

Verb-Object (V-O) and Object-Verb (O-V) relations

In addition to V-S and S-V word order, O-V and V-O word order also occur in BA. In this chapter the grammatical relation between V and O is scrutinised and it will be shown how V movement in BA can serve to explain the V-O and O-V word order (in sentences lacking overt S's).

The S is non-overtly present in V-O and O-V word order as a direct result of BA's being an NS (Null Subject) language (Naudé 1993: 22). The overt inflectional features of the V are directly responsible for the incidence of NNS (Non Null Subject) and NS in which the overt/non-overt presence of an NP as S plays a vital part.

In BA, non-overt subjects are used only with Perfect and Imperfect word forms. For example (1) and (2) are used as NS verb forms and (3) as an NNS verb form:

NS verb forms

Perfect

(Dan 2:7) עָנוּ תְּיָנוּת (1)

`anow - tinejânût

they answered (third person masculine plural) - second time

“They answered a second time”.

Imperfect

(Dan 2:9) לֹא תְהוּדְעֵנִי (2)

lâ' - tebowde`unnanij

not - you make known (second person masculine plural) - me

“You do not make known to me”.

NNS-verb form

Time form

(Dan 3:25) אָזַח קִוּוּה (3)

ʿanâb - xâzeb

I - see

“...I see...”.

(קִוּוּה (*xâzeb*) with a non-overt subject would be ungrammatical).

In the grammatical relation V-O and O-V the V is transitive and may select an NP (4), a PP (5) or a sentence (6):

(Ezra 4:12) וְאַשְׂיֵאוּ יְחִישׁוּ (4)

we ʾuššajjâʿ - jaxijthû

and the foundations - they are restoring

“...and they are restoring the foundations...”.

(Dan 2:24) לְחַכְּמֵי בָבֶל אַל-תְּהוּבֵד (5)

lexakkijmej¹ - bâbêl - ʿal - tehowbed

the wise men of - Babel - not - you execute

“Do not execute the wise men of Babel”.

(Ezra 4:15) וְתִנְדַּע דִּי קִרְיָתָא דְּדָךְ קִרְיָתָא מְרִדָּא (6)

wetindaʿ - dij - qirjetâʿ - dâk - qirjâʿ - mârâdâʿ

and you will find - that - the city - that - the city - the rebellious

“And you will find that this city is a rebellious city”.

In this chapter, various sentences with transitive V's (without an overt S) will be examined, revealing both V-O and O-V word orders. The grammatical relation of O in BA will be examined in order to determine its morphological features. This is necessary because the hypothesis that V movement may explain the different word orders in BA hinges on the morphological features of the grammatical relations. The derivation of NP movement in relation to AgrO in MP must first be explained.

1 ל (le) is also employed in BA to indicate a direct object.

4.1 Noun movement in MP

Taking into account the NP movement in MP mentioned in 3.4, an extension thereof involving O is suggested here. N's are taken from the lexicon with all their morphological features including case and ϕ -features. The morphological features have to be licensed in the available positions in the functional domain, in this instance Spec-AgrO (Chomsky 1992:41). Chomsky (1992) points out that no difference exists between the types of features found in these two Agr-positions.²

In the licensing of the object case the N-features of the V-head on VP play a part. Licensing of the object case takes place in the functional category AgrOP created by the operation of projection. V therefore moves to AgrO for V-feature licensing to form (7):

(7) [Agr V Agr]

The object-NP moves to Spec-AgrOP for the licensing of case features³ (Chomsky 1992: 11).

Object movement is not possible unless the V is moved to AgrO. In particular, overt object movement is only possible with overt V movement (Chomsky 1992: 25). In order to justify the overt/non-overt object movement in BA, the strength of N-features on AgrO has to be determined.

4.2 Noun movement in BA

4.2.1 The grammatical relation O

(i) NP as Object

In BA the S and the O have the same morphological form, which at first glance makes them indistinguishable. Examples (8)-(11) refer:⁴

Noun	יָלָן	(<i>'jlan</i>)	(translation): tree
Noun proper	יָלָנָה	(<i>'jlanâ</i>)	(translation): the tree

2 Chapter 2 (2.3.2) provides a more complete exposition of the two Agr-positions.

3 Cf Bennis (1995: 180) for a complete exposition of feature licensing on LF and PF.

4 Examples (8)-(13) recapitulate the data featuring in chapter 3.

As Subject

(Dan 4:8) רָבָה אֵילָנָא וְתִקַּף (8)

rebâb - 'ijlânâ' - ûteqip

he grew large - the tree - and he grew strong

“The tree grew large and strong”.

As Object

(Dan 4:11) גָּדַדוּ אֵילָנָא (9)

goddû - 'ijlânâ'

cut down - the tree

“Cut down the tree”.

In a genitive construction

(Dan 4:23) שָׂרְשׁוּהוּ דִּי אֵילָנָא (10)

šârešowhij - dij - 'ijlânâ'

roots his - of - the tree

“...the roots of the tree...”.

As antecedent in a relative construction

(Dan 4:17) אֵילָנָא דִּי חָזַרְתָּ (11)

'ijlânâ' - dij - xazajetâ

the tree - which - you saw

“...the tree you saw...”.

There is no morphological difference between *'ijlânâ'* as S in (8) and *'ijlânâ'* as O in (9), nor can any difference as to the other syntactic functions be detected (10)-(11). The object of NP in BA reveals no overt case features, which leads to the conclusion that AgrO has weak N-features in BA.

The object noun in BA (as is the case with S) has features associated with inflectional morphology. Number and gender are reflected in examples (12)-(13):

(12)

מֶלֶךְ	(<i>mêlêk</i>)	masculine singular	transl: king
מַלְכִין	(<i>malkijn</i>)	masculine plural	transl: kings

(13)

מְדִינָה	(<i>medijnâb</i>)	feminine singular	transl: province
מְדִינֹת	(<i>medijnân</i>)	feminine plural	transl: provinces.

It was suggested in chapter 3 that the V-features of AgrS in BA are probably strong. This was deduced from the fact that the V reveals overt inflectional features congruent with those normally associated with the inflectional morphology of the S. Compare the inflectional features/morphology of the S and the V in sentence (8), explained in (14):

(14) V: inflectional features: רֵבָבָה (*rebâb*) third person masculine singular

N: inflection morphology: אִיְלָנָה (*'ijlânâ*) masculine singular.

For the S in BA the V reveals corresponding congruence characteristics. However, it fails to show any congruence characteristics for the O, but does have selection characteristics. In what way are these to be distinguished?

Take (15) as an example of this distinction:

(Ezra 4:15) קִרְיָא וּמְהַנְזֵקָת מַלְכִין וּמְדִינֹת (15)

qirjâ' - ûmebanzeqat - malkijn - ûmedinân

the city - and hurtful - kings - and provinces

“... the city, hurtful to kings and provinces”.

Morphology: וּמְהַנְזֵקָת (*ûmebanzeqat*) - Haktel Participle feminine singular of נָזַק (*nzk*).

It is obvious from scrutiny of (15) that congruence is completely lacking between the overt inflectional features revealed by the V (feminine, singular) and those associated with the inflectional morphology of the O. The V וּמְהַנְזֵקָת (*ûmebanzeqat*) merely selects an argument (O) as Theme, *viz* וּמְדִינֹת (*ûmedinân*).

The lack of congruence between V and O probably causes AgrO to have weak V-features in BA.⁵

5 Chomsky (1992) suggests that no distinction exists between the various types of features to be found in the AgrO and AgrS positions. Agr features are obtained from a single pool and will not be identifiable as subject or object features. Only the position of the Agr node indicates this. This proposal implies of ne-

As far as the strong/weak distinction between features on AgrO is concerned, the propositions may be summarised as follows (16):

cessity that if the V-features of AgrS are strong, the V-features of AgrO also have to be strong. (Zwart (1996: 200) accepts this proposal as far as Dutch is concerned.)

The proposal put forward by Chomsky (1992) cannot be accepted for BA and provides a point of criticism against MP:

- It is possible to prove morphologically in BA that the V-features of AgrO are weak, as against strong V-features of AgrS.

Following the lexicalist hypothesis explained by Bennis (1995: 186) in terms of which a V like *werkte* [(-t-) for past tense and (-e) for subject congruence] is taken from the lexicon along with all its morphological features, it may be accepted that the V-features of AgrO would be strong in the event of *werkte* also having the overt inflectional features of the O.

- The strong/weak distinction of AgrO's V-features has not been adequately set out in MP.

Zwart (1996: 200), dealing with feature licensing by way of V movement, remarks as follows:

Chomsky (1993: 7) proposes that there is really only one Agr element and that it is instanced twice, as AgrS and AgrO. This implies that if the V-features of AgrS are strong, the V-features of AgrO must be strong too. In other words, the movement of the V-features of the verb must proceed stepwise, via AgrO.

Should Zwart's presupposition be accepted, the following issues arise:

(i) By necessary implication Zwart suggests that the V-features of AgrS and AgrO lack any distinctive identity.

(ii) If it is accepted that the V-features of AgrS and AgrO lack distinctive identity, why then is it necessary to provide two separate positions in which the V must control its features? Is it only for licensing with O in Spec-AgrO? The principle of economy requires that the least possible effort should be required. With the projection of a second (superfluous) head Agr position the principles of economy are ignored.

(iii) Considering a language like BA, in respect of which it can be proved morphologically that the V-features of AgrO are weak while those of AgrS are strong, it becomes clear that a glaring discrepancy exists in Zwart's presumption. If the V-features of AgrO were weak, the V-features of AgrS should likewise be weak, and vice versa.

(iv) Zwart's suggestion is rendered even more suspect by Chomsky's assumption that overt object movement will only be possible with overt V movement: Should Zwart's implication be accepted, it would mean that overt object movement would be completely impossible if the V-features of AgrS were weak.

(16)

AgrO - N-features = weak
 AgrO - V-features = weak

The Participle in BA reveals the same strong/weak distinction between features on AgrO.

The weak V- and O-features revealed on AgrO imply that neither V nor O may move overtly/prior to spell-out to AgrO and Spec-AgrO, respectively, for the licensing or elimination of V- and N-features.

(ii) Pronominal suffix as Object

In the traditional expositions of BA a clear distinction is made between independent pronouns (21) and pronominal suffixes (17), also called object suffixes.

(17) after consonantal terminations/after vowel terminations

1	singular	אֲנִי	(<i>anj</i>)	נִי	(<i>nij</i>)
2	masculine singular	אֶתְּךָ	(<i>âk</i>)	ךָ	(<i>k</i>)
3	masculine singular	אֶתְּ	(<i>eb</i>)	יְךָ	(<i>bij</i>)
3	feminine singular	אֶתְּךָ	(<i>ab</i>)		
1	plural	אֶתְּכֶם	(<i>ênâ</i>)	כֶּם	(<i>nâ</i>)
2	masculine plural	אֶתְּכֶם	(<i>ekown</i>)		

Pronominal suffixes in BA are true clitics (Naudé 1990).

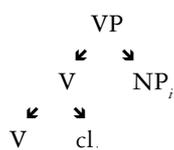
A pronominal clitic in BA⁶ is a pronoun added to a finite verb, infinitive, noun or any other part of speech. Clitic is a grammatical term used to indicate a form resembling a word, but incapable of independent existence because it is structurally dependent on an adjoining word in any construction. Consequently a clitic forms a morphological part of the word to which it is added.

Borer (1984, 1986) suggests structure (18) as an example of the cliticising of an NP to V:⁷

6 For a more comprehensive study of clitic constructions in BA, cf Naudé (1990).

7 Cf also Naudé (1990: 31-8) for a proposal on the cliticisation of NP to V in BA.

(18)



The pronominal clitic in BA acts as an enclitic (dependent on a preceding word, for instance the affixing of pronominal suffixes to V's).

The pronominal suffix joined to V in BA serves mainly as the O selected by V. No congruence can be found between the overt inflectional features of V and those normally associated with the inflectional morphology of the pronominal clitic.

Pronominal clitics added to V's are selected by the V as direct (19) or indirect (20) objects of sentences:

(Ezra 5:11) וּמֶלֶךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל רַב בְּנֵהוּ (19)

ûmêlêk - lejishrâ'el - rab - benâbij

and king - of Israel - great - he built him

"...and a great king of Israel built him...".

(Dan 2:5) הֵן לֹא תִהְיוּ עֹנֵי חֶלְמָא וּפְשָׂרָה (20)

ben - lâ' - tehowde'ûnnanij - xêlmâ' - âpiš'reb

if - not - you make known to me - the dream - and interpretation him

"If you do not make known to me the dream and its interpretation".

The verb with a pronominal clitic as O reveals a V-O word order in all BA sentences.

(iii) Independent pronoun as Object

Of all the independent pronouns as tabulated (21), only הַבִּמּוּ (the *bimmou(n)*) feature as an O in BA:

(21)

person	gender	singular	plural
1		אַנְבָּה (<i>'anâb</i>)	אַנְבְּחָנְבָּה (<i>'anaxnâb</i>)
2	masculine	אַנְתְּבָה (<i>'antb</i>)	אַנְתְּבִין (<i>'antûn</i>)
3	masculine	הוּא (<i>bû</i>)	אַנְבִין (<i>'innûn</i>)
			הַבִּמּוּ (the <i>bimmou(n)</i>)

3 feminine אֵיָהּ (bij') אֵיָיךְ (innijn).

Furthermore הַבְּנוּיָהּ (*bimmow(n)*) only features in a mandatory/binding V-O construction (Cook 1986: 5). There is no O-V word order in which הַבְּנוּיָהּ (*bimmow(n)*) features. Thus the pronoun הַבְּנוּיָהּ (*bimmow(n)*) is singled out to perform the function of an accusative, thereby filling the position of the corresponding pronominal clitic, absent in BA.

In order to determine whether הַבְּנוּיָהּ (*bimmow(n)*) is actually a clitic, it is necessary to compare the distribution and features of הַבְּנוּיָהּ (*bimmow(n)*) with those of clitics as suggested by Borer (1984) in (22) and (23):

(22) General characteristics of clitics

- (a) clitics are among the clusers admitted in the proximity of V;
- (b) clitics absorb the case features of the head in the clitic construction;⁸ and
- (c) a clitic and its complement NP have to coincide as far as ϕ -features are concerned and have to be co-indexed (in the case of a clitic doubling construction).

(23) Particular characteristics of clitics

- (a) clitics never reveal stress/are never stressed;
- (b) clitics never feature in isolation, for instance a clitic can never feature as an independent NP, and
- (c) clitics may never occupy the first position in a sentence.

The mandatory V-O הַבְּנוּיָהּ (*bimmow(n)*) construction may be found in instances where the V displays the Imperfect (24) or the Perfect (25) class of conjugation:⁹

(Ezra 7:17) וְהִקְרַבְתָּם עַל־מִזְבֵּחַ הַבְּנוּיָהּ (24)

ûteqâreb - bimmow - `al - madbexâb

and you shall offer - them - upon - the altar

“...and you shall offer them upon the altar...”.

8 The case features of the lexical head are absorbed by the clitic and are no longer transferable to the complement of a head.

9 No pronominal clitic in BA is added to a V belonging to the Participle class of conjugation.

(Ezra 5:12) יהבִּי הִמּוֹ בְּיַד נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר (25)

jebab - himmow - bejad - nebûkadnêtsar

he gave - them - into hand - of Nebuchadnezzar

“He gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar”.

In sentence (25) הִמּוֹ (*himmow*) displays the distribution and characteristics as in (26), comparable with the characteristics of clitics as described in (22) and (23):

(26)

(a) הִמּוֹ (*himmow*) occurs after the V יהבִּי (*jebab*);

(b) the case features of the head יהבִּי (*jebab*) are absorbed by הִמּוֹ (*himmow*);¹⁰

(c) הִמּוֹ (*himmow*) occurs in a mandatory V-O construction with יהבִּי (*jebab*); and

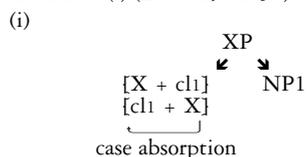
(d) הִמּוֹ (*himmow*) features in the second position in the sentence (after יהבִּי (*jebab*)).

In these terms הִמּוֹ (*himmow(n)*) is in all probability a clitic, orthographically represented as a separate entity because the process of cliticisation has not been completed.

4.3 Summary of features of BA

In order to appreciate the progress of derivation in BA in terms of MP, it is necessary to consider the distinction of weak/strong features in T, AgrS and AgrO which may be presumed for BA. This can be explained as follows (27)-(29):

10 The absorption of case in a clitic construction is depicted in rough-and-ready fashion in (i) (Borer 1984: 36):



(27) Perfect/Imperfect/Participle

T - N-features = weak
 T - V-features = strong
 AgrO - N-features = weak
 AgrO - V-features = weak

(28) Perfect/Imperfect

AgrS - N-features = weak
 AgrS - V-features = strong

(29) Participle

AgrS - N-features = weak
 AgrS - V-features = weak

Given the distinction of strong/weak features on Agr and T for BA, the next step is to explain the derivation of word order in MP in order to arrive at the derivation of word order in BA.

4.4 Derivation of word order in MP

In terms similar to the generation of AgrSP in preference to TP in the functional domain for subject congruence, provision has been made in MP for object congruence. Object congruence generates an independent position above VP where features associated with the inflectional morphology of O have to be licensed.

In order to license its V features on Agr and T, V will increase to AgrO, to T and finally to AgrS either prior to spell-out or on LF.

Chomsky (1992: 63) is rather vague in his exposition of the licensing of V-features on AgrO as well as on the overt/non-overt V movement to AgrO, to T and finally to AgrS. Neither does Bennis (1994: 183) supply a satisfactory solution to this question/obscurity:

The V-features on AgrO are weak in BA while T and AgrS reveal strong V-features. The result is that the V-features on AgrO have to wait until after spell-out on LF before licensing may take place, while the V-features of T and AgrS have to be licensed on PF prior to spell-out. V moves overtly to T and to AgrS on PF, but in LF would have had to move back to AgrO in order to have its weak V-features licensed.

Three possible considerations exist:

(i) V actually moves to AgrO before spell-out in order to license weak V-features. V moves further in order to license the strong V-features on T and AgrS (in case of the Perfect and Imperfect) and on T (in case of the Participle). By dint of this overt movement it is ensured that the derivation follows the shortest route.

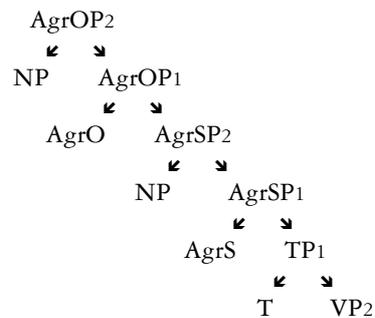
Weak features are invisible on PF (Chomsky 1992: 43). The weak features of AgrO in BA are not to be licensed prior to spell-out because that would constitute a transgression of the principle of procrastination.

Where a feature is weak no visible movement is necessary (Bennis 1994: 183). It follows that weak features may well undergo visible movement.

(ii) The second possible consideration implies that V movement follows a circuitous route, with V moving to T and to AgrS on PF prior to spell-out in order to license its strong V-features and after spell-out moving back to AgrO in order to license its weak V-features. In this way the principle of taking the shortest route would be transgressed.

(iii) The third alternative is a structural change. In this case it is suggested that AgrOP is projected higher in the hierarchical structure than AgrSP and TP (30):

(30)

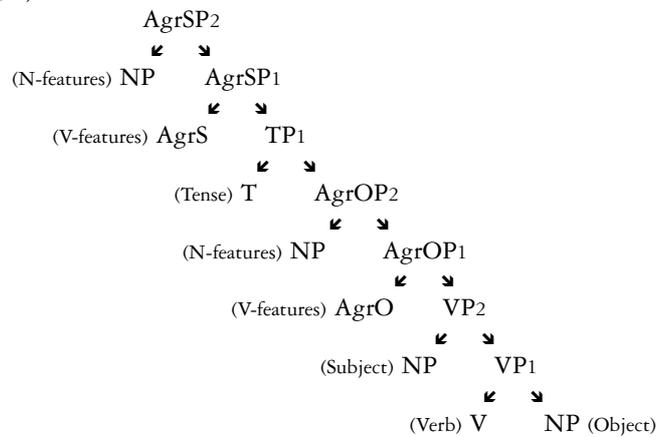


This means that V moves overtly to T and AgrS prior to spell-out on PF in order to license or eliminate strong V-features, and then moves to AgrO after spell-out in order to license the weak V-features.

The possibility of structural change is merely mentioned with a view to further research. For the purposes of this study (i) is provisionally accepted.

The extension of AgrOP in the functional domain may be portrayed as follows (31):

(31)



The proposed structure (31) will be used in order to show that V movement can explain the word order of a transitive V in BA.

4.5 Derivation of word order in BA

4.5.1 The V-O word order

(i) Noun as Object

The following data support V-O word order in BA (32)-(36):

Transitive verb

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Ezra 5:16) יָבַח אֶשְׂרָאֵל (32)

jehab - 'ussajjâb

he laid - the foundations

“He laid the foundations”.

Complex sentences

(Dan 2:25) הַשְּׂכַחַת גְּבַר (33)

baškaxat - gebar

I have found - man

“I have found a man”.

(Dan 5:3) בְּאֲדִין הֵיטִיו מְאִי דְהַבָּא (34)

be'dajin - bajetijw - mâ'nej - dababâ'

so - they brought in - goblets - of gold

“So they brought in the gold goblets”.

V as imperfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Dan 6:9) כְּעֵן מַלְכָּא תְּקִים אֲסָרָא (35)

ke'an - malkâ' - teqijm - 'eesârâ'

so - the king - you put in writing - the decree

“So the king put the decree in writing”.

Complex sentences

(Ezra 5:5) וְאַדְיִן יְתִיבֹן נְשִׂתְוֵנָא (36)

wê'edajin - jetijbûn - ništewânâ'

and until - they brought back - the letter

“...and until they brought back the letter...”.

The syntactic derivation of sentence (32), representing (32)-(36), starts with a selection of substantive heads — the V *jebab* and the NP *uššajjâb*, each fully inflected, with its own morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *jebab*, as a transitive V, requires two arguments; one can be accorded the thematic role of Theme and the other that of Agent.

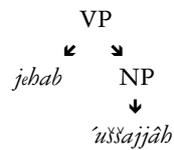
The progress of the derivation may be set out as follows: The operation of projection creates a VP with a vacant position (e) which can be filled by an argument receiving the Theme role; the VP and the NP are independent (37):

(37)



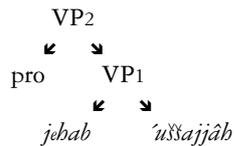
The operation of merging places the NP $\acute{u}\check{s}\check{s}ajj\acute{a}b$ in the vacant VP-position (38):

(38)



The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an agent receiving the Agent role (39):

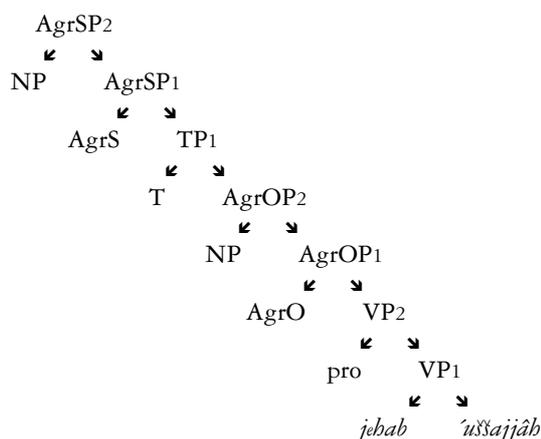
(39)



$j\acute{e}bab$ is an NS form requiring no overt subject capable of receiving the Agent role. $j\acute{e}bab$'s overt inflectional features are strong enough to inherently indicate the Agent, *viz* 3rd person masculine singular. The vacant VP₂ position is filled by *pro* (as indicated in chapter 3). The V $j\acute{e}bab$ constitutes the heading of VP and the NP $\acute{u}\check{s}\check{s}ajj\acute{a}b$ the complement of VP.

The morphological features of $j\acute{e}bab$ and $\acute{u}\check{s}\check{s}ajj\acute{a}b$ in (39) have to be licensed. At least three functional heads, *viz* AgrO, T and AgrS, are selected, projected and merged with VP₂ to constitute a single structure (40):

(40)



The strong/weak distinction may now be illustrated in terms of the example contained in sentence (32) and structure (40). Structure (40) contains three functional categories: AgrS, T and AgrO, each of which is made up of N- and V-features. Structure (40) also contains two substantive categories (the V *jebab* and the NP *'uṣṣajjâb*) which have to be licensed in the course of the derivation for interpretation on PF and LF. Licensing means that these categories are moved to positions where their morphological features can be licensed. Whether these movements precede or follow spell-out depends on the strength of AgrO and T's morphological features.

The V-features of the functional categories T and AgrS are strong in BA. Even though the V-features of AgrO are weak, V first moves overtly to AgrO in order to license weak features prior to spell-out, thereby ensuring that the most economical route is followed. V moves then to T and AgrS in order to license its strong V-features.

The effect of the three overt processings is reflected in structure (41):

(ii) The independent pronoun as Object

The following data support a V-O word order in BA where O is the independent pronoun (הַמּוֹ) (*bimmow(n)*) (42)-(44):

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Ezra 5:12) יָהַב הַמּוֹ בְיַד נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר (42)

jebab - bimmow - bejad - nebûkadnêstsar

he gave - them - in hand - Nebuchadnezzar

“He gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar”.

Complex sentences

(Ezra 5:14) וְהֵיבֵל הַמּוֹ לְהֵיכְלָא דִּי בָבֶל (43)

webejbel - bimmow - lebejkelâ' - dij - bâbel

and he brought - them - into the temple - of - Babel

“and he brought them into the temple of Babel”.

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

Complex sentences

(Ezra 7:17) וְתִקְרַב הַמּוֹ עַל-מִזְבְּחָהּ (44)

ûteqâreb - bimmow - `al - madbexâb

and you shall offer - them - upon - the altar

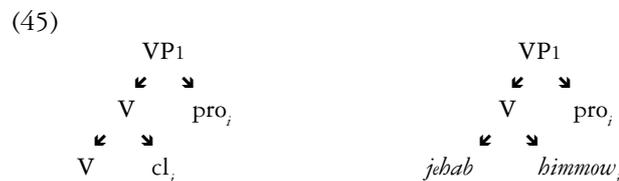
“and you shall offer them upon the altar”.

It has been suggested that the independent pronoun (הַמּוֹ) (*bimmow(n)*) should in all probability be regarded as a clitic in BA (4.3.1 (iii)). It is, therefore, structurally dependent on an adjoining word and occurs as an enclitic to the V. In syntactic derivation it will be treated as a clitic to the V.

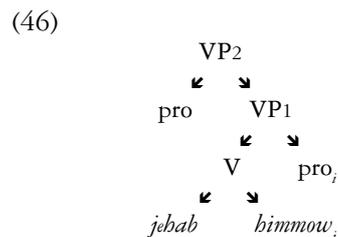
The syntactic derivation of sentence (42), representing (42)-(44), starts with the selection of the substantive item: the V *jebab* with the clitic *bimmow*, completely inflected, with the relevant morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. A clitic is not an independent syntactic unit, and is consequently incapable of separate projection.

The clitic *bimmow* absorbs the case features of the lexical head *jebab* as a transitive V. In fact the complement position is not completely vacant because it is co-indexed. Jaeggli (1986: 29) suggests that the complement position is actually pro_i and for the purposes of this study this suggestion is accepted for BA.

The structure (45), following Borer (1984: 35), is projected for a clitic construction in BA as follows:¹²



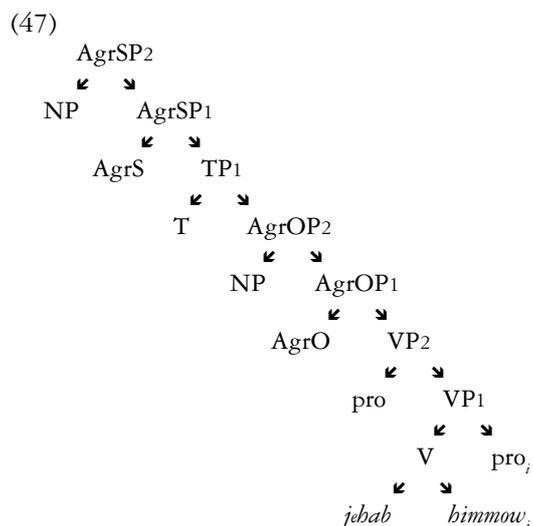
The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an argument which is to receive the Agent role (46):



The V *jebab* is an NS form requiring no overt subject to receive the role of Agent. *jebab*'s overt inflectional features are strong enough to inherently indicate the Agent, viz 3rd person masculine singular. The vacant VP2 position is therefore filled by *pro*. The V *jebab* in construction with *bimmow* constitutes the head VP.

The morphological features of *jebab bimmow* in (46) have to be licensed. At least three functional heads, viz AgrO, T and AgrS, are selected, projected, and merged with VP2 in order to constitute a single structure (47):

12 Zwart (1993: 133-48) offers an alternative to clitic constructions. He sees clitics as functional units to be fitted directly into the functional domain, which means that *bimmow* would be placed directly into Spec-AgrO. By necessary implication this should be done with all functional categories, eg pronouns. If, for instance, a Participle + pronoun (as S) occurred in BA, the word order would be problematic, as the only available position would be Spec-AgrS.



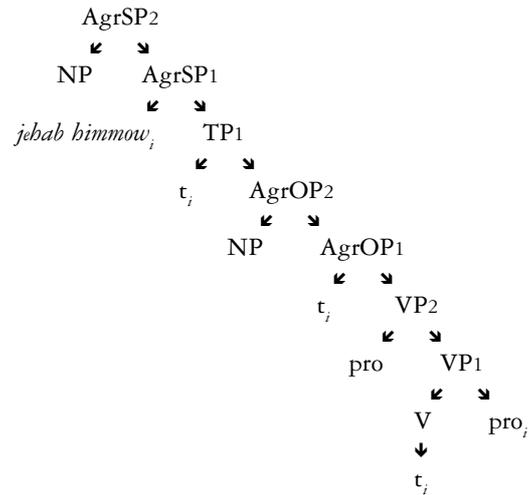
The strong/weak distinction can best be illustrated in terms of example (42) and structure (47). Structure (47) contains three functional categories, AgrS, T and AgrO, each of which comprises N- and V-features. Structure (47) also contains a substantive category (the V *jebab himmow*) which has to be licensed for interpretation by PF and LF in the course of the derivation.

The V-features of AgrO are weak, but move overtly to AgrO underway to T and AgrS after spell-out. This movement is unavoidable in order to find the most economic route.

The V-feature of the functional category T in BA is strong, which causes the head *jebab himmow* to make a further overt move to T in order to license its features. *jebab himmow* therefore moves to T prior to spell-out in an instance of head-to-head movement. The V-features of the functional category AgrS are likewise strong in BA and render mandatory its further overt movement to AgrS in order to be licensed.

The end-result of these three overt processings is reproduced in structure (48):

(48)



This overt V movement results in a V-O word order, justifiable within the parameters of the economic principles dictated by Chomsky (1992).

(iii) Pronominal suffix as Object

The syntactic derivation of the pronominal clitic as object in BA (49)-(51) follows the same derivation as that assumed by the independent pronoun (הַמּוֹ) (*himmow(n)*) in (45)-(48):

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Dan 3:1) אָקִימָהּ (49)

ʾaqijmeb

he set up him

“...he set it up...”.

Complex sentences

(Dan 2:48) וְהַשְׁלֵטָהּ (50)

webašletbeb

and he made ruler him

“...and he made him ruler...”.

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

Complex sentences

(Dan 7:23) ܘܝܫܪܝܢܐܢܐ (51)

wetaddeqimab

and he crushing him

“...and he crushing it...”.

In all instances where the grammatical relations V and O occur in combination (without an overt S) with a transitive V, the inference (C) is: in BA, V-O is the unmarked word order.

4.5.2 The O-V word order

Once inference (C) has been accepted, the O-V word order in BA has to be marked or unusual. How does one arrive at this conclusion?

The V-features of T and AgrS in BA are strong and consequently overt V movement from T to the head AgrSP takes place in the PF component. It has been pointed out that the N-features of T and AgrO in BA are weak, with the result that covert NP movement in the LF component from Spec-VP to Spec-AgrO takes place only in order to license its N-features, resulting in the V-O word order. In the O-V word order, O generates a position to the left of V. The N-features of AgrO in BA are weak and consequently no overt NP movement takes place from Spec-VP to Spec-AgrO. It is clear that overt NP movement had to take place to achieve the O-V word order. What overt NP movement is in evidence here?

It was suggested in chapter 3 as a consequence of proposals made by Borer (1995), Koopman & Sportiche (1991) and Naudé (1993) that Spec-TopP occupies a topic position in MP. The Spec-TopP position, available as a topic position, occurs in languages with unmarked V-S-O word order, the reason being that V moves to heading AgrS for the licensing of strong V-features, while S remains *in situ* in its base-generated Spec-VP. The marked S-V-O word order in a V-S-O language is justifiable once it is assumed that the overt S movement prior to spell-out is a matter of necessity (in order to license a topic feature). The S assumes the character of a topic reflecting strong (subject)-topic N-features. The strong features have to be licensed

prior to spell-out and the position thus achieved is Spec-TopP, which allows topics to join each other.

In the syntactic derivation of the O-V word order, the operation of projection creates not only AgrOP for object congruence, TP for case licensing and AgrSP for subject congruence, but also TopP for the licensing of strong topic N-features.¹³ V will move overtly to AgrO for weak V-feature licensing prior to spell-out on PF and then to T and to AgrS for strong V-feature licensing.

Spec-TopP2, available as a topic position, has strong N-features which have to be licensed even if the N-features on AgrOP are weak. The O underway to Spec-TopP2 moves overtly prior to spell-out via Spec-AgrO to Spec-TopP2 in order to license strong N-features. These overt movements allow the derivation to follow as few steps as possible to bring about convergence.

According to Chomsky (1992: 45) overt NP movement was initiated by morphological necessity: certain features have to be licensed in the control domain, otherwise the derivation may crash.

The abovementioned derivation supports inference (D): In BA, O-V is a marked word order, and O occurs in a topic position.

The following data support O-V word order in BA (52)-(54):

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Dan 7:1) בְּאֵיִן חֵלְמָא כְּתַב (52)

be'dajin - xêlmâ' - ketab

then - the dream - he wrote down

"Then he wrote down the dream".

13 It may seem that the principle of procrastination is transgressed by the operation of projection, in that an overt S for subject congruence is absent. It was put forward in chapter 3 that the argument occupying the Agent role is present, but actually in the overt inflectional features of the V. Granted that the S is an empty NP, this category is indicated as pro and licensed in a Spec head relation for strong AgrS. The complaint that the principle of procrastination has been transgressed is therefore untenable.

Complex sentences

(Ezra 5:12) וַעֲמָהּ הִגְלִי לְבָבֶל (53)

we`ammâh - haglij - lebâbêl

and the people - he carried away - to Babel

“...and he carried away the people to Babel...”.

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

Complex sentences

(Ezra 4:12) וַאֲשֵׁיבָא יְחַיְיבֵי (54)

we`usšajjâ´ - jaxijthû

and the foundations - they repairing

“...and they, repairing the foundations...”.

The syntactic derivation of sentence (52), representing (52)-(54), starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *ketab* and the NP *xêlmâ´*, each is fully inflected with its particular morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *ketab*, as a transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the thematic role of Theme may be accorded and another to receive the thematic role of Agent.

The progress of the derivation may be depicted as follows:

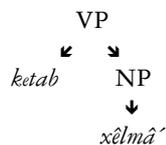
The operation of projection creates a VP with a vacant position (e) to be occupied by an argument receiving the Theme role; the VP and the NP are independent (55):

(55)

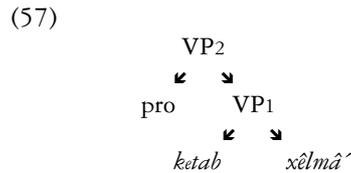


The operation of merging places the NP *xêlmâ´* in the vacant VP position (56):

(56)



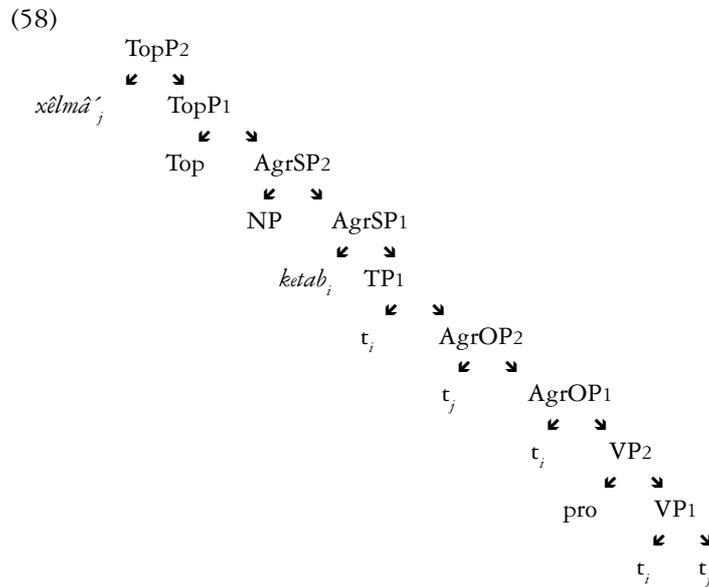
The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an argument to receive the Agent role (57):



ketab is an NS form requiring no overt S capable of receiving the role of Agent. The overt inflectional features are strong enough to indicate the Agent inherently, viz 3rd person masculine singular. Consequently the empty VP2 position is occupied by *pro*. The V *ketab* constitutes the head VP with the NP *xêlmâ'* as the complement of VP.

A feature [+ topic] is added to *xêlmâ'* and a functional head Top is selected.

The morphological features of *ketab* and *xêlmâ'* in (57) have to be licensed. At least four functional heads, viz AgrO, T, AgrS and Top, are selected, projected and merged with VP to constitute a single structure (58):



The V *ketab* moves overtly to AgrO, T and AgrS prior to spell-out in order to license strong V-features on T and AgrS. An overt NP movement of the O *xêlmâ'* takes place first to Spec-AgrO and subsequently to Spec-TopP. In both cases the movement is inevitable.

The overt movements in structure (58) result in the O-V word order being revealed as superficial.

The V-O and O-V word order in BA are explicable in terms of the movement in BA dictated by the strong/weak distinction of V- and N-features on T, AgrS and AgrO.

4.6 Conclusions

- The strong/weak distinctions of N- and V-features on AgrO in BA may be summarised as follows (59):

(59) Perfect/Imperfect/Participle

AgrO - N-features = weak

AgrO - V-features = weak

- In all instances where the grammatical relations V and O (without any overt S) occur in combination with a transitive V, the inference (C) is: in BA, V-O is the unmarked word order.

Despite the weakness of AgrO's V-features, it has been suggested that V moves overtly to AgrO, to T and finally to AgrS in order to license strong V-features on T and AgrS before spell-out. The overt movement to AgrO requires that the shortest possible route be followed. The N-features of AgrO are weak and the object remains *in situ*.

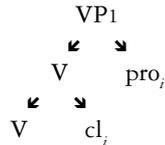
- In all instances where the grammatical relations V and O (without an overt S) occur in combination with a transitive verb, the inference (D) is: in BA, O-V is the marked word order.

V moves overtly to AgrO, to T and finally to AgrS in order to license strong V-features on T and AgrS prior to spell-out. A feature [+ topic] is added to the O. An overt NP movement takes place, to the topic position in Spec-Top, in order to license and eliminate strong topic features prior to spell-out.

- It has been suggested in this study that the independent pronoun (ܗܝܢ) (*bimmou(n)*) was in all probability regarded as a clitic in BA.

The structure for clitic constructions in BA may be depicted as follows (60):

(60)



- Chomsky (1992) presumed that no difference is perceptible between the various kinds of features to be found in AgrO and AgrS positions. The Agr features are obtained from the same pool and will not be identifiable as either subject or object. It is only by determining the position involved that one may identify Agr features. This proposal implies of necessity that if the V-features of AgrS are strong, those of AgrO will also be strong.

For BA, this proposal of Chomsky's (1992) does not hold and provides a point of criticism of MP, since it is possible to prove morphologically that the V-features of AgrO are weak while the V-features of AgrS are strong.