DOI: 10.26346/1120-2726-109

The syntax of the evidential particle *ʃikil* in Jordanian Arabic

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This research investigates the syntax of the particle *ʃikil* in Jordanian Arabic (JA). It argues that this particle expresses indirect evidentiality, i.e. the speaker relies on indirect evidence (e.g. inference, third-party reports, etc.) as the information source for his proposition. The study also argues that *ʃikil* heads $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase (cf. Cinque 1999) and is endowed with a set of unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features. The valuation of such features is morphologically realized as an inflectional suffix on *ʃikil,* expressing the same Φ-content of the element that *ʃikil* agrees with. Additionally, the current research shows that T^0 (and *ʃikil*) in JA can agree with the object in active voice as long as the object is a topic situated in the low IP area (cf. Belletti 2004), c-commanding the thematic subject. Evidence coming from the case-sensitive personal pronouns demonstrates that the object in such cases is assigned nominative case (by T°), which, we suggest, overrides the object's accusative case, already assigned by little v^0 prior to its movement to the low IP area.*

KEYWORDS: Evidentiality, high/low IP-split domains, the operation Agree, Jordanian Arabic.

1. Introduction

As one outcome of the cartography of C/I-domains (e.g. Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999, 2002, 2006; Belletti 2004; Cinque & Rizzi 2008), much debate has centred, among other things, on the role of the speaker-oriented particles in articulating the fine projections of these domains (Zimmermann 2004 for discussion).[1] A plethora of cross-linguistic evidence has been made available on the syntactic significance and utility of such elements, being immobile (Struckmeier 2014) with specific discourse roles and/or pragmatic functions. The speaker-oriented particles are thus windows on the structural hierarchy of CP/IP areas on the one hand, and on how

* We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for invaluable comments and insightful suggestions.

such areas interact with the lexical domain of the clause on the other (Roussou 2000; Frey 2006; Newton 2007; Biberauer *et al*. 2014). For instance, Coniglio & Zegrean (2012) argue that Force Phrase (cf. Rizzi 1997) is split into certain layers, drawing on evidence from discourse particles. Likewise, Danckaert (2011) uses discourse particles to examine the left periphery of Latin embedded clauses, while Paul (2014) utilizes them to demonstrate split CP in the Chinese clause.

Against this background, the current research explores the particle *ʃikil* in Jordanian Arabic (henceforth, JA). It investigates its pragmatic/semantic function and syntactic interaction with the subject and the object.[2] It attempts to locate the syntactic position of this particle and reveals how it brings insights into some underlying phenomena of JA, including T^0-object agreement in active voice.

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 explores *ʃikil*'s pragmatic/semantic function. Here, we provide evidence to the effect that this particle is an evidential particle that expresses the speaker's depending on indirect evidence (i.e. inference, hearsay, etc.) as an information source for his proposition. Section 3 investigates *ʃikil*'s distributional properties, proposing that this particle heads $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase (cf. Cinque 1999). Section 4 examines the morphologically-variant suffix attached to *ʃikil*. We argue that this suffix is a morphological realization of the valuation of *ʃikil*'s unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features. Additionally, this section explores the observation that T^0 (and *ʃikil*) in JA can agree with the object in active voice, in which case the object is a topic situated in the so-called low IP area (Belletti 2004) and c-commands the thematic subject. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. ʃikil *as an evidential particle*

In this section, we investigate *ʃikil*'s semantic contribution in the clause where it occurs. There is strong evidence that this particle expresses indirect evidentiality that the speaker depends on secondhand evidence, i.e. inference, third party reports, experiential knowledge, etc. as the information source for his proposition.[3] To illustrate this point, consider the following dialogue:[4]

(1) CONTEXT: someone intends to drive his father's car to hang around with his two friends
Speaker A: *ʔis-sijjaarah b-tiftaʁil bas ma*
DEF-car IMPERF-work.3SG.F but NEG
b-titharrak-iʃ
IMPERF-move.3SG.F-NEG
'The car is starting but isn't moving!'

Speaker B: *gadeeʃ sˁaar-l-ak ma-ʕabbeit-haa-ʃ banziin*
How long been-to-you NEG-filled.2SG.M-it-NEG Petrol
'How long haven't you filled it up with petrol?'

Speaker A: *ʔaboo-i gal-l-i ʔisbuuʕ*
father-my said.3SG.M-to-me week
'My father just told me (it is since) one week!'

Speaker C: *ʃikil-uh ma fii-haa-ʃ banziin*
Prt-3SG.M NEG EXP-it-NEG petrol
'Evidently, there is no petrol (in it)'.

Speaker A points out that although the car is starting, it cannot move. Speaker B asks Speaker A about the time he last filled up the car with petrol. Speaker B implies that the car's being unable to move might be related to the lack of petrol in it. Drawing on Speaker's A last utterance as well as the situational context, Speaker C proposes that the reason for the car being unable to move is evidently (apparently, but not surely) that it had run out of petrol. Speaker C's proposition depends on indirect evidence which is here the third party, i.e. the statement of his friend's father on the last time he filled his car up with petrol. *ʃikil* is used to express the fact that the speaker relies on such reporting (coupled with the common ground, i.e. the sum of mutual, common, and joint knowledge, beliefs and supposition; Clark 1996; Bergqvist 2017) to present his proposition.

Additionally, *ʃikil* can be used when the speaker depends on his inference to present his proposition. The following dialogue explains this point.

(2) CONTEXT: Two classmates are discussing their performance in the exam
Speaker A: *keef ʔimtiħaan-ak*
how exam-your
'How is your exam?'

Speaker B: *ʔis-suʔaal ʔil-ʔawal ma ʔifhimt-uu-ʃ*
DEF-question DEF-first NEG understood.1SG-it-NEG
'As for the first question, I did not understand it'.

Speaker A: *tˁajjib! ʔis-suʔaal ʔiθ-θaani?*
INTERJ DEF-question DEF-second
'Oh! What is about the second question?'

Speaker B: *ma-ħaleet-u-ʃ kamaan! kaan sˁaʕab*
NEG-solved.1SG-it-NEG too was.3SG.M difficult
'I did not solve it either. It was difficult'.

Speaker A: *ʃikil-ak* *ma* *ħadˁdˁarit-ʃ* *maliiħ*
Prt-2SG.M NEG prepared.2SG.M-NEG well
'Evidently, you did not prepare well (for the exam)'.

The dialogue in (2) makes it clear that *ʃikil* is employed when the speaker has indirect evidence for his sentence - 'indirect' because the speaker does not rely on his first-hand knowledge but inference. Note that inference here rests crucially upon what is being said alongside the social context which depends on the speaker's knowledge held in common by conversational participants, what Hintz & Hintz (2017: 92) call "interactive discourse". According to Speaker B's responses to Speaker A's two questions as well as Speaker A's relevant knowledge on a reasoned analysis of generally known facts, Speaker A infers that Speaker B did not prepare well for the exam. *ʃikil* is used to express this inference.

Now consider the following example which is infelicitous as *ʃikil* is used in a sentence where the speaker has direct evidence for its information source:

(3) *ʔana* *ʃuft* *ʔinn-uh* *(#ʃikil-uh)* *faat* *ʔil-beet*
I saw.1SG COMP-3SG.M Prt-3SG.M enter.3SG.M DEF-house
'I saw him entering the house!'

The use of *ʃikil* in sentence (3) makes it infelicitous because the speaker eye-witnesses the event, dispensing with any reading that the evidence of the sentence is not direct. This analysis is consistent with Al-Malahmeh's (2013: 214) discussion on *ʃikil* in JA that it encodes indirect evidence where the speaker does not perceive the event or has no direct visual evidence of it (see Faller 2002 on the relation between eyewitness and direct evidentiality).

Given that instances where *ʃikil* occurs and following Aikhenvald's (2003, 2004) discussion on evidentiality and related works, including Dendale & Tasmowski (2001), Boye & Harder (2009) and Alhaisoni *et al*. (2012), we propose that *ʃikil* is an evidential particle that is used when the speaker draws on indirect evidence available for him/her to present his proposition. Such indirect evidence might be coupled with the speaker's experiential knowledge regarding similar cases at hand.

This discussion implies that the speaker is not committed to the truth value of his proposition in contexts where *ʃikil* is used, *à la* Farkas & Bruce (2010). In order to attest this point, we use Murray's (2010) test of deniability/cancelation as evidence that propositions introduced by *ʃikil* are not committed to by the speaker. According to

Murray, if the speaker is not committed to the truth of *p,* then he can deny *p,* as shown in the following pair.

(4) a. #It is raining, but I do not believe it.
b. Reportedly, it is raining, but I do not believe it.

According to Murray, the speaker in (4a) but not in (4b) is committed to the proposition of his sentence. Now consider the following example which demonstrates that *p* introduced by *ʃikil* is not committed to by the speaker.

(5) *ʃikil-ha* *ʔib-tiʃti* *bas* *ʔana* *muuʃ* *ʔimsʔaddig*
Prt-3SG.F IMPER-rain.3SG.F but I NEG believing
'It is apparently raining, but I do not believe that'.

With the assumption that assertions cannot be felicitously denied/cancelled (Dechaine *et al.* 2017), it is obvious that *ʃikil* is not an assertion particle but rather an evidential particle that implicates that the speaker relies on second-hand evidence whose presence is not sufficient to assert *p* introduced by *ʃikil.* Notice that the treatment of *ʃikil* as an evidential particle is consistent with Déchaine *et al.*'s (2017) discussion that the characteristic feature of evidentials is to PRESENT but not to ASSERT propositions.

An anonymous IJL wonders whether *ʃikil* implies an epistemic value or not. The answer to this question actually needs a separate paper to discuss. According to Faller (2017: 57), "one of the most debated questions in the literature on evidentiality is how this category and epistemic modality are related to each other". Likewise, de Haan (1999) argues that although evidentiality and epistemic modality can be conceptually distinct, they are closely related in that the evaluation of a proposition's truth is dependent on the basis of evidence. By and large, epistemic modality marks the speaker's judgement of the proposition expressed as necessary or possibly true in light of what the speaker knows, whereas evidentiality marks the speaker's type of the source of information (Faller 2017: 57). As is shown above, the speaker is not committed to the truth value of *p* that is introduced by *ʃikil*, something that implies that *p* in such cases is not conceived of as necessary but possibly true. This should mean that *ʃikil* obviously expresses some epistemic value, a matter that supports Matthewson's (2010) assumption that evidentiality has an epistemic component and, hence it is difficult to demarcate the distinction between these two categories (also Gonzalez *et al*. 2017). We suggest though that *ʃikil* is in essence an evidential particle rather an epistemic particle as the speaker uses it to emphasize the fact that he resorts to

indirect evidence as an information source for his proposition rather than making judgements on the factual status of the proposition, i.e. the speaker does not convey how low or high his certainty is (cf. Palmer 2001).

In the remainder of this paper, we explore *ʃikil*'s categorical status. Specifically, we argue that it is an X^0 category that heads $Mood_{evidential}$ Phrase, a fixed position in the high IP-area (cf. Cinque 1999). We discuss first its distributional properties (Section 3) and then turn to its syntactic interaction with subject and the object (Section 4).

3. ʃikil's *distributional properties*

In the previous section, we have shown that *ʃikil* is an evidential particle that expresses speaker's reliance on indirect evidence as the information source for his proposition. In this section, we explore *ʃikil*'s syntactic properties, including its structural position relevant to other sentential elements such as the subject and wh-words. We assume that *ʃikil* is a zero-level category that heads $Mood_{evidential}$ Phrase (cf. Cinque 1999).

To begin, one obvious property of *ʃikil* is its clause-initial position. In unmarked cases, *ʃikil* precedes the subject, the verb and the object, as the following sentence demonstrates.[5]

(6) *ʃikil-uh ʔil-muwazʿaf ʔarsal ʔil-bariid*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-employee sent.3SG.M DEF-mail
'Evidently, the employee sent the mail'.

Given the initial position of *ʃikil* in its clause, it can be postulated that this particle is merged above TP. This assumption is firstly supported by *ʃikil*'s position relative to the preverbal subject. There is indeed a good reason to believe that the preverbal, post-*ʃikil* subject is located in Spec,TP rather than Spec,vP, the base position of the thematic subject in the Arabic clause, as has been argued for since Koopmann & Sportiche (1991) (Fassi Fehri 1993, 2012). Note that the thematic subject should occur to the left of the past tense copula *kaan* which is widely assumed to adjoin to T° in the overt syntactic cycle in Arabic grammar (Fassi Fehri 1993, 2012; Baker 2003; Benmamoun 2008). Consider the following sentence:

(7) *ʃikil-uh ʔil-muwazʿaf kaan jirsil ʔil-bariid*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-employee was send.3SG.M DEF-mail
'Evidently, the employee was sending the mail'.

The thematic subject *ʔilmuwazʿaf* 'the employee' occurs to the immediate left of the past tense copula *kaan*, implying strongly that the subject moves from its base position (i.e. Spec,vP) to Spec,TP (see also Omari 2011 for a related discussion along these lines). That *ʃikil* appears to the left of the preverbal subject which in turn precedes the past tense copula is indicative of *ʃikil* being in a high position in its clause.

An important point to mention here is that under no circumstances would the tensed verb or the past tense copula *kaan* precede *ʃikil*. We interpret this state of affairs as evidence that *ʃikil* is a head, given relativized minimality (Rizzi 1990). The following ill-formed examples illustrate this point:

(8) a. * *ʔarsal* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *ʔil-bariid*
sent.3SG.M PRT-3SG.M DEF-employee DEF-mail
Intended: 'Evidently, the employee sent the employee'.

b. **kaan* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *jirsil* *ʔil-bariid*
was PRT-3SG.M DEF-employee send.3SG.M DEF-mail
Intended: 'Evidently, the employee was sending the mail'.

The two sentences in (8) would be grammatical if the particle *ʃikil* had not been used, given that the VSO word order is still productive in JA, in which case the verb/tense bears contrastive focus. The examples in (9) demonstrate this point (contrastive stress appears in capitals):

(9) a. *ʔARSAL* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *ʔil-bariid*
sent.3SG.M DEF-employee DEF-mail
'The employee SENT (not saved) the mail'.

b. *KAAN* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *jirsil* *ʔil-bariid*
was DEF-employee send.3SG.M DEF-mail
'The employee WAS (not is) sending the mail'.

Aoun *et al.* (2010) argue that the verb in the VSO word order in Arabic moves to CP. If we assume that *ʃikil* is a head, the ungrammaticality of the two sentences in (8) is readily accounted for under relativized minimality analysis (Rizzi 1990). *ʃikil* as a head blocks the movement of another head such as T° or V° to a higher position.

This discussion does not imply though that *ʃikil* cannot be preceded by a (non-tensed) verb. When a wider range of data is examined, it appears that *ʃikil* can be preceded by a verb, provided that the object is fronted along with the verb, as demonstrated in the following examples:

(10) *a.* *JIRSIL* *ʔIL-BARIID* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *kaan.*
send.3SG.M DEF-mail Prt-3SG.M DEF-employee was
'Sending the mail, the employee evidently was'.

b. * *JIRSIL* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *kaan* *ʔil-bariid*
send.3SG.M Prt-3SG.M DEF-employee was DEF-mail

We propose that sentence (10a) involves a vP fronting to the left periphery as one block. Given that a sentence like (10a) can be felicitously uttered as a response to the following question, the fronted vP presumably targets Spec,Focus Phrase where contrastive/corrective information moves to in the Arabic sentence (cf. Ouhalla 1997).

(11) *b-eeʃ* *kaan* *ʔil-muwazʿaf* *maʃʁool* *ʔisʿ-sʿubuħ*
With-what was.3SG.M DEF-employee busy DEF-Morning
'With what was the employee busy in the morning?'

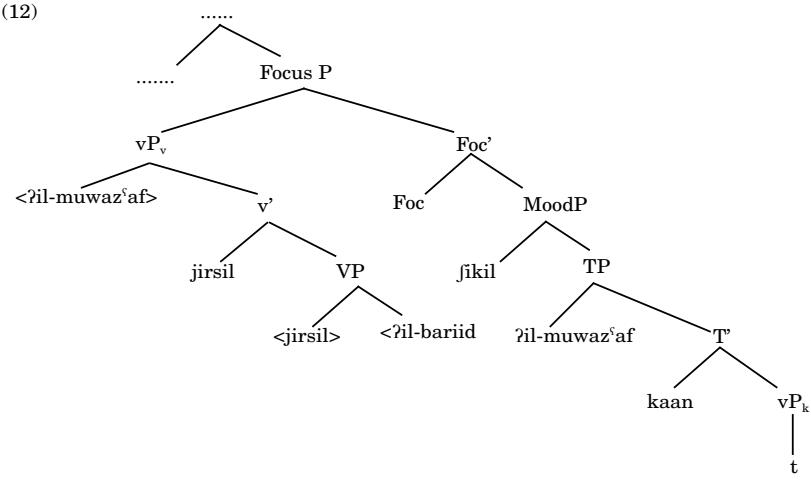
jirsil *ʔil-bariid* *walla* *jiktub* *ʔit-taqriir*
send.3SG.M DEF-mail or write.3SG.M DEF-report
'Sending the mail or writing the report?'

The schematic representation of (10a) is provided below as an illustration. (Note that *ʃikil* is treated as a head of MoodP above TP. The motivation of this treatment is provided below. <sh> is used to replace </ʃ> for typographic matters; additionally, all irrelevant details are left aside.)

As shown in (12) which represents the derivation of VOS clauses in JA, neither the verb nor the object moves singly to the left periphery. They move as a part of remnant vP (after the subject's raising to Spec,TP) to the left periphery. This analysis to VOS clauses accounts for why the object should occur to the right of the verb. The object is get pied-piped along with vP that contains it. If the object is not carried along with the verb, the respective sentence would become ungrammatical, as demonstrated by (10b). What most concerns us here is that what moves to the left periphery in the VOS word order is an XP rather than X; hence, no blocking effect is invoked by *ʃikil* against vP fronting.[6]

Given that *ʃikil* can be preceded by an XP, it is predicted that *ʃikil* can be preceded by the subject, the object, wh-phrases, or an adjunct, a prediction which is borne out. Note here that the constituent preceding *ʃikil* always has a special interpretative reading, i.e. topicalization or focalization. Let's first discuss the straightforward cases where *ʃikil* is preceded by a wh-word. In questions, *ʃikil* should follow the wh-word, as evidenced by the following pair.

(12)



(13) a. *miin ʃikil-uh sarag ʔis-sijjarah?*
who PRT-3SG.M stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'Who did evidently steal the car?'

b. **ʃikil-uh miin sarag ʔis-sijjarah?*
PRT-3SG.M who stole.3SG.M DEF-car
Intended: 'Who did evidently steal the car?'

Following the fact that JA is not a wh-in situ language (Yasin 2013; Abdel-Razaq 2015) and granted the assumption that wh-words move to Spec,Focus Phrase (Rizzi 1997; Zubizarreta 1998; Szendrői 2004), it is clear that *ʃikil* heads a maximal projection that is situated below Focus Phrase. Note in passing that *ʃikil* does not block the movement of the wh-word *miin,* because the latter is an XP rather than X°. Additionally, the examples in (13) imply that *ʃikil* has a fixed position, from which it cannot move. Immobility of *ʃikil* offers further support for its categorical status as an X° particle (Struckmeier 2014 for the link between immobility of particles and their treatment as heads).

As for the cases where *ʃikil* is preceded by the subject, the subject here may be interpreted as a topic or a focus, depending mainly on its informational value. As an example of a topicalized subject, consider the following dialogue:

(14) CONTEXT: Two speakers are discussing the situation that one grocery shop was robbed!

Speaker A: *ʔid-dukaanih ʔin-sarg-at*
DEF-grocery shop PASS-stole-3SG.F
'The grocery shop was robbed!'

Speaker B: *laa!* *ʕan* *dʒadd?*
INTERJ about seriousness
'Oh, really?'

(15) Speaker A: *kull* *libdʿaah* *raaħ-t*
all goods went.3SG.F
'All goods were taken!'

Speaker B: *ʔid-dukaanih* *ʃikil-ha* *kaan-t* *ʔimraagabah*
DEF-grocery shop PRT-3SG.F was-3SG.F watched
'The grocery shop, it was evidently watched (by the robbers)'.

The subject in Speaker B's second utterance is a topic, as the whole dialogue is about it (cf. Reinhart 1981; Lambrecht 1994). This reveals that the subject in this utterance is in the left periphery (i.e. Spec,Topic Phrase) rather than being in Spec,TP.

Furthermore, the pre-*ʃikil* subject may be interpreted as a focus as long as it is immediately followed by the word *ʔilli*, as shown in the following example:

(16) *WALAD* *ʔITʿWEEL* *ʔilli* *ʃikil-uh* *sarag* *ʔid-dukaanih*
boy tall REL PRT-3SG.M Stole.3SG.M DEF-grocery shop
'It is A TALL BOY that evidently stole the grocery shop'.

Sentence (15) is best analysed as involving a cleft, where the focused element, i.e. *walad ʔitʿweel* 'a tall boy' is interpreted being selected from a closed set of alternatives all known to the speaker and the hearer. It is argued elsewhere that a pre-*ʔilli* element in Arabic clefts expresses contrastive/corrective information, i.e. the speaker provides information which is in conflict with the existing information (Ouhalla 1999: 338ff.).

It is evident that the pre-*ʃikil* subject is interpreted as either a topic or a focus, depending on its informational value. This amounts to saying that the pre-*ʃikil* subject occurs in the left periphery. The same observations of the pre-*ʃikil* subject extend naturally to the pre-*ʃikil* object. The object in such cases can be interpreted as a topic, as in (16a), or as a contrastive focus in the *ʔilli*-cleft sentence, as in (16b).

(17) a. *ʔis-sijjarah* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔiz-zalameh* *sarag-ha*
DEF-car Prt-3SG.M DEF-man watched.3SG.M-it
O S V
'The car, the man evidently stole it'.

b. *SIJJARAH* *ZAʁIIRIH* *ʔilli* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔiz-zalameh* *sarag*
girl small that PRT-3SG.M DEF-man stole.3SG.M
O S V
'It is A SMALL CAR that the man evidently stole'.

Support for our assumption that the object in (16a) is a topic comes from the fact that there is a resumptive clitic of the object on the verb. Such a resumptive clitic has been widely taken as a signal for non-quantificational A-bar movement, i.e. topicalization (McCloskey 2002; Grohmann & Haegeman 2004). We here follow Aoun *et al.*'s (2001: 372) proposal that the topicalized object in (16a) is externally merged in its base position and then moves to its surface position in overt syntax, as there is no island boundary that separates between the resumptive pronoun of the object on the verb and the fronted object itself.[7]

Moreover, *ʃikil* can be preceded by any adjunct as long as the latter bears contrastive stress as the following examples demonstrate:

(18) a. *ʔIMBAARIH, ʃikil-uh ʔiz-zalameh sarag ʔis-sijjarah*
Yesterday PRT-3SG.M DEF-man stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'Yesterday, the man evidently stole the car'.

b. *MIN HOON, ʃikil-uh ʔiz-zalameh sarag ʔis-sijjarah*
from here PRT-3SG.M DEF-man stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'From here, the man evidently stole the car'.

The felicitous reading of examples (17) is that the man stole the car yesterday, not another day, and from here, not, say, from next the shop, respectively. The two adjuncts *ʔimbaarih* and *min hoon* should be said with contrastive stress, something that speaks for their discourse-related interpretation (cf. Horvath 2010).

Drawing on the position of *ʃikil* relevant to other sentential elements, we are led to the conclusion that this particle heads a projection between CP and TP. Following *ʃikil*'s function of expressing the speaker's reliance on indirect evidence to present his proposition, we propose that *ʃikil* heads $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase. Cinque (1999: 140) postulates the so-called universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections, which is a rich functional make-up of the sentence that does not vary across languages. We report this hierarchy below:

$\text{MoodP}_{\text{speech act}}$> $\text{MoodP}_{\text{evaluative}}$> $\text{MoodP}_{\text{evidential}}$ > $\text{ModP}_{\text{epistemic}}$> TP(Past)> TP(Future)> $\text{MoodP}_{\text{irrealis}}$> $\text{ModP}_{\text{alethic}}$> $\text{AspP}_{\text{habitual}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{repetitive(I)}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{frequentative(I)}}$ > $\text{ModP}_{\text{volitional}}$> $\text{AspP}_{\text{celerative}}$ > TP (Anterior)> $\text{AspP}_{\text{terminative}}$> $\text{AspP}_{\text{continuative}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{retrospective}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{promixative}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{durative}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{generic/progressive}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{prospective}}$ > $\text{Mod}_{\text{obligation}}$ > $\text{ModP}_{\text{permission/ability}}$ > $\text{AspP}_{\text{completive}}$ > VoiceP> $\text{AspP}_{\text{celerative(II)}}$> $\text{AspP}_{\text{repetitive(II)}}$ $\text{AspP}_{\text{frequentative (II)}}$

As is clear from the hierarchy, mood precedes modality, tense, and voice (Mood > Modality > Tense > Voice). As we shown earlier, *ʃikil* precedes tense. Additionally, JA data demonstrates that *ʃikil* precedes modality particles, as the following examples show:

(19) a. *ʃikil-uh laazim ʔil-muwazʿaf jirsil ʔil-bariid bukra.*
PRT-3SG.M must DEF-employee send.3SG.M DEF-mail tomorrow
'Evidently the employee must send the mail tomorrow'.

b. *ʃikil-uh bigdar ʔil-muwazʿaf jirsil ʔil-bariid bukra.*
Prt-3SG.M can DEF-employee send.3SG.M DEF-mail tomorrow
'Evidently the employee can send the mail tomorrow'.

In (19a-b), *ʃikil* occurs to the left of the modal auxiliaries *yumkin* and *bigdar*, respectively. This observation gives further credit to Cinque's (1999) assumption that $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase is sandwiched between the left periphery, i.e. CP and other high IP-related projections, i.e. Modality > Tense > Voice, and it also lends support that *ʃikil* is the head of $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase. The impossibility of the verb (alone) or the past tense filler to appear in a pre- *ʃikil* position follows. T^0 should move past $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}{}^0$ *en route* to the CP domain. Since the head of $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase is filled with *ʃikil*, then, it follows that T^0 cannot escape $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase to C^0, given relativized minimality.

Having investigated the structural position of *ʃikil*, let's now explore the reason why *ʃikil* surfaces with an inflectional suffix, whose morphological form is variant. This exploration is important as it reveals how *ʃikil* interacts with other elements in its clause.

4. ʃikil *as an agreeing head*

Another significant issue related to *ʃikil*'s syntactic behaviour is the fact that it bears an inflectional suffix whose morphological form is variant. What we mean by 'variant' in this context is that the inflectional suffix attached to *ʃikil* can appear in different morphological forms, depending mainly on the Φ-content of the subject (or, sometimes, the object, as we will show below). Consider the following examples with an eye on the Φ-content of the inflectional suffix attached to *ʃikil*:

(20) a. *ʃikil*-uh *ʔiz-zalameh sarag ʔis-sijjarah*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-man stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'The man evidently stole the car'.

b. *ʃikil*-ha *ʔil-binit* *sarag-t* *ʔis-sijjarah*
PRT-3SG.F DEF-girl stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'The girl evidently stole the car'.

ʃikil expresses the same Φ-content of the subject- *ʔizzalameh* 'the man' in (20a) and *ʔil-binit* 'the girl' in (20b). If the inflectional suffix shows different Φ-content than that of the subject in such cases, the respective sentence would become ungrammatical, as demonstrated by the following ill-formed examples.

(21) a. **ʃikil*-ha *ʔiz-zalameh* *sarag* *ʔis-sijjarah*
PRT-3SG.F DEF-man stole.3SG.M DEF-car
Intended: 'The man evidently stole the car'.

b. **ʃikil*-uh *ʔil-binit* *sarag-t* *ʔis-sijjarah*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-girl stole.3SG.M DEF-car
Intended: 'The girl evidently stole the car'.

Following our analysis of *ʃikil* as a head, it can be postulated that *ʃikil* is endowed with a set of unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features which should be valued and deleted before the sentence converges at LF.[8] According to the principle of full interpretation (Chomsky 1995), all unvalued, uninterpretable features must be eliminated prior to Spell-out. In order to account for the occurrence of the inflectional suffix of the subject on *ʃikil* while the subject is to its right, we appeal here to the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). The operation Agree is established through a probe-goal model of feature-agreement. Within this model of agreement, designated checking configurations are replaced with simple c-command between a probe (which lacks feature values) and a goal (which bears the corresponding feature values and specify these values on the probe) (Heck & Richards 2010: 689). A standard version of operation Agree is given in (22):

(22) *Operation Agree*
A probe α can agree with a goal β iff
i. α is unvalued and seeks the value of β;
ii. α c-commands β;
iii. β is the closest goal to α;
iv. β is active by having an unvalued case feature.

The notion of closeness (22iii) is structurally defined. Heck & Richards (2010: 690) provides the following formulation of closeness.

(23) *Closeness*:
Goal β is closer to probe α than goal γ if a. and b. hold.
α c-commands both β and γ;
β asymmetrically c-commands γ.

As we have argued above, *ʃikil* as a head of $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase is merged above TP. *ʃikil,* being endowed with unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features, acts as an active probe which searches downwards for an accessible goal bearing interpretable Φ-features. It locates the subject. Note here that if we follow Chomsky's (2000) conditions on the operation Agree, the agreement between *ʃikil* and the subject in sentences (20), repeated below as (24), would occur before the subject leaves its thematic position. That is because the subject's structural Case is still unvalued in this position, and hence the subject would be capable of entering into an Agree relation with a higher probe. However, we show below that probes in Arabic, including *ʃikil* and T°, do not require activation of the goal to enter into an Agree relation.

(24) a. *ʃikil*-uh *ʔiz-zalameh* *sarag* *ʔis-sijjarah*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-man stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'The man evidently stole the car'.

b. *ʃikil*-ha *ʔil-binit* *sarag-t* *ʔis-sijjarah*
PRT-3SG.F DEF-girl stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'The girl evidently stole the car'.

After *ʃikil* locates the subject, and, given that there is no intervening goal between *ʃikil* and the subject, the subject values *ʃikil*'s unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features. An inflectional suffix appears on *ʃikil* as a morphological realization of the valuation of *ʃikil's* unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features. This amounts to saying that the inflectional suffix is a PF reflex of the Agree operation between *ʃikil* and the subject.

In instances where *ʃikil* appears to agree with the subject while the latter precedes it, as the following sentences show, we suggest that the agreement between *ʃikil* and the subject occurs prior to the subject movement to the left periphery:

(25) a. *ʔiz-zalameh* *ʃikil*-uh *sarag* *ʔis-sijjarah*
DEF-man PRT-3SG.M stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'The man, he evidently stole the car'.

b. *ʔil-binit* *ʃikil*-ha *sarag-t* *ʔis-sijjarah*
DEF-girl PRT-3SG.F stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'The girl evidently stole the car'.

The possibility that Φ-agreement between *ʃikil* and the subject would occur in a Spec-head fashion in sentences (25) should be ruled out on the grounds that the subject and *ʃikil* can be separated by an adjunct, as shown by the following examples:

(26) a. *ʔiz-zalameh* *min hoon* *ʃikil*-uh *sarag* *ʔis-sijjarah*
DEF-man from here PRT-3SG.M stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'From here, the man, he evidently stole the car'.

b. *ʔil-binit* *min hoon* *ʃikil*-ha *sarag-t* *ʔis-sijjarah*
DEF-girl from here PRT-3SG.F stole.3SG.M DEF-car
'From Here, the girl, she evidently stole the car'.

Φ-agreement between *ʃikil* and the subject thus occurs through a probe-goal configuration prior to the subject movement to the left periphery.[9]

This should not imply that the inflectional suffix on *ʃikil* cannot show the Φ-content of the object. In fact, when the object appears in a pre-subject position and follows *ʃikil*, the inflectional suffix attached to *ʃikil* shows the Φ-content of the object rather than the subject, as in (27a,c) below. If the inflectional suffix is forced to express the Φ-content of the subject with the intervening object, the resulting sentence would become ungrammatical, as in (27b,d).

(27) *a.* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-walad* *ʔil-binit* *laaga-t-uh.*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-boy DEF-girl met-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
'The boy, the girl evidently met him'.

b. **ʃikil-ha* *ʔil-walad* *ʔil-binit* *laaga-t-uh.*
PRT-3SG.F DEF-boy DEF-girl met-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
Intended: 'The boy, the girl evidently met him'.

c. *ʃikil*-ha *ʔil-binit* *ʔil-walad* *lagaa-ha.*
PRT-3SG.F DEF-girl DEF-boy met-3SG.F
O S V
'The girl, the boy evidently met her'.

d. **ʃikil*-uh *ʔil-binit* *ʔil-walad* *lagaa-ha.*
Prt-3SG.M DEF-girl DEF-boy met-3SG.F
O S V
Intended: 'The girl, the boy evidently met her'.

It should be emphasized here that *ʃikil* cannot agree with object while the latter remains *in situ*, i.e. after the verb. Consider the following ill-formed sentence:

(28) **ʃikil*-ha *ʔil-walad* *laaga* *ʔil-binit.*
PRT-3SG.F DEF-boy met.3SG.M DEF-girl
Intended: 'The boy evidently met the girl'.

The ungrammaticality of sentence (28) is straightforwardly accounted for in terms of closeness (23). The subject is closer to *ʃikil* than the object; hence, the subject acts as an intervening goal between *ʃikil* and the object.[10]

A significant point to capitalize on here is that the Φ-Agree between *ʃikil* and the object reveals that the condition that the goal should have its case unvalued is not right. The object is supposedly assigned accusative case by the verb in (27a,c), and then moves to a higher structural position between *ʃikil* and the subject. Although the object's structural Case feature is already valued by the verb, the object is still able to value the Φ-features of *ʃikil*, something that we take as an anti-argument against condition (22iv) on the operation Agree. Indeed, we are not the first to raise this argument. There are several works that argue against Case as a precondition on agreement, including Carstens (2003) and Miyagawa (2009).

The question that comes up immediately concerns the position of the displaced object in OSV sentences like (27a,c). Note that in these two sentences, the verb appears in the past form. According to Benmamoun (2000: Ch. 4), the lexical verb adjoins to T^0 in the past tense, whereas it remains *in situ* (or adjoins to little v^0) in the present tense. If we adopt Benmamoun's proposal, the displaced object in (27a,c) would be above T^0, given that the verb appears in the past tense and thus adjoins to T^0. What casts doubt on this assumption though is the observation that if the tense filler *kaan* 'was' is forced to appear in sentences (27a,c), it should appear to the left of the displaced object. Consider the following examples:

(29) a. *ʃikil-uh* *kaan* *ʔil-walad* *ʔil-binit* *ʔitlaagi-ih*
PRT-3SG.M was.3SG.M DEF-boy DEF-girl meet-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
'The boy, the girl was evidently meeting him'.

b. *ʃikil*-ha *kaan-t* *ʔil-binit* *ʔil-walad* *ʔijlaagi-ha.*
PRT-3SG.F was-3SG.F DEF-girl DEF-boy meet-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
'The girl, the boy evidently watched her'.

c. **kaan* *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-walad* *ʔil-binit* *ʔitlaagi-ih*
was.3SG.M PRT-3sg.m DEF-boy DEF-girl meet-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
Intended: 'The boy, the girl was evidently meeting him'.

To accommodate the sentences in (29) into Benmamoun's proposal, T^0 should undergo some movement to c-command the

object, a matter which is not independently motivated.[11] There is no reason why T^0 should move across the displaced object when T^0 is lexicalized by *kaan*, but remains *in situ* when it is hosted by a lexical verb. A significant point worth bringing out here is that the grammatical sentences in (29) and (27a,c) are felicitous with an intonational break after the displaced object. The speaker utters them with a different intonational contour as compared, for instance, to sentences with a pre-tense object or subject. This unique prosodic property of the displaced object in TOVS (T stands here for Tense) clauses is significant to reveal the position of the object. Coupled with the location of the displaced object relative to tense as well as the unique intonational pattern that accompanies the object in such cases, it can be proposed that the displaced object in (27a,c) and (29a-b) and is a topic situated in the so-called low IP area in the sense of Belletti (2004). For Belletti, a low IP periphery is located between TP and vP/VP. Given that the object in such cases should be textually given that is destressed and normally realized in a pronominal form, as we will show below, we argue that the object is a topicalized element dislocated to the low IP area. Following Aoun *et al.*'s (2001) proposal on the differences between true resumption (generated by base-generation of the antecedent) and apparent resumption (generated by the movement of the antecedent), we suggest that the object in such cases moves from its base position to Topic Phrase in the low IP area, as there is no island that separates the topicalized object and its resumptive pronoun on the verb. The displaced object is thus within the c-command visible domain of *ʃikil* whose unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features are valued by the interpretable Φ-features of the topicalized object. Evidence for this valuation can be adduced from the Φ-content of the inflectional suffix attached to *ʃikil*. The inflectional suffix adjoining to *ʃikil* and the object express the same Φ-content. If the object is, for instance, specified as a 3PL.M, the inflectional suffix should bear the same Φ-value of the new object. Witness the following sentence:

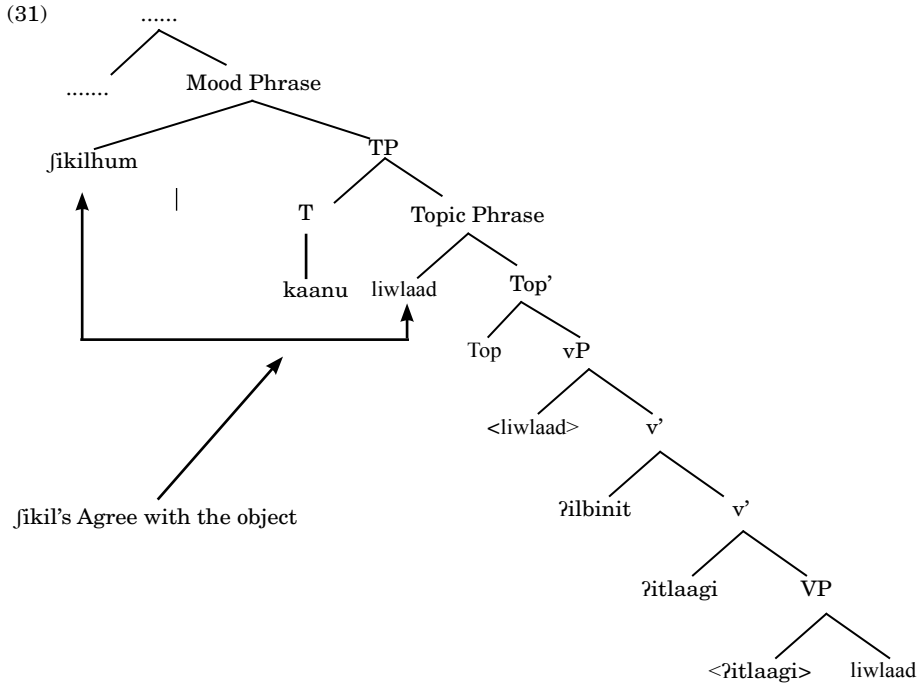
(30)

ʃikil-hum	*kaan-u*	*li-walad*	*ʔil-binit*	*ʔitlaagi-hum*
PRT-3PL.M	was-3PL.M	DEF-boys	DEF-girl	meet-3SG.F-3PL.M
		O	S	V

'The boys, the girl was evidently meeting them'.

Consider now the following schematic representation of sentence (30).[12]

(31)



One direct generalization we can establish concerning sentences (27-30) is that *ʃikil*'s feature valuation is ruled by locality, i.e. closeness in this respect. *ʃikil* agrees with the closet goal within its c-command domain.

Furthermore, one significant observation pertaining to sentences (27-30) is that T^0 agrees with the object rather than the subject. No study, in Arabic generative practice, to the best of our knowledge, has mentioned that T^0 would agree with the object in active voice. The common assumption is that T^0 agrees with the subject which is, in turn, assigned nominative case by T^0 (see Aoun *et al.* 2010 and reference therein). Sentences (27-30) demonstrate that this is not always the case in JA. T^0 can agree in this Arabic variety with the object as long as the latter is a topic in the low IP area, c-commanding the thematic subject. As seen in (30), *kaan* shows overt agreement with the object by virtue of the inflectional suffix *-u* whose Φ-content is specified as 3PL.M, the same as the object *liwlaad* 'the boys'.

Our present proposal on T^0-object agreement expects also that the object in sentences (27-30) is assigned nominative case, given that

T^0 agrees with it. One apparent barrier to examine this assumption comes from the fact that JA has no morphological Case but abstract Case in full DP's, as is the situation in other Arabic dialects (e.g. Brustad 2000; Zaidan & Callison-Burch 2014). On the other hand, a close inspection of personal pronouns in JA reveals that such elements are still Case-sensitive. In JA, pronouns come with different forms, depending on their structural positions in the corresponding sentences, exactly the case of English (*he vs him*; *she vs her,* etc.). The following table shows the morphological form of personal pronouns in JA in the subject position *vs* the object position.

Φ-CONTENT	SUBJECT POSITION	OBJECT POSITION
1SG	ʔani	ni
1P	ʔiħna	na
2SGM	ʔinta	ak
2SGF	ʔinti	ik
2PM	ʔintu	ku
2PF	ʔintin	kin
3SG.M	huu	uh/ih
3SG.F	hii	ha
3PL.M	hum	hum
3PL.F	hin	hin

Table 1. Personal pronouns in JA

An English sentence like *she watched us* is translated into JA as follows:[13]

(32) *hii laagat-na*
she met.3SG.F-us
'She met (with) us'.

If the nominative pronoun *ʔiħna* is used instead of the accusative form *-na* in the object position in (32), the sentence would become ungrammatical, as demonstrated in the following ill-formed example:

(33) **hii laagat ʔiħna*
she met.3SG.F we
Intended: 'She met (with) us'.

Now let's replace the object in (29a) with a subject pronoun and an object pronoun; so, as we can determine the Case assigned to the topicalized object.

(34) a. *ʃikil-uh kaan huu ʔil-binit ʔitlaagi-ih*
PRT-3SG.M was.3SG.M he DEF-girl meet-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
'The girl was evidently meeting (with) him'.

b. **ʃikil-uh* *kaan-uh* *ʔil-binit* *ʔitlaagi-ih*
PRT-3SG.M was-him DEF-girl meet-3SG.F-3SG.M
S V
'The boy, the girl was evidently meeting him'.

The ungrammaticality of (34b) strongly indicates that the topicalized object is assigned nominative case rather than accusative case. We suggest that the object's original Case, i.e. accusative Case, is overridden by the new nominative case assigned by T^0. Following Chomsky's (2001: 15–19) assumption that Case is a free-rider of the Agree operation between a probe and its goal, it can be postulated that T^0 agrees with the object, given locality, and as a consequence, it assigns nominative case to the object. This is tantamount to the assumption that T^0's agreement with the subject and the object is impervious to the Case assigned to such elements and that Case in JA can be overridden if the element enters a probe-goal relation with another case-assigning probe.[14]

An anonymous IJL reviewer asks why the nominative case of the low-IP topicalized object is not just considered a sort of 'default' (unmarked) Case in JA. Indeed, the notion that nominative case is the default Case in Arabic has been suggested by a number of authors including Ouhalla (1994) and Soltan (2007). However, these authors argue that nominative case is assigned as default when there is no Case-assigning head, particularly when there is no overt C^0 with respect to the preverbal subject. Additionally, these authors argue that the postverbal subject is assigned structural Case in the presence of T^0. There is no adequate reason thus to consider the case of the object as default. For us, the case of the topicalized object is nominative, assigned by T^0 whose morphological form being inflected for the Φ-content of the object itself is a result of the Agree relation between T^0 and the topicalized object in such cases.

Moreover, there is no reason, *prima facie*, that would preclude us from extending the analysis of the pre-subject object as a topic in the low IP-area to a sentence like (27a) reproduced below as (35), where T^0 is, under our proposal, phonetically null. This implies that the verb in (35) does not adjoin to T^0 even in the past tense.

(35) *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-walad* *ʔil-binit* *laaga-t-uh.*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-boy DEF-girl met-3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
'The boy, the girl evidently met him'.

The same word order is retained if the verb appears in the present tense, as (36) shows:

(36) *ʃikil-uh* *ʔil-walad* *ʔil-binit* *bit-laagi-ih.*
PRT-3SG.M DEF-boy DEF-girl IMPERF-meet.3SG.F-3SG.M
O S V
'The boy, the girl evidently meets/ is meeting him'.

We interpret sentences (35-36) as evidence that the verb in JA does not adjoin to T^0 neither in the present tense and nor in the past tense.

The next question to answer here is what fills Spec,TP in instances where the object is a topicalized element in the low IP area, c-commanding the thematic subject. We follow here Mohammad (2000) that Spec,TP is filled with an expletive *pro* when the subject does not occupy this position, the case we find when T° agrees with the object. The theoretical question to answer at this point is why the postulated *pro* in Spec,TP does not intervene in the Agree relation between *ʃikil* and the object which is low in the IP field. We suggest that the *pro* does not intervene in the Agree relation between *ʃikil* and the object in such cases because the expletive *pro* in Arabic is Φ-incomplete. Fassi Fehri (1993) shows that expletive pronouns in Arabic do not have Person feature, as they always occur in 3rd Person. Fassi Fehri (1990: 40) states:

> Expletives are of different NUM [Number] and GEN [Gender] values in various contexts, although they are limited to some values in VS structures. For example, expletives in so-called nominal sentences exhaust the list of third person pronominal forms. In particular, there is no limitation on their NUM.

Following Chomsky (2000), we suggest that the expletive *pro* in Spec,TP does not serve as an eligible goal because it is not Φ-complete. *ʃikil* is thus required to probe further to find an eligible goal which is Φ-complete.

Conclusion

In this research, we have investigated the syntax of the particle *ʃikil* in JA. We have argued that it is an evidential particle that spells out the information source of the speaker, being indirect. We have also argued that *ʃikil* heads $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ Phrase (cf. Cinque 1999), drawing on facts from its distributional properties. Additionally, in order to account for the variant inflectional suffix that is attached to this particle, we have argued that *ʃikil* is endowed with a set of unvalued, uninterpretable Φ-features which are valued by the subject

or the object, depending on which one is closer to it in overt syntax. The inflectional suffix is taken to be a PF reflex of this valuation. Furthermore, this research shows that T^0 in JA can agree with the object in active voice as long as the latter is a topic situated in the low IP-area, c-commanding the thematic subject. The object in such cases is assigned nominative case, an assumption supported by Case-sensitive personal pronouns.

Notes

[1] Cinque and Rizzi (2008: 43) define the cartography of syntactic structures as "the attempt to draw maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations. Broadly construed in this way, cartography is not an approach or a hypothesis: it is a research topic asking the question: what are the right structural maps for natural language syntax?". List of abbreviations: 1: First Person; 2: Second Person; 3: Third Person; DEF: definite; F: Feminine; IMPERF: Imperfect; M: Masculine; INTERJ: interjection; NEG: Negation; PL :Plural; PRT: Particle; SG: Singular.

[2] Jordanian Arabic belongs genetically and typologically to the Semitic language family (Al-Sarayreh 2013; Jarrah 2017). It is spoken by the population of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with approximately eight million speakers.

[3] The word *ʃikil* in JA is supposedly a grammaticalized form of the noun *ʃikil* that literally means 'a shape'.

[4] All sentences and dialogues in this paper are from the JA variety spoken in rural regions in the North of Jordan. Note that all translations are approximate.

[5] Most of the examples provided below to examine *ʃikil*'s syntactic distribution present an SVO order, which is the unmarked word order in JA (El-Yasin 1985; Musabhien 2009; Omari 2011; Alqassas 2012, 2015; Al-Sarayreh 2013; Al-Shawashreh 2016, among many others). Note that the fact that JA is an SVO language is consistent with the widely-attested assumption that Arabic dialects obtain SVO as the unmarked word order, unlike the case in Standard Arabic. See Aoun *et al.* (1994) for Lebanese Arabic, Shlonsky (1997) and Mohammad (2000) for Palestinian Arabic, Benmamoun (2000) for Egyptian Arabic, Mahfoudhi (2002) for Tunisian Arabic, and Fassi Fehri (1993) for Moroccan Arabic.

[6] Cf. Alshamari and Jarrah (2016) for a similar argument for North Hail Arabic.

[7] Aoun *et al.* (2001) argue that there are two types of resumption in Arabic: true resumption and apparent resumption. The former is resulted when movement is not available, i.e. there is an island between the object and the resumptive pronoun, while the latter is generated by the movement of the object when the resumptive pronoun and the antecedent are not separated by an island.

[8] An IJL anonymous reviewer wonders why *ʃikil* as the head of MoodP is endowed with uninterpretable Φ-features in the first place. We think that an adequate answer to this question would be offered when we obtain a better understanding of the functions of uninterpretable features. Miyagawa (2009) writes a whole MIT monograph on "why agree and why move", suggesting that functional heads may have uninterpretable features to enhance the expressive power of human language. He states that "Without agreement and movement, human language would be a shadow of itself for expressing human thought" (Miyagawa 2009: xi). In a related vein, Brattico (2012: 33) mentions "The question of why such formal features, Case and Φ in particular, exist, has been debated to some extent

in the minimalist literature, without resolution. The general consensus seems to be that they have no minimalist explanation whatsoever and behave like 'bogus' features that emerge from the lexicon but lack realization at the interfaces and must, therefore, be deleted". At any rate, the assumption that functional phrases may carry uninterpretable Φ-features has been widely argued for in the related literature. See, for instance, Haegeman (1992), Zwart (1993), Watanabe (2000), Carstens (2003) and Haegeman & Van Koppen (2012) on that C° may carry such features in some languages, resulting in the phenomenon known as 'agreeing complementizers'. None of these authors have questioned why C° has uninterpretable Φ-features at all. We leave an IJL anonymous reviewer's question open pending further research.

[9] For some speakers, *ʃikil* might appear without an inflectional suffix. We suggest that *ʃikil* for these speakers is Φ-featureless, something that makes it a non-agreeing head.

[10] Additionally, sentence (28) is ruled out by the effects of the so-called Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001). Note that the object is located in a different phase whose complement is not accessible to external probes.

[11] Notice that we follow here Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom.

[12] The movement of the object first to the edge of v*P prior to its movement to low IP area is forced by the effects of the Phase Impenetrability Condition which prevents movement from the non-edge of a phase. This amounts to saying that transitive clauses in JA are phases. See Jarrah (2017) for a motivation and analysis.

[13] Note the subject pronouns in JA are free forms, whereas object pronouns are bound forms, attached to the c-commanding verb or preposition.

[14] When the subject appears as a personal pronoun in such situations, it appears as a nominative pronoun:

i.	ʃikil-uh	kaan	huu	hii	ʔitlaagi-h
	PRT-3SG.M	was	he	she	meet-3SG.F-3SG.M
			O	S	V

'He, she was evidently meeting (with) him'.

Following our proposal that T° assigns the object nominative case, and T° is no longer capable of assigning Case to the subject, we suggest that the subject is assigned default nominative Case (cf. Ouhalla 1994). A different possibility is that T° assigns nominative case to the object and the subject under the multiple Agree proposal (Hiraiwa 2001). Under this proposal T° agrees first the object which in turn values the Φ-content of T°, then T° agrees with the subject. But as T° has no longer unvalued Φ-features, T° does not inflect for the subject.

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