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## Verb-Subject-Object and related word orders in BA

According to the philologist Joseph Greenberg (1978:76) all languages may (superficially) be classified into six groups on the criterion of word order, *viz* S-V-O, S-O-V, V-S-O, V-O-S, O-V-S and O-S-V. The grammatical relations S, V and O are used in combination to express six types of word order.

All these word orders feature in BA. No unmarked word order of BA, as a non-living language, has yet been found. This chapter will attempt to identify the unmarked word order peculiar to BA and secondly to explain the occurrence of the remaining five word orders in BA within the principles of economy dictated by Chomsky (1992).

These two objectives are supported by the assumptions made and the inferences drawn in chapters 3 and 4. The various word orders will be explained in terms of a taxonomic exposition of different types of sentence and classes of conjugation.

### 5.1 Unmarked word order in BA

The assumptions made thus far relating to the distinction of weak/strong features on Agr and T will be taken into account in order to determine the unmarked word order in BA. The perceptible word order differences in languages within MP can be reduced to the parametrical differences and the morphological features of which functional categories are composed, with specific reference to the distinction strong and weak between N- and V-features of the categories T and Agr. Differences between languages can be related to differences between the features of lexical units in those languages and more spe-

cifically to the features of the lexical heads belonging to the functional categories Agr and T.

The following conclusions have already been drawn as far as the distinction strong/weak of features of Agr and T in BA are concerned:

(1) Perfect/Imperfect

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

(2) Participle

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

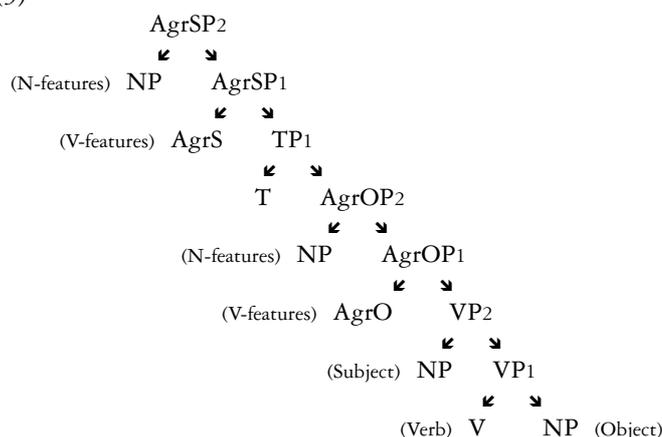
Together with the distinction of strong/weak features, inferences (A) and (C) may serve as evidence for the elucidation of the V-S-O and related word orders in BA:

- (A) in BA, V-S is an unmarked word order;
- (C) in BA, V-O is an unmarked word order.

### 5.1.1 Derivation of the unmarked word order in BA

Next, the unmarked word order can be determined by applying the conclusions of the strong/weak distinction to features of Agr and T on the proposed structure (3), representing the lexical and functional domains:

(3)

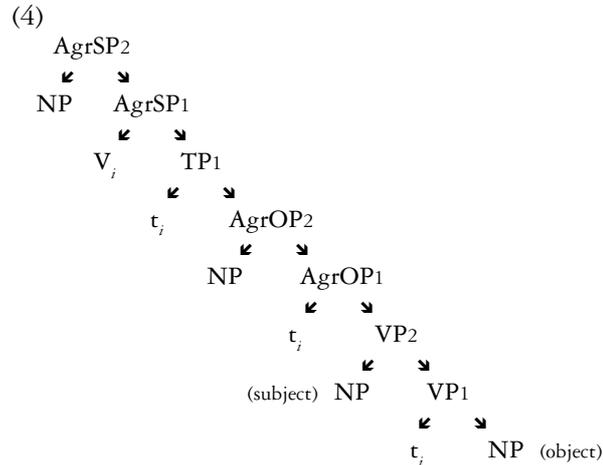


The V-features of T and AgrS for Perfect/Imperfect are strong in BA. MP provides that the strong features of T and AgrS must be eliminated prior to spell-out by licensing them against a corresponding feature of another substantive category in the structure (3).

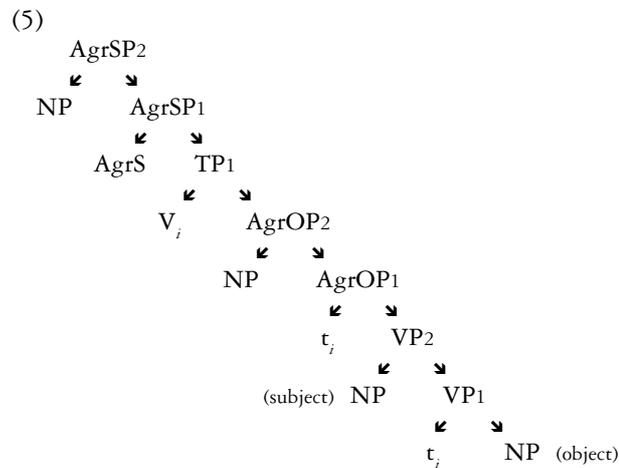
This entails that V undergo overt movement. Even though AgrO reveals weak V-features, V moves to AgrO (underway to T and AgrS) in order to follow the most economical route. The second position offering V a potential landing site is position T in the functional domain. The feature of V is licensed in this position against the corresponding strong features of T.

A third position offering a potential landing site for V is AgrS, positioned higher up on the hierarchical structure. V moves overtly from T to AgrO to license strong V-features. These three overt movements take place prior to spell-out and the derivation converges at this level.

The three overt movements are reflected as follows in structure (4):



Only the V-features of T are strong for the Participle in BA. Unlike the case of the Perfect/Imperfect, V will undergo two overt movements, to AgrO and then to T, to license its V-features. V moves to AgrO for weak V-feature licensing, following the shortest route. The overt movements of the Participle are reflected in structure (5):



The N-features of Agr and T for the Perfect, Imperfect and the Participle class are weak in BA. The weak N-features of Agr and T

mean that the N-features of Agr and T remain invisible on the PF-level, to be licensed only in the covert syntax, *ie* after spell-out.

This results in S as well as O remaining *in situ* as NP's where their original positions within the lexical domain were generated. A surface V-S-O word order<sup>1</sup> results, which corresponds with inferences (A) and (C) in that S and O are generated in a position to the right of V.

Inference (E) is as follows: (E) in BA, V-S-O is an unmarked word order.

Further evidence for an unmarked V-S-O word order is provided by the following: in terms of the assumption that all languages may be reduced to a subjacent S-V-O structure, it follows by necessary implication that the V-S-O word order may be inferred simply by transferring V to a position preceding S (Ouhalla 1994: 41-2).

V-S-O as the unmarked word order is supported by the following data in BA (6)-(10):

#### Transitive Verb

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

##### Simple sentences

(Ezra 5:12) הָרִגְזוּ אֲבֹתֵינוּא לֵאלֹהֵי שָׁמַיָא (6)

*bargizû - 'abâhotanâ' - lê'elâb - šemajjâ'*

they angered - our fathers - the God of - the heaven

“Our fathers angered the God of heaven”.

##### Complex sentences

(Ezra 6:16) וַעֲבָדוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל ... הַנִּכְתָּ בֵּית־אֱלֹהֵא הַזֶּה (7)

*wa`abadû - benej - jisbrâ'el - xanukkat - bejt - 'elâbâ' - denâb*

and they celebrated - people - of Israel - dedication - house of - the God - this

“...Then the people of Israel celebrated the dedication of the house of God...”

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

1 The V-S-O word order is derived by the transformation which moves V to a pre-subject position (Moore 1987: 284).

## Simple sentences

(Dan 2:44) יְקִים אֱלֹהִים שָׁמַיָּא מְלָכוֹ (8)

*jeqijm - 'eelâb - šemajjâ' - malkû*

he will set up - God - of the heaven - kingdom

“The God of heaven will set up a kingdom”.

## Complex sentences

(Dan 4:14) דִּי יִנְדַּעוּן חַיִּיא דִּי-שְׁלִיט עֲלֵיָא (9)

*dij - jindè`ûn - xajjajjâ' - dij - šallijtb - `illâj`â*

that - they may know - the living - that - sovereign - the Most High

“...so that the living may know that the Most High is sovereign...”

## V as Participle active in various types of sentences

## Simple sentences

(Dan 3:7) שָׁמְעִין כָּל-עַמְּמַיָּא קָל קַרְנָא (10)

*šâme`ijn - kôl - `amemajjâ' - qal - qarnâ'*

they heard - all - the people - the sound - of the horn

“All the people heard the sound of the horn”.

The syntactic derivation of sentence (8), representing (6)-(9), starts with a selection of substantive heads: the V *jeqijm* and the NP's *'eelâb šemajjâ'* and *malkû*, each fully inflected, with its particular morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *jeqijm*, as a transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme can be given and one to receive the role of Agent.

The progress of the derivation is as follows:

The operation of projection creates a VP with a vacant position (e) which is capable of being filled by an argument receiving the Theme role; the VP and the NP's are independent (11):

(11)



The operation of merging places NP *malkû* in its empty VP-position (12):

(12)



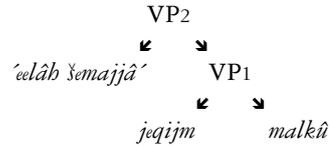
The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an argument in receipt of the Agent role (13):

(13)



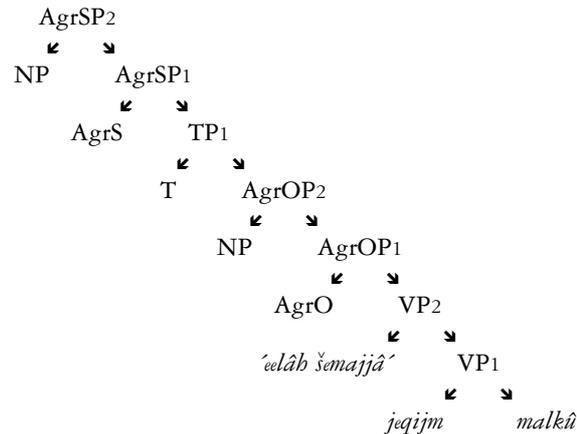
The operation of merging places the NP *'eelâb šemajjâ'* in the vacant VP2 position; in this instance the NP *'eelâb šemajjâ'* forms the Spec, and the NP *malkû* the complement of the head *jeqijm* (14):

(14)



The morphological features of *jeqijm*, *'eelâb šemajjâ'* and *malkû* in (14) have to be licensed. The functional heads AgrO, T and AgrS are selected, projected, and merged with VP2 to form a single structure (15):

(15)



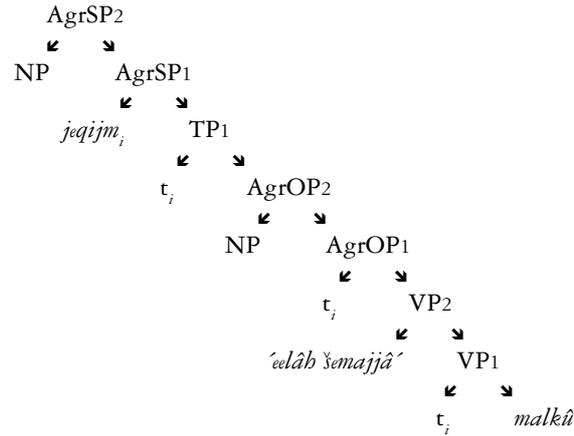
The strong/weak distinction can now be illustrated in terms of example (8) and structure (15). Structure (15) contains three functional categories, AgrS, T and AgrO, each made up of N- and V-features. Structure (15) also contains three substantive categories (the V *jeqijm* and the NP's *'elâb šemajjâ'* and *malkû*) which have to be licensed in the course of the derivation for interpretation on PF and LF.

Licensing implies that these categories move to positions where their morphological features can be licensed. Whether these movements take place prior to or after spell-out depends on the strength of Agr and T's morphological features.

The V-feature of the functional category T is strong in BA, which means that V *jeqijm* has to move overtly to T in order to license its strong V-features. The V-features of Agr, however, are weak but V nevertheless moves overtly to AgrO in order to follow the shortest route, otherwise it would have had to move back after spell-out in order to license weak V-features on AgrO. V *jeqijm* moves to AgrO and 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, rendering a consequent further overt movement from *jeqijm* to AgrS mandatory in order to license its strong V-features.

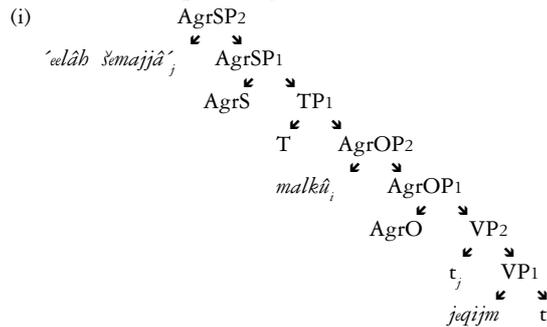
The effect of this overt processing is displayed in the following structure (16):

(16)



The N-features of AgrS and AgrO, on the other hand, are weak in BA, and it follows that according to the principle of procrastination the movement has to wait until after spell-out. The licensing of the strong features of T and AgrS which necessitated overt V movement means that sentence (8) displays the V-S-O word order.<sup>2</sup>

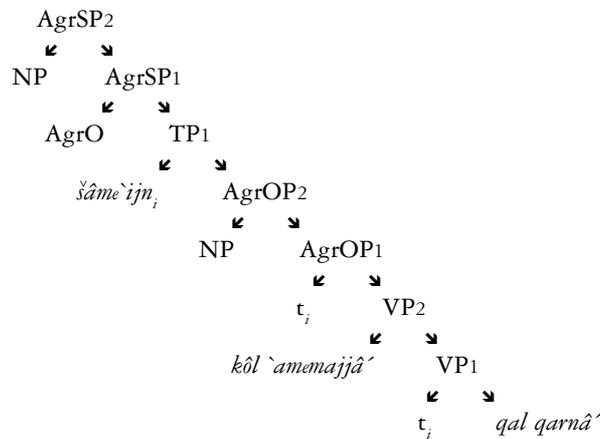
- 2 *malkû* moves covertly from its position in the lexical domain to Spec-AgrO in the LF-component only to license its N-features. Likewise S *'eelâb šemajjâ'* moves covertly to Spec-AgrS only to license its features. The NP movements are reflected as covert processing in structure (i):



In structure (i) no overt NP move takes place and the NP's *'eelâb šemajjâ'* and *malkû* remain *in situ*.

The inferences in (11)-(16) are also applicable to sentence (10), where V is in the Participle class of conjugation, with the exception that V *šâme`ijn* has T as its landing site (for strong features on T) because the V-features of AgrS are weak in this class. *šâme`ijn* will move covertly to AgrS after spell-out in order to license weak V-features. The N-features of AgrO and AgrS are weak for the NP's *kôl`amemajjâ`* and *qal qarnâ`* in the Participle class of conjugation. The weak N-features on AgrO and AgrS entail that S *kôl`amemajjâ`* and O *qal qarnâ`* remain *in situ*. The V-S-O word order is displayed (17):

(17)



## 5.2 The S-V-O word order

Inference (B) may be considered for the derivation of the S-V-O word order by V movement in BA:

(B) In BA, S-V is a marked word order.

Inference (B) states that a structural departure from the expected V-S word order takes place. The S-V-O word order runs parallel to this, being in itself a marked word order revealing structural differences from the unmarked V-S-O.

The S-V-O word order in BA finds support in the following data (18)-(24):

## Transitive Verb

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

## Simple sentences

(Ezra 4:8) רְחֻם וְשִׁמְסַי כְּתָבוּ אִגְרָה (18)

*rexûm - wešimšaj - ketabû - 'iggerâb*

Rehum - and Simsai - they wrote - the letter

“Rehum and Simsai wrote the letter“.

## Complex sentences

(Ezra 6:1) בְּאֵדִין דְּרִינֻשׁ מַלְכָּא שָׁם טַעַם (19)

*be'dajin - dêrejâwêš - malkâ' - shâm - the`em*

then - Darius - the king - he made - decree

“Then Darius the king made a decree...”

(Ezra 5:11) וּמִלְךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל רַב בְּנֵהוּי (20)

*ûmêlêk - lejisbrâ`el - rab - benâbij*

and king - of Israel - great - he built - him

“...and a great King of Israel built it...”

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

## Simple sentences

(Dan 7:10) אֶלֶף אֲלָפִים יִשְׁמְשׁוּנְהוּ (21)

*êlêp - `alpašim - šesamšunneh*

thousand - thousands - they served him

“A thousand thousands served him”.

## Complex sentences

(Dan 5:6) יַרְעִינְהוּ יְבַהְלִינְהוּ (22)

*wera`jonobij - jebahalûnneh*

and thoughts him - they alarmed him

“...and his thoughts alarmed him...”

## V as Participle active in different types of sentences

## Simple sentences

(Dan 2:22) הוּא גִלֵּא עֲמוּקָתָא וּמְסִתָּתָא (23)

*bû' - gâle' - `ammijqâtâ' - ûmesatterâtâ'*

he - reveals - the deep - and the mysterious things

“He reveals deep and mysterious things”.

## Complex sentences

(Dan 7:2) אַרְבַּע רִיחֵי שָׁמַיָא מְגִיחָן לְיַמָּא רַבָּא (24)

*`arba` - rûxej - šemajjâ' - megixân - lejamâ' - rabbâ'*

four - winds - of the heaven - were stirring up - for the sea - the great

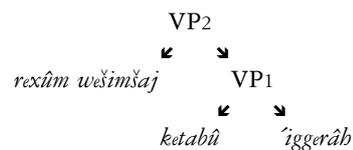
“...The four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea...”

Sentence (18), representing (18)-(22), provides a satisfactory illustration of the syntactic derivation pertaining to the S-V-O word order. This starts with a selection of substantive heads: the V *ketabû* and the NP's *rexûm wešimsaj* and *iggerâb*, each fully inflected, with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *ketabû*, as a transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme may be accorded and another capable of receiving the role of Agent. In the progress of the derivation the role of Agent is given to *rexûm wešimsaj* and that of Theme to *iggerâb*.

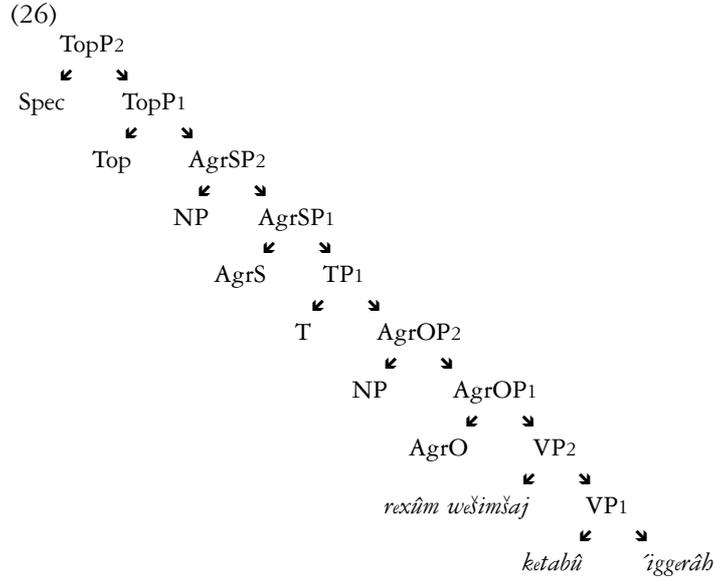
The feature of [+ topic] is accorded to *rexûm wešimsaj*.

The operations of projection and merging are applied so as to create a simplified structure (25):

(25)



The morphological features of *ketabû*, *iggerâb* and *rexûm wešimsaj* in (25) must be licensed. The functional heads Top, AgrS, T and AgrO are selected, projected and merged with VP<sub>2</sub> in order to create structure (26):



V *ketabû* moves overtly to AgrO, to T and then to AgrS prior to spell-out to license its V-features against the corresponding heads. This is due to the strong V-features revealed by T and AgrS. The overt V movement demands the shortest route; consequently, under-way to license strong V-features, V will first move through AgrO in order to license weak V-features on AgrO.

The N-features of AgrO are weak and O *iggerâh* remains *in situ* on PF-level but it move covertly on the LF level to Spec-AgrO in order to license its features.

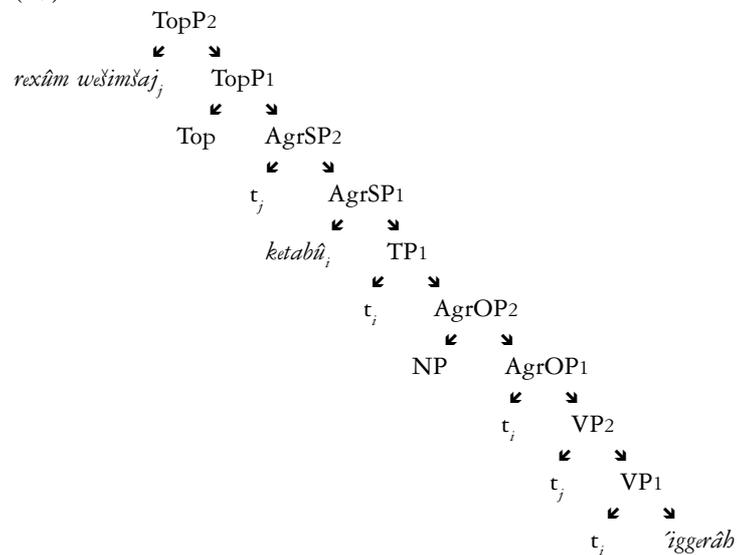
In a fashion similar to that of the S-V word order discussed in chapter 3, S *rexûm wešimšaj* moves overtly to a position in the functional domain and in fact to a higher position in the structure in order to achieve an S-V word order.

The S *rexûm wešimšaj* has been generated in a position to the left of V *ketabû* in the S-V-O word order. This position to which it moves overtly is the topic position for an NP in Spec-TopP, because S *rexûm wešimšaj* reveals [+ topic] features.

Topicalisation may be adequately described as a movement which takes place in order to eliminate strong<sup>3</sup> topic N-features. The overt movement is rendered necessary (in order to license strong (subject) N-features in the topic position). On its way to check strong topic-features, S will first move overtly through Spec-AgrS in order to license weak N-features.

The overt processing is recorded in structure (27):

(27)



As far as sentence (23) is concerned, where V is in the Participle class of conjugation, structure (27) will differ in that V will move overtly only to T since strong V-features are absent from AgrS. Structure (27) reveals the S-V-O word order with S as a topicalised member in sentences (18)-(24). Consequently the S-V-O word order is marked in BA.

3 In chapter 3 it was argued that the N-features in TopP in BA are strong.

### 5.3 The O-V-S word order

The O-V-S word order differs from the unmarked V-S-O word order in that O is generated in a position left of V. It is parallel to inference (D): In BA, O-V is a marked word order. It is deduced that O-V-S is also a marked word order.

The O-V-S word order is supported by the following BA data (28)-(30)

Transitive Verb

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Ezra 4:17) פִּתְגָמָא שְׁלַח מַלְכָא (28)

*pitgâmâ' - šelax - malkâ'*

the answer/reply - he sent - the king

“The king sent the reply”.

(Dan 4:15) הִנֵּה חֲלֵמָא חֲזִית אֲנָהּ (29)

*denâb - xêlmâ' - xazejt - 'anâb*

this - the dream - I saw - I

“This is the dream that I had”.

Complex sentences

(Dan 7:22) וּמַלְכוּתָא הֶחֱסִינוּ קַדִּישִׁין (30)

*ûmalkûtâ' - hêxeesinû - qaddiṣijn*

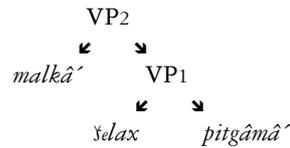
and the kingdom - they possessed - saints

“...and the saints possessed the kingdom...”

The syntactic derivation of sentence (28), representing (28)-(30), starts with the selection of substantial heads: the V *šelax* and the NP's *pitgâmâ'* and *malkâ'*, each fully inflected, with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *šelax*, as transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme can be accorded, *viz pitgâmâ'*, and another capable of receiving the role of Agent, *viz malkâ'*. The feature [+ topic] is also added to *pitgâmâ'*, and a functional head Top is consequently selected.

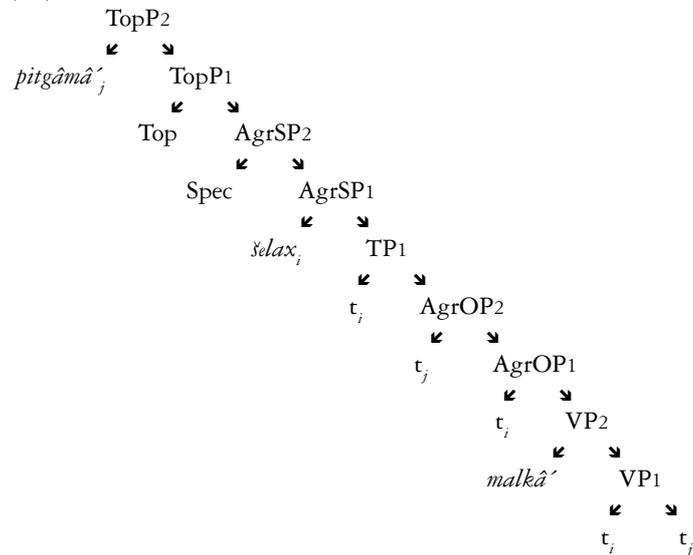
The operations of projection and merging are applied in order that structure (31) may be formed:

(31)



The morphological features of *pitgâmâ'*, *šelax* and *malkâ'* in (31) must be licensed. The functional heads, *viz* AgrO, T, AgrS and Top, are selected, projected and combined with VP<sub>2</sub> in order to create a single structure (32) in which all the overt movements are indicated:

(32)



The V-features of T and AgrS are strong in BA. The strong V-features necessitates an overt V *šelax* movement to T and thereafter to AgrS for the elimination of strong V-features prior to spell-out. Underway to T, V *šelax* moves overtly to AgrO in order to license weak V-features. The overt V movement to AgrO ensures that the shortest route is taken, otherwise *šelax* would have had to move back to AgrO after spell-out in order to control weak V-features.

O *pitgâmâ'* reveals [+ topic] features, which are strong N-features in BA and have to be licensed prior to spell-out. The proper position

for N-feature licensing is Spec-TopP in the functional domain. On its way to Spec-TopP, O *pitgâmâ'* moves through Spec-AgrO in order to license weak N-features.

The N-features of AgrS are weak, with the result that S *malkâ'* remains *in situ* where its original position has been generated. S moves covertly (after spell-out) to Spec-AgrS in order to license weak N-features.

The O-V-S word order which results is a marked word order in BA. The object in sentences (28)-(30) undergo topicalisation with S remaining *in situ*.

#### 5.4 The S-O-V word order

In the derivation of word orders for BA, a topic position Spec-TopP has been suggested thus far, to which S or O may undergo overt NP movement, for the marked word orders S-V, O-V, S-V-O and O-V-S where S and O have been generated to the left of V. The following diagrammatic portrayal of the NP-movement is provided:

(33)

	=	marked word order topics	=	unmarked word order
V - O	=	O - V	=	V - O
 V - S	=	S - V	=	V - S
 V - S - O	=	S - V - O	=	V - S - O
 V - S - O	=	O - V - S	=	V - S - O

The fact that for the S-O-V word order S and O are both generated to the left of V results in a doubly marked word order.

It may be gauged from inferences (B) and (D) that both S and O are topics having undergone overt NP movement. Until now, only one topic position has been suggested, to which either S or O may be transferred for strong N-feature licensing. The doubly marked order reflected by S-O-V necessitates an adaptation of this structure. Two topic positions are required to license [+ topic] features assumed by

S and [+ topic] features assumed by O prior to spell-out. Licensing of [+ topic] features is necessary because of the strong nature of topic features in BA.

Zwart (1993) and Hoekstra & Zwart (1994) maintain in their analysis of questions and topicalisation from a Minimalist approach that CP is divided into two functional categories, WhP and TopP.<sup>4</sup> Proceeding from this proposed structure, Spec-TopP for BA was dealt with in chapter 4 as a topic position. The question now is whether spec-WhP is available as a second/additional topic position? A possible answer runs as follows:

In BA, embedded sentences with complements may also undergo double topicalisation. Take for example (34):

(Dan 2:48) אֶדַאֲיִן מַלְכָּא לְדַנְיָאֵל רַבִּי (34)

*'edajin - malkâ' - ledâniyje' l - rabbij*

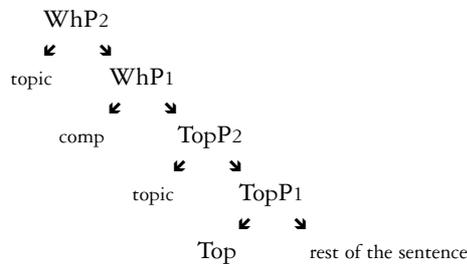
then - the king - Daniel - he placed in a high position

comp + topic + topic + rest of the sentence (V)

“Then the king placed Daniel in a high position...”

Should Spec-WhP assume a topic position, an incorrect word order may be deduced as in (35):

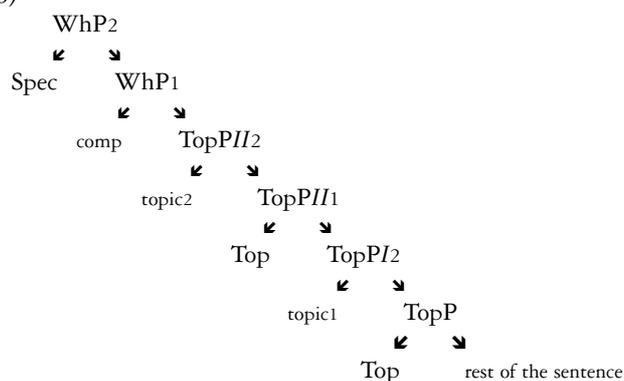
(35)



In order to justify the word order in (34), it is suggested that a second/additional topic position for BA be projected (36):

4 It was mentioned in chapter 4 that the division of CP into WhP and TopP is proposed for BA.

(36)



Both S and O, as topics, will move overtly to these topic positions for strong N-feature licensing.

The S-O-V word order in BA is supported by the following data (37)-(39):

Transitive Verb

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Dan 7:1) דַּנִּיאל חֲלֵם חֲזָאָה (37)

*dâniyje' - xelêm - xazâh*

Daniel - dream - he saw

“Daniel had a dream”.

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

Complex sentences

(Dan 7:14) וְכֹל עַמְמַיָּא אֲמַיָּא וְלִשְׁנַיָּא לֵהּ יִפְלֶחֶן (38)

*wekol - `amemajjâ' - `umajjâ' - welisšânajjâ' - leh - jiplexûn*

and all - the peoples - the nations - and the languages - him - they worshipped

“...And all peoples, nations and men of every language worshipped him...”

V as Participle active in various types of sentences

Complex sentences

(Dan 5:23) וְאַתָּה וְרַבְרָבָיִךָ חָמְרָא שְׁתִּיין (39)

*we'anth - werabrebânâk - xamrâ' - sâtajin*

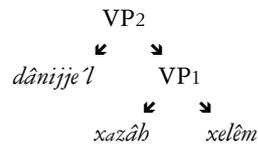
and you - and your nobles - the wine - drank

“...You and your nobles drank wine...”

The syntactic derivation of sentence (37), representing (37)-(38), starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *xazâb* and the NP's *dânijje l* and *xelêm*, each fully inflected, and with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *xazâb*, as transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme can be accorded, viz *xelêm*, and another capable of receiving the role of Agent, viz *dânijje l*. The feature [+ topic] has also been added to *dânijje l* and *xelêm*. Two separate [+ topic] positions are therefore selected for the two separate [+ topic] features, viz Top1 and Top2.

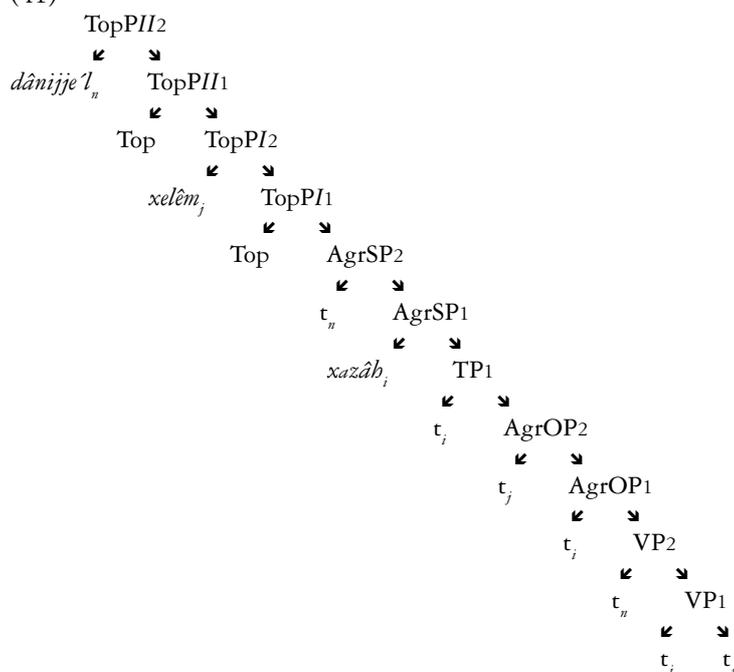
The operations of projection and merging are applied so that a simplified structure (40) is formed:

(40)



The morphological features of *dânijje l*, *xazâb* and *xelêm* in (40) must be licensed. The functional heads AgrO, T, AgrS, Top1 and Top2 are selected, projected, and merged with VP2, eventually constituting (41), in which movements may be explained:

(41)



The V-features of T and AgrS are strong in BA, causing V *xazâb* to move overtly to T and subsequently to AgrS in order to eliminate strong V-features prior to spell-out. On its way to T, V *xazâb* proceeds through AgrO to license weak V-features. The overt V movement to AgrO ensures the shortest route.

*xelêm* reveals [+ topic] features. Topic features are strong N-features in BA and have to be licensed prior to spell-out. The position to which *xelêm* moves for the licensing of these features is Spec-TopPI in the functional domain. On its way to Spec-TopPI *xelêm* moves overtly through Spec-AgrO in order to license weak N-features. The overt movement to Spec-AgrO follows the most economical route.

*dâniije'l* also reveals [+ topic] features. In order to license the strong topic N-features prior to spell-out, *dâniije'l* has to move overtly to the second/additional topic position (Spec-TopPII). On its way to Spec-TopPII *dâniije'l* moves overtly through Spec-AgrS to license

weak N-features. The overt NP movement to Spec-AgrS takes the shortest route.

As far as sentence (39) is concerned, where V is in the Participle conjugation class, structure (41) will reveal a very distinctive difference in that V moves overtly only as far as T because there are no strong V-features on AgrS. The licensing of strong N-features on Top $PII$  and Top $PI$  renders an overt NP movement mandatory, resulting in a S-O-V word order.

The S-O-V word order is removed by one further step from the O-V-S word order (42):

$$(42)$$

		marked word order	unmarked word order
V - S - O	=	O - V - S	V - S - O
	=	S - O - V	V - S - O
	=	S - O - V	V - S - O

### 5.5 The O-S-V word order

For linguists engaged in the classification of languages in terms of word order, the O-S-V word order is the most alien (Fromkin & Rodman 1989: 191). It features in two noted instances (43) and (44) in BA:

Transitive Verb

V as Imperfect active in various types of sentences

Complex sentences

(Dan 4:33) וְלִי הַדְּבָרִי וְרַבְרָבָיִי יִבְעֹן (43)

*welij<sup>5</sup> - haddâberaj - werabrebânaj - jeba`own*

and my - counsellors my - and lords my - they sought

“...My counsellors and my lords sought me...”

5   ↳ (*le*) is used to indicate the direct object.

V as Participle active in various types of sentences

Simple sentences

(Dan 2:27) רְהָרְהָרָה לְחַכְמַיִן יִכְלִין לְהַחֲנוּחָהּ (44)

*râzâb - lô<sup>6</sup> - xakkijmijn - jôkljñ lebaxawâjâb<sup>7</sup>*

the mystery - not - wise men - they can - to show

“No wise men can show to the king the mystery”.

Inferences (B), (D) and (E) are highly relevant for the derivation of the O-S-V word order:

(B) S-V is a marked word order in BA

(D) O-V is a marked word order in BA

(E) V-S-O is a unmarked word order in BA.

As far as the O-S-V word order is concerned, both O and S are generated to the left of V, resulting in a doubly marked word order. It is gauged from (B) and (D) that both S and O are topics having undergone overt NP movement. In a fashion similar to that proposed for S-O-V word order, two topic positions are presupposed in the hierarchical structure to which overt NP movement may take place, *viz* Spec-TopPII and Spec-TopPI.

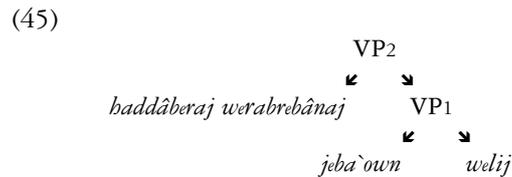
The syntactic derivation of sentence (43) starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *jeba`own* and the NP's *baddâberaj werabrebânaj* and *welij*, each fully inflected, with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *jeba`own*, as a transitive verb, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme may be accorded, *viz* *welij*, and another capable of receiving the role of Agent, *viz* *baddâberaj werabrebânaj*.

The feature [+ topic] has been added to *baddâberaj werabrebânaj* and to *welij*. Two distinct topic positions, *viz* Top1 and Top2, have been selected for the two distinct [+ topic] features.

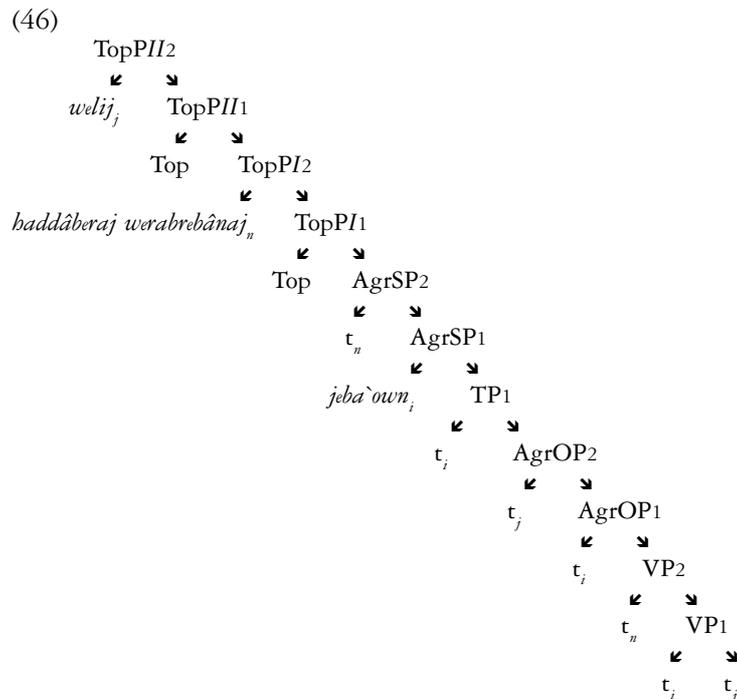
6 The negative in the NP *xakkijmijn* is not dealt with in this study as part of the derivation of word order.

7 The complex structure *jôkljñ lebaxawâjâb* as V is not dealt with in this study, and is regarded as a single unit in the derivation.

The operations of projection and merging are applied so that the simplified structure (45) is created:



The morphological features of *baddâberaj werabrebânaj*, *jeba`own* and *welij* in (45) must be licensed. The functional heads AgrO, T, AgrS, Top1 and Top2 are selected, projected, and merged with VP2 to bring about structure (46), in which movements may be explained:



The V-features of T and AgrS are strong in BA, causing *jeba`own* to move overtly to T and then to AgrS in order to eliminate them prior to spell-out. On its way to T, *jeba`own* moves overtly through

AgrO in order to license weak V-features. The overt V movement to AgrO ensures that the most economical route is followed.

*welij* reveals [+ topic] features, which are strong N-features in BA, needing to be licensed prior to spell-out. The position to which *welij* moves for strong topic N-feature licensing is Spec-Top $PII$ . On its way *welij* moves overtly through Spec-AgrO in order to license weak N-features. This overt movement to Spec-AgrO makes it unnecessary for *welij* to move back to Spec-AgrO from Spec-Top $PII$  after spell-out in order to license corresponding congruence features.

*baddâberaj werabrebânaj* also reveals [+ topic] features. In order to license its strong topic N-features prior to spell-out, it has to move overtly to Spec-Top $PI$ . On its way, it moves overtly through Spec-AgrS to license weak N-features. This overt NP movement follows the shortest route.

As far as sentence (44) is concerned, where V is in the Participle conjugation class, the structure of (46) will differ in that V only moves overtly to T because there are no strong V-features on AgrS.

If S and O were to wait until after spell-out the derivation would crash. The overt NP movements which took place were rendered necessary by the requirement that strong N-features on Spec-Top $PI$  and Spec-Top $PII$  be eliminated prior to spell-out. The licensing of strong N-features on Top $PII$  and Top $PI$  renders overt NP movement mandatory, which brings about the O-S-V word order.

The O-S-V word order is one step away from the S-V-O word order, as indicated in (47):

(47)

	marked word order		unmarked word order
V - S - O	=	S - V - O	V - S - O
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 5px;">⌈</div> <div style="margin-right: 5px;">⌋</div> </div> S - V - O	=	O - S - V	V - S - O

## 5.6 The V-O-S word order

It would seem that the V-O-S word order is most unusual in BA, with only five known occurrences. Four of these may be reduced to V-O clitic instances while the fifth instance (55) offers a more problematic word order for syntactic derivation in BA.

Bauer & Leander (1927: 343) draw attention to the fact that the word order whereby the independent pronoun הַמּוֹן (*bimmown*) features as an O in combination with a S is always V-O-S. The following instances (48)-(49) support the V-O-S word order with הַמּוֹן (*bimmown*) as O:

## Transitive Verb

V as Perfect active in various types of sentences

## Simple sentences

(Dan 3:22) קָטַל הַמּוֹן שְׁבִיבָא דִּי נוּרָא (48)

*qatthil - bimmown - šebjbâ' - dij - nûrâ'*

he killed - them - the flame - of - the fire

“The flame of the fire killed them”.

(Ezra 5:14) הִנָּפֵק הֵמוּ כּוּרְשׁ מֶלְכָא (49)

*hanpeq - bimmow - kowrêš - malkâ'*

he take - them - Cyrus - the king

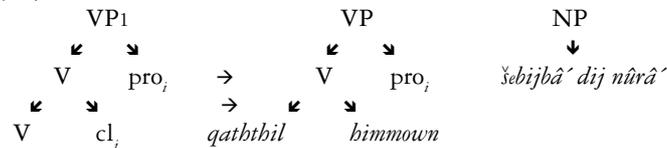
“King Cyrus takes them”.

It was suggested in chapter 4 (4.3.1 (iii)) that the independent pronoun הַמּוֹן (*bimmown*) in BA should be regarded as clitic. In the syntactic derivation הַמּוֹן (*bimmown*) features as an enclitic to V and will be treated as such.

The syntactic derivation of sentence (48), representing (48)-(49), starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *qatthil* with the clitic *bimmown* and the NP *šebjbâ' dij nûrâ'*, each fully inflected, with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *qatthil*, as transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme may be accorded and another capable of receiving the role of Agent. The progress of the derivation may be depicted as follows:

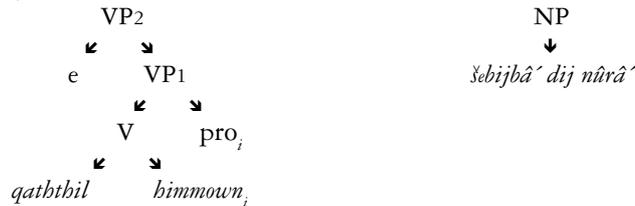
The operation of projection creates a VP with a vacant position (e) which can be occupied by any argument accorded the Theme role. A clitic is not an independent syntactic unit and is consequently incapable of independent projection. The case features of the lexical head *qatbtil* are absorbed by the clitic *bimmown*. The vacant position created by the operation of projection is in reality not vacant at all, but represents a  $pro_i$ .

(50)



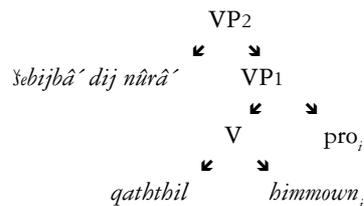
The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an argument accorded the role of Agent.

(51)



The operation of merging places the NP *\textit{\\$}ebijb\text{â}' dij n\text{û}r\text{â}'* in the vacant VP2 position; in this position it becomes the specifier of the V *qatbtil*, which in combination with *bimmown* constitutes the head of the VP:

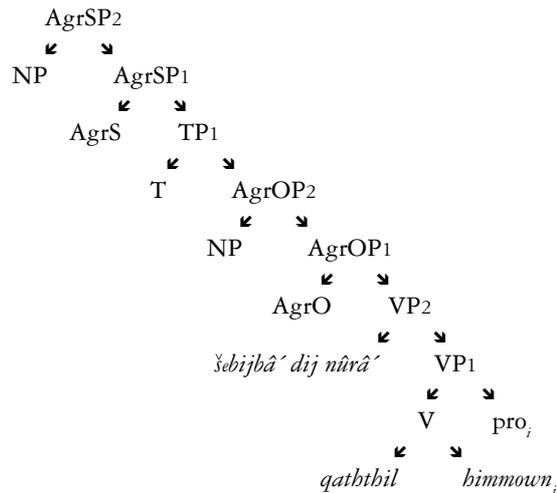
(52)



The morphological features of *qatbtil bimmown* and *\textit{\\$}ebijb\text{â}' dij n\text{û}r\text{â}'* in (52) must be licensed. The functional heads, viz AgrO, T and

AgrS, are selected, projected and merged with VP2 to constitute a single structure (53):

(53)

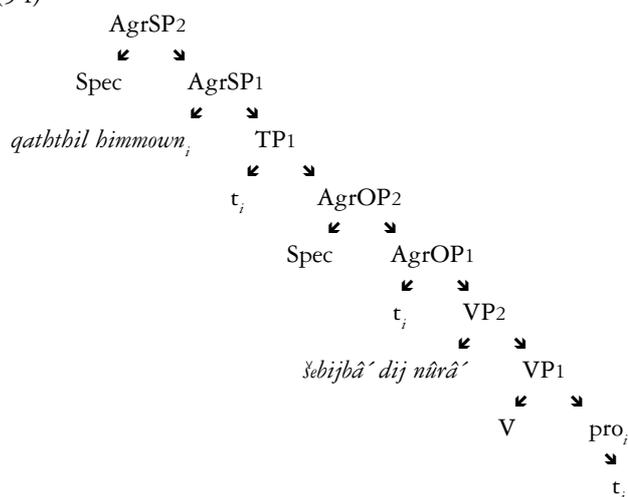


The strong/weak distinction can now be illustrated in terms of example (48) and structure (53). Structure (53) contains *inter alia* the functional categories AgrS, T and AgrO, each made up of N- and V-features. Structure (53) also contains substantive categories (the V *qatthbil himmown* and the NP *šebijbâ' dij nûrâ'*) which have to be licensed in the course of the derivation at PF and LF.

The V-features of T and AgrS are strong in BA. In order to license both weak and strong V-features prior to spell-out, *qatthbil himmown* moves through AgrO on its way to T and AgrS, thus following the shortest route. *šebijbâ' dij nûrâ'*, as S, remains *in situ*, however, because the N-features of AgrS appear to be weak and do not demand overt NP movement prior to spell-out.

The effects of overt processing are reflected in structure (54):

(54)



The overt V movement results in a V-O-S word order.

### 5.6.1 The V-O-S word order with independent relations

Only a single example (55) of the V-O-S word order where the three grammatical relations are independently present can be found:<sup>8</sup>

(Dan 7:18) ויקבלון מלכותא קדישי עליונין (55)

*wijqabbelûn - malkûtâ' - qaddijšej - `eljownijn*

and they will receive - the kingdom - saints - of the Most High

“But the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom”.

The verb stem קבל (*qbl*) is used and can be translated by the word “receive”. The morphological analysis of ויקבלון (*wijqabbelûn*) is as follows: *waw* copulative + Kattel stem formation; Imperfect class of conjugation; third person masculine plural. קבל (*qbl*), as transitive V, consequently selects one object phrase.

The congruence features of קבל (*qbl*), viz third person masculine plural, are congruent with the inflectional morphology of the noun *qaddijšej `eljownijn*: masculine plural. *qaddijšej `eljownijn* will there-

8 Moore (1987: 284) indicates that the V-S-O and V-O-S word orders occur in Arabic.

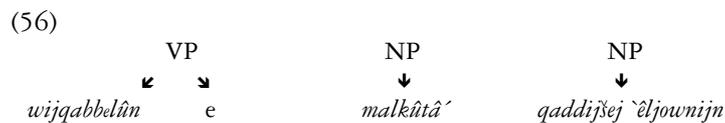
fore be the specifier of the V (*qbl*) in BA, which is regarded as an NS language form. The inflectional morphology of the noun *malkûtâ'* is feminine singular and consequently assumes the selection features of the V. *malkûtâ'* will be the complement (direct O) of the V.

(i) The derivation of the V-O-S word order

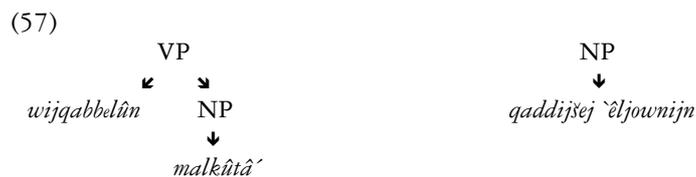
The derivation of the unmarked word order of sentence (55) will now be illustrated, followed by a consideration of the marked word order.

The syntactic derivation of sentence (55) starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *wijqabbelûn* and the NP's *malkûtâ'* and *qaddijšej `êljownijn*, each fully inflected, with its morphological features (case, tense, and congruence) already added. *wijqabbelûn*, as transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme is accorded and another to receive that 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 which will receive the Theme role; the VP and the NP's are independent.



The operation of merging places the NP *malkûtâ'* in the vacant VP-position.



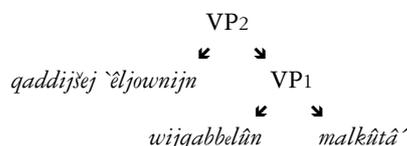
The operation of projection creates a new VP with a vacant position for an argument to receive the Agent role.

(58)



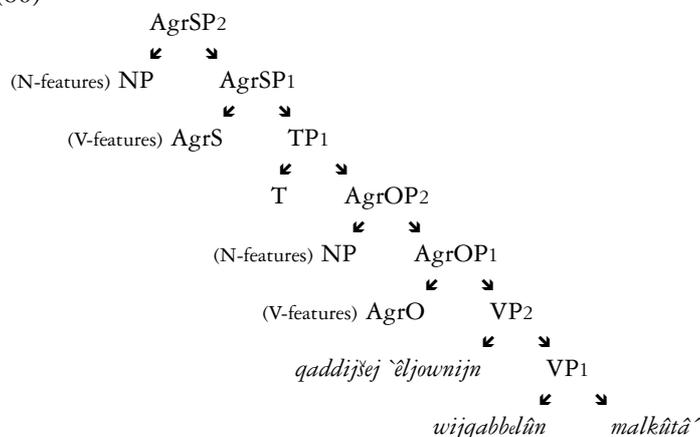
The operation of merging places the NP *qaddiṣej `eljownijn* in the empty VP2-position; here the NP *qaddiṣej `eljownijn* forms the Spec, and the NP *malkûtâ'* the complement of the head *wijqabbelûn*.

(59)



The morphological features of *wijqabbelûn*, *malkûtâ'* and *qaddiṣej `eljownijn* in (59) must be licensed. Functional heads, viz AgrO, T and AgrS, are selected, projected and merged with VP2 to constitute a single structure (60):

(60)



The strong/weak distinction can now be illustrated in terms of example (55) and structure (60). Structure (60) contains *inter alia* three functional categories, AgrS, T and AgrO, each made up of N- and V-features. Structure (60) likewise contains three substantive ca-

tegies (the V *wijqabbelûn* and the NP's *qaddijšej`eljownijn* and *malkûtâ`*) which have to be licensed in the course of the derivation for interpretation at PF and LF. This implies that these categories move to positions where their morphological features may be licensed. Whether these movements are executed prior to or subsequent to spell-out depends on the strength of the morphological features of Agr and T.

The suppositions made up to this point regarding the distinction of strong/weak features on Agr and T must be taken into account for the syntactic derivation of sentence (55):

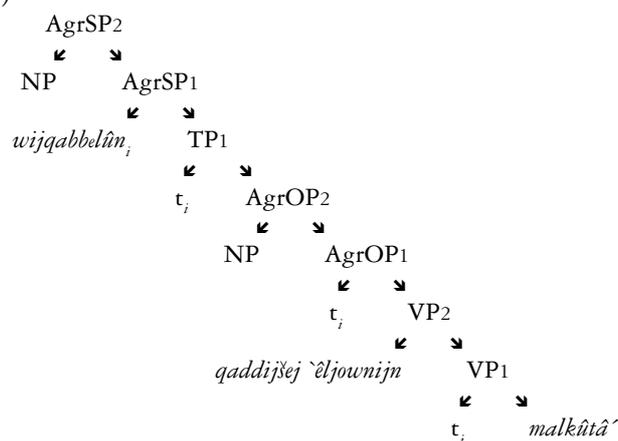
(61) Perfect/Imperfect

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

Even if AgrO reveals weak features, V nevertheless moves overtly to AgrO prior to spell-out in order to license its V-features and to ensure that the most economical route is followed for the licensing of features. T and AgrS reflect strong V-features, meaning that the V *wijqabbelûn* has to perform a further overt move to T and then to AgrS in order to have its corresponding features licensed and eliminated prior to spell-out.

The effect of the overt processing is reflected in structure (62):

(62)

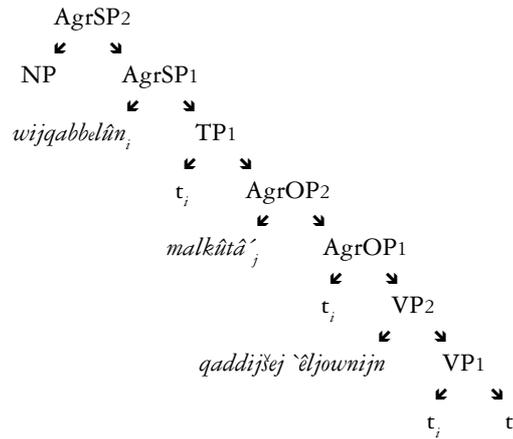


The unmarked V-S-O word order is the result of the overt movements engendered by the principle of feature licensing. The unmarked V-S-O word order, however, is in stark conflict with the word order reflected in sentence (55). Additional overt processing is required in order to derive a V-O-S word order.

The O generated in a position to the left of the S is noticeable in the superficial V-O-S word order. The same applies to V, which is generated in a position to the left of O. Various options for overt movement exist to explain the V-O-S word order.

(a) Supposing that O could move itself overtly to Spec-AgrO, the effect of such overt processing is reflected in structure (63):

(63)



The V-O-S word order is the result of such a transfer.

The relative parameter of feature licensing within BA has to be tested in order to determine whether this possibility is at all feasible within the parameters of the principle of economy laid down by Chomsky (1992). As far as BA is concerned:

(64)

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

These weak features reflected by AgrO render the overt move of O to Spec-AgrO for feature licensing quite impossible. The principle of procrastination demands that if a process can wait until after spell-out, it must do so. The parameter of feature licensing excludes every possibility of overt object movement to Spec-AgrO, and (63) is, consequently, unacceptable.

Zwart (1996: 28-30) suggests that objects may move by dint of focus scrambling to a position to the left of the subject. This focus scrambling would render the V-O-S word order in BA explicable by accepting that the object moves to Spec-AgrO. The only problem here is that focus scrambling is nothing more than an ad hoc rule and its functioning remains unclear.

The O finds itself in a position to the left of the S in the O-V-S and O-S-V word orders and if focus scrambling is accepted as a processing in the V-O-S word order, the same would inevitably apply to the O-V-S and O-S-V word orders. This would mean that O did not undergo topicalisation, which is indispensable for a proper interpretation of semantic utterances occurring in the O-V-S and O-S-V word orders. Focus scrambling thus fails to offer any explanation for the V-O-S word order.

(b) A second possibility for the derivation of the V-O-S word order is that O moves overtly to Spec-TopP to license N-features prior to spell-out. This possibility is suggested by the derivation of the word orders O-V-S and O-S-V in this chapter. Scrutiny of the V-O-S word order shows the O being generated to the left of the S. It is suggested that in both O-V-S and O-S-V word orders the O occupies a topic position and is therefore generated to the left of the S. The O-S-V word order may be ignored for the time being, because the O already occupies the Top2 position.

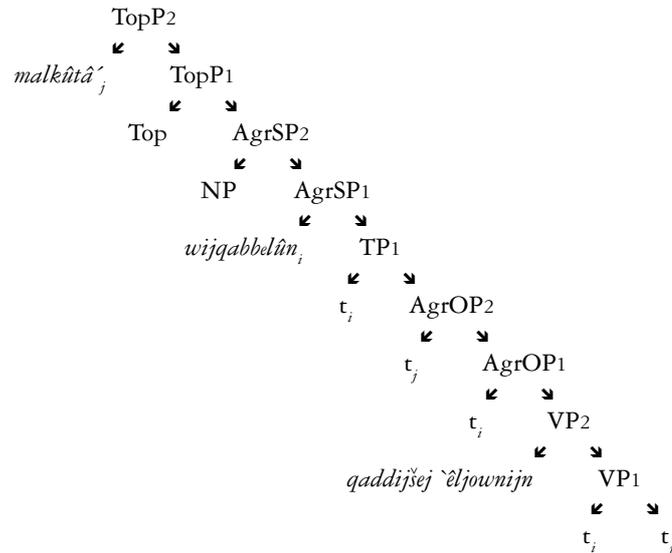
This leaves us with the O-V-S word order, where the O occupies a topic position and the S remains *in situ* where it was originally generated in the lexical domain.

A feature [+ topic] is added to *malkûtâ'*. This [+ topic] feature is a strong N-feature in BA which has to be licensed and eliminated prior to spell-out. A functional heading Top is selected, projected and merged with structure (60) in order to constitute structure (65).

*malkûtâ'* moves overtly first to Spec-AgrO to license weak N-features and then to Spec-TopP in order to license and eliminate strong topic-features. This overt movement ensures that the shortest route is followed in that *malkûtâ'* does not move back from Spec-TopP to Spec-AgrO after spell-out for the licensing of weak N-features. *malkûtâ'* then moves further to Spec-TopP for strong N-feature checking.

Once the second possibility has been syntactically applied the processing is as follows in structure (65):

(65)

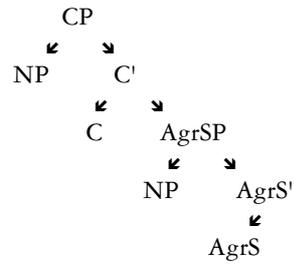


The O-V-S word order is the result, but this still does not conform to the superficial word order of sentence (55), *viz* V-O-S. This second possibility is acceptable in a way because it serves to explain the position of O in relation to S.

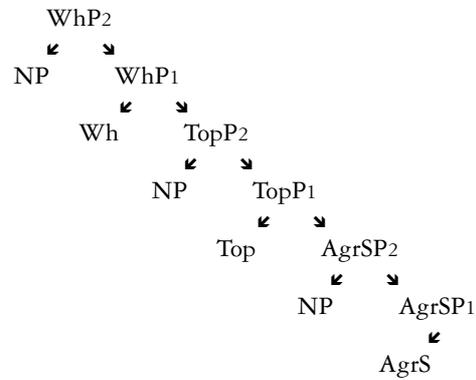
The V-O-S word order differs from the O-V-S word order in that the V is generated in a position to the left of O. The V has to move to a higher position in the hierarchical structure to bring about the V-O-S word order and it is this overt V movement to a position to the left of the O which opens the way to a third possibility in explaining the derivation of the V-O-S word order.

An additional functional projection is needed to provide for this additional V movement. There are two possibilities. As indicated in chapter 3 (3.9), Zwart (1993) in his exposition of topicalisation in Dutch divides the traditional CP (66) into a WhP and a TopP (67):

(66)



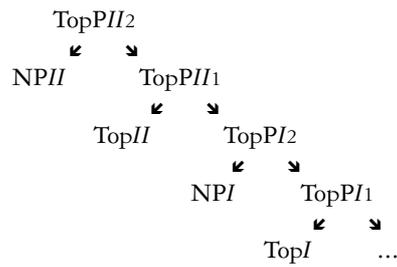
(67)



This means by necessary implication that the V-features have to be strong to enable the V to move to WhP for the licensing of features.

The second possible projection brings about a second topic position (68) as in the O-S-V and S-O-V word order (5.5).

(68)



This possibility implies that the V-features of TopII have to be strong in order to enable V to move to TopII in order to license the N-features.

These two propositions will now be investigated. In both cases there is a presupposition that an additional V movement takes place. In terms of the first proposition, V moves to WhP in order to control strong V-features.

In order to justify overt V movement (on grammatical grounds) the nature of V used in sentence (55) has to be considered in greater depth. Sentence (55) is repeated here:

(Dan 7:18) וַיִּקְבְּלוּן מַלְכוּתָא קַדִּישׁ עֲלֵיוּנִין (55)

*wijqabbelûn - malkûtâ' - qaddiṣej - `eljownijn*

and they will receive - the kingdom - saints - of the Most High

“But the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom”.

The verb stem קבל (*qbl*) occurs only three times in BA:

(Dan 2:6) מַתְּנִין תִּקְבְּלוּן (69)

*mattenân - teqabbelûn*

gifts - you shall receive

“You shall receive gifts”

תִּקְבְּלוּן (*teqabbelûn*) Morphological analysis: Kattel stem formation; Imperfect class of conjugation; second person masculine plural. The word order in this phrase/clause is O-V and it functions as an apodosis in a conditional sentence.

(Dan 6:1) וְדַרְיוֹשׁ מְדֵיָא קַבֵּל מַלְכוּתָא (70)

*wedârejâwêš - mâdâjâ' - qabbel - malkûtâ'*

and Darius - the Mede - he received - the kingdom

“...And Darius the Mede received the kingdom...”

קַבֵּל (*qabbel*) — Morphological analysis: Kattel stem formation; Perfect class of conjugation; third person masculine plural. The word order of the sentence is S-V-O.

Both (69) and (70) are introductory clauses, with (69) occurring virtually at the beginning of the Aramaic part of Daniel and (70) being the introductory clause of a new narrative. Sentence (55) is likewise an introductory sentence, forming the first words of a dream interpretation.

Even though these three sentences share similar content, their distribution of the verb קבל (*qbl*) differs vastly. The V of (69) and (70) occurs in the second position: O-V or S-V-O respectively — as against (55) where the verb appears in the first position. From this we may infer that the V קבל (*qbl*) does not demand a specific word order but that this is rendered mandatory by some other element.

In stark contrast to sentences (69) and (70), sentence (55) starts not with a topicalised element O (or in (69)) or S (as in (70)), but with a *waw*.

Over and above the prime position occupied by the *waw*, it is adjuncted to the V קבל (*qbl*) and it is called a copulative *waw*. It is unusual in BA to find a copulative *waw* adjuncted to a V in the prime position and introducing a principal clause. The use made of the *waw* in BA may be compared to that in BH where it has a double function:

(71)

- (a) The joining of homogeneous items in a sentence (adjacent conjunction) as in (72),
- (b) The joining of non-homogeneous sentences (complement) as in (73).

(Jer 32:20) וּבִישְׂרָאֵל וּבְאֲדָמַם (72)

*ûbejishbrâ'el - ûbâ'âdâm*

and in Israel - and among mankind

“...And in Israel and among all mankind...”

(Eks 3:3) אֲסַרְאֵב וְנָא וְאֲרֵא (73)

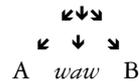
*'âsurâb - nâ' - we'êre'êb*

I will turn aside - and I will see

“I will turn aside and see...”

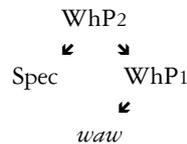
In the event of co-ordination being used, *ie* ‘and’, *waw* will not appear in Wh (Naudé 1993: 26). The structure (74) shows *waw* in co-ordination.

(74)



If *waw* is used as a subordinate conjunction, Naudé (1993: 27) suggests that it will be generated in Wh. Structure (75) shows the derivation with *waw* as the subordinate conjunction.

(75)



According to this, *waw* functions in sentence (55) not as an adjacent conjunction, but rather as a complement similar to (71)(b).

This usage applies only to those instances where *waw* is directly joined to V in the Perfect or Imperfect. When used in this way *waw* is known as *waw*-consecutive. It is important to note that the use of the *waw*-consecutive is maintained in BH but not in BA. The presence of the *waw*-consecutive could conceivably be explained as a Hebraism. Aramaic and Hebrew came into contact and their co-existence serves to corroborate the idea of reciprocal influence (Muraoka 1992: 48-67). The following Hebraisms occur in BA:

(Dan 4:34) (*wmrwmm*) וּמְרוֹמָם (76)

(Dan 5:23) (*btrwmmt*) הַתְּרוֹמְמוֹתָ (77)

(Dan 4:16) (*ʾstwmm*) אֲשֶׁתְּוֹמָם (78)

There is only one example of a *waw*-consecutive in Qumran Aramaic (Muraoka 1992:67) (79):

(*wjwʕ*) וַיִּשַׁע (79)

“...and he delivered...”

Once it is accepted that the *waw* adjunct to וַיִּקְבְּלוּן (*wijqabbelûn*) is actually a *waw*-consecutive, one must consider whether there are examples in BH involving the verb קָבַל (*qbl*) and corresponding with example (55). Such an example is provided in (80):

(1 Chronicles 12:19) וַיִּקְבְּלֵם דָּוִד (80)

*wajeqabbelem - dâwijd*

and he received them - David

“Then David received them”.

Word order: V-O(cl)-S

Morphological analysis: וַיִּקְבְּלֵם (*wajeqabbelem*) *waw*-consecutive + *Pi'el* stem formation; Imperfect class of conjugation; third person masculine singular of the verb stem קבל (*qbl*) + pronominal suffix; third person masculine plural.

Example (55) and its morphological analysis are repeated here for the sake of convenience:

(Dan 7:18) וַיִּקְבְּלוּן מַלְכוּתָא קַדִּישִׁי עֲלֵיוּנִין (55)

*wijqabbelûn - malkûtâ' - qaddišešj - `eljownijn*

and they will receive - the kingdom - saints - of the Most High

“But the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom”.

The verb stem קבל (*qbl*) is used and can be translated by the word “receive”. The morphological analysis of וַיִּקְבְּלוּן (*wijqabbelûn*) is as follows: *waw* copulative + Kattel stem formation; Imperfect class of conjugation; third person masculine plural. קבל (*qbl*), as transitive V, consequently selects one object phrase.

There is an obvious similarity between the verbs in (55) and those in (80) which tends to support the inference that the *waw* joined to *wijqabbelûn* in (55) is a *waw*-consecutive.

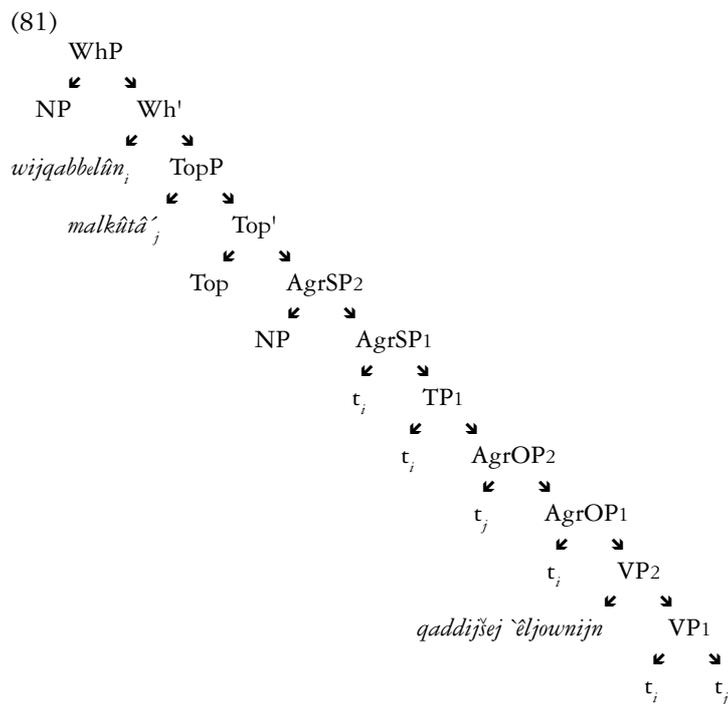
Positionally, the *waw*-consecutive is used in combination with the verb as a direct prefix. Whenever this happens the verb occupies the prime position in the sentence. This is brought about by the *waw*-consecutive, which thus functions as a complement. Consequently the *waw*-consecutive occupies the same position in the functional domain as complements in Semitic languages (Hebrew and Aramaic)<sup>9</sup> viz Wh and WhP.

Functionally, the *waw*-consecutive in combination with the verb reveals strong V-features on Wh. Strong features have to be licensed and the only available position is the Wh-head position.

9 Naudé (1996) suggests a derivation within MP for complements.

The *waw*-consecutive with the verb is projected from the lexicon as a lexical unit. Consequently the verb with *waw* moves to the Wh-head in order to license and eliminate its strong V-features prior to spell-out in order to promote convergence

The inferences drawn thus far may be set out as follows in structure (81):



In short:

The V-features of T, AgrS and Wh are strong. On the way to licensing these strong V-features, *wjqabbelûn* moves overtly to AgrO in order to license weak V-features. This overt movement takes place to make sure that the shortest route is followed, otherwise *wjqabbelûn* would have to revert after spell-out. *wjqabbelûn* moves overtly to T, AgrS and finally to Wh to license strong V-features.

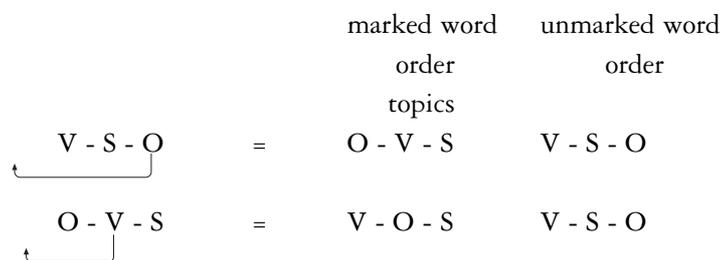
*malkûṭâ'* moves overtly to Spec-AgrO in order to license weak N-features and thence to Spec-Top in order to eliminate its strong topic

N-features prior to spell-out. The S, however, remains *in situ* in the position originally generated within the lexical domain. The resulting word order is albeit not typical for BA. However, the following empirical data fail to support such an inference for BA:

- The *waw* in (55) reveals features of co-ordination (71)(a) rather than sub-ordination (71)(b).
- In BH a phonological distinction is made between the *waw*-copulative ַ (*we*) and the *waw*-consecutive ַ (*wa*) as far as the Imperfect is concerned. The vocalisation of the *waw* in (55) can be associated with the *waw*-copulative than with the *waw*-consecutive.
- This would be the only example of the *waw*-consecutive in BA.
- The single example of the *waw*-consecutive in Qumran Aramaic, as noted by Muraoka (1992) is very dubious. BA is a kind of Empire Aramaic, older than Qumran Aramaic, which is akin to Judaic-Palestinian Aramaic.

The second possibility, which is far more probable, is that the verb functions as a topic. This possibility may be depicted in the following diagram:

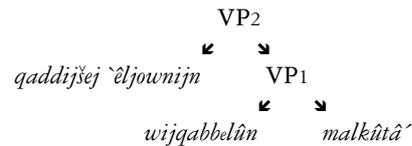
(82)



The syntactic derivation of sentence (55) starts with the selection of substantive heads: the V *wijqabbelûn* with the *waw*-copulative *wi* and the NP's *qaddijšej`eljownijn* and *malkûtâ'*, each fully inflected and with its morphological features already added. *wijqabbelûn*, as transitive V, requires two arguments: one to which the role of Theme can be accorded, *viz malkûtâ'*, and another capable of receiving the role of Agent, *viz qaddijšej`eljownijn*.

The operations of projection and merging are applied in order to create structure (83):

(83)



The morphological features of *wjqabbel\u00fan*, *malk\u00fat\u00e2'* and *qaddi\check{s}ej \text{\`{e}ljownijn}* in (83) must be licensed.

The feature of [+ topic] is added to *malk\u00fat\u00e2'*. This [+ topic] feature is a strong N-feature in BA which has to be licensed prior to spell-out. A functional category, *viz* TopPI, has to be projected so that *malk\u00fat\u00e2'* is enabled to license the [+ topic] feature.

In similar fashion, the feature [+ topic] is added to the verb *wjqabbel\u00fan*. In contrast with the [+ topic] feature of *malk\u00fat\u00e2'*, the [+ topic] feature of *wjqabbel\u00fan* is a strong V-feature in BA. In order to license this strong V-feature, a second topic position is selected and projected, *viz* TopPII, as proposed in 5.5.

A distinction is drawn between the strong/weak features of the N- and V-topics on Top. As far as BA is concerned, this may be set out as follows:

(84) N-topics

Strong N-features on Top

Weak V-features on Top

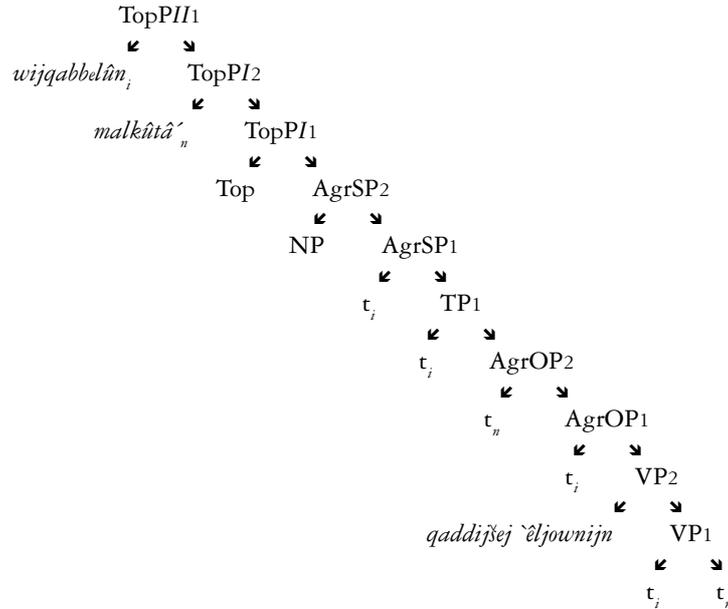
(85) V-topics

Weak N-features on Top

Strong V-features on Top

Apart from the functional categories TopPI and TopPII, the categories AgrO, T and AgrS are selected, projected and merged with VP2 in order to constitute a single structure (86):

(86)



Even though AgrO reveals weak V-features, V moves overtly to AgrO prior to spell-out in order to license its V-features and ensure that the most economical route is followed for their licensing.

The V-features of T and AgrS are strong. Hence the V *wijqabbelûn* has to move overtly to T and thereafter to AgrS in order to have its features licensed and eliminated prior to spell-out. The feature [+topic] has also been added to *wijqabbelûn*, which makes a further overt move to TopPII in order to license strong V-features.

The N-feature of TopPI is strong. On its way to TopPI *malkûtâ'* moves overtly through AgrO to license weak N-features. This overt move to AgrO results in the shortest possible route.

*qaddiŝej `eljownijn*, as S, remains *in situ* because AgrS reveals weak N-features. The S licenses the weak N-features in AgrS after spell-out.

In the derivation of the V-O-S word order with independent relations in BA, O is a topicalised element. Likewise, V functions as a topic

to the left of the object topic. The V-O-S word order is justifiable in terms of the principles of economy dictated by Chomsky (1992).

### 5.7 Conclusions

- From the strong/weak distinction of V- and N-features on Agr and T, inference (E) may be drawn, as follows: In BA, V-S-O is the unmarked word order.
- In BA, S-V-O is a marked word order with S occupying a topic position.
- O-V-S is a marked word order with O occupying a topic position.
- S-O-V is a marked word order with both S and O as topicalised elements.
- O-S-V is a marked word order with O and S occupying distinct topic positions.
- V-O-S is a marked word order, assuming a verb topic in addition to the topic object.
- In this chapter an additional/second topic position for BA is proposed to explain the O-S-V, S-O-V and V-O-S word order. It has been suggested that Spec-WhP is not available as a topic position in BA.
- A distinction is drawn in BA between features of N-topics and V-topics, *viz*

(87) N-topics

Strong N-features on Top

Weak V-features on Top

(88) V-topics

Weak N-features on Top

Strong V-features on Top