligatorily the same process if the form of object is weak pronominal, e.g. in sentences such as: (The fourth case)

(15)

a. كتبهُ انطانةُ
kataba-hu ʔatˤ-tˤa:lib-u
wrote-3SG.M-DEF-student-NOM
'The student wrote it.'
b. ساعدها انطثيةُ
saʔada-ha ʔatˤ-tˤabi:b-u
helped-3SG.M-DEF-doctor-NOM
'The doctor helped her.'

The objects in (15a,b) are weak pronominals (-hu, -ha), respectively. Both pronominals occupy positions which are higher than the subjects ʔatˤ-tˤa:lib-u and ʔatˤ-tˤabi:b-u. Once again, objects undergo shift but this case is not optional (Soltan, 2007).

The fifth case concerns with SOV permutation. From the first sight, it seems that this word order looks unacceptable. The reason of unacceptability is that subject and object cannot move at the same time since the relation between both is reciprocal (i.e. the movement of the object blocks the movement of subject). But if we account for the fact that one of the argument is that the basic word order in MSA is SVO (Al-Horais, 2009). Under this argument, we can conclude that only object undergoes A-bar movement to the outer specifier of the VP cross the base position of the subject based on the Multiple Specifier Approach. The subject undergoes A-movement to satisfy EPP feature on I-bar. Belletti and Rizzi (2010, p.119) suggest that objects might cross subjects in certain structures. There is some evidence from sentence like (16) below that SOV permutation is used in MSA:

(16) المعلمُ زيدًا عانتَ
ʔal-muʕallim-u zajd-an ʔa:tab-a
DEF-teacher-NOM Zaid-ACC blamed-3SG.M
'The teacher blamed Zaid.'

Aoun et al. (2010) suggest that this word order is acceptable but with the existence of resumptive pronoun refers to the object attached to the verb as in the following example in (17):

(17) عمرٌ التفاحةُ أكلها
ʔomar-u ʔatˤ-tˤuʃfu:haʔa ʔakala-ha
Omar-NOM DEF-apple-ACC ate.3SG.M-it
'Omar ate the apple.' (Aoun et al., 2010, p:48)

However, it is highly important to note that this construction with a resumptive pronoun involves no movement opposing to what Aoun et al. (2010) claim by considering it as an A-bar movement serving Focus interpretation. The present study supposes that the object is base-generated as a specifier of vP with a resumptive pronoun refers to it in its original position. Parallel to what Arab syntacticians conclude, interrogative objects are basely-generated in [CP, spec] if they have resumptive pronouns. This means that objects represent topicalized constituents rather than focalized ones.
The sixth case also goes side by side with my argument, but the reumptive pronoun here is attached to the subject rather than the verb. So this case is part of Object extraction which includes movement and non-movement operations to the object, but we cannot termed it as Object Shift. Since Object Shift in MSA is only a case of focus, this case shows topicalization which has no argument movement. The sentence in (18) illustrates this case:

(18) قالَ البنتُ أخوًاها QA:bal-a ʔ al-bint-a ʔ axu:-ha met. 3SG.M DEF. girl. ACC brother.NOM-her
' The girl's brother met her.'

The overall conclusion which is drawn from our discussion of the whole process of Object Shift has to be examined and used with care. Comparing and contrasting Object Shift in MSA with Object Shift in Scandinavian Languages and Scrambling in Germanic Languages can be summarized in Table1.

Table 1. Comparing and contrasting Object Shift in MSA, Scandinavian languages, and Scrambling in Germanic languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of movement</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Phrases affected</th>
<th>Verb movement</th>
<th>Definitenesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object Shift in MSA</td>
<td>A-Movement in ECM constructions</td>
<td>Checking features: Case feature (ACC)</td>
<td>NPs Weak pronominals</td>
<td>+ Both definite and indefinite NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object Shift in Scandinavian languages (except English)</td>
<td>A-Movement</td>
<td>Checking feature: Case feature (ACC)</td>
<td>NPs and weak pronominals</td>
<td>+ Only definite NPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrambling in Germanic Languages</td>
<td>A-bar movement</td>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>NPs and PPs</td>
<td>- Not specified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Conclusion
Object Shift in MSA highlights two major points. First, it views how object can be shifted for case-marked feature's purpose. In other words, Object Shift is an A-movement where Case Theory plays its major role in governing such type of movement. In addition to this, when object moves, it looks for an appropriate position as a landing site. Both AgrOP and AgrSP are the appropriate landing sites for moved objects; the first one dominates v*P where objects are
assigned with ACC case, while the second dominates IP where objects are assigned with NOM case. Three cases represent case-driven movement, namely, (1) Object Raising in ECM, (2) Object to Subject Raising, and (3) Passive predicates. Moreover, the present study outlines the role of Equidistance Theory as a key to Object Shift. Here, the researcher shades the light on two points of view where the first one represents Holmberg's (1986) Generalization examined in Case Theory. However, Chomsky (1993,1995) argues that Multiple Specifier Theory makes AgrOP and v*P and AgrSP and IP are equidistant if verbs raise, so elements can choose one of two landing sites in each case without any kind of violation. The second major point the current study addressed is Object Shift can also be an A-bar movement when it represents focalized constituent(s). Focalized objects occur in different positions; [vP, spec], in situ, and left dislocated. But the present study discusses the first one since it is the only case which represents Object Shift. Within this, five cases are discussed where the first two cases have the VOS word order but with a slight difference in definiteness of objects. The third case shows the essential role of Binding Theory when objects are attached with clitic pronouns. The forth case examines the obligatory movement of objects when they are weak pronominals. Finally, SOV word permutation is discussed.

The analysis of this study can be considered as a fundamental pillar for syntacticians in having different analyses of Object Shift and not being restricted to certain constraints and restrictions.

References


Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts of Technology, Massachusetts.


Appendix A: Table 1 + Table 2

This appendix consists of two tables: Table 1 presents syntactic abbreviations the current study uses. Table 2 presents Arabic characters.

**Table 1. Syntactic Abbreviations.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,2,3</td>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§</td>
<td>Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECM</td>
<td>Exceptional case marking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>Modern Standard Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIC</td>
<td>Phase impenetrability condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spec</td>
<td>Specifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FP</td>
<td>Focus phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Complementizer phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v*P</td>
<td>Verb phrase with an AGENT or EXPERIENCER external argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vP</td>
<td>Transitive verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
<td>Inflectional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Arabic characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1.a:   | أ:i
| 2.aj   | ي:i
| 3.aw   | و:i
| 4.b    | ب:i
| 5.d    | د:i
| 6. dʒ  | ج:i
| 6.dˤ   | ض:i
| 7. ð   | ذ:i
| 8.ðˤ   | ظ:i
| 9. f   | ف:i
| 10.h   | ه:i
| 11. ħ   | ح:i
| 12. i  | ي:i
| 13. i: | Long i:i
| 14. j  | ي:i
| 15. k  | ك:i
| 16. l  | ل:i
| 17.m   | م:i
| 18.n   | ن:i
| 19.q   | ق:i
| 20. r  | ر:i
| 21.s   | ص:i
| 22. sˤ | ض:i
| 23.ʃ   | ش:i
| 24.t   | ط:i
| 25. tˤ | ث:i
| 26. .θ | ث:i
| 27. u  | ئ:i

Table 2. Arabic characters and IPA symbols
28. u: Long
29. w
30. x
31. y
32. z
33. ʕ
34. ʔ