

A Minimalist Approach to Passives with Complementizers, *ʔan*, *inna* and *kana* in Standard Arabic

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ARTICLE INFO

Received: April 11, 2019

Accepted: May 15, 2019

Published: May 31, 2019

Volume: 1

Issue: 3

KEYWORDS

Complementizers, Minimalist Approach, Passives, Standard Arabic

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we argue that the three complementizers *ʔan*, *inna* and *kana* come with passive constructions in Standard Arabic (SA henceforth). *ʔan* comes in embedded clauses and is followed with a VS order, whereas *inna* and *kana* come in main clauses and are followed with an SV order. We assume that verbs enter the derivation with an unvalued (passive) feature. Also, we assume that a Voice^o head with an unvalued (passive) feature and the passive infix as its specifier should be introduced to the derivation of the passive construction in which a probe-goal syntactic relationship is established between the verb and the Voice^o head. This relation triggers the move of the verb from V to Voice^o head for two reasons, to value its unvalued (passive) feature and to pick up the passive infix. Further we assume that T in main clauses with *inna* and *kana* carry [+V] feature which triggers the move of the verb not the DP to T. Unlike main clauses, the embedded clause with *ʔan* carries no [+V] feature and thus the DP moves from VP complement to [Spec, TP]. Finally, we claim that the complementizers *ʔan*, *inna* and *kana* assign case to the elements that directly follow them.

1. INTRODUCTION

Being considered as the formal language in many countries in the Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, and the north of Africa, SA has been the core of many linguistic studies due to its rich phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic system (Ryding, 2005). Moreover, SA gains its importance from its decentness from Classical Arabic (CA henceforth), the language of Qur'an. CA and SA differ in their lexicon, style and many things that we will not dwell on in this paper. One of the most important characteristics that SA is distinguished with is that voice is morphologically expressed in the prosodic tier of a perfective verb in which the melody tier changes to {u,i} in the passive form. On the other hand, in an imperfective verb, the melody tier changes to {u,a}. The following two examples illustrate the morphological changes occur on the verb when passivized:

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------|---|--------------|
| 1- Perfective : | qatala | : | qutila |
| | kill | | was-killed |
| 2- Imperfective: | yaqtul | : | yuqtal |
| | To kill | | to be killed |

Maalej (1999) calls this process infixation in which the passive morphemes {u,i} and {u,a} are superimposed to the root of the verb/ q t l /to change it to passive form. Thus, we can conclude that part of the passivization process in SA is morphological.

On the syntactic level, the process of passivization is defined by early Arab grammarians as the nomination of the object of the active sentence to the surface subject position in the passive sentence where the surface subject gains a default nominative case and the verb loses its ability to assign accusative case. Moreover, a very important point to mention is that early Arab grammarians claim that the real subject of the active sentence is not lexicalized at all in the passive sentence. This definition goes in line with Chomsky (1986) in which he claims that passive in SA is a morphosyntactic process that changes occur on both the morphology of the verb and the structure of the sentence. The following example shows the process of passivization in SA:

Also, their evidence is drawn from the ungrammaticality of preposition stranding in constructions such as:

- 1- * The argument was summed by the coach up.
- 2- The argument was summed up by the coach

This shows that the whole VP is fronted to [Spec, Voic]. Additionally, their approach gives an empirical evidence to Stative verbs which can passivize such as *know* and *surprise* because they do contain BECOME sub event, whereas Stative verbs such as *appeal* cannot passivize because no BECOME sub event is involved.

To conclude, although what Gehrke and Grillo (2009) have done is valid, their approach gives a rather complicated analysis to passivization phenomenon. It actually increases the number of VPs in a theory which calls for economy. We might find verbs with more than two sub events in a language and thus intricate analysis is needed. For instance, the semantics of Arabic verbs are really complicated so making it very difficult to adopt this approach. What we are looking for is a more adequate, economical and simpler analysis that can account for deriving short passives in SA.

Ahn and Sailor (2010) offer an important Minimalist syntactic analysis to canonical middle constructions “*Bureaucrats bribe easily.*” They maintain that there are also two middle constructions which can be treated within their analysis and which were not considered as middles in previous analyses. They call these constructions: *make* constructions “*Clowns make good fathers.*” and *accommodation* constructions “*My car seats four people.*” They claim that although these three types of middles share different “superficial differences”, but they have to be treated syntactically similar. They adopt two previous analyses. The first one is Kratzer’s (1996) VoiceP which they extend to be the core of all active, middle and passive constructions. The second one is Collins’ (2005) smuggling approach to passive constructions in which a vp smuggling the internal argument to be closer to [Spec, T] than the external argument.

Before introducing their proposed analysis, they proved that *make* and *accommodation* constructions are types of middles. They maintain that although these two constructions differ in their surface structure, they have many things in common which make them offered the same analysis. For instance, the surface object in *make* constructions cannot be referential whereas the surface object in *accommodation* constructions can be referential. However, they share the fact that they seriously violate Baker’s (1988) UTAH in which “their surface subjects bear theta roles typical of objects, and vice-versa.” Also, they are not allowed to passivize and their subjects “behave alike thematically”.

Introducing the main properties of middles syntax in general, Ahn and Sailor (2010) prove that *make* and *accommodation* constructions should be treated as canonical middles. For example, one of the most important characteristic of middles is the notion of object promotion to serve as a surface subject:

- 1- Mobsters bribe bureaucrats easily. (Active)
- 2- Bureaucrats bribe easily. (Middle)

Additionally, another characteristic which is derived from Permuter and Postal’s (1984) “1- Advancement Exclusiveness Law” (1AEX) which states that a promoted argument cannot be promoted again. Thus a passivized sentence cannot undergo passivization again since its object has been promoted to the subject position and though cannot be repromoted. Ahn and Sailor apply this 1AEX on the three types on middles and find it perfect in catching the same notion and thus the ungrammaticality of passivized middle constructions:

- 1- * Bureaucrats are bribed easily.
- 2- * Clowns are made good fathers.
- 3- * My car is seated four people.

Given the above properties, Ahn and Sailor (2010) conclude that middles’ surface subjects originate internally within VP, and then get moved to a [Spec, T] to serve as surface subjects of their constructions. However, they do not explain how surface subjects move in constructions like *make* and *accommodation* which have external DPs.

Ahn and Sailor (2010) answer the above question by introducing a VoiceP with three “flavours” namely: active, passive, and middle. These types are in a complementary distribution and carry different features enabling them to derive each voice. For instance, the Voice^o of middles has a feature requiring a fronted vp with its internal DP to [spec, Voice] and thus allowing the internal DP to be close to [spec, T] to move to it and satisfy the EPP feature carried by T^o.

Finally, by introducing a VoiceP, Ahn and sailor (2010) manage to derive all types of middles by this amazing VoiceP. However, it is clear that this approach violates one of the most important as well as valid conditions which Chomsky (2005) calls the Impenetrability Condition stating that the domain of a phase vp cannot be involved in further syntactic operations since it has been sent to the interfaces and though cannot participate in the derivation of the sentence. We think that with some more modifications to this approach proposed here, we can introduce a VoiceP to SA passive constructions.

As can be seen, there is no straightforward approach to follow to derive passive sentences within the Minimalist Approach. For instance, in SA, there is only one study introduced by Soltan (2007) in which he claims that SA has no A-movement at all. We have argued that A-movement is a crucial characteristic of Minimalism that DPs need to get their thematic roles and then to satisfy the EPP feature in T^o in SV orders. As for English, we have seen that the approaches followed above are NOT suitable to SA since they have some problems. For example, Collin’s smuggling approach does not explain the nature of smuggling in syntax. Moreover, Collins (2005) does not explain what the feature that triggers the smuggling of vP to VoiceP is. Also, Gehrke and Grillo (2009) focus on the nature of the predicate structure rather than the DP structure. Moreover, their analysis is also not suitable to SA since it increases the number of VPs in a theory that calls for economy. For Radford (2009), we believe that it is suitable for English short passive. However, as has been said, the nature of passivization in SA is different from the nature of passivization in English. Finally, For Ahn and Sailor’s (2010) approach, we think that their VoiceP needs some modifications to make it fit the nature of passivization

3. THE ADOPTED APPROACH

In this section, we introduce our proposal to derive passives in SA within the Minimalist Approach. Then, we use this proposal to derive passive constructions with *?an*, *inna* and *kana* sentence in SA in both orders VS and SV. The following points explain the features of our approach:

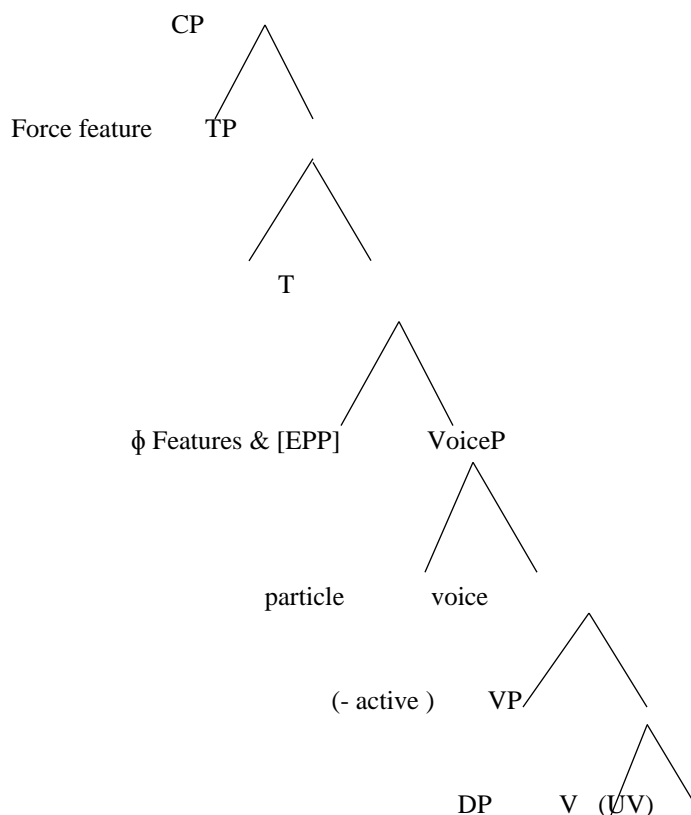
- 1- A voice^o will be introduced similar to the one introduced by Ahn and Sailor (2010) which they use to derive Middles in English. However, some important modifications should be made in order to make this voice head fit SA passive sentences.
- 2- Following Gehrke and Grillo (2009) that this Voice^o carries valued features, we claim that this voice^o head enters the derivation with an unvalued voice feature (passive). In other words, if the sentence is active the voice^o which carries the (active) feature will be introduced. On the other hand, if the sentence is non-active, a voice^o with a (passive) voice feature will be introduced.
- 3- Since the process of passivization in SA is, as mentioned earlier, a morphosyntactic process in which changes occur on both the morphology of the verb and the structure of the sentence, this voice^o has a particle carrying the passive morpheme as its specifier. This particle is picked up by the verb which it moves up to voice^o.
- 4- Why should verbs move? Verbs are assumed to carry an unvalued voice feature (UV) that has to be valued. They are valued by moving up from V to voice^o and picking up the passive morpheme. In other words, verbs move because they enter in a probe-goal relationship with the Voice^o which carries a valued voice feature (- active).
- 5- Moreover, the voice^o head is affixal by nature in which it triggers the move of the verb to it.
- 6- Verbs enter the derivation with their base form and their unvalued voice features.
- 7- The surface subject originates in the [spec, V] and remains in situ in VS sentences, but in SV sentences, it moves up from [Spec, V] to [Spec, T] to satisfy the EPP feature in T^o.
- 8- In VS sentences, the verb moves up from voice^o to T^o to satisfy the EPP feature in T^o.
- 9- Finally CP enters the derivation with force features that determine whether the sentence is declarative, interrogative or exclamation.
- 10- Then, the derivation is sent to LF and PF simultaneously and separately to get its both logic and phonetic forms
- 11- Finally, the derivation is spelt out.

A very important point that should be drawn is that: what are the differences between the voice^o we are introducing and the voice^o introduced by Ahn and Sailor (2010)? As mentioned previously, they introduce a voice^o with three

flavors: active, passive, and middle. Moreover, they adopt the smuggling approach introduced by Collins (2005) which seriously violates Chomsky's (2001, 2005) theory of phases. Moreover, the nature of smuggling is not clear in the syntax, whereas the head which we introduce does not depend on smuggling or any other processes which are not clear in the syntax. Additionally, our voice^o has a valued feature of active or non-active which means that it has two flavors only not four. Therefore, in a theory that calls for economy, it is better to have fewer types of rules, heads and principles to derive sentences. Therefore, a voice^o with two flavors is enough at least for SA from our point of view.

Another difference that this voice^o introduced in this proposal has a particle on its specifier carrying the passive morpheme and this is not available in Ahn and Sailor (2010). This is because, as mentioned previously, the process of passivization in SA is different from the process of passivization in English. For instance, SA does not allow the surface object in a passive sentence to be lexicalized, whereas English which certainly allows this kind of lexicalization.

The following syntactic tree will show how our proposal will work:



4. ANALYSIS

There are three main Complementizers that assign case to the verb or DP that is following them in SA which are generated in [Spec,CP]. This is why they are also called Case assigners. The three complementizers are: *ʔan* “to”, *inna* “indeed” and *kana* “was/were/”. These three complementizers are followed by DPs and VS. For instance *ʔan* occurs in embedded clauses and it should be followed by a VSO order. The verb which follows *ʔan* is assigned subjunctive mood. Whereas the subject is assigned nominative case and the object is assigned accusative case. On the other hand, *inna* and *kana* are followed by verbal sentences and verbless sentences. As our study is focusing on passives we are going to concentrate on verbal sentences that follow *inna* and *kana*. Moreover, the order of the verbal sentence that follows *inna* and *kana* is SVO order. *inna* assigns accusative case to the DP that directly follows

it , whereas *kana* assigns nominative case for the DP that directly follows it. Unlike *ʔan*, *inna* and *kana* occur in main clauses. Table (5.11) below summarizes the features of the complementizers *ʔan* ,*inna* and *kana*:

Table (1) The Features of Complementizers in SA:

Complementizer	The type of the sentence following it	The case or mood it assigns to the verb or DP that follows it	The type of clause that it occurs in
ʔan	Verbal sentences (VSO order)	Subjunctive mood to the following verb	Embedded clause
Inna	Verbal sentences (SVO) and verbless sentences	Accusative case to the following DP	Main clause
Kana	Verbal sentences (SVO order) and verbless sentences	Nominative case to the following DP.	Main clause

Sentences (3a) ,(3b) and (3c) illustrate the table (3) above. Notice that the sentences are in the active form:

(3) a- ʔarada al-walad-u ʔan yaktub-a al-mudarras-u ar-resalat-a
 Wanted the-boy-Nom to write-subj the-teacher-Nom the-letter-Acc
 The boy wanted the teacher to write the letter.

b- inna al-walad-a yaktub-u ar-resalt-a
 indeed the-boy-Acc is writing-indic the-letter-Acc
 Indeed, the boy is writing the letter.

c- kana al-walad-u yaktub-u ar-resalat-a
 was the-boy-Nom is writing-indic the-letter-Acc
 The boy was writing the letter.

Notice that the verb which follows these complementizers is in the imperfective form. Moreover, *ʔan* is used to express doubt and hope as it occurs after verbs that express these meanings like *ʔarada* “want”, *Danna* “think’ and *ʔamala* “hope” Mohamed (2014). Also *inna* is used to indicate affirmativeness (Soltan 2006). Whereas, *kana* is used to express an action that was happening in the past.

Now let`s see if our approach is suitable to derive passive sentences that the above complementizers occur within. First we will start with *ʔan*. Sentence (4) below is the passive counterpart of the sentence (3a) above:

(4) ʔarada al-walad-u ʔan tuktab-a ar-resalat-u
 Wanted the-boy-Nom to is written-subj the-letter-Nom
 The boy wanted the letter to be written.

Notice that we are concerned with the embedded clause as it is the one that concerns us. Moreover, notice that the DP in the embedded clause is assigned nominative case as it is nominated from the object position in sentence (3a) above to the surface subject in sentence (4) above.

Sentence (4) above is derived as follows. *Ar-resala-tu* enters the derivation and is merged with the root *k-t-b* which enters the derivation with unvalued (passive) feature to form a VP. Notice that passive constructions contain no vP shells as the actual subject of the active sentence is not lexicalized in the passive sentence and as Chomsky (2005) and Soltan (2006) claim. Therefore, and since the embedded clause is in the passive, a Voice^o head with an unvalued (passive) feature enters the derivation and is merged with VP to form Voice^o. Moreover, the Voice^o head carries the passive infix {u,a} as its specifier. Therefore, a VoiceP is composed. Consequently, an Agree relation is established between the probe Voice^o head and the goal root *k-t-b*. This relation triggers the verb to move from VP

to Voice^o head for two reasons, to value its unvalued (passive) feature and to pick up the passive infix. Consequently, a T is introduced to the derivation. This T carries an EPP feature. The problem that we will face here is why only the verb is the one which moves to satisfy the EPP feature on T? That is why not the DP moves does to T to satisfy the EPP feature. If we say that the DP *ar-resalat-u* is the one which moves to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP feature, we will not find an explanation why sentence (5) below is ungrammatical as the DP is the element which moves to [Spec,TP] to satisfy the EPP feature. Consider sentence (5) below:

(5) *ʔarada al-walad-u ʔan ar-resalat-u tuktab-a
 Wanted the-boy-Nom to the-letter-Nom is-witten

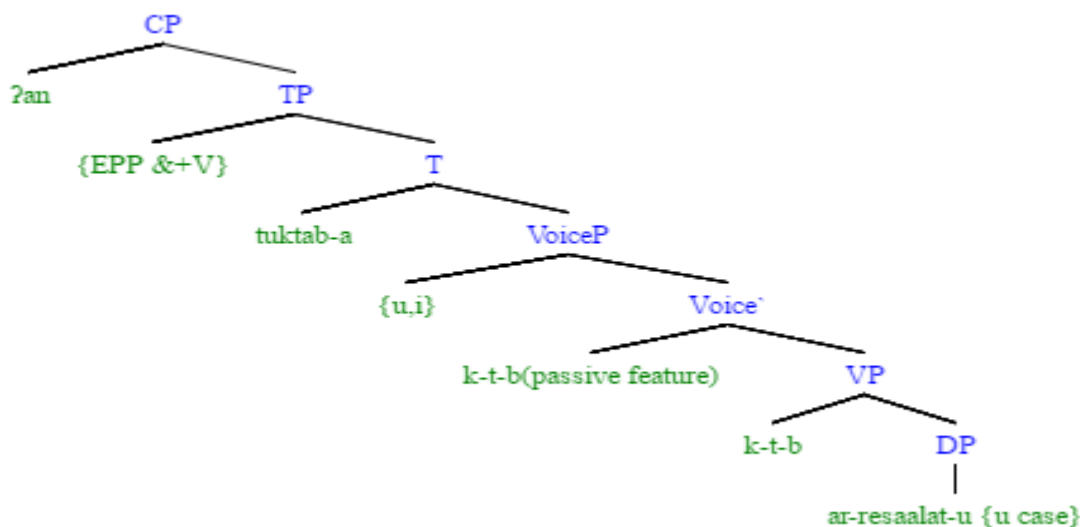
The boy wanted the letter to be written.

To solve this problem, we will assume that T in embedded clauses with complementizer *ʔan* contain another feature which is [+V]. This feature triggers the move of the verb only from Voice^o head to T. We will see shortly that Ts in main clauses that occur with the complementizers *inna* and *kana* do not contain this feature. This is why *inna* and *kana* are followed with DPs rather than verbs.

Now, let`s go back to the derivation of sentence (3) above. T enters the derivation with two features. Namely, the EPP feature and the [+V] feature. An agree relation is established between the probe T and the goal *tuktab-a* in which it triggers to move the verb to T to satisfy both the EPP feature and the [+V] feature. Consequently, the complementizer *ʔan* is introduced to the derivation and is merged with T to form a CP. This CP is a phase which is sent to LF and PF to converge. Notice that the complementizer assigns subjunctive mood to the verb whereas T assigns nominative case to DP *ar-resalat-u*.

The tree structure (6) below illustrates the derivation of the embedded clause in sentence (3) above:

(6)



Notice that the verb in the embedded clause in sentence (3) above moves in a successive cyclic fashion from V to Voice^o head to T to satisfy its unvalued (passive) feature and to satisfy the features of T as it is illustrated in the tree structure (6) above.

To conclude, we notice that our approach successfully derive passive constructions in embedded clauses with *ʔan* complementizer.

Now let us move to the second complementizer *inna*. Notice sentence (7) below which is the passive counterpart of sentence (3b) above:

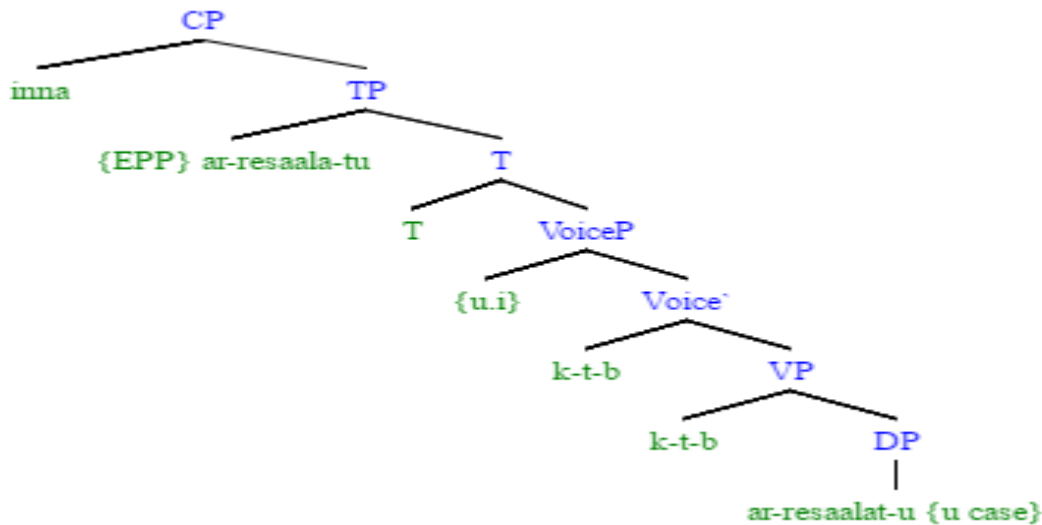
- (7) *inna* *ar-resaalt-a* *tuktab-u*
 Indeed the-letter-Acc is written-indic
 Indeed the letter is being written

Sentence (7) above is derived as follows: the DP *ar-resalat-a* enters the derivation and is merged with the root *k-t-b* which carries unvalued (passive) feature to form a VP. Since the sentence is passive, a Voice^o head with an unvalued (passive) feature enters the derivation with the passive infix {u,a} as its specifier. An Agree relation is established between the probe Voice^o head and the goal root *k-t-b* which triggers the verb to move up to Voice^o head for two reasons, to satisfy its unvalued feature and to pick up the passive infix. Now, the problem that we will face is what prevents the verb from moving from Voice^o head to T to satisfy the EPP feature? The answer is that T in *inna* complementizer contains no [+V] as the T in sentence (3a) above. Therefore, an Agree relation is established between the probe T and the goal *ar-resalt-a* which triggers the move of the DP to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP feature. Notice that the verb cannot move to T to satisfy the EPP feature as T does not contain [+V] feature. If we assume that T in sentence (7) above has a [+V] feature we will find no explanation to the ungrammaticality of sentence (8) below:

- (8)* *inna* *tuktab-u* *ar-resaalt-a*
 Indeed is written-subj the-letter-Acc
 Indeed, the letter is being written.

The tree structure (80) below illustrates the derivation of sentence (7) above:

(8)



Notice that unlike the embedded clauses with *ʔan*, there are two kinds of movement in constructions with *inna*. The first one is the head movement of the verb from V to Voice^o and the move of the DP to [Spec, TP].

Therefore, we can conclude that our approach successfully derive passive constructions with complementizer *inna*.

Now, let's move to *kana* and how it is derived with passive constructions. Consider sentence (9) below which is the passive counterpart of sentence (74c) above:

(9) *kanat ar-resalat-u tuktab-u*
 Was the-letter-Nom is written-indi
 The letter was being written

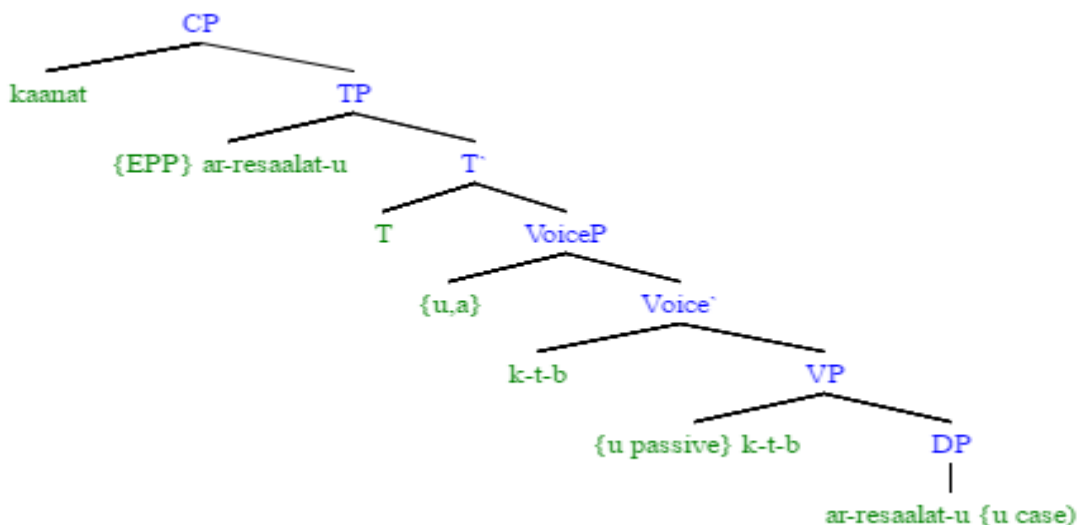
Sentence (9) above is derived as follows: the DP *ar-resalat-u* enters the derivation and is merged with the root *k-t-b* which carries an unvalued (passive) feature to form a VP. Since the sentence is in passive, a Voice° head with an unvalued (passive) feature is introduced to the derivation. This Voice° head carries the passive infix {u,a} as its specifier. Consequently the Voice° head is merged with VP to form a Voice P. An Agree relation is established between the probe Voice° head and the goal root *k-t-b*. This relation triggers the move of the verb to move up to Voice° for two reasons, to satisfy its unvalued (passive) feature and to pick up the passive infix. Consequently, a T with an EPP feature is introduced to the derivation. The problem which we will face now is what prevents the verb to move from Voice° head to T to satisfy its EPP feature. The answer is simply that T does not carry the [+V] feature which is similar to the one that T has embedded constructions with *ʔan*. If we say that T in sentence (9) above has a [+V] feature as the T in *ʔan* embedded clause, we will not find an explanation to the ungrammaticality of sentence (10) below:

(10) * *kanat tuktab-u ar-resaalat-u*
 Was is written-indic the-letter-Nom
 The letter was being written.

Therefore, an Agree relation is established between the probe T and the goal *ar-resalat-u*. this relation triggers the move of the DP to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP feature. Thus, the complementizer *kanat* is introduced to the derivation and is merged with TP to form a CP. The derivation is sent to LF and PF to converge.

The tree structure in (11) below illustrates the derivation of sentence (9) above:

(11)



Notice that the DP *ar-resalat-u* is assigned nominative case by the complementizer *kana*.

5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the approach we adopt in this paper successfully derives passives with complementizers *ʔan*, *inna* and *kana*. For embedded constructions with *ʔan*, T is assumed to carry a [+V] feature in addition to the EPP feature. This feature triggers the move of the verb (not the DP) to T to satisfy the two features. Whereas, T in constructions with *inna* and *kana* have no [+V] features and therefore the DP (not the V) which moves to [Spec,TP] to satisfy the EPP feature.

Appendix:

Symbols of Standard Arabic Sounds:

1- Consonants:

- ʔ voiceless glottal stop
- b voiced bilabial stop
- t voiceless dental stop
- θ voiceless dental fricative
- j voiced alveolar affricate
- H voiceless pharyngeal fricative
- x voiceless velar fricative
- d voiced dental stop
- ð voiced dental fricative
- r voiced alveolar trill
- z voiced alveolar fricative
- s voiceless alveolar fricative
- š voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
- S voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
- D voiced emphatic alveolar fricative
- T voiceless emphatic dental stop
- Ḍ voiced emphatic interdental fricative
- ʕ voiced pharyngeal fricative
- ġ voiced uvular fricative
- f voiceless labiodental fricative
- q voiceless uvular stop
- k voiceless velar stop
- l voiced alveolar lateral
- m voiced bilabial nasal
- n voiced alveolar nasal
- h voiceless glottal fricative
- w voiced labio-velar glide
- y voiced palatal glide

2- Vowels:

Short vowels:	long vowels
i high front unrounded	ii high front unrounded
a low unrounded	aa low unrounded
u high back unrounded	uu high back unrounded

(a and aa are pronounced front or central according to their adjacent consonants)

3-Other Necessary Abbreviations:

1-Nominative: Nom	2-Accusative: Acc
3-Genitive: Gen	4-Dative: Dat
5-Singular: sg	6- Plural: pl
7- Masculine: mas	8- Feminine: fem

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