

**Equi without Clause Union
In Egyptian Colloquial Arabic**

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O. Introduction

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (henceforth ECA) has subject and object controlled equi which deletes a downstairs (complement) clause subject under coreference with a matrix clause subject or direct object. (1) Clause union (CU) is always associated with equi and S-S-R (cf. Gonzalez, 1985) in universal grammar. This paper examines the possibility of clause union and clause reduction (CR) in clauses involving equi in ECA. To achieve this goal, we need to determine the status of the embedded dependents. Do they become dependents of the matrix clause ? The analyses proposed here are conceived in the framework of Relational Grammar (RG) (cf. perlmutter 1983; 1984).(2) The paper is organised as follows : section 1 discusses CR in RG. Section 2 deals with equi in ECA. Equi vs. CU is discussed in section . 2.1

1. Clause Reduction in RG

If a CR governor is the matrix verb, CR optionally turns embedded dependents into dependents of the matrix clause (Aissen and perlmutter, 1983; Gonzalez, 1985); for example, Cole (1984) shows that in Ancash Quechua, CR causes the dependents of the complement clause to become the joint dependents of the matrix and complement clause : (3)

(1)

a. (noqa mun-a (O Jose-ta riko-y-ta))

I wanted Jose-acc see-inf-acc

'I wanted to see Jose.'

b. (noqa jose-ta-mun-a (O riko-y-ta))

I Jose-acc wanted see-inf-acc

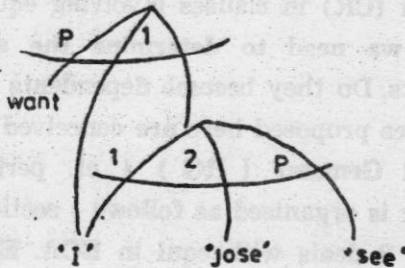
'I wanted to see Jose.'

In Quechua a final 2 precedes the verb. In (1a) the nominal Jose, which bears the final 2-relation, is a dependent of the complement clause; in (1b) CU turns this nominal into a dependent of the matrix clause.

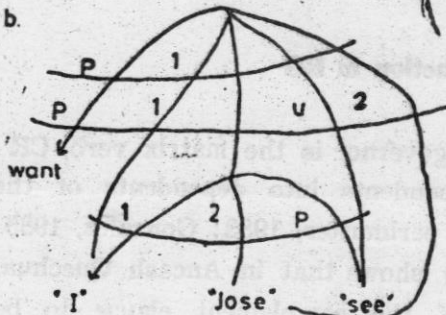
This is illustrated by (2a)-(2b) which are the stratal diagrams of (1a)-(1b), respectively.(4)

(2)

a.



b.



CR is similar to clause causative union (CCU) (perlmutter, 1983) in that both are instances of CU. However, CR predicates allow CU produced by-S-S-R or equi. This is not true of CCU. The condition for CR predicates (Aissen and perlmutter 1983) can be given as in :

(3)

CU is possible with CR governors if the complement has no 1.

2. Equi in ECA

ECA has equi governors such as *qa:yiz* 'want'; *ha:wil* 'try'; *ibtada* 'start'. If an equi governor is the matrix verb, the nominal bearing the downstairs or complement final 1-relation is deleted under coreference with an equi controller in the matrix clause. Consider (4) and (5) :

(4)

al-wad qa:yiz yisa:fir
 the-boy want travel
 'The boy wants to travel.'

(5)

ar-rayyis qa:yiz ar-ra:gil yiggawiz al-bit
 the-boss want the-man marry the-girl
 'The boss wants the man to marry the girl.'

Note that in (4)-(5) the nominal being equied bears the final 1-relation (subject) in the complement clause; for example, the nominal *al-wad*, boy in (4) is the final 1 in both the complement and the matrix clause.

A nominal bearing the final 2-relation in the complement clause can not be an equi victim as in (6b) :

(6)

a. (ar-ra:gil qa:yiz al-bit (al-bit ta-drab ar-ragil))

- the-man want the-girl the-girl F. hit the man
 b. *ar-ra:gil ʕa:yiz al-bit ta-drab O
 the-man want the-girl F.-hit
 The man wants to hit the girl.

A nominal bearing the final 3-relation can not be an equi victim as in (7b) :

(7)

- a. (ar-ra:gil ʕa:yiz al-bit (al-bit teddi
 the-girl want the-girl the-girl give
 ak-kita:b li I-ra:gil))
 the-book to the-man

- b. *ar-ra:gil ʕa:yiz al-bit teddi ak-kita::b liO
 the-man want the-girl give the-book to
 'The man wants the girl to give the book to.'

Evidence that the equi victim must be a final 1 (in the complement clause) comes from verb agreement. In ECA, the verb agrees with its subject in gender and number (cf. Olmstead and Gamaal El-Deen 1982); the verb does not agree with other nominals: (5,6)

(8)

- a. al-wad darab (* at) al-bit
 the-boy hit-F. sing subj the-girl
 'the boy hit the girl.'
 b. al-bit darab-* (at) al-wad
 the-girl hit-F. 3 p 1 sing. subj the-boy
 'The girl hit the boy.'

(9)

- a. al-wila:d darab-* (u) al-bit
 the-boys hit-3pl subj. the-girl
 'The boys hit the girl.'

- b. al-bina:t darab-^u (u) al-wad
 the-girls hit-3p1 sub. the-boy
 'The girls hit the boy.'

In (8) the verb agrees in gender with the final singular subject: if the subject is masculine, no agreement marker appears on the verb as in (8a); if, however, the subject is feminine, the agreement marker is -at as in (8b). (8) - (9) show number agreement: if the final subject is third person plural, the verb is then marked -u; otherwise no agreement marker appears on the verb as in (8a-b). The absence of any number agreement marker indicates that the subject is singular.

Given this, if the equi victim is the final I of the complement in clauses like (4)-(5) (and since the verb agreement rule is a clause-internal rule (cf. Radford 1981), it should cue agreement on the complement verb:

(10)

- a. al-wad ça:yiz yisa:fir
 the-boy want travel
 The boy wants to travel
- b. al-wila:d ça:yiziin yisa:fr-u
 the-boy want-3pI travel-3pI
 'The boys want to travel
- c. al-bit ça:yiz ti-sa:fir
 the-girl want F.3 sing.-travel
 'The girl wants to travel.

Clauses like (10a-c) show that the complement verb agrees with equi victim in number and gender. For example, in (10a-b) the equi victim al-wad and wila:d, respectively cue number agreement on the complement verb, yisa:fir: the absence of an agreement marker on the complement verb of the (a) clause indicates that the equi victim is a final singular subject; the suffix -u on the complement verb in (10b) denotes that the equi victim is a plural final subject. Thus verb agreement provides evidence

for the final 1-hood of the equi victim in the complement clause.

Now we are in a position to state the equi condition in ECA.

(11)

Equi Condition in ECA

Only final Is can be equi victims,

The grammatical relation (GR) borne by an equi controller depends on the nature of the equi governor. With verbs such as *ça:yiz*, the equi controller is either subject or direct object(7). Thus the equi controller is a final 1 (subject) in (4); it is a final 2 (direct object) in (5).

Verbs such as *ha:wil* and *ibtada* only trigger subject controlled equi (i.e. the equi controller bears no relation other than final 1).(8)

(12)

a. *al-wad ha:wil yedrab al-bit*

the-boy tried hit the-girl

'The boy tried to hit the girl.'

b. **al-wad ha:wil ar-ra:gil yedrab al-bit*

the-boy tried the-man hit the girl

'The boy started the man to hit the girl.'

(13)

a. *al-wad ibtada yedrab al-bit*

the-boy started hit the-girl

'The boy started to hit the girl.'

b. **al-wad ibtada ar-ra:gil yedrab al-bit*

the-boy started the-man hit the-girl

'The boy started the man to hit the girl.'

2.1 Equi vs. Clause Union in ECA

It has been pointed out in section 2 that the complement subject is deleted by a rule that deletes the complement subject if it is coreferential with the subject/object of the matrix clause (cf. (14)-(15)). Now let us turn to the dependents of the

complement clause. Is clause union possible with a structure produced by equi ? Put differently, can the dependents of the complement clause become dependents of the matrix as predicted by the CR hypothesis (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983) ? There are two hypotheses regarding this issue: hypothesis A and hypothesis B.

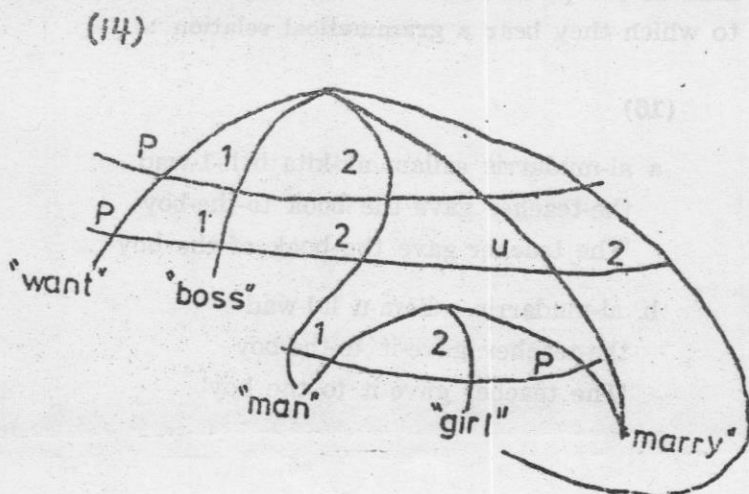
i. Hypothesis A

ECA equi governors such as *ça:yiz* 'want' turn the dependents of a complement clause into dependents of the matrix clause. Such predicates allow CU produced by equi.

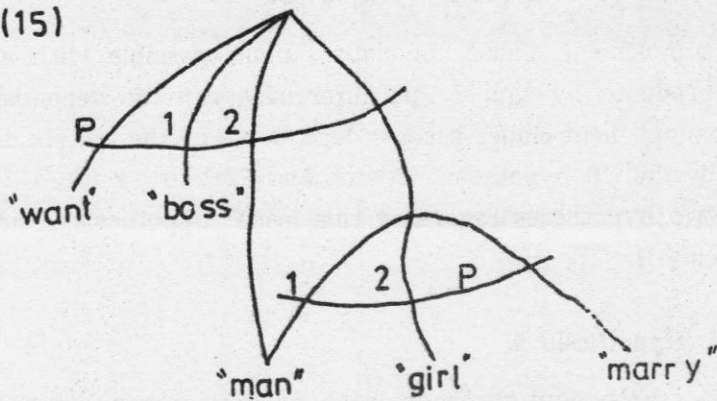
ii. Hypothesis B

ECA equi governors such as *ça:yiz* do not involve CU, that is, the dependents of the complement clause are not treated as dependents of the matrix clause. Such predicates do not allow CU produced by equi.

According to hypothesis A, a clause like (5) would have the stratal diagram (14) instead of (15) which would be posited by hypothesis B:



(15)



In (15), the nominal al-bit 'girl' heads a 2-arc only in the complement. It follows from this structure that this nominal belongs in the complement clause and bears no relation whatsoever in the matrix clause. On the other hand, in (14) the nominal al-bit 'girl' heads a 2-arc also in the matrix clause. In the next section, I will give arguments to demonstrate the superiority of hypothesis B and the analysis it posits for clauses like (5). I will show that the embedded dependents are not turned into dependents of the matrix clause.

2.1.1 Arguments for Hypothesis B

Argument 1 : Pronominalization

Any nominal can undergo pronominalization in ECA : when final 2s are pronominalized, they appear as clitics on the verb to which they bear a grammatical relation :

(16)

- a al-mudarris sallam ak-kita:b li-l-wad
the-teacher gave the book to-the-boy
'The teacher gave the book of the boy' .
- b. al-mudarris sallam-u li-l-wad
the-teacher gave-it to-the-boy
'The teacher gave it to the boy' .

Other nominals are pronominalized by being cliticized to a preposition :

(17)

al-mudarris sallam ak-kita : b li:h

the-teacher gave the-book to-him

'The teacher gave the book to him

In (17) a nominal bearing the final 3-relation (i.e. indirect object), is pronominalized; it is cliticized to the preposition li.

The pronominalization rule in ECA can be given as in (18)

(18)

Pronominalization rule

when final 2a are pronominalized,

they appear as clitics on the verb

to which they bear a GR.

Hypothesis A predicts that when a nominal like al-bit in (5) is pronominalized, it should be cliticized to the matrix verb. This prediction does not hold as in (19a) :

(19)

a. * ar-rayyis ɕa:yiz-ha ar-ra:gil higgawiz

the-boss want-her the-man marry

'The boss wants the man to marry her.'

(cf.) b. ar-rayyis ɕa:yiz ar-ra:gil yiggawiz-ha

the-boss wants the-man marry-her

'The boss wants the man to marry her.'

Clauses like (19a-b) show that under pronominalization a nominal like al-bit 'girl' is cliticized to the complement rather

than the matrix clause. Hypothesis A can not account for the ungrammaticality of *(19a) unless it posits an ad hoc statement as: when a matrix final 2 resulting from clause union is pronominalized, it is not cliticized to the matrix verb; rather, it is cliticized to the complement verb.

In contrast, hypothesis B accounts for clauses like (19a-b) without complicating ECA grammar. Under this hypothesis, (19a) is ungrammatical since the nominal al-bit belongs in the complement clause and should be cliticized to the complement verb under pronominalization.

Thus pronominalization constitutes an argument in favor of hypothesis B.

Argument 2: Left Dislocation

In ECA, final 2s can left-dislocate by leaving a pronoun copy of the verb stem (Olmstead and Gamaal El-Deen 1982:51):

(20)

a. al-wad sa:f al-bit fi-l-be:t

the-boy saw the-girl in-the-house

'The boy saw the girl in the house.'

b. al-bit, al-wad sa:f-ha

the-girl the boy saw-her

'The girl, the boy saw . . her.'

When other nominals left-dislocate, a pronoun copy of the nominal is left on a preposition:

(21)

al-be:t, al-wad sa:f al-bit fi:h.

the-house the-boy saw the-girl in-it

'The house, the boy saw the-girl in it.'

The left-dislocation rule for ECA can be stated along the following lines :

(22)

The left-dislocation rule :

A final 2 that is left-dislocated

Leaves a pronoun copy on the verb.

Under hypothesis A, the nominal al-bit' girl' in (5) is a final 2 in the matrix clause; therefore, it should be able to left-dislocate, leaving a pronoun copy on the matrix verb. That this is not the case can be seen in (23) :

(23)

*al-bit, ar-rayyis ça:yiz-ha ar-ra:gil yiggawiz
the-girl the-boss want-her the-man marry

'The girl, the boss wants wants her the man to marry'.

Hypothesis A can not account for the ungrammaticality of *(23) unless it posits an ad hoc statement such as: nominals resulting from CU can not left-dislocate by leaving a pronoun copy on the matrix verb.

In contrast, hypothesis B claims that the nominal al-bit in clauses like (5) belongs in the complement clause, not in the matrix clause. The ungrammaticality of *(23) is accounted for (by hypothesis B) without resort to any ad hoc statement : since the nominal al-bit is not a matrix dependent under hypothesis B, it should not leave a copy pronoun on the matrix verb. Under this analysis, this nominal is the embedded clause final 2. It is therefore predicted that when this nominal leftdislocates, it will leave a copy pronoun on the complement verb. This prediction is borne out by (24) :

(24)

al-bit, ar-rayyis ça:yiz ar-ra:gil yiggawiz-ha

the-girl the-boss want the-man marry-ha

'The girl, the boss wants the man to marry her.'

'The girl, the boss wants the man to marry her.'

which claims that in a clause like (5) the dependents of the complement clause do not become dependents of the matrix clause.

Argument 3: Word Order

In ECA, final 2s immediately follow the verb (Olmstead and Gamaal El-Deen, 1982:59). Thus in a clause like (20a) the nominal al-bit follows the verb, indicating that it is a final 2.

Hypothesis A predicts that the nominal al-bit in (5), being final 2 in the matrix clause, should immediately follow the matrix verb. This is ruled out :

(25)

* ar-rayyis a:yiz al-bit ar-ra:gil yiggawiz

the-boss want the-girl the-man marry

'The boss wants the girl the man to marry.'

Hypothesis A can not explain why *(25) is ungrammatical. In order to do so, it would have to claim that nominals resulting from clause union must not be allowed to follow the matrix verb, which is ad hoc.

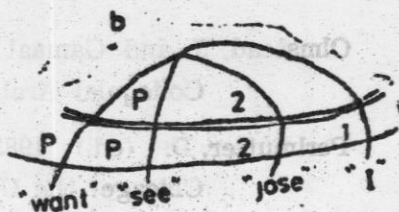
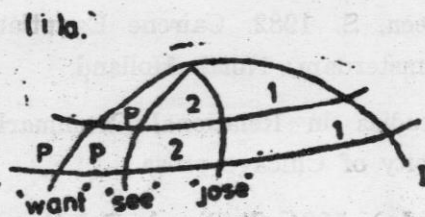
On the other hand, hypothesis B accounts for clauses like *(25) without positing such an ad hoc statement: a clause like *(25) is ungrammatical since a complement clause final 2 should not follow the matrix verb; it should follow complement verb as in (5). Thus, word order is a further argument for hypothesis B.

5. Conclusion

It has been argued that ECA has subject and object controlled equi. The equi victim must be a final 1. ECA equi clauses have been shown not to involve CU: the dependents of the complement clause do not turn into dependents of the matrix clause, as predicted by CR hypothesis. Several arguments (word order etc.) have been marshalled to support this claim.

Notes

1. Olmstead and Gamaal El-Deen (1982) discuss only subject controlled equi.
2. In this framework the numbers 1,2 and 3 represent the grammatical relations subject, direct and indirect object, respectively .
3. Quechua is an American Indian language which is still used in peru, Ecuador and Bolivia (Gleason, 1955;472) .
4. The clauses (la-b) can also be represented as in (ia-b), respectively .



5. Note that if the star falls inside the bracket, it means that the clause is ungrammatical with the bracketed element; if the star is outside the bracketes it means that the clause is ungrammatical without the bracketed element.
6. The following abbreviations have been used in the paper :
acc accusative inf infinitive sing. singular. CR clause reduction pl plural subj. subject. CU clause union S-S-R Subject-to subject. F. feminine raising.

- 7 English verbs such as force (cf. Soams and Perlmutter, 1978:197) , a verb like want is a subject controlled equi governor.
8. Note that, in English (cf. Soams and Perlmutter 1978:87), a verb like want is a subject controlled equi governor.

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