ABSTRACT

COGNATE OBJECTS WITH UNACCUSATIVE AND UNERGATIVE VERBS IN ARABIC

The study examines the function and properties of the cognate object (CO) in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). The analysis of the Arabic cognate object supports the argument that the cognate objects with unaccusative and unergative verbs occupy the adjunct position because they are adverbs, not arguments, so they don't compete with the superficial subject (that originated as an object) for the complement position.

The cognate object in Arabic has traditionally been known as the absolute object among Arab grammarians and syntacticians. Even though the absolute object is an adjunct, it looks like an argument due to word order and case marking. The behavior of cognate objects in Arabic unaccusatives is linked to the fact that accusative case is inherent case.

I will show that the traditional analysis is wrong in treating the Arabic cognate object as a complement (argument) in the unaccusative and unergative structures. I will argue in favor of the adverbial analysis.

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COGNATE OBJECTS WITH UNACCUSATIVE AND UNERGATIVE VERBS IN ARABIC

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DEDICATION

To my mom, dad, and sister, who I miss all the time.

To my professors, who always were there when I needed them.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Cognate Objects

The nature of cognate objects (COs) has been an area of linguistic interest for the last two decades. The construction of the cognate object in English has been analyzed extensively. Here are some examples of the English cognate object:

(1) Ellen laughed a laugh.

(2) George died a gruesome death.

Cognate object constructions contain a lexical verb that occurs together with a noun that is related to it both semantically and morphologically as in the examples above. The cognate object is characterized by its optional modification with an adjective as in (2) above. Another property of the cognate object is that it follows the verb like the direct object. Finally, cognate objects are sometimes shown to be possible with either unergative verbs (verbs that have an agent subject but no apparent object) or certain verbs that are optionally transitive but not with passivization or unaccustive verbs. The following examples illustrate these differences:

(3) She groaned a groan. (unergative verb)

(4) She smiled a smile. (optionally transitive verb)

(5) *A silly grin was grinned. (passivization)

(6) *She raced her brother a fast race. (unaccusative verb)

Cognate objects are widely used in Indo-European languages as well as languages such as Japanese, Arabic, and Turkish. Many languages, however, do not permit all kinds of cognate object constructions. English, for example, puts many restrictions on the construction of cognate objects. As shown above, cognate objects must occur with unergative and intransitive verbs. This restriction is

syntactic because it is associated with case assignment. Accusative case is assigned only once in English (Mittwoch, 1998). The examples (7 and 8) below are used by Mittwoch (1998) to show the marginal use of the cognate object with the unergative verbs.

(7) ?She worked important work.

(8) ?The bell rang a long ring.

The cognate object in (7) above is not preferred in English. The example in (9) below is more preferred because it has a light verb construction[1]. English also prefers the prepositional phrase in (10) below over the cognate object in (8). According to Levin (1971), English often replaces cognate objects with a non-cognate object or omits the object entirely in order to give more emphasis to the verb in these constructions.

(9) She did important work.

(10) The bell rang for a long time.

The cognate object is used in Arabic especially in formal settings. In Arabic, cognate object construction is utilized as a means of word repetition. Although Classical Arabic uses the cognate object, I will not use examples from the Quran. Instead, I will use examples from Modern Standard Arabic which is the language of education, newspapers, and other formal media in Arabic speaking countries.

I will analyze the functions and the semantic and syntactic properties of the cognate object with unaccusative and unergative verbs in Arabic.

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[1] Occurs when an event nominalization appears as an object and that nominalization is the same as that of the verb. The weight of the lexical information will usually be on the object, with the verb acting like a placeholder. Both the verb and the object appear as one lexical unit.

Absolute Object in Arabic

Arab grammarians have assigned the name “absolute object” to the cognate object. The traditional characterization of the absolute objects does not give us any tests or insight into the syntax or the status of these objects.

Consider the example in (11).

(11) zaħafa ʔadʒ-dʒeɪʃ-ʊ **zaħf-an**

marched (3ms) the-army-NOM (s) march-ACC (s)

‘The army marched a march.’

The absolute object can be omitted. Even when it is unseen, the absolute object can be understood. The sentences in 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 are equivalent to 13, 15, 17, 19, and 21, respectively, although the absolute object is not mentioned.

(12) ɾadʒaʕa ʔal-qahqaɾɪ

returned (3ms) the-back-DAT (s)

‘He returned back.’

(13) ɾadʒaʕa **ɾʊdʒu**:**ʕ-a** ʔal-qahqaɾɪ

returned (3ms) return-ACC the-back-DAT (s)

‘He returned back.’

(14) ʔakala kaθi:ɾ-an

ate (3ms) much-ACC

‘He ate too much.’

(15) ʔakala **ʔakl-an** kaθi:ɾ-an

ate (3ms) eating-ACC much-ACC

‘He ate too much.’

(16) dˤaɾaba-hʊ saʊtˤ-an

beat-him (3ms) whip-ACC (s)

‘He whipped him.’

(17) dˤaɾaba-hʊ **dˤaɾb-a** as-saʊtˤ-ɪ

beat-him (3ms) beating-ACC the-whip-DAT (s)

‘He whipped him.’

(18) qaʕada ʤʊluːs-an

sat (3ms) seating-ACC

‘He sat.’

(19) qaʕada **qʊʕuːd-a** ʤʊluːs-ɪn

sat (3ms) sitting-ACC seating-DAT

‘He sat.’

(20) ʃabaʕa kʊll-a ʔaʃ-ʃabaʕ-ɪ

became full (3ms) all-ACC the-becoming full-DAT

‘He became full of food.’

(21) ʃabaʕa **ʃabaʕ-an** kʊll-a ʔaʃ-ʃabaʕ-ɪ

became full(3ms) becoming full-ACC all-ACC the-becoming full-DAT

‘He became full of food.’

The verb can be omitted to result in a meaning that is not generated without omitting it. The generated meanings include imperative meaning (22), prevention meaning (23), supplication meaning (24), rebuke meaning (25), and showing consequences meaning (26).

(22) **ɾamal-an**

jogging-ACC

‘Jog!’

(23) **ɾamal-an** lɑː **ʕadw-an**

jogging-ACC no running-ACC

‘Jog but do not run!’

(24) **ħamd-an** lɪ-l-lɑːh

thanking-ACC to-the-God (DAT)

'Thanks be to God!'

(25) **ʔa-laʕɪb-an** wa qad ʤada ʔan-nɑːs-ʊ

is-playing-ACC while have worked hard (3ms) the-people-NOM

'You are playing while others are working hard!'

(26) ʔaqdɪm fa-ʔɪmma **ʔan-nasˤr-ʊ** wa

proceed (2ms) then-either the-victory-NOM (s) and

ʔɪmma **ʔaʃ-ʃahɑːda**

either the-martyrdom (NOM, s)

'Forward! You will receive either victory or martyrdom.'

The absolute object can be indefinite (27) or definite (28 and 29).

(27) ʔʊħɪbbʊ ʔʊmm-iː **ħʊbb-an** kabiːr-an

love (1s) mom-my (ACC, s) love-ACC big-ACC

'I love my mom a lot.'

(28) ʔɪmtaħantʊ **ʔal-ʔɪmtɪħɑːn-a** ʔal-ʔasˤʕab

took test (1s) the-test-ACC (s) the-hardest

'I took the hardest test.'

(29) haʤama **hʊʤuːm-a** ʔal-ʔasad

attacked (3ms) attack-ACC the-lion (DAT, s)

'He attacked like a lion.'

The absolute object in (28) is definite by the definite article *ʔal-* and the absolute object in (29) is definite "by definition" because it is part of the "construct phrase."[2]

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[2] Consists of two or more nouns placed together to form a relationship of possession or belonging.

The absolute object in Arabic is used for three main purposes: to emphasize the verb and confirm it (30 and 31), to describe the manner at which the verb occurred (32 and 33), and to show how many times the verb occurred (34 and 35).

(30) qafaza ʔan-namɪr-ʊ **qafz-an**
jumped (3ms) the-tiger-NOM (s) jumping-ACC
'The tiger jumped a jump.'

(31) ʔadʒlaltʊ ʔal-ʔamiːɾ-a **ʔɪdʒlɑːl-an**
reverenced (1s) the-prince-ACC (s) reverence-ACC
'I highly reverenced the prince.'

(32) tafoʊaqa ʔal-mʊtasɑːbɪq-ʊ **tafoʊq-an** kabiːɾ-an
excelled (3ms) the-racer-NOM (s) excellence-ACC big-ACC
'The racer did excellently.'

(33) ʔɪntˤalaqat ʔas-sajɑːɾat-ʊ **ʔɪntˤɪlɑːq-a** ʔas-sahm-ɪ
cast (3fs) the-car-NOM (s) casting-ACC the-arrow-DAT (s)
'The car moved fast like an arrow.'

(34) waqaʕtʊ **waqʕat-eɪn**
fell (1s) fall-ACC (DUAL)
'I fell twice.'

(35) ɾakala **ɾaklat-an**
kicked (3ms) a kick-ACC (s)
'He kicked once.'

The absolute objects *qafzan* in (30) and *ʔɪdʒlaːlan* in (31) confirm the occurrence of the verb. The absolute object *tafoʊqan* in (32) describes how the verb was performed – great excellence. The same is true of the absolute object in (33) *ʔɪntˤɪlaːq* which is added to the noun *ʔas-sahm* to use it as simile for how fast the car moved. When the absolute object is followed by an adjective or added to a

noun, it usually describes how the verb was done. Finally, *waqʕatem* in (34) shows that the verb happened twice and *ʃaklatan* in (35) shows that only one kick was kicked.

The Arabic cognate object can be either an adjunct or a complement (argument). However, it is traditionally called the absolute object to reflect that it is always an object (complement). In fact, it is usually assumed to be the prototype object. The traditional analysis is wrong, and the modern tools of analysis reveal that it can be either an object (argument) or an adverbial adjunct.

The Goal of the Thesis

This study will be limited to the functions of the cognate object with unaccusative and unergative verbs in Arabic. The ultimate goal is to show that the cognate object is invariably an adjunct in both unaccusative and unergative contexts in Arabic.

In chapter 2, I will explore some general parameters of the syntax of Arabic. In chapter 3, I will provide an overview of the cognate object construction, cognate objects in Arabic, and the cognate object construction with unaccusative and unergative verbs. In chapter 4, I will seek to apply an extraction asymmetry, participation in different classes of predicates, and passivization on Arabic cognate objects. I will argue that cognate objects are never complements of unaccusative or unergative verbs. The final chapter will contain a brief summary and my conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: GENERAL PARAMETERS OF ARABIC SYNTAX

Typically, Arabic is a VSO (verb-subject-object) language. Here, we explore general patterns of word order, full and left conjunct subject-verb agreement, and accusative case as inherent case. Our purpose in examining these aspects of Arabic is to establish normal syntax structures in this language.

Word Order in Arabic

Some languages have one order that predominates, with other orders highly marked for pragmatic variations. Citing Pullum (1977) and Chomsky (1965), Mithun (1987) noted that the dominant word order for a language can sometimes be the order for the supposedly neutral sentences (such as discourse-initial sentences) or the order for possible ambiguous clauses which some argue to be the most neutral type of sentence. The problem becomes more complicated when more than one word order appears with regularity in the main clauses of a language.

I do not agree with the assumption that a uniform syntactic word order exists for all languages. Many languages change their word order according to pragmatic functions, and while these vary from language to language, the word order is not syntactically defined. In these languages, word order is pragmatically defined, and unusual situations will be marked by the use of other methods (Mithun 1987). While languages defined by syntactic word order will typically place elements of lower importance at the beginning of the sentence, pragmatically based languages will place the most newsworthy items first.

Kayne (1994) proposed that all languages are derived from the underlying word order of subject-verb-object (SVO). Others would disagree with Kayne's analysis, and of those who would support his conclusion in regards to the

approximately 10% of the world's languages which are verb-subject-object (VSO) in basic word order, there is much debate as to how the derivation of the VSO from the SVO order takes place.

Word order in Arabic can be either SVO or VSO. Consider the sentence with SVO order illustrated in (36).

(36)	ʔanta	tʊħɪb	ʔakl-a	ʔal-kabɑːb
	you (NOM, ms)	like (2ms)	eating-ACC	the-kebab (DAT)

'You like eating kebab.'

The subject is sometimes understood (through verb conjugation) without being directly expressed. The sentence in (37) is an example.

(37)	tʊħɪbʊ-hʊ
	like-it (2ms)

'You like it.'

The object pronoun can sometimes separate from the verb. The full object pronoun differs from the clitic as shown in (38).

(38)	tʊħɪbʊ	ʔɪjɑːh
	like (2ms)	it (ACC)

'You like it.'

If the subject is realized, it will keep the SVO order as in (39).

(39)	ʔanta	tʊħɪbʊ	ʔɪjɑːh
	you (NOM, ms)	like (2ms)	it (ACC)

'You like it.'

In (40), the word order is VSO.

(40)	jʊħɪbʊ	fɪɾɑːs	ʔakl-a	ʔal-kabɑːb
	like (3ms)	Firas (NOM)	eating-ACC	the-kebab (DAT)

'Firas likes eating kebab.'

Carnie and Guilfoyle (2000) assumed some traits that many VSO structures share: preverbal negation particles, left-conjunct agreement, the lack of a "have" verb, constructions without a verb at all, and the verbal-noun infinitive. Agreement is discussed in the next section.

Full Agreement and Left-conjunct Agreement in VSO Languages

In general, VSO clauses show left-conjunct agreement—a phenomenon in which the verb of the sentence agrees with the left element of a conjoined subject. Consider the example in (41). The person, gender, and number of the verb appear in bold.

(41) ʤalasa fɪɾɑːs wa ʔamiːɾ
sat (3ms) Firas (NOM) and Ameer (NOM)
'Firas and Ameer sat.'

The verb *ʤalasa* is singular. Now consider (42), which has full agreement with the conjoined subject.

(42) *ʤalasɑː fɪɾɑːs wa ʔamiːɾ
sat (3md) Firas (NOM) and Ameer (NOM)
'Firas and Ameer sat.'

In (42), the verb *ʤalasaː* is dual. Number agreement is ungrammatical in VSO order.

This same kind of left-conjunct agreement may also be found in English sentences that have expletive clauses, as in (43), and in sentences that have a plural left conjunct, as in (45), which differs from its Arabic counterpart, as shown in (46).

(43) In the school there was a library and a terminal room.

(44) ??In the school were a library and a terminal room. (Doron, 2000)

(45) In the school there were two libraries and a terminal room.

(46) fiː ʔal-madrasa kɑːna hʊnɑːk
in the-school (DAT, s) was (3ms) there
maktabat-ɑːn wa ʁʊɾfa
library-NOM (DUAL) and room (NOM, s)
'In the school there were two libraries and a room.'

Left-conjunct agreement is found in Arabic sentences which have null expletives, as in (47).

(47) Null expletive, left-conjunct agreement
kɑːn ʕɪnd-ɪ qalam-ʊn wa waɾaqa
was (3ms) at-my pen-NOM (ms) and paper (NOM, fs)
'I had a pen and a piece of paper.'

The sentence in (47) is grammatical because the verb *kaːn* is singular. Number agreement in the same sentence would make it ungrammatical in (48) where the verb *kaːnaː* is dual.

(48) Null expletive, full agreement
*kɑːnɑː ʕɪndɪ qalam-ʊn wa waɾaqa
was (3md) at-my pen-NOM (ms) and paper (NOM, fs)
'I had a pen and a piece of paper.'

On the other hand, full agreement is required in SVO order. Consider the example in (49).

(49) fɪɾɑːs wa ʔamiːɾ ʤalasɑː
Firas (NOM) and Ameer (NOM) sat (3md)
'Firas and Ameer sat.'

The verb *ʤalasaː* is dual.

Doron (2000) has shown that Arabic is not the only language that has non-expletive sentences with left-conjunct agreement. Consider examples from Greek (50) and Spanish (51).

(50) Greek

irthe	o	Pavlos	kai	o	Giannis	sto parti
came (3s)	PRT	Paul	and	PRT	John	to-the-party

'Paul and John came to the party.'

(51) Spanish

estaba	abierta	la	tienda	y	el	Mercado
was (3s)	open (3fs)	the	shop (f)	and	the	market (m)

'The shop and the market were open.'

(Doron, 2000)

<u>Accusative Case as Inherent Case</u>

In Arabic, accusative case seems to be assigned to any VP-internal DP as a default (perhaps as a case inherent to VP-internal DPs). Consider the examples in (52 and 53).

(52) sabaħa miːl-an

swam (3ms) mile-ACC (s)

'He swam a mile.'

(53) sa-ʔaɾɑː-ka ʁad-an

will-see-you (1s) tomorrow-ACC

'I will see you tomorrow.'

miːl-an in (52) and *ʁad-an* in (53) are accusative, though they are adverbial DPs.

The existence of accusative marked cognate objects therefore does not argue necessarily that they are actual arguments of the verb.

In summary, the intent of this chapter has been to identify and examine the syntactic patterns in Arabic. Next we analyze the cognate object with unaccusative and unergative verbs.

CHAPTER 3: COGNATE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS AND UNACCUSATIVITY

Studies on Cognate Objects

Nakajima (2006) argued against the "unergative restriction" on the cognate object construction.

The "unergative restriction" states that "only unergative verbs can appear in the cognate object construction. No unaccusative verbs can" (Kuno & Takami, 2004, p. 107).

Nakajima (2006) claimed that the cognate object construction actually occurs with unaccusative verbs because cognate objects occupy the adjunct position. According to Nakajima (2006), cognate objects are adverbs, not arguments, so they don't compete with the superficial subject (that originated as an object) for the complement position. This doesn't contradict the "unaccusative hypothesis" (Perlmutter, 1978), which distinguishes between unergative and unaccusative verbs and assumes that the arguments of those classes are generated in different positions (Nakajima, 2006).

(54) The tree grew a century's growth within only 10 years.

(55) The stock market dropped its largest drop in 3 years.

(56) Stanley watched as the ball bounced a funny little bounce right into the shortstop's glove.

(57) The apples fell just a short fall to the lower deck, and so were not too badly bruised.

The verbs used in the sentences above are unaccusative verbs since they represent nonvolitional events that involve non-human subjects. Those verbs show how the state or location of their referents changes.

Nakajima (2006) has shown that cognate objects in the sentences above are not arguments, but adverbs. To do that, a number of tests were used. First, the cognate objects can be replaced by non-object DPs that are not related morphologically to the verbs.

(58) The tree trunk grew a century's expansion in only 10 years.

(59) The stock market dropped 250 points today.

(60) The ball bounced a funny little curve right into the shortstop's glove.

(61) The apples fell the length of my arm.

Second, the DPs in 58, 59, 60, and 61 can be replaced by adverbial PPs to show the extent of the events.

(62) The tree trunk grew by a century's expansion in only 10 years.

(63) The stock market dropped by 250 points today.

(64) The ball bounced with a funny little curve right into the shortstop's glove.

(65) The apples fell {by/to} the length of my arm.

Third, the cognate objects in 54, 55, 56, and 57 can't be passivized.

(66) *A century's growth was grown within only 10 years by the tree trunk.

(67) *The largest drop in three years was dropped by the stock market today.

(68) *A funny little bounce was bounced right into the shortstop's glove by the ball.

(69) *Just a short fall was fallen to the lower deck by the apples.

The DPs in 58, 59, 60, and 61 cannot be passivized either.

(70) *A century's expansion was grown in only 10 years by the tree trunk.

(71) *Two hundred and fifty points were dropped by the stock market today.

(72) *The length of my arm was fallen by the apples.

On the other hand, passivization is possible with argument-like objects. Sentences in the passive undergo some changes to fulfill the necessary pragmatic conditions (Nakajima, 2006).

(73) a. The baby slept a sound sleep.

b. A sound sleep was slept by the baby.

(74) a. The woman lived a happy life.

b. A good life was lived by Susan.

(75) a. The boy dreamed a terrifying dream.

b. The same dream was repeatedly dreamed by Mary.

Unlike the adverbial cognate objects, the argument cognate objects can be questioned by "what kind of."

(76) a. What kind of sleep did the baby sleep?

b. What kind of life did the woman live?

c. What kind of dream did the boy dream?

(77) a. *What kind of growth did the tree grow in ten years?

b. *What kind of drop did the stock market drop today?

c. *What kind of fall did the apples fall to the lower deck?

Nakajima (2006) concluded that English has both argument and adverb cognate objects. The occurrence of one type rather than the other is determined by the class of the verb: unergative verbs can take argument cognate objects whereas unaccusative verbs can take adverb cognate objects.

The assumption here is that cognate objects can be either a complement (argument) or an adjunct of the transitive verbs but it can be only an adjunct of unaccusative or unergative verbs.

Cognate Object in Arabic

Research on the cognate object has tended to divide into two opposing views: the cognate objects are objects of a predicate or cognate objects are themselves predicates that function like adverbials. Massam (1990) supported the former view, claiming that verbs in such cognate object sentences as ‘He slept a peaceful sleep’ and ‘He lived a useful life’ (Opdycke, 1941, as cited in Massam 1990) are usually regarded as transitive, violating the fourth generalization of cognate object properties that we have noted above. Others saw the CO as an adjunct (a predicate, acting as an adverbial) including Jones (1988), Moltmann (1989), and Zubizarreta (1987).

I will show some examples of cognate objects in Arabic in order to analyze their function and to define the scope of this study. I maintain an approach that respects both positions in the literature. I also posit two distinct functions for cognate objects in Arabic – one with the function of an argument and another with that of an adverbial when it is an adjunct. Consider the following examples, which illustrate distinguishing characters of the two types of Arabic cognate object. These characteristics enable us to posit that two different cognate object functions exist. In order to show the cognate object, it is put in bold type.

(78)	ɾaqasˤna	**ɾaqsˤat-eɪn/ɾaqasˤɑːt-ɪn**	kaθiːɾa
	danced (1p)	dance-ACC (DUAL)/dances-ACC (p)	many

‘We danced two dances/many dances.’

(79) ɾaqasˤna kol-a ʔaɾ-**ɾaqasˤɑ:t**/haðıhı aɾ-**ɾaqsˤa**

danced (1p) all-ACC the-dances (DAT, p)/this the-dance (ACC, s)

‘We danced all the dances/this dance.”

(80) zɑ:ɾ fıɾɑ:s-ʊn ʔami:ɾ-an **zıjɑ:ɾɑ:t-ın**

visited (3ms) Firas-NOM Ameer-ACC visits-ACC (p)

kaθi:ɾa/**zıjɑ:ɾat-eın**

many/visit-ACC (DUAL)

‘Firas visited Ameer many visits/two visits.’

(81) zɑ:ɾ fıɾɑ:s-ʊn ʔami:ɾ-an kol-a

visited (3ms) Firas-NOM Ameer-ACC all-ACC

ʔaz-**zıjɑ:ɾɑ:t** /haðıhı az-**zıjɑ:ɾa**

the-visits (DAT, p) /this the-visit (ACC, s)

‘Firas visited Ameer all the visits/this visit.’

The cognate objects in (78) and (79) are arguments of the predicate, while the cognate objects in (80) and (81) function as adverbial predicates. Observe that the cognate objects are compatible with the weak determiners (determiners such as *many*, *several*, or *some* which are non-specific in quantity) in (78) and (80). Only the type of cognate object that has an argument, however, example (79), is compatible with a strong determiner (a determiner such as all or every which is specific in regards to the quantity) while (81), the cognate object with an adverbial predicate, is not. I maintain that the reason for this difference is that the two distinct types of cognate objects function differently in Arabic.

Cognate objects behave differently in regard to pronominalization. See the examples below.

(82) ɾaqasˤa fɪɾɑːs-ʊn ʔaɾ-**ɾaqsˤa**

danced (3ms) Firas-NOM the-dance (ACC, s)

ʔal-axiːɾa be-taʕab

the-last in-tiredness (DAT)

‘Firas danced the last dance tired.’

(83) ʔaɾ-**ɾaqsˤa** ʔal-axiːɾa ɾaqasˤa-ha

the-dance (ACC, s) the-last danced-it (3ms)

fɪɾɑːs-ʊn bɪ-taʕab

Firas-NOM in-tiredness (DAT)

‘The last dance, Firas danced it tired.’

(84) *ʔamaɾa ʔadˤ-dˤɑːbɪtˤ-ʊ ʔadʒ-dʒʊnuːd-a ʔan

ordered (3ms) the-officer-NOM (s) the-soldiers-ACC to

jaʔkʊloʊ wadʒbata-hʊm **ʔakl-an** saɾiːʕ-an wa

eat (3mp) meal-their (ACC, s) eating-ACC quick-ACC and

ʔakala fɪɾɑːs-ʊn wadʒbata-hʊ bɪ-ha

ate (3ms) Firas-NOM meal-his (ACC, s) in-it

‘The officer ordered the soldiers to eat their meal quickly and Firas ate his meal quickly.’ (Pereltsvaig, 2002)

Examples (82) and (83) contain cognate objects which are arguments of the predicate, with (83) representing a permitted pronominalization of the cognate object. (84), containing a cognate object which is an adverbial predicate, illustrates that the pronominalization of this type of cognate object is not permitted.

Another difference is that cognate objects with an argument of the predicate create scope ambiguities (Pereltsvaig, 2002). Scope ambiguities are never found in cognate objects which function as adverbial predicates. Observe the two examples below. In (85), the cognate object creates scope ambiguities while the cognate object in (86) does not.

(85) kol-ʊ zəʊʤ-ɪn sa-jaɾqʊsˤ
every-NOM couple-DAT (s) will-dance (3ms)
sɪt-a **ɾaqasˤɑːt**
six-ACC dances (DAT, p)
'Every couple will dance six dances.'

(Pereltsvaig, 2002)

(86) zɑːɾ ʔatˤ-tˤabiːb-ʊ maɾiːdˤ-an jɑːbɑːnɪj-an
visited (3ms) the-doctor-NOM (s) patient-ACC (s) Japanese-ACC
xams-a **zɪjɑːɾɑːt**
five-ACC visits (DAT, p)
'The doctor visited a Japanese patient five visits.' (Mittwoch, 1998)

The scope ambiguity exists in (85), which may mean that each couple can choose six dances or that all couples must dance a selected six dances. Sentence (86) can only mean that the doctor visited the same patient five times.

Cognate objects in Arabic may or may not be paired with other structures, as in examples (87), (88), and (89).

(87) ʔɪɾtada fɪɾɑːs-ʊn **ɾɪdɑːʔ-an** maʁɾɪbɪj-an

wore (3ms) Firas-NOM dress-ACC (s) Moroccan-ACC

wa tˤaɾbuːʃ-an

and fez-ACC (s)

'Firas wore a Moroccan dress and a fez.'

(88) *qaɾaʔat leɪla ʔal-kɪtɑːb-a wa

read (3fs) Layla the-book-ACC (s) and

qɪɾɑːʔat-an ʃɑːmɪla

reading-ACC (s) thorough

'Layla gave the book a thorough reading.'

(89) *ʔɪɾtada fɪɾɑːs-ʊn **ʔɪɾtɪdɑːʔ-an** saɾiːʕ-an

wore (3ms) Firas-NOM dressing-ACC quick-ACC

wa **ɾɪdɑːʔ-an** maʁɾɪbɪj-an

and dress-ACC (s) Moroccan-ACC

'Firas dressed a Moroccan dress quickly.'

Example (87) illustrates a cognate object with an argument in a sentence that also contains a direct object, an acceptable arrangement. Example (88) contains an adverbial cognate object with a direct object, which is unacceptable because *ʔal-kɪtaːba* and ***qɪɾaːʔatan*** are not like elements. *ʔal-kɪtaːba* is a complement and ***qɪɾaːʔatan*** is an adjunct and they cannot be conjoined because co-ordination is sensitive to that distinction. Co-ordination will co-ordinate objects of an equal status. Finally, the unacceptable example (89) contains two cognate objects—the first being adverbial in nature, and the second containing an argument of the verb.

Another difference in what is permitted with cognate objects in Arabic is illustrated in (90) and (91).

(90) lɪ-man ɾasama fɪɾɑːs-ʊn **ɾasm-an** mutqan-an?

of-who painted (3ms) Firas-NOM painting-ACC (s) fine-ACC

'Whom did Firas paint a fine painting of?'

(91) *keifa waqaʕa fɪɾɑːs-ʊn **waqʕat-an**?

how fell (3ms) Firas-NOM fall-ACC (s)

'How did Firas fall a fall?'

Depending on whether they are an argument of the predicate or are adverbial predicates, cognate objects can be acceptable or unacceptable (Pereltsvaig, 2002). The examples above involve wh-extraction. The cognate object that represents a predicate argument is acceptable (90) while the other, (91), illustrates that extraction from an adjunct is not acceptable.

The differences that have been illustrated point strongly to the conclusion that there are two distinct types of Arabic cognate objects. The cognate objects in 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, and 90 have the properties of arguments of the predicate, while the cognate objects in 80, 81, 84, 86, 88, and 91 have the properties of predicate adverbials.

In the next section, I will present background on unaccusativity and the cognate object construction with unaccusative and unergative verbs.

Studies on Unaccusativity and Unergativity

According to the "unaccusative hypothesis" (Perlmutter, 1978), there are two classes of intransitive verbs, the unaccusative verbs and the unergative verbs. There is a different syntactic configuration which underlies each one of them: "D-

Structure subject and no object" is the underlying syntactic structure of the unergative verbs whereas "D-Structure object and no subject" is the underlying structure of the unaccusative verbs.

(92) unergative verb: NP [$_{VP}$ V]

(93) unaccusative verb: _____ [$_{VP}$ V NP/CP]

An unergative verb does not have a direct internal argument. It has only an external argument. On the other hand, an unaccusative verb does have a direct internal argument but it doesn't have an external one.

There's a correlation between the verb's ability to take an external argument and its ability of assigning a structural case (Burzio, 1986). An unaccusative verb can't assign a θ-role to its subject or assign a structural (accusative) case to its object.

The "unaccusative hypothesis" was based on the syntactic differences between unergative and unaccusative verbs. To distinguish between those two categories, different phenomena in different languages are used (Levin & Hovav, 1995). Those phenomena are called "unaccusative diagnostics." Some of those phenomena appeal to the syntactic differences between unergative and unaccusative verbs, taking into consideration the syntactic properties attributed to unaccusative verbs by the "unaccusative hypothesis." The verbs that are considered to be unaccusative by the unaccusative diagnostics are strikingly similar across languages (Levin & Hovav, 1995). Thus, other phenomena use the semantic differences to discriminate between the two classes taking into account the relation between the meaning of a verb and its affiliation with the unergative or unaccusative class.

Unfortunately, the results of those diagnostics are not very clear. There are verbs that are expected (on syntactic or semantic grounds) to be selected as

belonging to the unaccusative or unergative class but they actually are not. This has become to be known as “unaccusative mismatch” (Levin, 1988).

This mismatch results in two approaches to unaccusativity. The first one suggests that the classification of a verb as unergative or unaccusative cannot be completely determined by the semantics of the verb. This approach has come to be known as the syntactic approach. The second approach is the semantic approach which suggested that the classification of the verb as unergative or unaccusative cannot be determined only syntactically. Levin and Hovav (1995) proposed that unaccusativity is determined through semantics but represented through syntax. They show some syntactic phenomena whose explanation is based on the unaccusative syntactic configuration. On the other hand, they provide a set of linking rules that show the components of verb meaning that give an account for unergative or unaccusative classification.

The argument of unergative verbs behaves differently from that of unaccusative verbs. In Portuguese the argument of unergative verbs and the external argument of transitive verbs cannot appear in participial clauses (Eliseu, 1984).

(94) A Maria comprou os livros.
the Maria buy.PAST.FEM.SG the books
‘Maria bought the books.’

(95) *Comprada a Maria…
buy.PART.FEM.SG the Maria
‘After Maria bought (something)…’

(96) *Espirrada a Maria…
sneeze.PART.FEM.SG the Maria
‘After Maria sneezed…’

The argument of the unaccusative verbs can appear in participial clauses. The argument of unaccusative verbs behaves like the internal argument of transitive verbs.

(97) Comprados os livros…
buy.PART.MASC.PL the books
'After the books were bought…'

(98) Chegada a Maria…
arrive.PART.FEM.SG the Maria
'After Maria arrived…'

Some more examples are provided from Italian (Burzio, 1986). Unaccusative verbs choose the auxiliary *essere* 'be' and not the auxiliary *avere* 'have'.

(99) Giovanni è arrivato.
Giovanni is arrive.PAST.MASC.SG
'Giovanni arrived.'

(100) *Giovanni ha arrivato.
Giovanni has arrive.PAST.MASC.SG
'Giovanni arrived.'

Unergative verbs, on the other hand, behave like transitive verbs in that they select the auxiliary *avere* 'have'.

(101) Giovanni ha comprato un libro.
Giovanni has buy.PAST.MASC.SG a book
'Giovanni bought a book.'

(102) Giovanni ha telefonato.
Giovanni has call.PAST.MASC.SG
'Giovanni called.'

(103) *Giovanni è comprato un libro.
Giovanni is buy.PAST.MASC.SG a book
'Giovanni bought a book.'

(104) *Giovanni è telefonato.
Giovanni is call.PAST.MASC.SG
'Giovanni called.'

Hornstein et al. (2005) stated that the difference between unergative and unaccusative verbs is the position where the argument is generated. The argument is generated in the complement position of the unaccusative verbs but in the specifier position of the unergative verbs. They explain what happens in Italian by assuming that verbs with arguments generated in the specifier position take the auxiliary *avere* 'have' whereas verbs with no argument generated in the specifier position take the auxiliary *essere* 'be'. As for Portuguese, the distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs is shown through the ability of appearing in participial temporal clauses: only verbs that have "real" complements can license participial clauses. Hence, unaccusative verbs can show up in participial clauses since their argument is generated in the complement position.

Furthermore, Hornstein et al. (2005) distinguish between the two classes in English by the ability of taking a cognate object.

(105) John smiled (a beautiful **smile**).

(106) John arrived (*an unexpected **arrival**).

Unergative verbs have their complement position empty and available to accommodate the cognate object whereas the unaccusative verb has its complement position occupied by the argument and thus cannot accommodate for any object.

The suggested structure for the unergative verbs is shown in Figure 1, where the external argument is generated in [Spec, vP]. X is a lexical head which form a complex predicate with V. In other words, XP is the constituent that merges with V in order to form V’ (Hornstein et al., 2005).

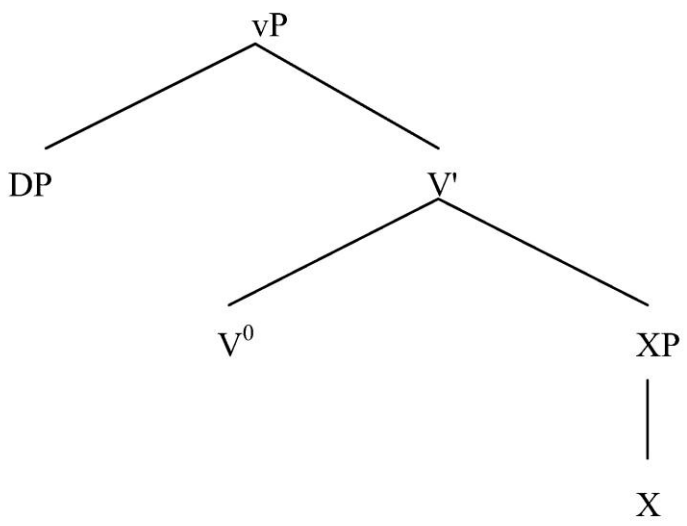

Figure 1. The unergative structure

This section introduced background on unaccusativity and the cognate object construction with unaccusative and unergative verbs.

In the next chapter, I will seek to apply an extraction asymmetry to the Arabic cognate object with the unaccusative and unergative verbs. I will also discuss how Arabic cognate objects can appear with different classes of predicates and predicates that have no event argument and how they cannot be passivized in unaccusative structures. I will argue that cognate objects are never complements of unaccusative and unergative verbs.

CHAPTER 4: THE PROPERTIES OF THE ABSOLUTE OBJECT IN ARABIC

A cognate object could be either an adjunct or complement (argument). In order to explore whether the Arabic cognate object is an adjunct or complement, I will use the extraction asymmetry as a test. I will show that it patterns with adjuncts, and provide further evidence for this conclusion.

Extraction Asymmetry with Arguments and Adjuncts

According to the subject-object asymmetry and an argument – adjunct asymmetry (Huang, 1982), it is possible to extract out of an object (107b) (controlling for definiteness and other factors), but it is not possible to extract out of a subject or adjunct (108b). Huang attributed the inability to extract out of subjects and adjuncts to the Condition on Extraction Domain. I will show that cognate objects in unergative and unaccusative structures pattern with adjuncts with respect to this extraction asymmetry.

(107) a. ɾaʔa fɪɾɑːs-ʊn sˤuːɾat-an lɪ-faɾaħ
saw (3ms) Firas-NOM picture-ACC (s) of-Farah (DAT)
'Firas saw a picture of Farah.'

b. lɪ-man ɾaʔa fɪɾɑːs-ʊn sˤuːɾat-an
of-who saw (3ms) Firas-NOM picture-ACC (s)
'Whom did Firas see a picture of?'

(108) a. ʁɑːdaɾat faɾaħ ʔal-bajt baʕda fɪɾɑːs
left (3fs) Farah (NOM) the-home (ACC, s) after Firas
'Farah left home after Firas.'

b. *baʕda	man	ʁɑːdaɾat	faɾaħ	ʔal-bajt
after	who	left (3fs)	Farah (NOM)	the-home (ACC, s)

'Whom did Farah leave home after?'

In (107a), the verb *ɾaʔa* is transitive and its object is *sˤuːɾat-an lɪ-faɾaħ* out of which *faɾaħ* is successfully extracted in (107b). In (108a), *baʕda fɪɾaːs* is an adjunct from which *fɪɾaːs* is not extractable and the attempt to extract it results in the ungrammaticality of (108b). This test of extraction shows that, in Arabic, it is possible to extract out of the complement of a verb but it would be ungrammatical to extract from the adjunct. I will use the same test to judge whether the Arabic cognate object is a complement (argument) or adjunct.

<u>Test for Arabic Cognate Object</u>

Now I seek to apply extraction as a test to see whether the cognate object in Arabic is an adjunct or a complement (argument).

The cognate object construction in Arabic occurs with transitive, unaccusative, and unergative verbs. Consider the example in (109a), which has a transitive cognate object construction.

(109) a.	ɾasamat	faɾaħ	**ɾasm-an**
	painted (3fs)	Farah (NOM)	painting-ACC (s)
	mʊtqan-an	lɪ-sˤadiːqatɪ-ha	
	fine-ACC	of-friend-her	

'Farah painted a fine painting of her friend.'

The extraction asymmetry test can be used to show that the cognate object *ɾasm-an* in (109a) is a complement (argument), not an adjunct.

(109) b. lɪ-man ɾasamat faɾaħ **ɾasm-an** mʊtqan-an

of-who painted (3fs) Farah (NOM) painting-ACC (s) fine-ACC

'Whom did Farah paint a fine painting of?'

Observe that *sˤadiːqatɪ-ha* is successfully extracted from *ɾasm-an mʊtqanan lɪ-sˤadiːqatɪ-ha*, which is the object of the transitive verb *ɾasamat*.

Now I seek to extract out of an unaccusative cognate object construction. The sentence in (110a) is an unaccusative structure that has the cognate object *wʊsˤuːl-an*.

(110) a. wasˤalat faɾaħ **wʊsˤuːl-an** mʊsɾɪʕ-an

arrived (3fs) Farah (NOM) arrival-ACC quick-ACC

lɪ-ʃaxsˤ-ɪn mʊsɾɪʕ

of-person-DAT quick

'Farah arrived a quick arrival of a quick person.'

In (110b), I attempt to extract *mʊsɾɪʕ* out of the cognate object construction.

(110) b. *lɪ-aj-ɪ ʃaxsˤ-ɪn wasˤalat faɾaħ

of-which-DAT person-DAT arrived Farah

wʊsˤuːl-an mʊsɾɪʕ-an

arrival-ACC quick

'Of what kind of person did Farah arrive a quick arrival?'

The extraction from the unaccusative cognate object construction results in an ungrammatical sentence. The extraction test shows that the cognate object *wʊsˤuːl-an* with the unaccusative verb *wasˤalat* is adverbial (adjunct).

Now consider the sentence in (111a) which has an unergative cognate object construction.

(111) a. maʃat faɾaħ **maʃjat-an** wɑːθɪqat-an
walked (3fs) Farah (NOM) walk-ACC (s) confident-ACC
lɪ-bɪnt-ɪn wɑːθɪqa
of-girl-DAT (s) confident
'Farah walked a confident walk of a confident girl.'

The extraction test shows that the cognate object in unergative structures is also an adjunct because the extraction out of the cognate object construction is not possible, as in (111b).

(111) b. *lɪ-aj-ɪ bɪnt-ɪn maʃat faɾaħ
of-which-DAT girl-DAT (s) walked (3fs) Farah (NOM)
maʃjat-an wɑːθɪqat-an
walk-ACC (s) confident-ACC
'Of what kind of girl did Farah walk a confident walk?'

Now that the Arabic cognate object with unaccusative and unergative verbs appears to be an adjunct and not a direct object (complement), I will seek to see if it patterns with the adverbial analysis.

Other Facts in Favor of the Adverbial Analysis

Katz (1997) and Kratzer (1995) claimed that individual-level and stative predicates, respectively, do not have an event argument. The following examples have a cognate object in an individual-level predicate (112) and in a stative predicate (113).

(112) lɑː jaðˤhaɾʊ **ðˤʊhuːɾ-an** wɑːdˤɪħ-an fɪ ʔan-nahɑːɾ
not appear (3ms) appearance-ACC clear-ACC in the-day (DAT,s)
'It does not appear clearly during the day.'

(113) tafahma-ha **tafahʊm-an** kɑːmɪl-an

undersood-her (3ms) understanding-ACC complete-ACC

‘He understood her completely.’

The above examples are very common in Arabic and support the adverbial analysis of the cognate object since the predicates in (119 and 120) have no event argument.

Furthermore, Pereltsvaig (2002) proposes that the appearance of the cognate object with different classes of predicates (114-116) supports the adverbial analysis of the cognate object.

(114) Activities

ɾakadˤa **ɾɪkdˤat-a** sˤbɑːħ-in tˤawiːla

ran (3ms) running-ACC (s) morning-DAT (s) long

‘He ran a long morning run.’

(115) Accomplishments

bana **bɪnɑːʔ-an** ʃɑːmɪl-an

built (3ms) building-ACC thorough-ACC

‘He built a thorough building.’

(116) Achievements

mɑːta ʔal-maɾiːdˤ-ʊ **miːtat-an** mʊfɑːdʒɪʔa

died (3ms) the-patient-NOM (s) death-ACC (s) sudden

‘The patient died suddenly.’ (Pereltsvaig, 2002)

Another piece of support for the adverbial analysis comes from Nakajima (2006) who proposes that cognate objects with unaccusative verbs cannot be passivized. The following examples have verbs that represent nonvolitional events involving nonhuman subjects and they express the change of state or location of their referents.

(117) a. namat ʔaʃ-ʃadʒaɾa **nʊmʊw-a** qaɾn

grew (3fs) the-tree (NOM, s) growth-ACC century (DAT, s)

fɪ ʕaʃɾ-ɪ sɪniːn

in ten-DAT years (p)

'The tree grew a century's growth in ten years.'

b. ***nʊmʊw-ʊ** qaɾn nʊmɪja fɪ ʕaʃɾ-ɪ

growth-NOM (s) century (DAT, s) was grown in ten-DAT

sɪniːn mɪn qɪbal ʔaʃ-ʃadʒaɾa

years (p) from by the-tree (DAT, s)

'A century's growth was grown in ten years by the tree.'

(118) a. ʔɪnxafadˤat ʔashʊmʔas-suːq

dropped (3fp) stock (NOM, p) the-market (DAT, s)

ʔɪnxɪfɑːdˤa-ha ʔal-ʔakbaɾ xɪlɑːl θalɑːθ

dropping-its (ACC, s) the-largest during three (DAT)

sanawɑːt ʔaljaʊm

years (DAT, p) today (ACC, s)

'The stock market dropped its largest drop in three years today.'

b. *xʊfɪdˤa ʔakbaɾ-ʊ **ʔɪnxɪfɑːdˤ-ɪn** xɪlɑːl

was dropped largest-NOM dropping-DAT (s) during

θalɑːθ sanawɑːt ʔaljaʊm mɪn

three (DAT) years (DAT, p) today (ACC, s) from

qɪbal ʔashʊmʔas-suːq

by stock (DAT, p) the-market (DAT, s)

'The largest drop in three years was dropped by the stock market today.'

(119) a. tɑːbaʕa fɪɾɑːs bajnamɑː ʔɪɾtaddat
wached(3ms) Firas(NOM) while bounced(3fs)
ʔal-kʊɾɾa **ʔɪɾtɪdɑːd-an** ʁaɾiːb-an
the-ball (NOM, s) bouncing-ACC strange-ACC
ʕala ʔadʒ-dʒɪdɑːɾ
on the-wall (DAT, s)
'Firas watched as the ball bounced a strange bounce on the wall.'

b. *ɾʊdda **ʔɪɾtɪdɑːd-ʊn** ʁaɾiːb-ʊn
was bounced bouncing-NOM strange-NOM
ʕala ʔadʒ-dʒɪdɑːɾ mɪn qɪbal ʔal-kʊɾɾa
on the-wall (DAT, s) from by the-ball (DAT, s)
'A strange bounce was bounced on the wall by the ball.'

(120) a. saqatˤat ʔat-tʊffɑːħɑːt **sʊquːtˤ-an** qaɾiːb-an wa
fell (3fp) the-apples (p) fall-ACC close-ACC and
be-ðɑːlɪk lam tataʔaθθaɾ be-ʃɪdda
by-that not affect (3fp) by-strength (DAT)
'The apples fell a short fall and so were not too badly bruised.'

b. *sʊqɪtˤa **sʊquːtˤ-ʊn** qaɾiːb-ʊn
was fallen fall-NOM close-NOM
mɪn qɪbal ʔat-tʊffɑːħɑːt
from by the-apples (DAT, p)
'A short fall was fallen by the apples.' (Nakajima, 2006)

The cognate object clearly contrasts with argument-like objects in this respect because most argument-like objects can be passivized (Nakajima, 2006).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The cognate object with unaccusative and unergative verbs in Arabic is an adjunct, not a complement (argument) despite the fact that it has been traditionally known as the absolute object among Arab grammarians and syntacticians. The absolute object in unaccusative and unergative structures is not a direct object (complement) but an adjunct. The traditional analysis makes the absolute object look like an object because of the word order and the notion that it functions and looks like a real object. A closer inspection shows that the traditional analysis is not correct. The absolute object is an adverb with unaccustaive and unergative structures.

The cognate objects with unaccusative or unergative verbs occupy the adjunct position because they are adverbs, not arguments, so they don't compete with the superficial subject (that originated as an object) for the complement position.

The extraction asymmetry is used to see whether the cognate object with the unaccusative and unergative verbs is an adjunct or a complement of the verb. The extraction is possible only from the complement of the verb. The results show that the extraction out of the unaccusative and unergative cognate object constructions is not possible because it produces ungrammatical sentences. The results show that the cognate object is an adjunct and never a complement (argument) of the unaccusative or unergative verbs.

Modern syntactic analysis can uncover the nature of a construction in a way that traditional analysis did not. Despite assumptions, the cognate object in Arabic is not an "absolute object" after all.

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