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Imperative Constructions in Standard Arabic

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a generative account of the clause structure of the positive and negative imperative constructions in Standard Arabic (SA). It begins with a discussion of the morphological structure of the imperative verb in two positive and one negative imperative constructions. It utilizes the structure of the imperative verb as well as the morphosyntactic properties of the imperative construction to argue that the imperative verb lacks [Tense] but encodes a [Mood] feature. Therefore, it is proposed that the imperative constructions consist of a MoodP (Mood Phrase) projection above the v*P (light verb Phrase) projection. The negative imperative construction will have a NegP (Negative Phrase) projection above the MoodP. It will be argued that the subject occupies the Spec, v*P position (in line with Chomsky 1995), the verb moves to Mood, and the negative particle is merged in the head of the NegP, preceding the verb and the subject; the object is merged in the complement to V position. Assuming Al-Balushi (2011), Case is licensed by a Verbal Case feature [VC] on the Case licensing heads, Mood and v*. The study shows that, like declarative and interrogative constructions (sentences and questions), imperative constructions (commands) in SA make finite clauses, CP.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the imperative constructions in SA, in (1-3), and provide a syntactic analysis in line with general generative theory (Chomsky 1981, 1995, 2001).[1]

1. ʔu.ktub-Ø   (ʔanta)   l-wājib-a
   IMPR.2.write.SM-JUSS   you.SM.NOM   the-homework-ACC
   '(You) write the homework!'
2. lā   tu-hmil-Ø   (ʔanta)   durūs-a-ka
   NEG.IMPR   2-neglect.SM-JUSS   you.SM.NOM   lessons-ACC-your
   '(You) don't neglect your lessons!'
3. li-ya-ktub-Ø   l-walad-u   wājib-a-hu
   IMPR-IMPF-write.SM-JUSS   the-boy-NOM   homework-ACC-his
   'Have the boy write his homework!'

The proposed analysis is based on the following assumptions. First, the subject is base-generated inside the lexical domain (the so-called Subject-inside-VP Hypothesis, Zagona 1982, Kitagawa 1986, Koopman & Sportiche 1991). Second, the verb in SA always moves to the head I (of the Inflectional

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(1) The following abbreviations are used: Acc: accusative, Comp: complementizer, d: dual, ec: empty category, ener: energetic, ev: epenthetic vowel, f: feminine, Gen: genitive, Impf: imperfective, Impr: imperative, Ind: indicative, Juss: jussive, m: masculine, Neg: negative, Nom: nominative, p: plural, Pst: past, s: singular, Sub: subjunctive, 1: 1st person, 2: 2nd person, 3: 3rd person. 'Case' is reserved for structural Case, and m-case for morphological case. It has actually been argued in Al-Sweel (1992) that the singular jussive suffix in SA is -i, (kasrah); thus the verb in (1) should be ʔu.ktub-i. Al-Balushi (2013) argues that this is not the case since this claimed -i disappears in the presence of the pronoun. In defense of his position, Al-Sweel states that -i is not epenthetic since the epenthetic vowel in SA is -a, not -i. Even if -a functions as an epenthetic vowel in some contexts in SA, Al-Balushi argues that -a cannot do so with the jussive form of the verb, since then the result would be a subjunctive-marked form of the verb in a jussive-assigned context.
* Also, consult the tables on page 216 for the Arabic equivalents of the unknown phonemic symbols.

Phrase, IP), in both the VSO and SVO orders (Mohammad 1989, Fassi Fehri 1993:16, Koopman & Sportiche 1991), in both past and non-past contexts. Third, NegP is merged above IP in the Arabic clause structure (Fassi Fehri 1993:87, Soltan 2007:185). Fourth, a transitive clause instantiates a v*P projection above VP (Hale & Keyser 1993, Chomsky 1995:315-316); the external argument is merged in Spec, v*P and the internal argument is merged in the complement to V position. The proposed analysis also assumes the elaborate structure of the left periphery (Complementizer Phrase, CP) laid out in Rizzi (1997). Finally, it assumes that the main functional (inflectional) projection in the clause (TP, AgrP, MoodP) is determined by the head that projects it (T, Agr, Mood), which, in turn, is determined by the feature which instantiates it ([T], [Agr], [Mood]) (Al-Balushi 2011:129).

Section 2 discusses the structure of the SA imperative verbs and relevant particles. Section 3 discusses the adopted theory of Case, and uses the various morphological and semantic properties of the imperative clauses to present the proposed analysis. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. The Imperative Verbs and Particles

This section presents the feature structure of the imperative verbs in SA as well as the two related particles, imperative li- and prohibitive lā. It argues that the imperative verbs lack tense [T] but encode a [Mood] feature.

2.1. SA Imperative Verbs Lack Tense

The absence of a tense category in the SA imperative verbs is supported by a number of facts. First, SA imperative verbs lack tense morphology. As table 1 shows, they carry imperative mood marking

(e.g. li-) and agreement affixes (e.g.-na), as well as the so-called 'mood' marking, -Ø (Wright 1967:51-52), which has been argued not to mark mood but rather Verbal Case (VC) (Al-Balushi 2011, 2013); Fassi Fehri (1993:163-164) argues that these suffixes mark Temporal Case, not mood.

Table 1

Jussive	Positive Imperative	Positive Imperative	Negative Imperative
ta-qraʔ-na-Ø 2-read-PF-JUSS	ʔi.qraʔ-na-Ø IMPR.read-PF-JUSS	li-ta-qraʔ-na-Ø IMPR-2-read-PF-JUSS	lā NEG.IMPR ta-qraʔ-na-Ø 2-read-PF-JUSS

Second, SA imperative verbs lack tense semantics since they lack the past vs. non-past distinction (displayed by indicative verbs, e.g. ya-ktub-u vs. kataba), since commands are never issued to be carried out in the past (at least in Arabic). This is in line with findings of Zhang's (1990) survey of 46 languages from 13 language families. Thus SA imperative verbs lack the feature [Precedence], which is the defining feature of independent tense (Cowper 2005).

Third, imperative verbs are tenseless because they are derived from the jussive form (ʔal-fiʕl-u ʔal-majzūm) (Wright 1967:61-62, Ryding 2005:622-623), which is tenseless. That the jussive form is tenseless is shown by the fact that it occurs in past tense negative sentences, where tense is encoded on the negative particle (not on the verb), as (4) shows, and in temporally unrealized events, as in (5), as well as in conditional sentences which are not anchored to a specific time frame, as (6-8) show, hence non-tensed.

4. lam   ya-njaħ-Ø   l-walad-u

     NEG.PST   IMPF-pass.3SM-JUSS   the-boy-NOM

     'The boy did not pass.'

5. lammā   ya-rjiʕ-Ø   l-walad-u

     NEG.yet   IMPF-return.3SM-JUSS   the-boy-NOM

     'The boy has not returned yet.'

6. ʔin   tu-ðākir-Ø   ta-njaħ-Ø

     if   2-study.SM-JUSS   2-pass.SM-JUSS

     'If you study, you pass.'

7. mahmā   ta-zraʕ-Ø   ta-ħṣud-Ø

     whatever   2-plant.SM-JUSS   2-harvest.SM-JUSS

     'Whatever you plant, you harvest.'

8. matā   tu-ðākir-Ø   ta-njaħ-Ø

     when   2-study.SM-JUSS   2-pass.SM-JUSS

     'Whenever you study, you pass.'

Fourth, that imperative clauses lack tense is also supported by the fact that the command function in SA may be conveyed by nouns, which, crosslinguistically, lack a time specification, as (9-11) show, hence unmarked for tense. This may also be the case in languages like English, with nominal expressions like 'order!' uttered in the court room or in a classroom, and even adjectives like 'quiet!' said to children or students.

9. "wa   bi-l-wālid-ayn-i   <u>ʔiħsān-ā</u>"   (17:23)

     and   for-the-parent-D.GEN-EV   philanthropy-ACC

     'And <u>be very kind</u> to your parents!'

10. ħaðāri

     Caution.GEN

     'Watch out!'

11. mahl-an

      patience-ACC

      'Be patient!'

This means that SA imperative verbs lack a [T] feature, which indicates that a T head is not instantiated, and so a TP (Tense Phrase) is not projected. That imperatives, crosslinguistically, lack tense (hence a TP) has been argued in Huntley (1980), Zanuttini (1991), Henry (1995), Rupp (1999), Jakab (2002:136-143), Mauck et al. (2005:13), Pak et al. (2007:4), and Bennis (2007:20). Given this general consensus, I will assume that SA imperative clauses do not project a TP.[2]

2.2. SA Imperative Verbs Encode Mood

The position that SA imperative verbs do not encode tense might indicate that imperative sentences are non-finite clauses. This section will show that the SA imperative clauses are finite, having one of the standardly assumed

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(2) More evidence that the jussive is tenseless comes from the view that the energetic (emphatic) form is derived from the jussive (Wright 1967:61). Now the energetic form is tenseless because it occurs in tenseless conditionals, as in (i). Also, ya-ktub-an (light energetic) and ya-ktub-anna (heavy energetic) imply that 'someone is going to write something', which refers to futurity, hence the absence of tense (Cowper 2005), whereas ya-ktub-u (indicative) indicates that 'someone always writes something (generic tense), or is writing something now (deictic tense)' (Al-Balushi 2015a).

     i. ta-rbaħ-u   mā   lam   ta-ɣušš-Ø-an

     2-gain.SM-IND if   NEG.PST 2-cheat.SM-JUSS-ENER

     'You make profit if you do not cheat.'

This view is also supported by the proposal that the subjunctive form is derived from the energetic (Testen 1994). The subjunctive form is tenseless because it occurs in future negatives (with lan) and in subjunctive and optative embedded clauses (following ʔan and kay), which indicate futurity with regard to the tense of the main clause verb, thus tenseless. This makes another argument that the imperative verb is tenseless.

finiteness features (stated in Rizzi 1997). Several facts indicate that SA imperatives encode a Mood category and hence make finite clauses, a view already supported by the fact that they make independent clauses. In this section, I will argue that imperative verbs encode an imperative (Impr) mood feature that projects a MoodP.

The view that imperative verbs in SA encode a [Mood] feature is based on two arguments.[3] First, imperatives encode mood because the imperative verbs encode an Impr mood morpheme. The positive imperative form (e.g. ʔu.kub-Ø) has this morpheme because it is used only to carry out the function of command; in the negative imperative construction, Impr is encoded on the negative particle, lā; more on this in the next section. In other words, the presence of an [Impr] feature in the negative imperative construction indicates the presence of an [Impr] one in the positive imperative one, the difference being limited to negation. In the 3rd person positive imperative verb, the [Impr] feature is expressed explicitly by the modality prefix li-. Basically, the fact that Impr is available on lā (since this is prohibition, not simple negation) and on li- (since this is a command, not a statement), it is available on ʔu.kub-Ø, but without phonetic realization.

Second, imperatives have a mood category because the imperative verb/action makes reference to the future, which is a mood. In other words, the imperative is issued to be carried out in a point in time that is future to the point of time in which the command itself is issued. Therefore, the temporal specification of imperatives is 'future orientation' (Han 1999, Mastop 2005), which indicates that they encode a mood feature since futurity makes reference to mood, not

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(3) The introduction of a Mood category in clause structure was also proposed in Schütze (1997:200-201) and Miller (2002:29), among others. Also, Amritavalli & Jayaseelan (2005:192) propose that finiteness in Kannada is marked by mood, not tense.

tense, as Cowper (2005) argues. Also, Cowper & Hall (2007:2) argue that "[f]uture time reference is not part of the tense feature system, but is instead a kind of epistemic modality […] which is part of the mood feature hierarchy" that they propose.

That futurity makes reference to mood has also been argued in Hall (2001) for English, in Matthewson (2005) for St'át'imcets (Lillooet Salish), in Kyriakaki (2006) for Greek, and in Hayashi (2007) for Inuktitut. With regard to the relation between futurity and modality in SA, Fassi Fehri (1993:82-83) states that the future particle sawfa instantiates modality. This proposal is also supported by the finding that some languages use a future suffix or a future particle for the imperative verb (Zhang 1990).

In other words, that imperatives encode mood (via futurity) is shown by the fact that commands are not issued for the past. The future orientation of imperatives is a logical interpretation of the function of the command, rather than of any tense [T] specification inherent in the imperative verb. This feature instantiates the Mood head, which, in turn, projects a MoodP in place of the TP found in declarative clauses; this will be relevant in section 3. That the imperative is a mood has been argued in Rivero & Terzi (1995), and Wright (1967), among others. Han (1999) also argues that imperatives encode directive force and irrealis modality.

This indicates that SA imperatives are finite clauses, which leads to the assumption that they also have a FinP (Finiteness Phrase); Rizzi (1997:283-285) associates finiteness in the Comp-domain with tense and/or mood. Thus imperatives have a mood category and a finiteness category, each projecting a phrase. To illustrate, if finiteness (argued to be signaled by tense, agreement, and mood) is related to structural Case, then SA imperatives, which license both nominative (Nom) and

accusative (Acc) Case values, as (12-15) show, are finite clauses.[4] That [Mood] and Fin take part in the licensing of structural Case has been argued in Aygen (2002:8) and Al-Balushi (2011:126-130). This indicates that the SA imperative clauses have a MoodP and a FinP (both necessary for the licensing of structural Case), as will be shown in section.[5]

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(4) I heard (12) in a TV serial the language of which is SA. Laylā cannot realize Case morphology for phonological reasons, namely that -u may not follow ā.

(5) As the morphology of the imperative verbs shows, they inflect for agreement; that is, imperative verbs encode person, number, and gender agreement with the subject. Nonetheless, taking SA clause structure in general, verbs do not fully agree with the post-verbal NP, the subject (making reference to the VSO order), as (i-ii) show. Verbs in SA fully agree with the pre-verbal NP, which is a topic (mubtadaʔ) according to Sībawayhi (1990) and Soltan (2007:50-61), as (iii-iv) show. This indicates that this full agreement (in the SVO order) is not subject agreement, since there is no subject to agree with, and so subject agreement in SA is always incomplete, as (i-ii) show.

      i. qaraʔa   l-ʔawlād-u   l-kitāb-a
        PST.read.3SM   the-boys-NOM   the-book-ACC
        'The boys read the book.'
      ii. "ʔiðā jāʔa-ka   l-muʔmin-ā-t-u   yu-bāyiʕ-na-ka-Ø ..." (60:12)
        if   PST.come.3-you the-believer-P-F-NOM   IMPF-pledge-PF-you-IND
        '(Oh prophet), when the believing women come to you pledging to you ...'
      iii. ʔal-ʔawlād-u   qaraʔ-ū   pro l-kitāb-a
        the-boy-NOM   PST.read-3PM   ec   the-book-ACC
        'The boys, they read the book.'
      iv. ʔal-ʔawlād-u   ʕāqaba-hum   l-muʕallim-u
        the-boys-NOM   PST.punish.3SM-them the-teacher-NOM
        'The boys, the teacher punished them.'

The full agreement with pre-verbal NPs has been viewed differently by different authors. For example, it is maintained by the traditional grammarians of Arabic that the full verbal agreement, as in (iii-iv), is an 'encliticized pronoun' (ḍamīr-un muttaṣil), so-called 'the incorporation analysis' (Fassi Fehri 1993:96); in other words, the full agreement is the subject in (iii-iv). Platzack (2003) also assumes that agreement in SA is pronominal. Soltan (2007), on the other hand, argues that the subject in (iii) is pro, empty category, and that full agreement is the feature that licenses structural Case in the Arabic clause (following Chomsky 2001). Al-Balushi (2011), who argues that agreement does not license Case in SA, argues that the full agreement is the phonetic

12. ʔi.nsay-Ø   Laylā   kull-a   šayʔ
     IMPR.2.forget.SF-JUSS Laylā.NOM every-ACC thing.GEN
     'Laylā forget everything!'

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index of pro, which moves from Spec, v*P to the head I, so that it can be phonetically picked up/spelled out by the verb. Nonetheless, the fact that full agreement appears in a verb-initial structure (VSO) despite the presence of a pronominal subject, as (v) shows, indicates that agreement has another job in the SA clause.

   v. ʔu.ktub-ū-Ø   ʔant-um   l-wājib-a
      IMPR.2.write-PM-JUSS   you-PM   the-homework-ACC
      'You.pm write the homework!'

Therefore, Al-Balushi (2015b, submitted) argues that agreement in SA deputizes morphological case (m-case), since it appears only when m-case cannot appear morphologically, as the contrast between (vi-vii) shows.

   vi. ʔu.ktub-na-Ø   ʔant-unna   l-wājib-a
      IMPR.2.write-PF-JUSS   you-PF   the-homework-ACC
      'You.pf write the homework!'

   vii. li-ta-ktub-Ø   l-banāt-u   l-wājib-a
      IMPR-F-write.3S-JUSS   the-girls-NOM   the-homework-ACC
      'Let/make the girls write the homework!'

While the subject in (vi) cannot realize m-case, the verb realizes full agreement. By contrast, the subject in (vii) can realize m-case, and the verb realizes incomplete agreement. This is further supported by (viii), where the subject cannot carry m-case, being phonetically null itself, and where the verb carries full agreement. In other words, full agreement, which is argued to deputize m-case, is taken to be a sign that Nom Case has been licensed in the SA clause. This view of assigning agreement morphological, not syntactic (licensing structural Case), duties, receives support from Bobaljik (2008) where it is argued that agreement is a morphological, not syntactic, operation.

   viii. li-ta-ktub-na-Ø/   ʔu.ktub-na-Ø   *pro* l-wājib-a
      IMPR-2-write-PF-JUSS/ IMPR.2.write-PF-JUSS   ec   the-homework-ACC
      '(You.pf) write the homework!'

Given all these views and proposals on the status of full agreement in SA, I will assume (for the purposes of this article, and to avoid complications) that SA imperative verbs realize agreement, but that agreement is not the feature that licenses structural Case.

13. "fa-l-ta-qum-Ø   ṭāʔifa-t-un
    then-IMPR-F-stand.up.S-JUSS   party-F-NOM
    min-hum   maʕa-ka …"   (4:102)
    from-them   with-you
    'Have one party of them stand up (in prayer) with you!'

14. "ʔi.ðhab-Ø   ʔanta wa   ʔax-ū-ka
    IMPR.2.go.SM-JUSS   you   and   brother-NOM-your
    bi-ʔāyāt-ī …"   (20:42)
    with-verses-my.GEN
     'You (Moses) and your brother go taking my verses/signs
      with you …!'

15. "lā   ya-ʔtal-Ø-i   ʔul-u
    NEG.IMPR   IMPF-swear.3M-JUSS-EV   of-NOM
    l-faḍl-i   min-kum   wa   s-saʕat-i
    the-bounty-GEN   from-you   and   the-means-GEN
    ʔan   yu-ʔt-ū   ʔul-i   l-qurbā …"   (24:22)
    COMP   IMPF-give-PM   of-ACC   the-kin.GEN
    'Have those of you with means not swear not to help the
     kinsmen …!'

2.3. The Derivation of the SA Imperative Verb Forms

   This section discusses how the imperative verb forms are derived, as well as the relevant particles. The positive imperative verb is derived from the 2nd person jussive form by replacing the 2nd person prefix with ʔV-, which is inserted because SA does not allow consonant clusters in initial position (Benmamoun 1995:151); the rule in (16) illustrates the derivation process.[6]

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(6) This derivational rule is presented in descriptive terms, with no claims for the relevant theoretical issues. It is noteworthy that Benmamoun (1995:157) argues

16. Jussive: ta-ktub-Ø
                                                2-write-JUSS

    Deletion of the 2ⁿᵈ person prefix: ktub-Ø
    Prefixation of ʔV-:   ʔV-ktub-Ø
                                                ʔV-write-JUSS

That this prefix is not part of the internal structure of the imperative verb is supported by the fact that it is not required when the imperative form does not begin with a consonant cluster, unless one of the consonants in the cluster is the glottal stop itself, as table 2 shows. The table also illustrates how similar the imperative is to the jussive form, as opposed to the indicative and the subjunctive forms.

Table 2

	Type	Root	Indicative	Subjunctive	Jussive	Imperative
1.	**Sound**	kataba write	ta-ktub-u	ta-ktub-a	ta-ktub-Ø	ʔu.ktub-Ø
2.	**Hamzated**	ʔakala eat	ta-ʔkul-u	ta-ʔkul-a	ta-ʔkul-Ø	kul-Ø
3.	**Geminate**	radada return	ta-rudd-u	ta-rudd-a	ta-rudd-Ø	rudd-Ø
4.	**Assimilated**	waḍaʕa put	ta-ḍaʕ-u	ta-ḍaʕ-a	ta-ḍaʕ-Ø	ḍaʕ-Ø

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that "the indicative is the underlying form for the derivation of the imperative form". Nonetheless, deriving the imperative from the jussive saves the computational system the implementation of the rule that truncates the indicative marker, 'ta-ktub-u'. Besides, the indicative appears in tensed clauses whereas, like the jussive, the imperative is tenseless.

5.	**Hollow**	qawala say	ta-qūl-u	ta-qūl-a	ta-qul-Ø	qul-Ø
6.	**Defective**	ramaya throw	ta-rmī-Ø	ta-rmiy-a	ta-rmi-Ø	ʔi-rmi-Ø
7.	**Doubly Defective**	waʕaya heed	ta-ʕī-Ø	ta-ʕī-Ø	ta-ʕi-Ø	ʕi-Ø

The vowel in ʔV- can be either /u/ or /i/, depending on the vowel in the verb root, as (17-18) show. The post-root domain is composed of the relevant number and gender suffixes and the jussive morpheme, -Ø.

17. It is /u/ if the vowel in the verb root is /u/, like 'ʔu-ktub-na-Ø', 'you.PF write!'.

18. It is /i/ elsewhere, like 'ʔi-ħmil-na-Ø', 'you.PF carry!', and 'ʔi-dfaʕ-na-Ø', 'you.PF pay!'.[7]

As for the negative imperative verb, as in (19), it is identical to the corresponding jussive form, further indicating that imperatives are derived from the jussive.

19. lā   ta-ktub-Ø   (ʔanta)   ʕala l-jidār-i
NEG.IMPR 2-write.SM-JUSS you.SM.NOM on the-wall-GEN
'(You) don't write on the wall!'

In addition to these canonical imperative constructions (addressed to second person, since commands are issued to the addressee), SA has another imperative form that may be addressed to the 3rd person, as in (3), repeated in (20), as well as to 2nd person, as in (21). As (20) shows, the verb uses the imperfective (Impf) aspect morpheme ya- in place of the person morpheme since 3rd person is not marked, as

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(7) SA has three vowels, /a/, /u/, and /i/, plus their long forms, /ā/, /ū/, and /ī/, respectively.

argued in Bejar (1998), Harley & Ritter (2002), and Cowper (2005).

20. li-ya-ktub-Ø   l-walad-u   wājib-a-hu
     IMPR-IMPF-write.SM-JUSS the-boy-NOM   homework-ACC-his
     'Have the boy write his homework!'

21. li-ta-ktub-Ø   (ʔanta)   wājib-a-ka
     IMPR-2-write.SM-JUSS   you.SM.NOM   homework-ACC-your
     '(You) write your homework!'

Like the negative imperative verb form, the form used in this construction is composed of the jussive form prefixed to it the particle li-, so-called 'li- of the imperative' in the traditional grammar, which gives the jussive form that it attaches to the command force. This assumption is supported by the fact that li- is used in the Holy Qurʔān to issue religious rulings, as (22-23) show.

22. "fa-l-yu-mlil-Ø   waliyy-u-hu
     SO-IMPR-IMPF-dictate.SM-JUSS   guardian-NOM-his
     bi-l-ʕadl-i"   (2:282)
     with-the-justice-GEN
     'Have his guardian dictate faithfully!'

23. "wa   l-ya-ḍrib-na-Ø   bi-xumur-i-hinna
     and   IMPR-IMPF-put-3PF-JUSS   with-scarfs-GEN-their.F
     ʕalā   juyūb-i-hinna"   (24:31)
     on   chests-GEN-their.F
     'Have them [women] wrap [a portion of] their scarves over their chests'

In addition to this particle, the negative imperative construction utilizes the negative particle, lā, so-called 'prohibitive lā' (ʔal-lāʔ-u n-nāhiyah, in traditional terminology). This particle is composed of two features, a Neg one and an [Impr] one, both amounting to the notion of prohibition, since the Neg morpheme is what is called ʔal-

lāʔ-u n-nāfiyah. Thus the two negative particles differ in terms of their temporal and illocutionary indication. While ʔan-nāhiyah prohibits actions, ʔan-nāfiyah merely negates the occurrence of their content. Also, while prohibitive lā indicates futurity, since the relevant action is prohibited in the future, after the command, negative lā might occur in tensed contexts.[(8)]

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(8) Despite the different terminology in the traditional grammar of Arabic (ʔan-nāhiyah vs. ʔan-nāfiyah), the view that prohibitive lā and negative lā are the same particle is not untenable. To illustrate, although the complementary distribution that lā exhibits with lam (which occurs in past negation) and lan (which occurs in future negation) makes one tempted to assume that it is used for negation in the present tense only, there are data that suggest that lā does not encode (present) tense, that is, lā is unmarked for tense (Ouhalla 1997:31). Now the view that imperatives are tenseless predicts that a tenseless negation particle may take part in the imperative construction; (i-v) show that lā occurs in both tensed and tenseless contexts, in support of the view that this lā is the elsewhere allomorph of the Arabic negation morpheme lā. Now, the prohibitive vs. simple negative interpretations that this single particle has may follow from the illocutionary force/type of the clause that it takes part in, command vs. statement. It is noteworthy that nothing in the proposed analysis hinges on whether SA has one or two lā morphemes, as long as it is recognized that in negative imperatives, lā makes reference to command modality, and thus encodes an [Impr] feature.

lā in generic present tense

      i. lā   šayʔ-un   xālid-an
        NEG thing-NOM immortal-ACC
        'Nothing is immortal.'

lā with verbs expressing past tense

      ii. "fa-lā   ṣaddaqa   wa lā   ṣallā" (75:31)
        and-NEG PST.believe.3SM and NEG PST.pray.3SM
        'And the disbeliever did neither believe nor pray.'

lā with verbs expressing deictic present tense

      iii. ʔal-walad-u   lā   ya-qraʔ-u   kitāb-a-hu   lʔāna
        the-boy-NOM NEG IMPF-read.3SM-IND book-ACC-his now
        'The boy is not reading his book now.'

Before I move to the syntax of imperatives, I would like to suggest that the imperative verb in SA encodes some (abstract) 2nd person marking, contra Benmamoun (2000) and Soltan (2007), for three reasons. First, the relevant illocutionary force of the imperative (command) indicates that it has an addressee; that is, since this is the only context in which this verb appears in SA, a person feature of the imperative subject is encoded on the verb. Second, this 2nd person feature is available (shown by a morpheme) on the verb in the negative imperative construction, as (24) shows, as well as in the positive imperative one in (25), and so it is also expected to be encoded in some way on the canonical positive imperative verb (ʔu.kub-Ø). Third, that ʔu.kub-Ø is marked for 2nd person is supported by the fact that it may not be used when issuing a command for a 3rd party (3rd person), 3rd person being unmarked. In other words, if ʔu.kub-Ø had no person marking, it would have been grammatical with the 3rd person subject, but (26) shows the opposite. Thus ʔu.kub-Ø has 2nd person marking, albeit without phonetic realization.

24. lā   tu-hmil-Ø   (ʔanta)   durūs-a-ka
    NEG.IMPR 2-neglect.SM-JUSS you.SM.NOM lessons-ACC-your
    '(You) don't neglect your lessons!'
25. li-ta-ktub-Ø   (ʔanta)   wājib-a-ka
    IMPR-2-write.SM-JUSS   you.SM.NOM   homework-ACC-your
    '(You) write your homework!'

---

lā with the free morpheme expressing future
    iv. sawfa   lā   ya-njaħ-ūn
        will   NEG   IMPF-succeed.3PM-IND
        'They will not succeed.'
lā in generic (tenseless) contexts
    v. lā   y a-kūn-u   l-jaww-u   bārid-an fi š-šitāʔ-i
       NEG IMPF-be.3SM-IND   the-weather-NOM   cold-ACC in the-winter-GEN
       'It is not cold in the winter.'

26. *ʔu.ktub-∅/   li-ya-ktub-∅
    IMPR.2.write.SM-JUSS/   IMPR-IMPF-write.SM-JUSS
    l-walad-u   wājib-a-hu
    the-boy-NOM   homework-ACC-his
    'Have the boy write his homework!'

3. The Imperative Constructions

This section uses the morphosyntactic properties of SA imperatives discussed in section 2 to assign them a clause structure. SA imperative clauses, which are tenseless but have the illocutionary force of a command, lack a TP projection but have a MoodP, where Mood is the main functional head in the Infl domain. In accordance with the adopted theory of structural Case, the imperative subject gets its [Case] feature valued via Agree with the valued [VC] feature of a Mood head; the object gets its [Case] feature checked by the valued [VC] feature of v*. I will first provide a summary of the adopted theory of Case.

3.1. The Adopted Theory of Case

Al-Balushi (2011) presents several arguments that structural Case in SA is not licensed by agreement (contra Schütze 1997, and Chomsky 2001), nor is it licensed by tense (contra Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, 2004). Besides showing that structural Case is licensed in the absence of agreement and tense (p. 36-54), he shows that it is not licensed in verbless sentences, which encode agreement, tense and mood, but lack a verb. Taking into account the fact that SA verbs receive a morphologically realized case that is assigned by particles in the same structural configuration as are nominal Case forms, Al-Balushi (2011:88-94) proposed that SA verbs receive abstract Case (similar to that required by NP arguments, as proposed in Chomsky & Lasnik 1977, Vergnaud 1977, 1982); thus SA verbs encode a [VC] feature, which is the only verbal

property that co-exists with structural Case.[9]

Since the verbal particles are merged in the Comp domain, Al-Balushi claims that structural Case in SA is licensed by a valued [VC] feature on the Fin (Finiteness) head, which is in the Comp domain.[10] As for imperatives, structural Nom Case is licensed by the Mood head if there is [T] or [Mood] or [agreement] plus a categorial [V] feature in the clause; structural Acc Case is licensed by a v* if the clause has [T] or [Mood] or [agreement] plus a categorial [V] feature.

3.2. The Proposed Analysis

The proposed analysis is in line with Potsdam's (1996:8) proposal that "imperative syntax is unexceptional and analyzable within a conventional model of clause structure". The claim made in this paper is in agreement with his finding that imperative subjects are not different from their tensed-clause counterparts, and so they have a [Case] feature that must be licensed in the syntax.

Therefore, I assume that the imperative clause structure is composed of a CP, a MoodP, a v*P, and a VP. The presence of CP, of which the FinP will be utilized, may be accounted for by the view that imperatives are finite clauses, as well as

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(9) The proposal that verbs receive Case was also made in Roeper & Vergnaud (1980), Zagona (1982), Fabb (1984), and Roberts (1985a,b).

(10) After providing several arguments that the so-called 'moods of the imperfective' in SA (Wright 1967:51-52) do not make reference to modality, Al-Balushi (2011:64-76) argues that all verbs in SA come in either of three VC forms/values, indicative, subjunctive, and jussive. While the indicative VC form obtains in the absence of VC-assigning particles, the subjunctive and jussive VC forms each has its own VC-assigning particles. These particles (merged in Fin) are syntactically active in terms of licensing structural Case; see Owens 1988:62-63 for a discussion of the proposals in the traditional grammar of Arabic of how each of the three VC forms obtains.
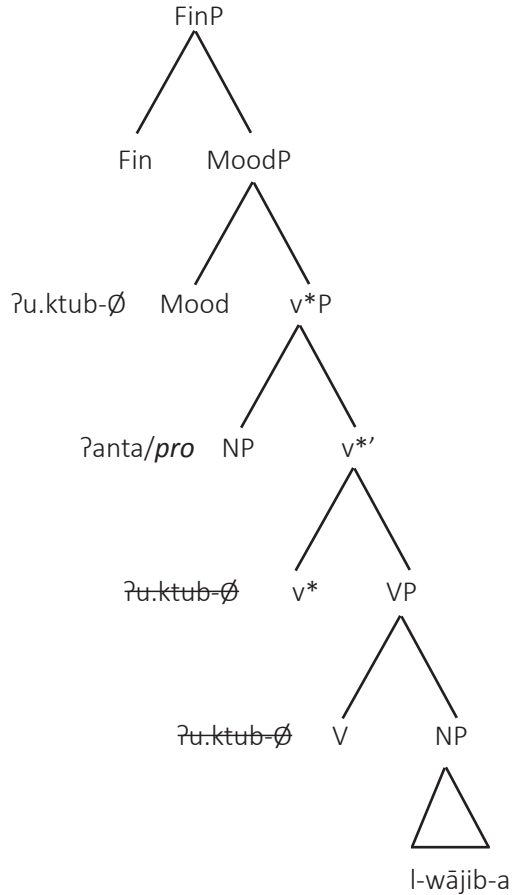
by the fact that imperative clauses may come within a vocative construction, as in (27), where the vocative NP with its particle occupy different positions in the Comp domain. The vocative (munādā) is the boldfaced NP ʔādam-u, whereas the underlined coordinate NP ʔanta wa zawj-u-ka is the subject, since it occurs after the verb, SA being a VSO language; that SA is essentially VSO has been argued in Bakir (1980), Farghal (1986), and Al-Balushi (2012).

27. "wa qul-nā   yā ʔādam-u,   ʔu.skun-Ø
    and PST.say-1P oh Adams-NOM, IMPR.2.dwell.SM-JUSS
    <u>ʔanta   wa zawj-u-ka</u>   l-jannat-a …" (2:35)
    you.NOM and wife-NOM-your the-heavens-ACC
    "And We said, O Adam, dwell, you and your wife, in Paradise"

Therefore, SA imperative constructions have a MoodP instead of the TP projection, a proposal supported by the widely-held assumption that the imperative is a mood (Wright 1967 for SA). In what follows, I will provide the proposed tree structure and Case licensing procedure for the three imperative constructions in SA. In (28), the imperative structure has an optional 2nd person pronominal subject which requires Case. Despite the fact that pronouns in SA do not show case morphologically, Case must be licensed in the imperative clause, to avoid a crash (Chomsky 2001). That Case is licensed in (28) is obvious since Case appears morphologically on the NP object. Case checking in (28), which has the tree structure in (29), proceeds as follows.

28. ʔu.ktub-Ø   (ʔanta)   l-wājib-a
    IMPR.2.write.SM-JUSS   you.SM.NOM   the-homework-ACC
    '(You) write the homework!'

29.

```
                          FinP
                         /    \
                      Fin      MoodP
                               /    \
              ?u.ktub-Ø    Mood      v*P
                                    /    \
                            ?anta/pro     v*'
                                NP       /    \
                                   ?u.ktub-Ø   v*    VP
                                               /    \
                                       ?u.ktub-Ø  V      NP
                                                          △
                                                       l-wājib-a
```
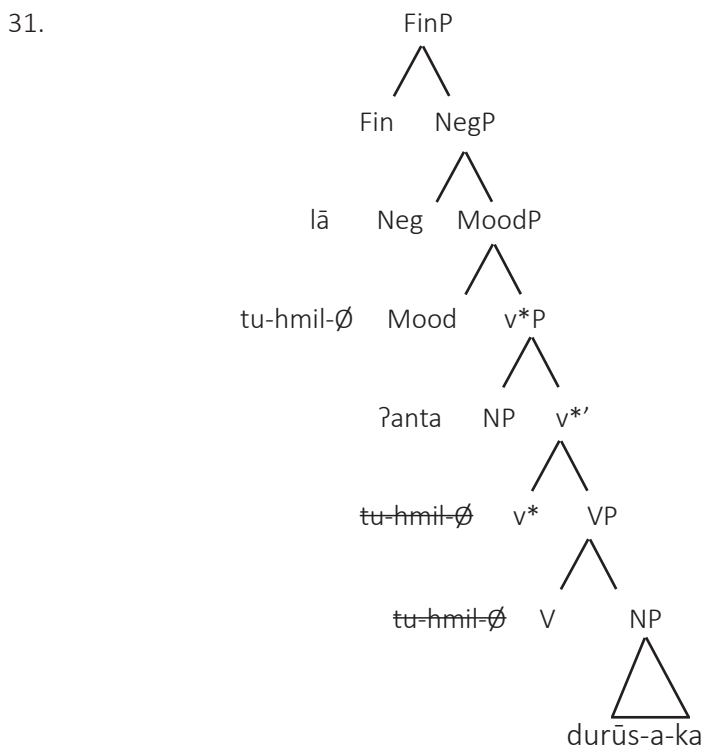
The verb is merged in V with a valued categorial [V] feature, with the object (which has an unvalued [Case] feature) in its complement position; v* is merged with an unvalued [VC] feature. The categorial [V] feature on the verb gets 'projected' to the highest verbal projection in the clause, v*P. Having a valued categorial [V] feature, v*P gets selected by a Mood head which has an unvalued categorial [V] feature, a valued [Mood] feature, and an unvalued [VC] feature. Match between the two [V] features, on v*P and on Mood, takes place, resulting in valuing [V] on Mood, via Agree (of Chomsky 2001). Now, with a valued categorial [V] feature and a valued [Mood] feature, the

MoodP gets selected by a Fin head with an unvalued categorial [V] feature, an unvalued [Mood] feature, and a valued [VC] feature. Agree between Fin and Mood takes place, resulting in valuing [V] and [Mood] on Fin, and [VC] on Mood. Now, v* enters an Agree relation with Fin to get its [VC] feature valued. Now the subject (overt pronoun) and the object enter Agree relations with Mood and v*, respectively, and get their [Case] features valued as Nom and Acc, respectively.

In addition, the negative imperative sentence (30) receives the clause structure in (31).

30. lā   tu-hmil-Ø   (ʔanta)   durūs-a-ka

    NEG.IMPR   2-neglect.SM-JUSS   you.SM.NOM   lessons-ACC-your

    '(You) don't neglect your lessons!'

31.

```
                        FinP
                       /    \
                     Fin    NegP
                           /    \
                      lā  Neg    MoodP
                                /    \
                   tu-hmil-Ø  Mood   v*P
                                    /   \
                              ʔanta NP   v*'
                                        /   \
                              t̶u̶-̶h̶m̶i̶l̶-̶Ø̶  v*   VP
                                              /   \
                                   t̶u̶-̶h̶m̶i̶l̶-̶Ø̶  V    NP
                                                       /\
                                                      /  \
                                                  durūs-a-ka
```

Moreover, the sentence in (32) provides a 3rd person example of the third imperative construction that SA has; it receives the tree in (33).

32. li-ya-ktub-Ø   Ɂax-ū-ka

     IMPR-IMPF-write.SM-JUSS   brother-NOM-your

     wājib-a-hu

     homework-ACC-his

     'Have your brother write his homework!'

33.
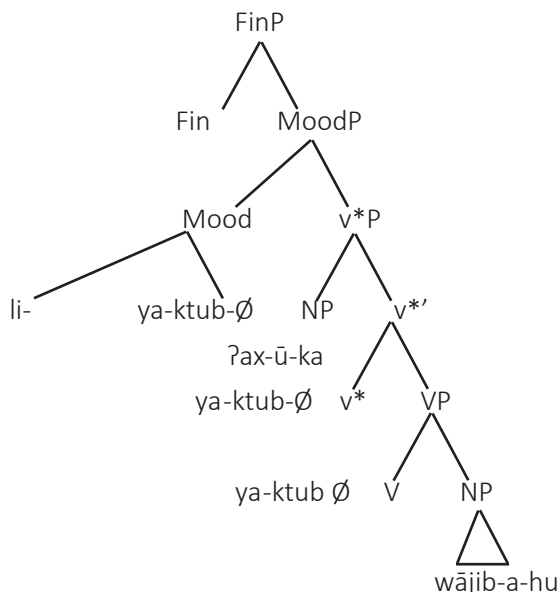
The Case checking operations in (31) and (33) proceed as in (29), with differences limited to the type of the subject that receives the Nom Case licensed by Mood. Also, while the [Mood] feature is on the verb in (29), it is on the negative particle in (31) and on the modal prefix in (33). The fact that the imperative verb in (33) appears with a modal prefix that encodes 'imperative' mood is shown to take place via head movement. I take no position on the debate of when head movement takes place, in narrow syntax or at PF (Phonological Form).

4. Concluding Remarks

This paper has provided a syntactic analysis for the three imperative constructions that SA has. To do this, it utilized the various morphosyntactic and semantic properties (lacking tense and encoding mood, hence finiteness) that the imperative verbs, particles, and constructions have. It shows that while the imperative verb moves to Mood (to satisfy the EPP, as well as the other VC features that it carries), the subject remains in its base-generated position, Spec, v*P (where it receives Nom Case from Mood via Agree, Chomsky 2001), and the negative particle is merged in Neg, above MoodP. The provided analysis is based on general generative proposals in Chomsky (1981, 1995, 2001), as well as proposals and findings in Wright (1967), Zhang (1990), Fassi Fehri (1993), Potsdam (1996), Rizzi (1997), Cowper (2005), Soltan (2007), and Al-Balushi (2011, 2016).

The provided analysis has implications for the debate on the position(s) that the subject occupies in SA declarative sentences, both pre-verbally and post-verbally (as argued in Mohammad 1990, Benmamoun 2000:128, and Ouhalla 1994), or only post-verbally (as maintained in Sībawayhi 1990:278, and argued in Soltan 2007:50-61). Since the pre-verbal NP in an imperative construction is a vocative (as illustrated by (27)), which is an A-bar element (that occupies a Spec, position in the Comp-domain), and the post-verbal NP is the imperative subject, then this analysis provides evidence that the subject of SA declarative sentences may only occupy the post-verbal position (in line with Sībawayhi 1990 and Soltan 2007), leaving the pre-verbal position for topics and left-dislocated elements, which are A-bar elements (that occupy positions in the Comp domain). Since it is extendable to other SA constructions, Al-Balushi's (2011, 2016) Case theory is shown to have empirical support.

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The Standard Arabic sounds (letters and diacritics) and their phonemic symbols

Long vowels			Short vowels			Consonants					
١	ي	و	فتحة	كسرة	ضمة	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ
ā	ī	ū	a	i	u	b	t	θ	j	ħ	x

Consonants											
د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ
d	ð	r	z	s	š	ṣ	ḍ	ṭ	ẓ	ʕ	ɣ

Consonants										
ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	الواو	ي	الهمزة	
f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w	y	ʔ	