THE ROLE OF *illi* 'that' IN THE GRAMMAR OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC

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Abstract
This paper investigates the role of *illi* in the grammar of one of the colloquial dialects of Arabic; that is Egyptian Arabic (EA). It investigates how *illi* affects the formation of wh-questions (with initial and *in-situ* wh-phrases) and relative clauses. Since the classification of *illi* has been a subject of debate in the literature, the study aims at providing a new analysis for it. The major claim is that *illi* belongs to the class of functional categories which serves the grammatical function of a relative pronoun. This paper presents data where *illi* acts as both a relative pronoun and a licensor for wh-fronting. The following questions are addressed:
1. If *illi* is analysed as a relative pronoun, how can we account for its occurrence in an initial position within some wh-questions without having to propose a movement analysis?
2. Can *illi* be classified as a complementizer that shares some syntactic properties with the complementizer *inn* 'that'?
3. Within wh-questions, does *illi* behave as a question particle?
4. How can we account for the EA data where *illi* has the dual function of a relative pronoun and a complementizer?

The major claim is that *illi* does not belong to the class of question particles which mark a yes/no question and a wh-question. Though *illi* and *inn* 'that' occur as C elements equivalent to the English 'that', *illi* does not exhibit the morphological or the functional properties of *inn* 'that', hence it cannot be classified as a complementizer. Within wh-questions, the position of *illi* depends on the position of the argument wh-phrases which can either occupy the Spec CP position when followed by *illi*, or remain in situ with *illi* in an initial position. I conclude that *illi* shares the structural position of complementizers while carrying out the grammatical function of relative pronouns.

1. The distribution of *illi* in some syntactic structures

In this section, I investigate the distributional properties of *illi* within different structures to see if these properties affect its behaviour. I will use the distributional properties of *illi* to propose an analysis for it. I will argue that *illi* is best regarded as a relative pronoun.

1.1 The distribution of illi within relative clauses

Drozdik (1999: 76) argues that word order is dependent on the type of relative clause in a given construction. For example, in a verb-final languages such as Japanese, Korean and Turkish, relative clauses precede the head nominal. In EA, where the default word order is SVO, relative clauses usually follow the head noun they modify. In EA, as suggested by Osman (1990: 35), different types of NPs can be relativised, for example, subject NPs, direct object NPs, indirect object NPs etc. Within a given structure, a relative clause headed by *illi* can modify any constituent as shown by the following examples:

(1)   il-bint$_i$ illi xaragit   ma^{c}a Salim isma-ha$_i$ Nadia.
         the-girl that go (3SF.PAST) with   Salim name-her Nadia
         'The girl that went out with Salim is called Nadia.'
         (subject NP+ *illi*)

(2)   il-kitaab$_i$ illi   Salim 'araah$_i$ muffiid giddan.
        the-book that Salim   read (3SM.PAST): it useful   very
        'The book that Salim read is very useful.'
        (object NP+ *illi*)

(3)   il-bint$_i$ illi Salim xarag   ma^{c}a-ha isma-ha   Nadia.
        the-girl   that Salim go (3SM.PAST) with-her name-her Nadia
        'The girl with whom Salim went out is called Nadia.'
        (object of a preposition+*illi*)

(4)   Salim idda   il-bint$_i$ illi biyHiba-ha$_i$ kitaab.
        Salim give (3SM.PAST) the-girl that love (3SM.PROG)-her   book
        'Salim gave the girl that he loves a book.'
        (indirect object+*illi*)

Within relative clauses, the presence of both *illi* and the resumptive pronoun which marks the relativised site are both obligatory. The ungrammaticality of (5) is due to the absence of *illi*, while in (6), it is the resumptive pronoun that gets deleted.

(5)   *il-bint$_i$ ~~illi~~ Salim xarag   ma^{c}a-ha$_i$ isma-ha   Nadia.
        the-girl   Salim go (3SM.PAST) with-her name-her Nadia
        'The girl with whom Salim went out is called Nadia.'

(6)   *Salim idda   il-bint illi biyHiba-~~ha~~   kitaab.
         Salim give (3SM.PAST) the-girl that love (3SM.PROG) book
        'Salim gave the girl that he loves a book.'

Now, I will present some data that shows the distribution of *illi* within different types of relative clauses. In EA, there are three main types of relative clauses: restrictive, non-restrictive and free relative clauses. I will argue that the grammar of EA has a fourth type of relative clauses which I will refer to as "predicative relative clauses".

1.1.1   Restrictive relative clauses

This type of relative clause restricts the reference of the head noun that it modifies as in the following example:

(7)   il-maHkama sim^{c}it   il-kalaam illi   i-šahid
        the-court   hear(3SF.PAST) the-words that the-witness

        'aal-u.
        say(3SM.PAST)-it
        'The court heard the words (testimony) that the witness said.'

In the above example, the relative clause *illi i-šahid 'aal-u* 'that the witness said' modifies the head object NP *il-kalaam* 'the speech' . We notice that *illi* 'that' introduces an IP. In (8), *illi* 'that' introduces a PP.

(8)   Mona zaarit   il-matHaf   illi f   bariis.
        Mona visit (3SF.PAST) the museum that in   Paris
        'Mona visited the museum that is in Paris.'

The above examples show that the noun which is modified by a relative clause headed by *illi* must be definite.

    (9)   *Mona zaarit   matHaf   illi f   bariis.
             Mona visit (3SF.PAST) museum that in Paris
             'Mona visited a museum that is in Paris.'

As shown by (9), the indefiniteness of the head noun leads to ungrammaticality. Another option is that a head noun can modify a noun within a complex NP, such as in a possessive construction as in (10).

    (10)   Mona zaarit   matHaf   il-mogawharaat
              Mona visit (3SF.PAST) museum   the-jewels

              illi f   l-Qahira.
              that in   the-Cairo
              'Mona visited the jewels museum that is in Cairo.'

In the above example, the relative clause *illi f l-Qahira* 'that is in Cairo' modifies the head noun *matHaf* 'museum'.

1.1.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses

Unlike restrictive relative clauses, this type of relative clause doesn't restrict the reference of the head noun, it rather adds another aspect to that head as in (11).

    (11)   il-muxrig   Yousif Shaheen illi   min ašhar
              the-director Yousif Shaheen who of (most famous)

              'flam-u   film   il-maSiir maat.
              movies-his a -movie the-fate   pass away (3SM.PAST)
              'The director Yousif Shaheen of whose famous movies is 'The
              Fate, has passed away.'

In the above example, the relative clause *illi min ašhar 'flam-u film il-maSiir* 'who one of his famous movies is *The Fate'* intervenes between the subject *Yousif Shaheen* and 'the predicate *maat* 'passed away'. In (12) the head of the non-restrictive relative clause can be a noun within a complex NP.

    (12)   'aatil il-armalteen   illi il-naas   bitikalim
              killer the-two widows that the-people   talk (3FPLU.PROG)

              ^can-u   hirib.
              about-him run away (3SM.PAST)
              'The killer of the two widows, whom all people are talking
        about, has run away.'

1.1.3 Free relative clauses

Normally a free relative clause, also referred to as headless relative clause, doesn't have an overt head to modify as in the following examples.

(13)   illi HaSal   miš ha-y'aSar   ᶜala-ya.

that happen(3SM.PAST) not will-affect(3SM.PRES) on-me

'What happened will not affect me.'

(14)   illi ᶜayiz   maᶜaad   yitiSil

who want (3SM.PRES) appointment call (3SM.PRES)

b-xidmit   il-ᶜomala'.

with-service the-customers

'The one who needs an appointment calls the customer service.'

1.1.4 Predicative relative clauses

In EA, when the relative clause is predicative in nature and tells something about the head noun it modifies, it can either precede or follow this head NP as in (15) and (16) respectively.

(15)   illi faaz   b-il-gayzaa Sami.

that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize Sami

'The one who won the prize is Sami.'

(16)   Sami illi faaz   b-il-gayzaa.

Sami that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize

'Sami is the one who won the prize.'

In (15), the subject NP *Sami* is preceded by a fronted relative clause headed by *illi*, whereas in (16), the relative clause follows that head NP. In some cases, relative clauses aren't employed to restrict the possible reference of the head they modify. Rather, they are used to provide additional information about the head noun as in the following examples.

(17)   Sami, illi   šaᶜr-uh aHmar, biyghani   kowayis.

Sami that hair-his red   song (3SM.PROG) well

Sami, who has got red hair, sings well.'

(18)   Sami, illi faaz   b-il-gayzaa, daxal   .

Sami that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize join (3SM.PAST)

il-gamᶜa   il-amrikiya.

the-university the-American

'Sami, who won the prize, has joined the American University.'

A basic difference between predicative and non predicative relative clauses is that within the former an overt pronoun[1], which agrees in number and gender with the head NP, can either follow or precede the predicative relative clause as in the following examples respectively.

(19)   illi faaz   b-il-gayzaa huwwa Sami.

that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize he   Sami

'The one who won the prize is Sami.'

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[1] Shlonsky (2002 p. 153) argues that in Palestinian Arabic, the overt pronoun that can optionally occur within relative clauses isn't the present tense form of the verb be since it lacks the properties of the future and the past tense forms of be. Shlonsky treats the pronoun hi 'she' in the following example as the phonetic realisation of AgrS°.

(i)   miin_i (hi)   illi il-'asad 'akal-ha_i   mbaariH?

who (PRON (3SF)) that the-lion eat (3SM.PAST) yesterday

'Who did the lion eat yesterday?'

(20)   Sami huwwa illi   faaz   b-il-gayzaa.
         Sami   he   that win (3SM.PAST)   with-the-prize
         'Sami is the one who won the prize.'

Within non predicative relative clauses that add further information about the head noun, the pronoun *huwwa* 'he' cannot be inserted as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the following structure.

(21)   *Sami huwwa illi   faaz   b-il-gayzaa
          Sami   he   that win (3SM.PAST) with-the- prize

          daxal   il-gam^c a.
          join (3SM.PAST) the-university
         'Sami, one who won the prize, has joined the University.'

The ungrammaticality of the above example is due to the fact that the subject NP Sami has two predicates; the relative clause *illi faaz b-l-gayza* 'that won the prize' and the VP daxal il-gam^c a 'joined the university. To eliminate this ungrammaticality, the two predicates can be conjoined by a coordinating element as *w* 'and' as seen below.

(22)   Sami huwwa illi   faaz   b-il-gayzaa
         Sami   he   that win (3SM.PAST) with-the- prize

          w   daxal   il-gam^c a.
          and join (3SM.PAST) the-university
         'Sami is the one who won the prize and joined the University.'

Following the discussion of the predicative role of relative clauses in EA, consider the contrast in the following examples:

(23)   a.*faaz   b-l-gayzaa   Sami.
            win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize Sami
            'The one who won the prize is Sami.'
         b. Sami faaz   b-l-gayzaa.
            Sami   win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize
            'Sami is the one who won the prize.'

The ungrammaticality of (23a) is due to the fact that in EA VSO is only possible when the sentence begins with *illi* as seen below.

(24)   illi faaz   b-l-gayzaa   Sami.
         that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize Sami
         'The one who won the prize is Sami.'

The difference between (23b) and (24) is that the former contains a verbal predicate and the other a nominal predicate. The use of *illi* in (24) allows extraction over the preverbal subject

NP Sami. Since *illi* can only introduce an NP, it nominalises the verbal predicate and hence allows for its extraction over the subject NP *Sami*.

Now I provide some evidence to support the major claim of the paper that the syntactic distribution of *illi* within relative clauses helps identify it as a relative pronoun.

Wise (1975) argues that the grammar of EA has a type of relative clauses which she refers to as reduced relative clauses. Within this type of relative clauses, a head noun is modified by another nominalised relative clause as in the following example.

(25)   biyimšu   ᶜala sikak   [marSufa b-il   ʻasfalt].
          walk (3MPLU.PROG) on   roads   paved   with-the asphalt
          'The walk on roads made with asphalt.'
                                                        (Wise, 1975:90):

I argue that in (25), the bracketed clause cannot be a relative clause; it is an AdjP which modifies the indefinite NP *sikak* 'roads.' So the bracketed constituent in (25) does not retain the properties of relative clauses because it does not allow the presence of *illi* as shown by the ungrammaticality of (26).

(26)   *biyimšu   ᶜala sikak   illi marSufa b-il   ʻasfalt.
           walk (3MPLU.PROG) on   roads   that paved   with-the asphalt
          'The walk on roads made with asphalt.'

Another major property of relative clauses in EA is that they allow for topicalisation as in the following example.

(27)   il-beet   dah$_i$, baba ye^{c}raf   [il-raagil$_k$
          the-house   that, father   know(3SM.PRES) the-man

          [illi e$_k$ banaah$_i$]]]]
          who   build (3SM.PAST)-it
          'As for that house, father knows the man who built it.'
                                                        (Wahba, 1984:46)

Topicalisation out of the bracketed clause in (25) leads to the ungrammaticality of (28). This ungrammaticality supports the claim that *illi* is a relative clause marker, hence a relative pronoun.

(28)   *b-il   asphalt dah, biyimšu   ᶜala
           with-the asphalt this   walk (3MPLU.PROG)   on

           sikak marSufa b-ih.
           roads paved   with-it
           'As for that asphalt, they walk on roads made with it.

1.2 The distribution of *illi* within wh-questions

We have seen that a relative clause (RC) follows the head NP with which it is co referential as in (29).

(29)   Sami$_i$ [illi faaz   b-il-gayzaa]$_i$
           Sami   that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize
           'Sami is the one who won the prize.'

In questioning the head noun *Sami*, either of the two strategies can be employed:

(30)   illi faaz   b-il-gayzaa   miin? (RC + wh-phrase)
           that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize who
           'Who won the prize?'
(31)   miin (illi) faaz   b-il-gayzaa?   (wh-phrase + RC)
            who (that) win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize
           'Who won the prize?'

Within subject wh-questions, *illi* can only be optional if the subject wh-phrase occurs in its canonical position[2] [Spec IP] as in (31). For the subject wh-phrase *miin* 'who' to move to the clause final position, the wh-question should be initiated by a nominal constituent as in the following example.
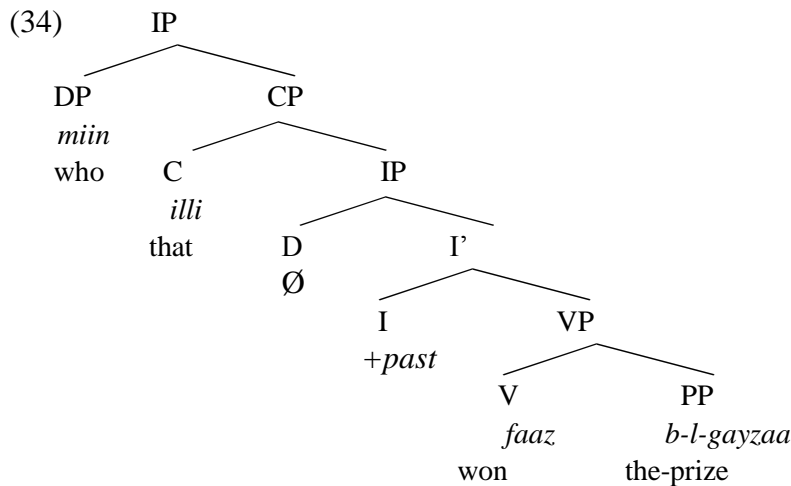
(32)   SaHib   il-ᶜarabiya miin?
           owner   the-car   who
           'Who is the owner of the car?'

In (30), it is the presence of *illi* that changes the verbal predicate *faaz b-l-gayza* 'won the prize' into a nominal one where the relative clause is assumed to have a null head with which the wh-phrase *miin* 'who' is coindexed.

(33)   Ø$_i$ illi   faaz   b-il-gayzaa miin$_i$?
            that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize who
            'Who won the prize?'

The example in (31) has the representation in (34):

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[2] Some proposals conducted within the pre-Minimalist Principles and Parameters framework (henceforth P&P) (i.e. Koopman & Sportiche 1991) have argued that the subject is base-generated within the VP, a proposal referred to as the VP-internal subject hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, the subject moves from its canonical position within VO to the [Spec IP] position.

(34)

```
                    IP
             ┌──────┴──────┐
            DP             CP
          miin        ┌────┴────┐
           who        C         IP
                     illi   ┌───┴───┐
                     that   D       I'
                            Ø   ┌───┴───┐
                                I       VP
                             +past   ┌──┴──┐
                                     V     PP
                                    faaz  b-l-gayzaa
                                    won   the-prize
```

Within some non argument (i.e. adjunct) wh-questions, *illi* can occur as part of a headless relative clause. With certain adjunct wh-phrases such as *izzay* 'how' and *imta* 'when', this headless relative clause should be followed by a predicate as in (35). The adjunct wh-phrase *fiin* 'where', on the other hand, can directly be followed by the headless relative clause introduced by *illi* as in (36).

(35)   a. izzay illi   bitadawar   ᶜal-iih   itsara'?
            how   that look (2SM.PROG) on-it   was stolen
            'How was the thing that you have been looking for stolen?'
         b. imta   illi   bitdawar   ᶜaleeh tila'eah?
            when that   look (2SM.PROG) for-it   find (2SM.PROG)-it
            'When will you find what you are looking for?'
(36)   feen   illi   kaan f-l-ᶜilba   di?
         where that was   in-the-box   this
         'Where is the thing that was in this box ?'

In MSA, on the other hand, argument wh-questions allow relative clauses introduced by the relative pronouns *alladhi* (M), and *allati* (F) as seen below.
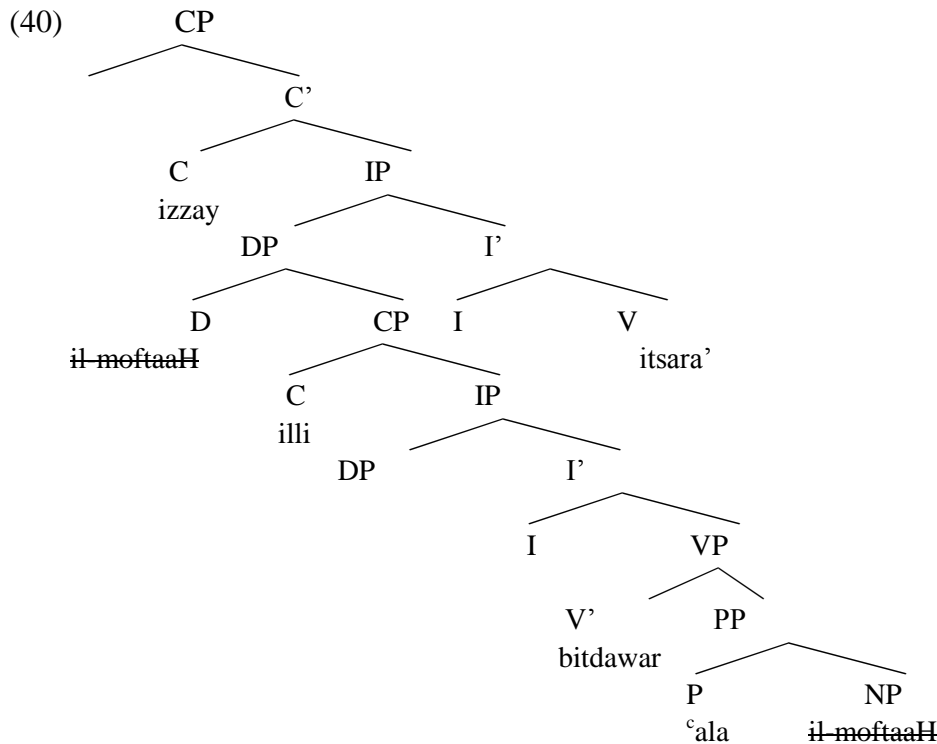
(37)   man   allati   tuHibu-ha?
         who   that (F.S)   love (2SM.PROG)-her
         'Whom do you love?'
(38)   ma   alladhi   tabHathu   ᶜan-hi?
         what that (M.S)   look (2SM.PROG) for-it
         'What are you looking for?'

Similar to the adjunct wh-phrases *izzay* 'how' and *imta* 'when' in (35), adjunct wh-phrases in MSA can have the following manifestation.

(39)   kayfa alladhi   tabHathu   ᶜan-hu
        how   that (M.S) look (2SM.PROG) for-him

        sa-yughadera al-baldata?
        will-leave   the-country
        'How will the person whom you are looking for leave the country?

To account for the examples in (35) and (36), following Farghaly (1981) and Lewkowicz (1971), the topicalised structure is assumed to be the source of the relative clause. So in (35), the subject of the relative clause headed by *illi* is a nominal head (i.e. the definite NP *il-moftaaH* 'the key') that gets deleted under identity with the object NP (i.e., object of the preposition ᶜ*ala* 'on'). The example in (35) will have the representation in (37).

(40)

```
                    CP
                 /     \
                      C'
                   /      \
                 C          IP
               izzay      /    \
                        DP       I'
                      /    \    /   \
                    D      CP  I      V
              il moftaaH  /  \      itsara'
                        C     IP
                      illi  /    \
                          DP      I'
                               /      \
                             I          VP
                                      /    \
                                    V'      PP
                                 bitdawar  /   \
                                          P     NP
                                        ᶜala  il moftaaH
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1.3 The distribution of *illi* within extracted constituents

In MSA, Fassi Fehri (1993: 64) argues that extraction over a topic is not allowed and he proposes the rule in (41). This rule accounts for the ungrammaticality of (42).

(41)   No constituent may be extracted over a topic.
(42)   *man 'r-rajul-u   Darab-a?
         who   the-man-NOM   beat (3SM.PAST)
        'Who has the man beaten?'

Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that the ungrammaticality of the example in (42) can be accounted for if the subject NP *'r-rajul-u* 'the man' is interpreted as a topic which is modified by the wh-question *man Darab-a* 'who has beaten', so the example is ungrammatical due to the violation of the rule in (41). Plunkett (1993: 243), on the other hand, argues that the

ungrammaticality of the example in (43) is due to the impossibility of extracting the wh-phrase *ayyna* 'where' over a subject NP, *l-Tullaabu* 'the students' whose predicate is a VP, *yadrusuuna* 'are studying':

(43)   *'ayyna   l-Tullaabu   yadrusuuna?
         where   the-students   study (3MPLU.PROG)
       'Where, the students (they) are studying?

I argue that the ungrammaticality of the example in (42) is due to the violation of the Empty Category Principle (ECP)[3].
Following Muhammad (1989), in MSA if a sentence has a SVO[4] order, the subject is in a Spec IP relation and must occupy the Spec IP position. In VSO sentences, on the other hand, the subject remains in its base-generated position within the VP as assumed by the VP-internal subject Hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche 1991, Kuroda 1988, Ouhalla 1994 among others) which states that a subject normally originates as a specifier of a VP and it is raised to the Spec-position of IP via subject raising. Accordingly, the example in (42) which has SVO order will have the representation in (44).

(44)   man$_j$ [$_{IP}$ 'rajulu$_i$ [$_{I'}$ Daraba$_k$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{V'}$ t$_k$]   t$_j$]

In (44), extracting the wh-phrase *man* 'who' from its base generated position resulted in an empty category that is not properly governed due to the occurrence of VP and V' which prevent the empty category from being properly governed by the verb *Daraba* 'hit'. Hence it violates the Empty Category Principle. In order to extract the object wh-phrase *man* 'who', the presence of both the resumptive pronoun which marks the extraction site and the relative pronoun *alladhi* 'that' are obligatory as in (45).

(45)   man   alladhi Daraba-hu   'rajulu?
        who   that   beat (3SM.PAST)-him the-man
        'Who has the man beaten?'

To investigate the possibility of extraction over a subject and the role of *illi* in extracting the wh-phrase *miin* 'who' in EA, let us consider the following example:

(46)   *'miin   il-bint   'ablit?
          who   the-girl   meet (3SF.PAST)
         'Who has the girl met?'

If the NP *il-bint* 'the girl' is interpreted as a topic, it should occur sentence initially and a pause separates it from the rest of the sentence (as argued by Wahba 1984: 12). To topicalise the NP *il-bint* 'the girl' out of the wh-question, we have two options; either the subject NP *il-bint* 'the girl' gets fronted while the wh-phrase *miin* 'who' remains *in situ* as in (51) or we insert *illi*, and the resumptive pronoun in order to licence the topicalisation as in (52).

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[3] The Empty Category Principle (ECP) states that traces must be properly governed (see Chomsky 1981; 1986, Kayne 1981, Lasnik & Saito 1984; 1992).

[4] Ouhalla (1991, p. 5) argues that the difference in the surface orders of VSO and SVO languages is due to the difference in the selectional properties of Tense and Agr categories.

(47)   il-bint   'ablit   miin?
          the-girl   meet (3SF.PAST) who
          'Who has the girl met?'
(48)   il-bint,   miin illi   'ablit-uh?
          the-girl   who that   meet (3SF.PAST)-him
          'Who has the girl met?'

What we have in (47) is a preverbal subject NP (*il-bint* 'the girl'). To extract the wh-phrase *miin* 'who' over the preverbal subject NP *il-bint* 'the girl', the presence of the resumptive pronoun and *illi* is obligatory, similar to the case of MSA discussed in (45).

(49)   miin illi   il-bint   'ablit-uh?
          who   that the-girl   meet (3SF.PAST)-him
          'Who has the girl met?'

So in MSA, the use of the relative pronouns (e.g. *alladhi* and *allati*) within topicalised constructions is obligatory. Similarly, in EA the presence of *illi* is obligatory to licence the extracting over a preverbal subject. So, it is reasonable at this stage to classify *illi*, similar to its MSA counterparts *alladhi* and *allati*, as a relative pronoun. Table 1 shows the distribution of *illi* within different structures in EA:

Table1. The distribution of *illi* in EA

The structure	Obligatory	Optional
Wh-questions		
Fronted subject wh-phrases		X
In-situ subject wh-phrases	X	
Fronted object wh-phrases	X	
In-situ object wh-phrases		X
Relative Clauses		
Subject Relatives	X	
Direct Object Relatives	X	
Indirect Object Relatives	X	
Object of PP Relatives	X	
Topicalization out of embedded wh-questions		
Fronted subject wh-phrases		X
In-situ subject wh-phrases		None
Fronted object wh-phrases		X
In-situ object wh-phrases		X

2. Hypotheses

This section discusses the previous hypotheses that attempt to identify the categorical status of *illi*. In the literature, *illi* is classified as a definite marker, a question particle, a complementizer, and a question operator. I will discuss each case separately to defend my claim that *illi* is best described as a relative pronoun as discussed in section 1.

2.1 *illi* as a definiteness marker

Wise (1975: 78) argues that restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses which modify a definite noun must be headed by *illi*. She gives the following examples to represent restrictive relative clauses:

(50)   miš-ᶜaarif   il-raagil illi ištiri   il-ᶜarabiya.
          not-know (1SM.PRES) the-man that buy (3SM.PAST) the-car
          'I don't know the man who bought the car.'

(51)   feen il-muwazzaf illi kallimtu   imbaariH?
          where the clerk   that speak (1SM/F.PAST) yesterday
          'Where is the clerk I spoke to yesterday?'

Wise argues that *illi* must be regarded as a marker of definiteness equivalent to the definite article *il-* 'the', not as a relative pronoun. She bases her claim on the observation that such marker cannot be allowed after an indefinite NP as in the following examples from Wise (1975: 87):

(52)   biyaklu   'akl (*illi) maluuš Taᶜm xaaliS.
          eat (3F/M PLU.PRES) food (*that) no-have   taste (at all)
          'They eat food which has no taste at all.'
(53)   'aabilt   raagil (*illi) kaan hirib   min   is-sign.
          meet(1S.PAST) man(*that) was escape (3SM.PAST) from the-prison
          'I met a man who had escaped from the prison.'

I argue that within a relative clause, what marks the definiteness is not *illi*, it has to do with the nature of the relative clause or what I will refer to as *illi*-clause. Traditionally, a relative clause, both restrictive and non-restrictive, has a definite noun and the relative clause either narrows down the scope of the head noun (restrictive) or just adds more information to that noun (non-restrictive). In EA, words like **um** (F) and **abu** (M) 'who has' are sometimes used by some illiterate social classes to define a definite noun. These words function as markers of definiteness:

(54)   Mona itgawizit   il-raagil abu   ᶜarabiya xaDra.
          Mona marry (3SF.PAST) the man (who has) car   green
          'Mona married the man who has a green car.'

(55)   il-bint   um   fustaan w deal Hosaan
          the-girl (who has) dress   and (pony tail)
          Suut-ha   Hilw   awi.
          voice-her beautiful   very
          'The girl who has a dress and a pony tail has a beautiful voice.'

I refer to examples in (54-55) as nominalised attributive clauses. In (54-55), the definite nouns *il-raagil* 'the man' and *il-bint* 'the girl' are followed by attributive clauses that are not introduced by *illi*, however definiteness is still marked. Replacing the words **abu** (M) and **um** (F) 'who has' by *illi* in (54) and (55) without changing the complement clauses results in the following illicit structures.

(56)   *Mona itgawizit   il-raagil   illi ᶜarabiya xaDra.
          Mona marry (3SF.PAST) the man   that car   green
         'Mona married the man who has a green car.'

(57)   * il-bint   illi   fustaan w   deal Hosaan
          the-girl that dress   and (pony tail)

          Suut-ha   Hilw   awi.
          voice-her beautiful   very
         'The girl who has a dress and a pony tail has a beautiful voice.

To form grammatical counterparts for the examples in (56) and (57), the complement clauses should have either verbal or nominal relative clause as in (58) and (59) respectively.

(58)   Mona itgawizit   il-raagil illi ištara   ᶜarabiya xaDra.
         Mona marry(3SF.PAST) the man who buy(3SM.PAST) car   green
        'Mona married the man who bought a green car.'

(59)   il-bint   illi   labsa   fustaan w   ᶜamla
         the-girl who wear (PARTICIPLE) dress   and   make (PARTICIPLE)

         deal Hosaan   Suut-ha   Hilw   awi.
         (a pony tail) voice-her beautiful   very
        'The girl who is wearing a dress and is making pony tail has a
         beautiful voice.'

Wise (1975: 88) argues that whenever we have an indefinite head noun, no marker of definiteness like *illi* is introduced as in (60).

(60)   biyaklu   'akl   (*illi) maluuš Taᶜm xaaliS.
         eat (3F/M PLU.PRES) food (*that) no-have   taste (at all)
        'They eat food which has no taste at all.'

                                                           (Wise, 1975: 87)

Wise's major claim is that *illi* is an indefiniteness marker that must occur with a definite noun. I argue that in EA, an indefinite noun can also be modified by *illi*-clause which supports the claim that *illi* is a relative pronoun whose occurrence is not restricted to definite noun. Since *illi* can modify an indefinite noun, it cannot be classified as a marker of definiteness as in the following EA data:

(61)   il-awlaad   biy'olu   kalaam$_i$
        the-kids   say (3MPLU.PROG) word
        [illi   fi-sin-uhm   ma-yifham-hoo-š]$_i$
         that in-age-their not-understand(3MPLU.PRES)-it-NEG
        'The kids are saying words which those of their age do not understand.'

In the above example, the indefinite noun *kalaam* 'words' is modified by the relative clause *illi_i   fi-sin-uhm ma-yifham-hoo_i-š* 'which those of their age do not understand it'. This relative clause is headed by *illi* and has a resumptive pronoun that is co-referential with the indefinite lexical NP *kalaam* 'words'. So the example in (61) is meant to show that, in contrast to Wise (1975: 88), after an indefinite head noun, *illi* can occur, but this time as a relative pronoun, not as a marker of definiteness[5]. So the lexical head within the relative clause can be either definite or indefinite, and this is a basic difference between a relative clause and a topicalised structure that necessitates the head to be definite (Farghaly, 1981: 137).

Farghaly (1981: 139) argues that one of the effects that *illi* has on the grammar of EA is the lack of a pronominalization rule. According to this rule, if the topic and the NP to its left are identical, the rule pronominalises the topic into a proper form of a relative pronoun (*alladhi*, and *allati* in MSA). This rule, According to Farghaly, does not work in EA since *illi*, which stands for (*alladhi*, *allati*) in MSA, is not a pronoun. It is an invariant particle.

Farghaly (1981: 143) bases his classification for *illi* as a relative particle, not a relative pronoun, on two observations. First *illi* does not inflect for gender, number or person; hence it is an invariant particle. Second, *illi* occurs in an initial position within a relative clause and a movement rule for relative clauses in EA is required in order to account for this position. However, the fact that *illi* doesn't inflect for number, gender, and case isn't sufficient enough to dismiss its status as a relative pronoun. A general property of EA is that it exhibits poor inflection morphology. In EA as well as in other Arabic colloquial dialects such as Palestinian Arabic, there are no inflected forms of pronouns. The following examples show the distribution and the inflectional morphology of some pronouns in EA:

(62)   il-bannat (hiyya)   il-mas'ula   ᶜan il-faSl.
         the-girls   she (S.F) the-responsible (S.F)   for   the-class
         'The girls are responsible for the class.'
(63)   il-bannat (humma)   il-mas'uleen   ᶜan il-faSl.
         the-girls   she (PLU.M) the-responsible (PLU.M)   for   the-class
         'The girls are responsible for the class.'

Although (62) and (63) are synonymous as they have the same interpretation, they differ in one respect. In (62), we notice that the pronoun *hiyya* 'she' and the nominal predicate *il-mas'ula* 'the-responsible' do not agree in number with the Agrs category on the subject NP. The pronoun and the predicate are singular while the subject NP *il-bannat* 'the girls' is plural. In (62), however, the pronoun *humma* 'they' and the nominal predicate *il-mas'uleen* 'the-responsible' do not agree in gender with the Agrs category on the subject NP. The pronoun and the predicate are masculine while the subject NP *il-bannat* 'the girls' is feminine. It is only singular subjects that sometimes show gender and number agreement with the pronouns and the nominal predicate as in (64).

(64)   il-bint hiyya (*huwwa) il-mas'ula   ᶜan il-faSl.
         the-girl she   (*he)   the-responsible (S.F) for   the-class
         'The girls are responsible for the class.'

---

[5] Wise (1975) argues that *illi* is a definite marker that must occur only with definite NPs. Hence it is ungrammatical to have *illi* before the indefinite NP 'akl 'food' in (60).

In (64), the subject NP *il-bint* 'the girl', the pronoun *hiyya* 'she' and the nominal predicate *il-mas'ula* 'the responsible' are all singular and feminine. The grammar of EA to has the invariant *illi* which does not show number, gender and person distinctions.

(65)   il-mudira   'aalit   inn   il-bannat
        the head teacher say (3SF.PAST) that the-girls

        humma illi   mas'ulin   ᶜan   il-faSl.
        they   that   responsible (3PLU M/F) for   the class
        'The head teacher said that the girls are responsible for the class.'

(66)   il-mudira   'aalit   inn   il-awlaad
        the head teacher   say (3SF.PAST) that the-boys

        humma illi   mas'ulin   ᶜan   il-faSl.
        they   that   responsible (3PLU M/F) for   the class
        'The head teacher said that the boys are responsible for the class.'

In (65) and (66) the head nouns *il-banaat* 'the girls' and *il-awlaad* 'the boys' respectively are modified by the relative clause introduced by *illi* which does not have inflectional morphology. The above examples show that in some cases, the overt pronouns in EA do not show inflection. The other issue which Farghaly (1981) raised is the initial position of *illi* within relative clauses which in turn are not derived by a movement rule. If *illi* is taken to be a relative pronoun, then we have to investigate whether the derivation of relative clauses in EA involves movement. I argue, following Wahba (1984: 9) that relative clauses in EA involve no movement and question formation into syntactic islands is free within relativised constructions. Pied-piping[6] is not allowed within a relative clause (as in (67b)) which supports the non-movement analysis for relative clauses headed by *illi* 'that':

(67)   a. miin il-bint illi i-šibaak   wi'iᶜ   ᶜali-ha?
           who the-girl that the-window fall (3SM.PAST) on-her
           'Who is the girl whom the window fell over?'

        b.*miin ᶜala il-bint   illi i-šibaak   wi'iᶜ?
           who   on the-girl that the-window fall (3SM.PAST)
           'Who is the girl whom the window fell over?'

The non-movement analysis for relative clauses headed by *illi* is supported by the fact that though relative clauses are syntactic islands, they are island-insensitive. It is possible to relativise out of an embedded relative clause and a wh-question as seen by the following two examples respectively:

(68)   a. Mona 'aablit   il-bint illi Ali   šaaf
           Mona   meet (3SF.PAST) the-girl that   Ali   see (3SM.PAST)

           il-raagil illi Darab-ha.

_____

6 In a wh-question such as 'To whom did you talk?' the wh-phrase '*whom*' is said to pied-pipe the preposition '*to*', whereas in 'Whom did you talk to?' the preposition is left stranded.

the-man   that   hit (3SM.PAST)-her
'Mona met the girl whom Ali saw the man who hit.'

b. Mona dafa^cit   il-filuus   illi   il-buliis
   Mona pay (3SF.PAST) the-money that   the-police

^cirif   miin   illi   xad-ha.
   know (3SM.PAST) who that take (3SM.PAST)-it
'Mona paid the money which the police knew who took it.'

2.2 The grammatical function of *illi* in wh-questions

In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), there are two main question particles that mark a yes/no question. These question particles are *'a* and *hal*. The question particle *'a* can precede a nominal or a verbal sentence as shown by the examples from (Badawi et al, 2004: 685):

(69)   a-masrur-un   'anta?
         Q- happy-NOM   you
         'Are you happy?'

(70)   'a-taHadatht-u   ila   'l-waladi?
         Q-talk (2SM.PAST) to   the-boy
         'Have you talked to the boy?'

The question particle *hal* can be followed by either a VP or a NP. In (71a) it is followed by the VP *katabta* 'you wrote', while in (71b) it is followed by the NP *huwa masrur* 'he is happy':

(71)   a. hal   katabta   'l-dars-a?
            Q   write (2SM.PAST)   the-lesson-ACC
            'Did you write the lesson?'
         b. hal   huwa   masrur-un?
            Q   he   happy-NOM
            'Is he happy?'

The questions that arise here are: does the grammar of EA possess question particles similar to MSA? I argue that the grammar of EA has a peculiar phrase of its own that carries out the function of a question particle. This phrase is *ya-Tara* (lit. I wonder). Unlike *'a* and *hal* which introduce only yes/no questions in MSA, *ya-Tara* occurs with both yes/no questions[7] and wh-questions as in (72) and (73) respectively.

(72)   a. ya-Tara   Salim ha-ysafir   bukra?
            I wonder   Salim   will-travel (3SM.PRES) tomorrow
            'I wonder whether Salim will travel tomorrow.'
            or 'Will Salim travel tomorrow?'

---

[7] A yes/no questions in EA, similar to MSA, can also be identified by an intonation morpheme. This type of yes/no question is commonly used in dialogues.

b. ya-Tara   il-buliis   'abaD   ᶜala   il-Harami?
   I wonder the-police arrest (3SM.PAST) on   the-thief
   'I wonder whether the police arrested the thief.'
  or 'Did the police arrest the thief?'

(73)   a. ya-Tara   il-kitaab   feen?
           I wonder the-book   where
           '(I wonder) where is the book?'
        b. ya-Tara   Salim 'akal   eeh?
           I wonder   Salim eat (3SM.PAST) what
           '(I wonder) what did Salim eat?'

In (73), the [+wh] feature of the wh-phrases *feen* 'where' and *eeh* 'what' mark the structures as wh-questions, regardless of the presence of the question particle *ya-Tara* 'I wonder'. Within a wh-question, the function of the question particle *ya-Tara* is more semantic than syntactic. It adds an exclamation force to the wh-question. Evidence in support of dealing with *ya-Tara* 'I wonder' as the sole question particle in EA comes from the adjunction possibility to a yes/no question. A yes/no question can be conjoined to the negative particle *la'a* 'not' by the coordinator element *wala* 'or' as in (74).

(74)   ya-Tara   Sami ištara   il-kitaab wala la'a?
        (I wonder)   Sami buy (3SM.PAST) the-book or   not
        '(I wonder) did Sami buy the book or not?'

What is expected is a yes or no answer. To take just one example, consider the two-turn conversation below:

SPEAKER A: ya-Tara   mumkin 'axrug   il-wa't   wala la'a?
           I wonder possible go (1S.PRE) now   or   not
           'I wonder whether it is possible for me to go out now or not?
SPEAKER B: la'a, istani   saᶜa law samaH-ti.
            no   wait (2SF.IMPER) hour if   please (2SF.PAST)-you
           'No, please wait for an hour.'

Within both yes/no questions and wh-questions, *illi* can be employed as in the following examples:

(75)   a. ya-Tara   Salim *illi* faaz   b-l-gayza
           I wonder Salim that win (3SM.PAST) with-the-prize

           ha-ysafir   bukra?
           will-travel (3SM.PRE) tomorrow
           '(I wonder) will Salim who won the prize travel tomorrow?'
        b. ya-Tara   il-buliis 'abaD   ᶜala
           I wonder the-police arrest (3SM.PAST) on

           il-Harami *illi* sara'   il-beet?
           the-thief   that rob (3SM.PAST) the-house
           '(I wonder) did the police arrest the thief who robbed the house?'

(76)   a. ya-Tara   il-kitaab   *illi*   kaan hina feen?
            I wonder the-book   that   was   here where
            '(I wonder) where is the book that was here?'
         b. ya-Tara   Salim kallim   il-raagil
            I wonder   Salim talk (3.S.M.PAST) the-man

            illi   faaz   b-l-gayza?
            that   win (3SM.PAST)   with-the-prize
            '(I wonder) did Salim talk to the man who won the prize?'

The above examples show that *illi* can occur with the question particle *ya-Tara* where it carries out the grammatical function of a relative pronoun. Similarly, we have seen examples where *illi* occurs within wh-questions also as a relative pronoun.

2.3 *illi* as a complementizer

   A complementizer is traditionally defined as the word which introduces a clausal complement. The grammar of EA has the complementizer *inn* which precedes the clausal complements of some verbs. Though *inn* and *illi* have the same interpretation, their grammatical functions are clearly different. I present data that highlights this dichotomy. If *illi* has the categorical status of a complementizer, we would expect it to introduce an embedded clause. In support of the claim that *illi* is a relative pronoun rather than a complementizer, I present data where we find a sequence of *inn* followed by *illi* within an embedded clause. I will point to the differences between the complementizer *inn* and *illi*. These differences (both syntactic and morphological) will be employed to support the claim against classifying *illi* as a complementizer.

2.3.1 The clausal complements

   In MSA, the subjective complementizer *'an* normally introduces an embedded non-finite clause as shown by the following example from (Benmamoun, 2000: 21).

   (77)   yu-riid-u   'an   ya-drus-a.
             want (3SM.PRES) to   study (3SM.PRES)
             'He wants to study.'

In English the complementizer 'that' normally precedes the clausal complement as in (82).

   (78)   a. I knew that Ali will travel tomorrow.
            b. That Ali will travel tomorrow worries me.

In English, the complementizer 'that' is allowed only in argument clauses as in (78a). In (78b), 'that' appears in a matrix clause. EA patterns with English as far as the distribution of the complementizer *inn* is concerned.

   (79)   a. Mona iftikrit   inn il-wilaad naamu.
             Mona think (3SF.PAST) that the-kids   sleep (3F/MPLU.PAST)
             'Mona thought that the kids went to sleep.'

b.*inn Ali ha-yisaafir bukra

  that Ali will-travel (3SM.PRES) tomorrow

dayi' Mona.

  bother (3SM.PAST) Mona

'That Ali will travel tomorrow bothers Mona.'

c. illi ᶜirif Hal il-fazoora

  that know (3SM.PAST) answer the-puzzle

kisib talateen gineah.

  win (3SM.PAST) thirty pound

'The one who knows the answer of the puzzle won thirty pounds.'

The ungrammaticality of (79b) is due to the occurrence of the complementizer *inn* in the matrix clause. In (79c), *illi* occurs in an argument clause where it behaves as a relative pronoun that introduces the headless relative clause *illi ᶜirif Hal il-fazoora* 'the one who knows the answer of the puzzle'. This relative clause occurs in an argument position by virtue of referring to the subject NP whose pronominal head is null. The requirement that matrix clauses should be verbal is in line with the principles of UG (Ouhalla, 199: 196).

In EA, some verbs take clausal complements which are optionally introduced by *inn*. Examples of these verbs are *yaᶜTaqid* 'think' and *yiftikir* 'think'. In the following examples, the complementizer *inn* 'that' introduces IP-complements.

(80) 'acTaqid (inn) baba dafaᶜ il-filuus.

   think(1S.PRES) (that) father pay (3SM.PAST) the money

   'I think (that) my father paid the money.'

(81) Mona iftakarit (inn) 'axu-ha xarag.

   Mona think (3SF.PAST) (that) brother-her go (3SM.PAST)

   'Mona thought that her brother has gone out.'

In the above examples, the complementizer *inn* optionally introduces the complement clauses. With other verbs, such as *yiᶜraf* [8] 'to know', the complementizer *inn* is obligatory as shown by the contrast in (82).

(82) a. ana ᶜirift inn il-Hal Saᶜb.

    I know (1S.M/F. PAST) that the-answer hard

    'I knew that the answer is hard.'

b.*ana ᶜirift il-Hal Saᶜb.

    I know (1S.M/F. PAST) the-answer hard

    'I knew that the answer is hard.'

In (82), the matrix verb *ᶜirift* 'knew' has a past tense interpretation while the embedded verbless clause *il-Hal Saᶜb* 'the answer is hard' has a present tense interpretation. In other varieties of Arabic, for example Moroccan Arabic, the complementizer *illi* is not allowed in

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[8] The verb *yiᶜraf* 'to know' can also take a lexical NP complement as its direct object as in *ana ᶜirift ilHal* 'I knew the answer'.

contexts similar to that in (82a) as shown by the following example from (Benmamoun, 2000: 40).

(83)   *šeft   illi Omar na^{c}es.
         see (1S.PAST) that   Omar sleeping
        '*I saw that Omar is sleeping.

A major property of the complementizer *inn* is that it can take a pronominal suffix as in (84). The cliticised pronoun shows gender and person agreement only with singular subject NPs as in (85).

(84)   Mona$_{i/k}$ sada'it   inna-ha$_{i/k}$ faazit
        Mona believe (3SF.PAST) that-she   win (3SF.PAST)

        b-l-gayza   it-tanya.
        with-the-prize the-second
        'Mona believed that she won the second prize'.

(85)   il-banaat ^{c}irifu   inn-uhm faaz-u
        the-girls know (3FPLU.PAST) that-they   win (3FPLU.PAST)

        b-l-gayza   it-tanya.
        with-the-prize   the-second
        'The girls knew that they won the second prize'.

In (85), the pronoun cliticised into the complementizer *inn* disagrees in gender with the NP *il-banaat* 'the girls'.

2.3.2 Replacing *illi* with *inn* and vice versa
    Though *illi* and *inn* are interpreted as C elements equivalent to the English *that*, there is no way that *illi* can replace *inn*.

(86)   *Mona ^{c}irift   illi il-Hal   Sa^{c}b.
         Mona   know (3SF. PAST) that   the-answer   hard
         'Mona knew that the answer is hard.'
(87)   *'acTaqid   illi baba dafa^c il-filuus.
          think (1S.PRES) that father pay (3SM.PAST) the money
          'I think (that) my father paid the money.'
(88)   *Mona iftakarit   illi 'axu-ha   xarag.
         Mona think (3SF.PAST) that   brother-her go (3SM.PAST)
         'Mona thought that her brother has gone out.

In the above examples, *illi* cannot replace the complementizer *inn*. What is missing in these examples is a complementizer that can introduce the embedded clauses, since *illi* cannot carry out this grammatical function, *illi* cannot be classified as a complementizer. Within argument wh-questions, the complementizer[9] *inn*, opposite to *illi* can neither follow the wh-phrase as in (89a), nor precede it as in (89b).

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[9] Haegeman (1991, pp. 382-383) argues that some languages allow their wh-phrases to be followed by an overt complementizer, for example, Dutch, Flemish, and Bavarian German.

(89)   a.*miin inn   Mona   itgawizit-uh?
            who that Mona   marry (3SF.PAST)-him
            'Who did Mona marry?'
         b *inn Mona   itgawizit-uh   miin?
            that Mona   marry (3SF.PAST)-him who
            'Who did Mona marry?'

2.3.3 The nominal feature [+N]

We have seen that the complementizer *inn* has its own morphological and syntactic properties that differentiate it from *illi*, though both are translated into English as 'that', which has no semantic content. The following is a further example where the complementizer *inn* 'that' introduces the bracketed embedded clause.

(90)   ana ᶜirift   inn
         I   know (1S. PAST) that

         [illi Hal   il-fazoora zaki   giddan]
         that answer (3SM.PAST) the-puzzle intelligent very
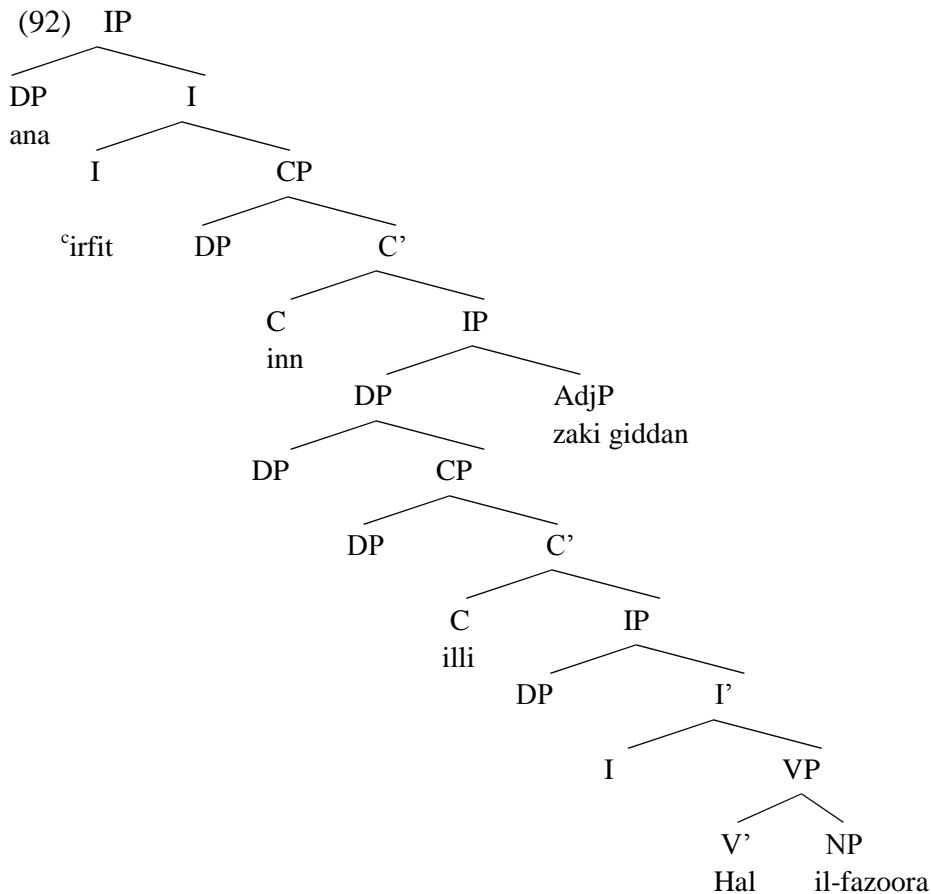   'I knew that the one who solved the puzzle is very intelligent.'

In (90), the embedded clause consists of a subject and a predicate. This subject is a null pronominal head modified by a headless relative clause *illi Hal il-fazoora* 'who answered the puzzle', while the predicate is an adjectival phrase *zaki gidan* 'very intelligent'. I follow Ouhalla (1991) in assuming that the C element[10] has the nominal feature [+N]. This feature nominalises the clause because of its occurrence in the top node. In (90), the complementizer *inn* occurs in the top node in the embedded clause structure and this explains the ungrammaticality of the example in (91).

(91)   *ana ᶜirift   illi   inn Hal
          I   know (1S.M/S. PAST) that   that answer (3SM.PAST)

          il-fazoora zaki   giddan.
          the-puzzle intelligent very
          'I knew that the one who solved the puzzle is very intelligent'

The example in (90) will have the following structure in (92):

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[10] Some languages i.e., Turkish and Quechua do not have C elements (see Ouhalla, 1991).

(92) IP

```
(92)   IP
      /  \
    DP     I
    ana   / \
         I    CP
       ˤirfit / \
            DP    C'
                 /  \
                C     IP
               inn   /  \
                   DP     AdjP
                  /  \   zaki giddan
                DP    CP
                     /  \
                   DP     C'
                         /  \
                        C     IP
                       illi  /  \
                           DP     I'
                                 /  \
                                I     VP
                                     /  \
                                   V'    NP
                                   Hal  il-fazoora
```

The structure in (92) shows that *inn* and *illi* occupy the head position of CP. In spite of its position in C, *illi* still behaves as a relative pronoun, in contrast to *inn* that occurs in the matrix C as a complementizer and this is in line with the fact that complementizers are the only functional categories that should be the top elements in the clause structure (Ouhalla, 1991: 199).

2.3.4 The Doubly Filled COMP
    A further argument against ascribing the categorical status of complementizer to *illi* comes from the Doubly Filled COMP Filter (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977):

(93)   Doubly Filled COMP Filter[3]
        When an overt wh-phrase occupies the Spec of some CP the head
        of that CP must not dominate an overt complementizer.

(94)   miin   illi   fataH   il-baab?
        who   that   open (3SM.PAST)   the-door
        'Who opened the door?'
(95)   *miin   inn   fataH   il-baab?
   who   that open (3SM.PAST)   the-door

The ungrammaticality of (95) is accounted for in terms of the rule in (93), while the well-formed structure in (94) supports the claim that *illi* is a relative pronoun rather than a complementizer. Though *inn* is interpreted as a C element equivalent to the English 'that', the complementizer *inn*, unlike other functional categories in English, doesn't allow a fronted

wh-phrase into its Spec position. It is *illi*, unlike other functional categories, that can be preceded by a wh-phrase as shown by the contrast in (96).

(96)   a. miin illi Mona Darabit-uh?
          who   that Mona   beat (3SF.PAST)-him
          'Who has Mona beaten?'
       b.*miin inn Mona Darabit-uh?
          who   that Mona   beat (3SF.PAST)-him

3. The structural position of *illi*

The wh-question in (96a) will have the structure in (97) where *illi* occupies the head position C.

(97)   CP

Spec   C'
miin
        C   IP
        illi
           DP   I'
          Mona
               I   VP
         [+PAST] Darabit-uh
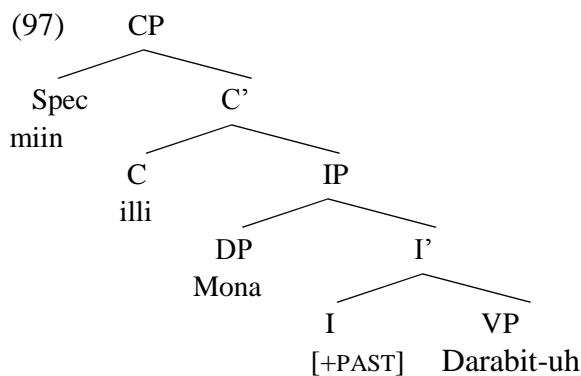
4. Conclusion

The major claim of this paper is that *illi* is best described as a relative pronoun. To support this claim I employed two strategies. First, I investigated the distribution of *illi* within different constructions in EA. Second, I attempted to discuss the possible classifications that *illi* has received in the literature. It was an attempt to decide where *illi* fits into the grammar of EA and which impacts it has on the derivation of some syntactic structures. The paper discussed some data which points to different aspects of the syntax of EA. Example of these data are those given for the definite markers *um* 'who has (F)' and '*abu* 'who has (M). So the grammar of EA can provide definiteness markers, other than *il* 'the' which is argued, for example by Wise (1975), to be a contracted form of *illi*. The following is a summary of the observations drawn from the distribution and the behaviour of *illi*:

1. *illi* allows a wh-phrase into its Spec position.
2. When *illi* co-occurs with the complementizer *inn*, it is *inn* that should be the highest element in the clause.
3. Within argument wh-questions, *illi* can either follow or precede the wh-phrase.
4. *illi* follows the question particle *ya-Tara*.
5. *illi* does not show inflectional morphology.
6. *illi* can modify either a definite or an indefinite lexical head.
7. *illi* licences extracting over a preverbal subject as well as extracting an argument wh-phrase such as *miin* 'who' and *eeh* 'what'.

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Appendix 1

Abbreviations in the glosses
The following is a list of abbreviations and symbols used in the glosses:
- 1. First person
- 2. Second person
- 3. Third person
- PAST. Past
- PROG. Progressive
- PRES. Present
- F. Feminine
- M. Masculine
- S. Singular
- PLU. Plural
- NOM. Nominative
- ACC. Accusative
- IMPER. Imperative
- PART. Participial
- EA. Egyptian Arabic
- MSA. Modern Standard Arabic

Appendix 2

Arabic Transliteration Chart

Name of letter	Symbol in Transliteration	IPA symbol
hamza	ʾ	ʔ
ba:	b	b
ta:	t	t
θa:	th in MSA, s in EA	θ in MSA, s in EA
ji:m	j in MSA, g in EA	ʤ in MSA, g in EA
Ha:	H	ħ
xa:	x	x
da:l	d	d
ða:	th in MSA, z in EA	ð
ra:	r	r
zay	z	z
si:n	s	s
shi:n	š	ʃ
Sa:d	S	sˤ
Da:d	D	dˤ
Ta:	T	tˤ
'ayn	ᶜ	ʕ
ghayn	Gh	ɣ
fa:	f	f
qa:f	q	q
ka:f	k	k
la:m	l	l
mi:m	m	m
nu:n	n	n
ha:	h	h
wa:w	w	w
ya:	y	j