

Title: The Syntax of *?an* and *?anna*

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to show that *?an* ‘?an’ and *?anna* ‘that’ are different with respect to their syntax. It has always been held that both *?an* and *?anna* are complementizers despite their different behavior with respect to what can follow them in the sentence.

- *?an* is followed by a verb in the subjunctive mood in spite of the free word order that is characteristic of Standard Arabic (SA), (1).

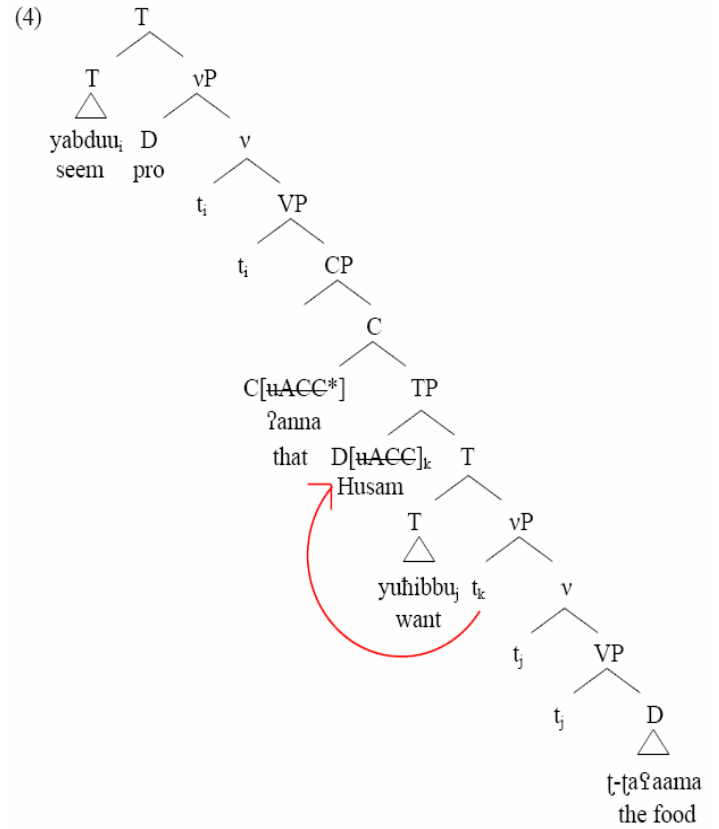
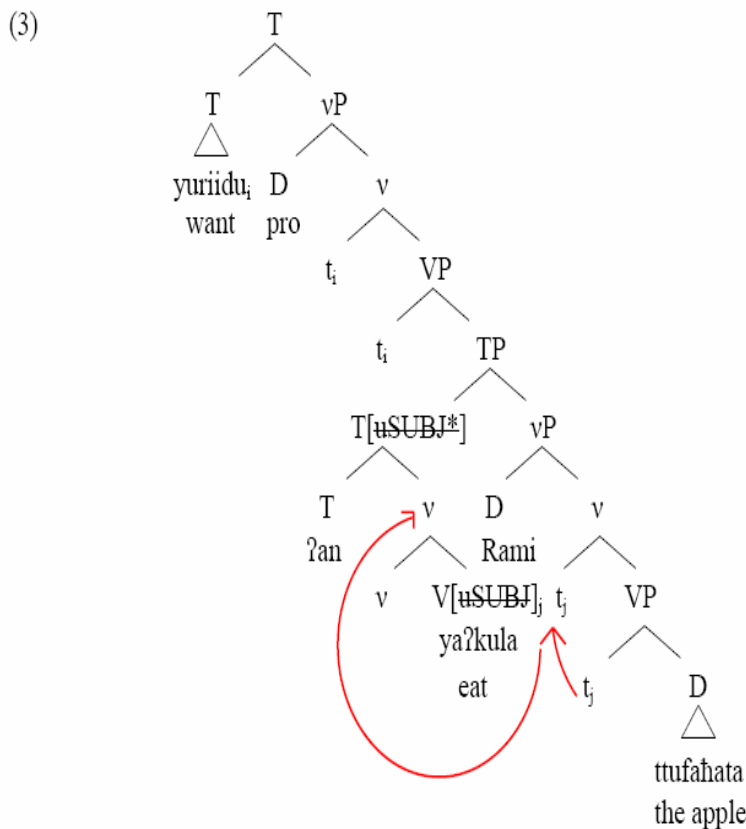
(1) *yu-riid-u*                    *?an* ***ya-?kul-a***                    *raami* *t-tufahat-a*  
 3SG.M.IMP-want-IND    *?an*    **3SG.M.IMP-eat-SUBJ**    Rami    the-apple-ACC  
 ‘He wants Rami to eat the apple.’

- *?anna*, on the other hand, must always be followed by an overt subject DP, either a noun or a pronoun, in the accusative Case (2).

(2) *ya-bduu*                    *?anna* ***husam-a***                    *yu-hibb-u*                    *t-[a]?aam-a*  
 3SG.M.IMP-seem            that    **Husam-ACC**                    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND            the-food-ACC  
 ‘It seems that Husam likes the food.’

2. Proposal

- ?an* is not a complementizer; it is a functional head analogous to the infinitival *to* in English, i.e. it assigns the subjunctive mood to the following verb. It heads a TP complement; the verb raises and incorporates with *?an* in T to check the strong [uSUBJ\*] feature on T as (1) is schematized in (3).
- In contrast, *?anna* is a complementizer and like the English *for* assigns an accusative Case to the following overt DP. It heads a CP and the overt DP that follows *?anna* raises from SpecvP to SpecTP to check the strong [uACC\*] feature that is on C as (2) is derived in (4).
- Arguments are based on features of *?an* and *?anna* and tests adopted from Wurmbrand (2001) that determine whether the complement of a verb is a CP or a TP.



### 3. Features of *?an* and *?Anna*

**3.1. Coalescence:** *?an* + V are inseparable and can be substituted for by a *Masdar* ‘deverbal noun’, e.g. *?an* + verb can replace a deverbal noun in the subject position, (5), or in the object position, (6). *?anna* + DP are also inseparable; no verb or negative marker can intervene.

- (5) a.  $\text{?alay-ka}$   $\text{kitaabat-u}$   $\text{waa?ib-i-ka}$   
on-you writing-NOM homework-GEN-your  
b.  $\text{?alay-ka}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ta-ktub-a}$   $\text{waa?ib-a-ka}$   
on-you  $\text{?an}$  2SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ homework-ACC-your  
‘You have to write your homework.’
- (6) a.  $\text{rafa?}-a$   $\text{?usaam-un}$   $\text{kitaabat-a}$   $\text{waa?ib-i-hi}$   
refused-PRF Husam-NOM writing-ACC homework-GEN-his  
b.  $\text{rafa?}-a$   $\text{?usaam-un}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ya-ktub-a}$   $\text{waa?ib-a-hu}$   
refused-PRF Husam-NOM  $\text{?an}$  3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ homework-ACC-his  
‘Husam refused to write his homework.’

**3.2. Dependency on the matrix clause:** time reference dependency, truth-value dependency, and discourse dependency (Persson 2002:88-89); *?an* + verb are characterized to have a defective tense, (7). *?anna* + DP can have a different tense from the tense of the matrix clause.

- (7) a.  $\text{nasiy-a}$   $\text{?usaam-un}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ya-qra?}-a$   $\text{r-risaalat-a}$   $(*\text{?ad-an})$   
forgot-PRF Husam-NOM  $\text{?an}$  3SG.M.IMP-read-SUBJ the-letter-ACC (\*tomorrow)  
‘Husam forgot to read the letter tomorrow.’  
b.  $\text{nasiy-a}$   $\text{?usaam-un}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ya-qra?}-a$   $\text{r-risaalat-a}$   $\text{l-baarih-a}$   
forgot-PRF Husam-NOM  $\text{?an}$  3SG.M.IMP-read-SUBJ the-letter-ACC the-yesterday-ACC  
‘Husam forgot to read the letter yesterday.’

**3.3. Exceptional Case Marking (ECM):** is only possible with CP-less infinitives (Stowell 1982; Wurmbrand 2001:69); it is possible with *?an*, (8) but not *?anna*. **Notice change of Case:** semantic subject of the embedded clause appears in the ACC Case in the matrix clause.

- (8) a.  $\text{yu-riid-u}$   $\text{raami}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ta-bda?}-a$   $\text{l-mubaaraat-u}$   
3SG.M.IMP-want-NOM Rami  $\text{?an}$  3SG.F.IMP-start-SUBJ the-match-NOM  
b.  $\text{yu-riid-u}$   $\text{raami}$   $\text{l-mubaaraat-a}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ta-bda?}-a$   
3SG.M.IMP-want-NOM Rami the-match-ACC  $\text{?an}$  3SG.F.IMP-start-SUBJ  
‘Rami wants the match to start.’

**3.4. Finiteness:** *?anna*-clause is finite; it can be followed by the perfective as well as the imperfective, (9); *?an* can only be followed by the imperfective in the subjunctive mood, (10).

- (9) a.  $\text{ya-bduu}$   $\text{?anna}$   $\text{?usaam-a}$   $\text{yu-hibb-u}$   $\text{t-?a?aam-a}$   
3SG.M.IMP-seem that Husam-ACC 3SG.M.IMP-like-IND the-food-ACC  
b.  $\text{ya-bduu}$   $\text{?anna}$   $\text{?usaam-a}$   $\text{?ahabb-a}$   $\text{t-?a?aam-a}$   
3SG.M.IMP-seem that Husam-ACC liked-PRF the-food-ACC  
‘It seems that Husam liked the food.’
- (10) a.  $\text{nasiy-a}$   $\text{?usaam-un}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{ya-ktub-a}$   $\text{r-risaalat-a}$   
forgot-PRF Husam-NOM  $\text{?an}$  3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ the-letter-ACC  
‘Husam forgot to write the letter.’  
b. \*  $\text{nasiy-a}$   $\text{?usaam-un}$   $\text{?an}$   $\text{katab-a}$   $\text{r-risaalat-a}$   
forgot-PRF Husam-NOM  $\text{?an}$  wrote-PRF the-letter-ACC  
‘Husam forgot that he wrote the letter.’

**3.5. Negative markers:** The finiteness of *?anna* allows it to occur with any of the negative particles in SA that are equal to ‘not’ in English: *maa* and *laa* and its three variants *laysa*, *lam* and *lan*. *?an* is only compatible with the negative particle *laa* because it is neither a tense carrier nor a mood assigner. *maa* can only occur before a verb in the perfective form or before a nominal. *laysa* is a variant of *laa* but it can agree with the subject and it is usually equated with a verb that is used to negate nominal sentences. *lam* carries the past tense and *lan* carries the future tense. *lam* assigns the jussive mood and *lan* the subjunctive mood to the following verb.

#### 4. *ʔanna* as a Complementizer

4.1. *ʔanna* is not a T because this suggests that the following DP occupies SpecvP, blocking the verb from raising to T to check certain features such as tense, aspect, mood or agreement features. Even if we say arguably that it could raise to T and incorporates with *ʔanna*, why don't we get a VSO order after *ʔanna*?

4.2. *ʔanna* is a complementizer for a number of reasons:

4.2.1. *ʔanna* apparently carries a strong [uACC\*] feature. Case is checked rather than assigned (Chomsky 1992). To check this strong feature, the subject that is merged in SpecvP is forced to move (Chomsky 1993, 1995; Roberts and Roussou 2002) to SpecTP to establish locality with the feature to be checked, yielding the non-canonical SVO word order after *ʔanna*. The raising of the subject DP from SpecvP to SpecTP, which is presumably a Topic position in Arabic (e.g. Badawi et al. 2004; Brustad 2000; Salih 1985), and presumably an A'-position, becomes obvious if we examine (11a &b). It has to be the subject DP that raises to SpecTP to check the [uACC\*] feature, not the object DP because of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990), (11c). In the absence of an expletive, the subject DP *Husam* that receives its theta-role in SpecvP is forced to raise to SpecTP to satisfy *ʔanna*'s selection for a DP in the ACC Case. Since SpecTP is considered a Topic position in Arabic, i.e. an A'-position, it does not assign a theta role, and hence no violation of the Theta Criterion is incurred. The subject/Topic position must be filled with a DP in the nominative Case that is assigned by default in the absence of accusative Case assigner (Ouhalla 1994).

- (11) a. ya-bduu            ʔanna-hu    yu-hibb-u                    ħusaam-un    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that-it    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    Husam-NOM    the-food-ACC
- b. ya-bduu            ʔanna    ħusaam-a    yu-hibb-u                    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that    Husam-ACC    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    the-food-ACC
- c. \* ya-bduu            ʔanna    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a    yu-hibb-u                    ħusaam-un  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that    the-food-ACC    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    Husam-NOM  
       'It seems that the food Husam likes.'

4.2.2. *ʔanna* cannot be followed immediately by a negative expression; the negative expression must follow the DP that follows *ʔanna*. I assume that, negative expressions occupy a Neg head that is between TP and the verb (Benmamoun 1999: 95). Hence, we need a TP that precedes the negation head Neg and whose specifier is filled by the accusative DP, forcing *ʔanna* to be in C, e.g.

- (12) a. ya-bduu            ʔanna    ħusaam-a    **laa**    yu-hibb-u                    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that    Husam-ACC    not    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    the-food-ACC
- b. \* ya-bduu            ʔanna    **laa**    ħusaam-a    yu-hibb-u                    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that    not    Husam-ACC    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    the-food-ACC  
       'It seems that Husam does not like the food/Husam does not seem to like the food.'

One may argue that *laa* and its two variants *lam* and *lan* do not intervene between *ʔanna* and the following DP due to their selection for a verb. Why then is it not possible for *maa* and *laysa* to occur in that position since they could be used to negate a nominal sentence?, (13). All the negative particles could occur between the subject DP and the predicate, (14).

- (13) a. **laysa**    ħusaam-un    yu-hibb-u                    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a  
       not    Husam-NOM    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    the-food-ACC  
       'Husam does not like the food.'
- b. \* ya-bduu            ʔanna    **laysa**    ħusaam-un    yu-hibb-u                    ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that    not    Husam-NOM    3SG.M.IMP-like-IND    the-food-ACC  
       'It seems that Husam does not like the food.'

- (14) ya-bduu            ʔanna    ħusaam-a    **laysa**    hunaa  
       3SG.M.IMP-seem    that    Husam-ACC    not    here  
       'It seems that Husam is not here.'

#### 5. *ʔan* as a Functional Head

5.1. *ʔan* is not a complementizer: neither subject DPs, (15b), nor object DPs, (15c), occur between it and the verb, e.g.

- (15) a. yu-riid-u                    ħusaam-un    ʔan    ya-ʔkul-a                    raami    t-tufahat-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-want-IND    Husam-NOM    ʔan    3SG.M.IMP-eat-SUBJ    Rami    the-apple-ACC
- b. \* yu-riid-u                    ħusaam-un    ʔan    raami    ya-ʔkul-a                    t-tufahat-a  
       3SG.M.IMP-want-IND    Husam-NOM    ʔan    Rami    3SG.M.IMP-eat-SUBJ    the-apple-ACC

c. \* yu-riid-u                    ħusaam-un    ?an t-tufahat-a            ya-?kul-a                    raami  
 3SG.M.IMP-want-IND    Husam-NOM    ?an the-apple-ACC    3SG.M.IMP-eat-SUBJ    Rami  
 ‘Husam wants Rami to eat the apple.’

5.2. If *?an* were in C, it would be expected for *Rami* to be able to occur in SpecTP which is a possible landing site for subject DPs, and SVO order is common in Arabic. This is not the case; thus, there is no TP after *?an*. Assuming there is a TP, what is it that occupies SpecTP that does not allow for a DP to occur there? Could it be a PRO? No. SpecTP is a Topic position and an A'-position; a theta Criterion violation is incurred. Is it the expletive *pro*? If so, how could we explain the possibility of raising subjects from SpecvP to SpecTP in some cases and in some cases not? The presence of a *pro* all the time in SpecTP will block the movement of other DPs to SpecTP, preventing an SVO order to ever occur. SVO order is a must after *?anna*.

5.3. One may argue that *?an* is a C that selects for a TP without an EPP feature, making a filled SpecTP impossible. This adds an extra projection to the tree, i.e. a CP, and an extra movement of the complex T to C for the verb to incorporate with *?an* and check the [uSUBJ\*] feature on C.

5.4. One may argue that the verb could check the strong [uSUBJ\*] feature in situ by Agree (Chomsky 2001) before it raises to T or to C. This is not possible because strong features must be checked in a local configuration, i.e. Spec-head or head-head

5.5. The prefix subjunctive marker, *li-* like *?an* is followed by a verb in the subjunctive mood, e.g.

(16) ya-drus-u                    bi-3add-in                    li-ya-n3aħ-a  
 3SG.M.IMP-study-IND    with-hard-DAT    to-3SG.M.IMP-pass-SUBJ  
 ‘He studies hard to pass.’

5.6. The only negative marker that can occur between *?an* and the verb is *laa* (17a) because it is not a tense carrier or a mood assigner, (17b).

(17) a. ħaawal-a    ħusaam-un    ?an **laa**    ya-ktub-a                    r-risaalat-a  
 tried-PRF    Husam-NOM    ?an not    3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ    the-letter-ACC  
 b. \* ħaawal-a    ħusaam-un    ?an **lan/lam**    ya-ktub-a/Ø                    r-risaalat-a  
 tried-PRF    Husam-NOM    ?an not    3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ/JUSS    the-letter-ACC  
 ‘Husam tried not to write the letter.’

5.7. *lan* is a subjunctive marker like *?an*, but it occupies a Neg head, not a C. *?an* could be treated like *lan*, i.e. not as a complementizer, but as a functional element that occupies the functional head T. In the presence of the Neg head *laa*, the verb first raises and incorporates with *laa* in the Neg head, and then the whole Neg complex raises and incorporates with *?an* in T for the verb to check the strong [uSUBJ\*] feature on T. *laa* does not block the verb from receiving its subjunctive mood, providing strong evidence in support of the derivation given in (3) and explaining *laa*'s compatibility with *?an* and challenging Ouhalla's (1994:51) suggestion that *laa* blocks V-movement to T.

6. **Diagnostics:** adopted from Wurmbrand (2001); they determine whether the complement of a verb is a CP (full non-restructuring) or a TP (reduced non-restructuring). Restructuring is the transformation of a bi-clausal structure into a mono-clausal structure (Wurmbrand 2001 adopted from Rizzi 1976); it is equal to a VP. Reduced non-restructuring is something between restructuring and full non-restructuring, i.e. it is neither a VP nor a CP; rather it is an IP or a vP. Some of the tests are pertinent to German and thus not applied.

6.1. **Pronoun fronting:** an operation in which a pronominal argument originating in the embedded predicate of *try*-infinitive as well as verbs such as *plan* and *decide* can be moved to the left of the matrix subject. Fronting is possible with a TP but not a CP. Here, the infinitive is substituted for by *?an* + V or *?anna* + DP.

(18) a. ħaawal-a    ħusaam-un    ?an    yu-kallem-a-haa  
 tried-PRF    Husam-NOM    ?an    3SG.M.IMP-speak-SUBJ-her  
 b. ħiyya    ħaawal-a    ħusaam-un    ?an    yu-kallem-a  
 she/her    tried-PRF    Husam-NOM    ?an    3SG.M.IMP-speak-SUBJ  
 ‘Husam tried to speak to her.’

(19) a. ?alim-a-t                    ranaa    ?anna    ħusaam-a    sa-ya-zuur-u-haa  
 knew-PRF-3SG.F    Rana    that    Husam-ACC    will-3SG.M.IMP-visit-IND-her  
 b. \* ħiyya    ?alim-a-t                    ranaa    ?anna    ħusaam-a    sa-ya-zuur-u  
 she/her    knew-PRF-3SG.F    Rana    that    Husam-ACC    will-3SG.M.IMP-visit-IND  
 ‘Rana knew that Husam will visit her.’

**6.2. Focus scrambling:** possible with a TP, not a CP to avoid violation of the crossing over a phase constraint (Chomsky 2000, 2001). It is possible with *?an* to apply focus scrambling with direct (20b) and indirect objects (20c).

- (20) a. haawal-a husaam-un ?an yu-rsil-a risaalat-an ?ilaa ranaa  
 tried-PRF Husam-NOM ?an 3SG.M.IMP-send-SUBJ letter-ACC to Rana  
 ‘Husam tried to send a letter to Rana.’  
 b. risaalat-an haawal-a husaam-un ?an yu-rsil-a ?ilaa ranaa  
 letter-ACC tried-PRF Husam-NOM ?an 3SG.M.IMP-send-SUBJ to Rana  
 ‘A letter Husam tried to send to Rana.’  
 c. ?ilaa ranaa haawal-a husaam-un ?an yu-rsil-a risaalat-an  
 to Rana tried-PRF Husam-NOM ?an 3SG.M.IMP-send-SUBJ letter-ACC  
 ‘To Rana Husam tried to send a letter.’

- (21) a. ?alim-a-t ranaa ?anna husaam-a yu-?ibb-u t-?a?aaam-a  
 knew-PRF-3SG.F Rana that Husam-ACC 3SG.M.IMP-like-IND the-food  
 ‘Rana knew that Husam likes the food.’  
 b. \* t-?a?aaam-a ?alim-a-t ranaa ?anna husaam-a yu-?ibb-u  
 the-food knew-PRF-3SG.F Rana that Husam-ACC 3SG.M.IMP-like-IND  
 ‘The food, Rana knew that Husam likes.’

**6.3. Tense:** the subjunctive is defective in comparison to the indicative in its ability to express time/aspect (Noonan 1985: 92); it cannot combine with *kaana* ‘was’ (22) that is an auxiliary verb that indicates the past tense nor can it combine with *s-* or *sawfa* ‘will’ (23) that are future markers. *?anna* can be followed by *kaana* ‘was’ (24) and *s-* or *sawfa* ‘will’ (25).

- (22) \* haawal-a husaam-un ?an kaan-a ya-ktub-a r-risaalat-a  
 tried-PRF Husam-NOM ?an was-PRF 3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ the-letter-ACC  
 ‘\*Husam tried to was write the letter.’

- (23) \* haawal-a husaam-un ?an sa-ya-ktub-a r-risaalat-a  
 tried-PRF Husam-NOM ?an will-3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ the-letter-ACC  
 ‘\*Husam tried to will write the letter.’

- (24) ya-bduu ?anna husaam-a kaana yu-?ibb-u t-?a?aaam-a  
 3SG.M.IMP-seem that Husam-ACC was-PRF 3SG.M.IMP-like-IND the-food-ACC  
 ‘It seems that Husam likes the food/Husam seems to like the food.’

- (25) ya-bduu ?anna husaam-a sa-yu-?ibb-u t-?a?aaam-a  
 3SG.M.IMP-seem that Husam-ACC will-3SG.M.IMP-like-IND the-food-ACC  
 ‘It seems that Husam likes the food/Husam seems to like the food.’

**6.4. Implicative vs. factive:** e.g. two different verbs of *nasiya* ‘forgot’: implicative and factive. The implicative (26) occurs with reduced non-restructuring; the factive (27) occurs with full/clausal non-restructuring.

- (26) nasiy-a husaam-un ?an ya-?tami?a fii l-maktab-i  
 forgot-PRF Husam-NOM ?an 3SG.M.IMP-gather-SUBJ in the-office-GEN  
 ‘Husam forgot to gather in the office.’ (He did not gather.)

- (27) nasiy-a husaam-un ?anna-hu ?tama?a fii l-maktab-i  
 forgot-PRF Husam-NOM that-he 3SG.M.IMP-gather-SUBJ in the-office-GEN  
 ‘Husam forgot that he gathered in the office.’ (He gathered.)

**6.5. Non-obligatory control (NOC):** is compatible with a TP complement. I depicted here this NOC with a *pro*, not a PRO, because the null subject could alternate with an overt subject (28b & c). If *Husam* could occur in the embedded clause, this would mean that NOC is raising in line with Hornstein’s (1999) theory of OC as raising. If raising occurs from the embedded clause, this provides further evidence that *?an* heads a TP, not a CP. Otherwise, we would violate crossing over a phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Moreover, if it is a reduced non-restructuring structure, the subject of the embedded clause is definitely a *pro*, not PRO because PRO cannot be assigned Case, cannot be governed, and cannot alternate with an overt DP. *?anna* constructions do not exhibit control (Salih 1985).

- (28) a. rafaḍ-a      ḥusaam-un<sub>i</sub>      ʔan      ya-ktub-a      pro<sub>i/j</sub>      waazib-a-hu  
 refused-PRF      Husam-NOM<sub>i</sub>      ʔan      3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ      pro<sub>i/j</sub>      homework-ACC-his
- b. rafaḍ-a      ʔan      ya-ktub-a      ḥusaam-un      waazib-a-hu  
 refused-PRF      ʔan      3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ      Husam-NOM      homework-ACC-his  
 ‘Husam refused to write his homework.’
- c. rafaḍ-a      ḥusaam-un      ʔan      ya-ktub-a      raami      waazib-a-hu  
 refused-PRF      Husam-NOM      ʔan      3SG.M.IMP-write-SUBJ      raami      homework-ACC-his  
 ‘Husam refused for Rami to write his homework (i.e. Rami’s/Husam’s homework)

**6.6. IPP effect:** ‘Infinitive for participle’ (IPP) is an expression used to describe constructions in which the matrix verb that semantically corresponds to a participle appears in the form of infinitive (Wumbrand 2001:162). The IPP effect is not possible with overt complementizers (Wumbrand 2001:104). In our case, the *Masdar* ‘deverbal noun’ which is equal to a present participle in English can be replaced by *ʔan* + verb, (see 5 & 6 above). The IPP effect is incompatible with a CP; it is impossible to replace *ʔanna* + DP with a *Masdar* ‘deverbal noun’ in SA, (29).

- (29) a. ʔarif-a      ḥusaam-un      ʔanna      raami      saaʔad-a      ranaa  
 knew-PRF      Husam-NOM      that      Rami      helped-PRF      Rana  
 ‘Husam knew that Rami helped Rana.’
- b. \* ʔarif-a      ḥusaam-un      ʔan      musaaʔadat-i      ranaa  
 knew-PRF      Husam-NOM      about      helping-GEN      Rana  
 ‘Husam knew about the helping of Rana.’

## 7. Conclusion

*ʔan* and *ʔanna* differ with respect to their syntax. *ʔan* is a functional element that heads a TP complement; the embedded verb raises to T to check the strong [uSUBJ\*] feature on T. On the other hand, *ʔanna* is a complementizer that heads a CP; the embedded subject DP raises from SpecvP to SpecTP to check the strong [uACC\*] on C. The different features of *ʔan* and *ʔanna* and the various tests performed provided evidence in support of a reduced non-restructuring analysis, i.e. TP, of *ʔan* and a full non-restructuring analysis, i.e. CP, of *ʔanna*.

The findings of this study have some bearings and implications on Arabic as a language and on theories of raising and control in general. The only possible control in Arabic is NOC and that PRO does not exist as a null subject in Arabic; rather, *pro* is the null subject of the embedded clause in control structures. In this sense, it is closer to Romance languages that have a defective tense subjunctive but do not allow PRO as its null embedded subject. What is striking in Arabic is that the embedded subject could raise to the subject position of the matrix clause. This realization might extend Hornstein’s (1999) theory of OC control as raising to NOC.

Since Arabic is a VSO language, all that we need is a vP. We need another projection above vP when there is a negative marker, mood marker, AgrS, AgrO, AspP, and so on. All of these heads are equal to TP so to speak because they all function in the same way, assigning some feature. They should not be treated as CPs. It is possible for the functional head T to host some of these functional particles, such as *ʔan*, instead of leaving it empty and projecting another projection, such as MP, that adds one further layer to the structure, which proves unnecessary within the Minimalist Program framework. The existence of TP suffices to accommodate *ʔan* in T and ECM subjects in SpecTP.

Moreover, this study raises many issues that require further investigation, such as the syntactic position of negative markers, i.e. could they occupy T rather than occupying their own Neg head or SpecNeg? They compete with *ʔan* for that position and thus they cannot cooccur adjacent to each other. The second issue is whether we really need PRO in NOC structures in SA. The third question is whether NOC is raising; if this is the case, control structures do not exist in SA since OC is not possible as well.