

**The Multiple Subject Construction in Arabic: evidence from subject
doubling in Tunisian Arabic**

Mohamed Jlassi

B.A. University of Manouba, Tunisia (1996)

M.A. University of Manouba, Tunisia (2002)

Submitted to the School of English Literature, Language and
Linguistics for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at

Newcastle University

April, 2013

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the syntax of set of subject constructions in Tunisian Arabic (TA) comprising a NP and a third person free-standing pronoun, known in the literature of Arabic grammar as an H-Form (Fassi Fehri 1993). The subject NP-H pair has three main realisations, each of which will be shown to have a distinct information structure: an NP-H sequence, where the NP is doubled by the H-form, conveying contrastive topic, an H-NP sequence, where the NP is again doubled by the H-form, expressing athetic meaning, and an NP-H sequence conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus where the H-form is a nominal copula of a cleft construction. The two subject doubling sequences are analysed as realisations of the same syntactic structure, a multiple subject construction (MSC), but for the values of the syntactic information-structural features [Top(ic)] and [Foc(us)]. The NP-H sequence has the NP in the spec(ifier) of a Top head and the H-form in the spec of the head Fin(ite), specified for Focus. The combination of [+Top] and [+Foc] yields the contrastive topic reading. The H-NP sequence has the H in the spec of Top and the NP in the spec of Fin. The combination of the expletive H in spec of Top and the focused NP in spec of Fin yields thethetic reading. The parameter distinguishing between languages with subject doubling of the TA type and languages without, as English, is about the specification of Fin. In English Fin has an EPP feature attracting any subject, topic or focus or expletive. In TA, Fin is specified for [Foc EPP] only. Topic-marked subjects are attracted by a higher Top head, marked for [Top, EPP], where the latter can be satisfied by an expletive in the absence of a topical subject. It will be shown that Finnish and Icelandic have the same parameter specification as TA, therefore exhibiting a MSC with properties similar to the MSC in TA. The NP-H pair is base-generated as a Small Clause embedded in a so called 'big DP', where the NP is the subject and the H-pronoun the predicate. There is only partial agreement between the two terms; in particular there is no person agreement. The MSC is derived by separate movement of the NP and the H-pronoun.

Declaration and statement of copyright

Declaration

No part of the material contained within this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree at Newcastle University or any other university.

Statement of copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Acknowledgements

My words sank into oblivion

نسيت الكلام

About my language, I do worry

أخاف علي لغتي

Keep everything still

فاتركوا كل شيء علي حاله

But resurrect my language..!

وأعيدوا الحياة إلي لغتي ..!

Mahmud Darwish

محمود درويش

It all started when I completed my MA in Tunisia some years ago and upon contacting him, he said I would put you in mind. His memory was so vivid that when I contacted him again, years after, he swiftly responded and believed the whole venture is worth a go. That was Anders Holmberg. He supported my application for a part-time PhD as long as I was lecturing outside the UK, then made the swap to full time studies the smoothest ever. All my gratitude goes to Anders Holmberg who has been the teacher, the supervisor, and the mentor. Geoffrey Poole, my supervisor too, has been flashing the torch in this venture. His modest but insightful advice has always been: “Mohamed! You are here, show us how you came, then go there and come back, but tell us with what and how you did!” Geoff’s advice signposted each curve in the way to the completion of this dissertation. All my gratitude goes to you too, Geoff.

Being a postgraduate at the School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics at the Newcastle University is entertaining the high quality research standards. I would like, in particular, to thank Prof. Karen Corrigan for her continuous support and feedback, especially during her methodology classes that I was lucky to attend. I am equally grateful to all my Annual Progress (APR) panels: Prof. Maggie Tallerman, Prof. Noel Burton Roberts, Dr. William van der Wurff, Dr. Dimitra Kolliakou, Dr. Isa Buchstaller, and Dr. Cathleen Waters. Their constructive feedback on different parts of the dissertation helped bring the dissertation to its present status.

I am also indebted to Prof. Abdelkader Fassi Fehri. During his stay in Newcastle, I learnt a great deal from his passion to Arabic Syntax, his thoughtful discussions, and his inspiration. I am also indebted to his encouragements to investigate this issue of doubling in Arabic. I was also lucky to meet in several occasions the person behind this whole enterprise of

doubling: Prof. Sjeff Barbiers. I met Sjeff many times whether in Norway or Newcastle and every time we meet, he does not spare any effort to advise, suggest and support. My heart-felt thanks to Sjeff Barbiers. Likewise, I am thankful to Prof. Uri Shlonsky for the interest he showed in my research program and his backup for a successful research career in Arabic linguistics.

Other people have been crucial in my lonely, secluded journey towards the Ph.D. They have been supportive, patient and understanding. In particular, Prof. Ferid Chekili, my MA supervisor in Tunisia, never hesitated to share with me his PhD research experience at UCL. My friend Sadok Abcha was always close to me and keen to provide support the time he feels I need it. My office mate back in Oman, Lia Suteu did her utmost to make out of the office a quiet and peaceful working place for my research toil. Karim Gribaa, my friend and colleague, was very patient with me and was always the source of insightful advice. Abdul Monem Al Alawi, my Omani friend was there for me whenever I needed him. The teaching staff, the administrative staff and the deans of Sur College of Applied Sciences in Oman in these five years facilitated my stay in Oman and my several trips to England and, above all, they approved of my sabbatical leave for my full-time studies. To all these wonderful people, I would like to express my gratitude.

Were it not for Majid Dey, his wife Rosana and their Sabrina, living and studying in England would have never looked like that at home. I am indebted to Majid and his family for all the support I received from them.

My father and mother's prayers, my brothers and sisters and friends' dear wishes and support were the tune cheering me up during my risky trip towards the PhD. To all of them are my love and respect.

List of abbreviations in text and formats in glosses

1, 2, 3	1 st /2 nd /3 rd person	EPP	Extended Projection Principle
A-position	Argument position	EXPL	Expletive
A'-position	A-bar(non-argument) position	F	Feminine
ADE	Adessive	Fin	Finiteness Head
ACC	Accusative	FinP	Finiteness Phrase
ACT	Active	Foc	Focus
AgrP	Agreement Phrase	FocP	Focus Phrase
AgrS	Subject Agreement Phrase	FUT	Future
AgrOP	Object Agreement Phrase	GB	Government and Binding
Aux	Auxiliary	GEN	Genitive
C	Complementiser	H-form	3SM pronoun in Arabic
CA	Classical Arabic	IMP	Imperative
Chap	Chapter	IND	Indicative
CLI	Clitic	INDEF	Indefinite
Com	Common plural	INF	Infinitive
COND	Conditional mood	I(NFL)	Inflection
Cont	Contrastive	IP	Inflectional Phrase
COP	Copula	IPFV	Imperfective
CP	Complementiser Phrase	LF	Logical Form
D	Dual	M	Masculine
DEF	Definite	MoodP	Mood Phrase
DET	Determiner	MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
DP	Determiner Phrase	MSC	Multiple Subject Construction
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking	NEG	Negation

NegP	Negation Phrase	s-stem	Suffix stem
NOM	Nominative	Subj	Subject
NP	Noun Phrase	SVO	Subject Verb Object
OVS	Object Verb Subject	TA	Tunisian Arabic
P	Plural	TEC	Transitive Expletive Construction
p-stem	Prefix-stem	Tns	Tense
PASS	Passive	Top	Topic
PF	Phonetic Form	TopP	Topic Phrase
Poss	Possession	TP	Tense Phrase
PossP	Possession Phrase	u	unvalued
PP	Prepositional Phrase	UG	Universal Grammar
Pred	Predicate	V	Verb
PredP	Predicate Phrase	V-raising	Verb raising
PRF	Perfective	v	Light verb
pro	Small pronoun	VP	Verb Phrase
PRON	Pronoun/H-form	vP	Light verb Phrase
PRT	Particle	VOS	Verb Object Subject
PrtP	ParticlePhrase	VSO	Verb Subject Object
Q	Question	φ	Phi(agreement)-features
QP	Quantifier Phrase	φP	Phi (Agreement)Phrase
R	Relation	∅	pro
REL	Relative	<u>CAP</u>	Topic constituent
S	Singular	CAP	Focus constituent
SC	Small Clause	?	Awkward
S-raising	Subject raising	*	Ungrammatical
Spec	Specifier	#	Inappropriate in a given context

System of transcriptions

Consonants

Arabic Letter	Symbol	Phonological Transcriptions
ء	'	glottal stop
ب	b /b̥/	voiced bilabial stop
ت	t	voiced alveolar fricative
ث	θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ج	j	voiced palatal affricate
ح	h	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	x	voiceless uvular fricative
د	d	voiced alveolar stop
ذ	ð	voiced dental fricative
ر	r	voiced alveolar flap
ز	z /z̥/	voiced alveolar fricative
س	s	voiceless alveolar fricative
ش	ʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ص	ʂ	emphatic s
ض	ɖ	voiced velarized alveolar stop
ط	ɗ	emphatic t
ظ	ɗ	voiced velarized dental fricative
ع	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	voiced uvular fricative
ف	f	voiceless labiodental fricative
ق	q	velar glottalized plosive
ك	k	voiceless velar stop
ل	l	voiced alveolar lateral
م	m /m̥/	voiced bilabial nasal
ن	n /n̥/	voiced alveolar nasal
ه	h	voiceless glottal fricative
و	w (u in TA)	voiced bilabial semi vowel

// = phonemic in TA

Vowels	Short	Long
Central Open	a (a/e in TA)	a: (a:/e: inTA)
Front Closed	i	i:
Back Closed Rounded	u	u:

Diphthongs

aw

ay

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Main issues of the thesis: an overview

The present thesis investigates a number of issues relevant to the status of subjects in Arabic on the basis of a particular species of subjects in Tunisian Arabic (henceforth abbreviated TA): subject doubling. The thesis examines a subject construction in TA that contains a NP combined with a third person free-standing pronoun, a so-called H-form partially agreeing with the NP, together making an NP-H pair. This subject NP-H pair is in turn divisible into three distinct sequences: the subject doubling NP-H sequence, exemplified in (1a), the subject doubling H-NP sequence, exemplified in (1b), and the cleft NP-H sequence exemplified in (1c), which appears to also exhibit doubling, but actually does not, as will be discussed in due course.

(1) a. **le-wled huwwa** mfa:- l- el-masrah, muf e-ttufla

the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“The boy went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b. **huwwa le-wled** mfa:- l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f

he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not

“I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

c. **le-wled huwwa** elli: mfa:- l- el-masrah, muf e-ttufla

the-boy he that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“It was the boy who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

“The boy was the one who went to theatre, but not the girl.”

The elaboration of their information structure shows that each sequence of the NP-H pair results in a specific information structure type. First, the subject doubling NP-H sequence in (1a) expresses a contrastive topic subject doubling. Second, its non-subject doubling NP-H sequence counterpart in (1c) conveys a contrastive/exhaustive focus within a cleft construction. Third, the H-NP sequence in (1b) makes athetic subject doubling construction introducing information focus. The thesis inspects the syntactic nature of these different sequences of the same NP-H pair and structurally accounts for its various information structure types.

Based on the ‘Lexicalist Hypothesis’ within an early Minimalist model, following Chomsky (1993), and building on Chomsky’s (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) later Minimalist models, and a cartographic approach to clause structure (following mainly Rizzi (1997)), the thesis explores the hypothesis that two of the constructions, namely (1a) and (1b), are Multiple Subject Constructions (MSCs). Such MSCs articulate a higher topic position, identified as SpecTopP, and a lower focus position, identified as SpecFinP, distinct from the cleft construction (1c). This will be argued to provide the best analysis of the multi-functional NP-H pair. It clearly accounts for the distinct information structure types arising from the three sequences of the same NP-H pair, and it accounts for differences between the subject-doubling sequences (contrastive topic NP-H andthetic H-NP) as marked NP-H and H-NP MSCs and the distinct non-subject doubling cleft NP-H sequence.

The NP-H and H-NP MSCs as articulating a topic-focus construction in TA are shown to provide important insight into the status of subjects in Arabic. A host of issues related to the theoretical status of subjecthood are addressed in this thesis. Knowing that the study of subjecthood has been for long the most volatile of issues within the theory of generative grammar, the thesis contributes to the ongoing unsettled debate over subjects with a novel type of crosslinguistic data from Arabic, i.e., subject doubling realising a MSC in TA.

The following sections outline in further details these issues indicating the possible connections between examining subject doubling in TA and the generative discussion on subjecthood. It also shows the ramifications of the syntactic investigation of subject doubling in the present thesis to the extant crosslinguistic studies of the syntax of subjecthood. These issues are afterwards reset in the form of research questions that the thesis attempts to respond. The final section presents the organisation of the thesis.

1.2.The MSC and the topic-focus articulation of subject doubling in Arabic

Ever since Dianne Jonas’s and Jonathan Bobaljik’s work in the early nineties, followed up in Chomsky (1995: chap. 4), showing that the functional head T of TP can be related to two specifier positions hosting multiple subjects, hence the MSC, crosslinguistic research has been attesting (or equally denying) the validity of the MSC phenomenon for various subject constructions. For instance, Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) argue that the Transitive Expletive Constructions (TEC) in Icelandic is best analysed as an instance of a MSC in the IP layer. On the basis of Icelandic subject data and language-related word order properties, they proposed

SpecAgrSP and SpecTP as the components of the MSC in Icelandic (an analysis called into question in Chomsky (1995: 340). Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008) consider a number of constructions in Finnish, such as expletive-lexical subject constructions and subject-doubling constructions (with a deficient expletive subject) to be best captured by a MSC. The MSC in Finnish provides two dedicated subject positions, namely SpecFinP and SpecTP to host the distinct subject arguments and account for the particular word order properties of Finnish (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002, 2008). The validity of the MSC has also been tested-out on a number of subject constructions in Semitic. In Arabic, Doron and Heycock (1999) build on Chomsky's (1995: chap.4) original multiple SpecTP analysis of the MSC to construe a distinction in Arabic between what they call Broad subjects and Narrow subjects.

With the NP-H and H-NP subject doubling sequences of the NP-H pair in TA realising a distinct MSC, this dissertation provides another crosslinguistic type of evidence as to the validity of the MSC. The NP-H or H-NP MSCs are discussed to correspond to a topic-focus construction within a cartographic approach to the CP area of the clause structure. In either MSC, the thesis argues that the topic-focus articulation is the consequence of the spell-out of SpecTopP and SpecFinP in TA, two positions in the left-periphery of the clause (broadly along the lines of Rizzi 1997; Poletto 2000; Belletti 2004). The SpecTopP and SpecFinP positions are the invariant grammatical subject spaces hosting the subject doubles of the NP-H and H-NP MSC, regardless of the thetic (non-topic) nature of the thetic H-NP MSC. In the NP-H MSC as in (1a), SpecTopP hosts the doubled aboutness topic subject NP that is contrasted by the tonic doubling H-form in SpecFinP, conveying as such a contrastive topic NP-H MSC. In the thetic H-NP MSC as in (1b), SpecTopP hosts a non-topic null expletive H-form to satisfy the EPP of Top and doubles the lexical information focus subject NP sitting in SpecFinP.

Distinctive of these NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA is their derivational history. The thesis proposes that these MSCs are base-generated as a small clause internal to a 'big DP', in the sense of Uriagereka (1995a, b; 1997; 1998). The big DP is assumed to be assigned, despite including two nominal elements, one theta role and only one Case. It is also specified in terms of information structure features as [\pm Top] and [\pm Foc]. The small clause encodes a predication relation between the NP and the third person H-form. Both members of the small clause form a single subject argument. At a certain point of the derivation, this single subject argument splits for interpretive reasons into two nominal constituents that move into two specifier positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP.

Two important results follow from considering subject doubling in TA as instances of MSC. TA is a MSC-language having a positive setting for the SpecFinP parameter, which gives rise to both MSCs in TA. Second, the MSCs in TA present crosslinguistic type evidence that EPP is associated with two heads: Top and Fin. The following two sections elaborate these two results.

1.3. The validity of the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA and the role of the SpecFinP parameter

Central to the thesis is the proposal that there is a parameter in Universal Grammar (UG), which I will call the SpecFinP parameter. The validity of such a proposal is verified through the comparison of TA on the one hand with languages which do not have subject doubling, such as English, and on the other hand with languages which appear to exhibit subject doubling similar to that in TA, such as Modern Standard Arabic/Classical Arabic (MSA/CA), Icelandic and Finnish. The SpecFinP parameter is formulated to bear two options as to the feature specification of Fin. One indicates that Fin is either [uTop]-marked or [uFoc]-marked head with just one EPP. Another indicates that Fin and Top are separate heads with Fin [uFoc EPP]-marked and Top is [uTop EPP]-marked. TA is discussed to set the SpecFinP parameter along the second option. English, however, is shown to set the parameter according to its first option. A consequence of this distinct parameter setting between TA and English is that TA can spell-out both SpecTopP and SpecFinP as two subjects realising the NP-H and H-NP MSCs while English cannot. In this respect, TA is characterised as a MSC-language, but English is not.

The plausibility of the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA and the validity of the SpecFinP parameter are also verified by variation regarding MSCs in Icelandic as in Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), Finnish and Swedish, following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008), and MSA/CA as in Doron and Heycock (1999). The thesis posits that the MSCs in most of these languages have a number of properties in common with the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA. Given this observation, the thesis reanalyses these various MSCs by formalising them according to the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA, presenting them as a result of a setting the SpecFinP parameter the way TA does.

In this way, the dissertation considers, in general, the parameterisation of subjecthood as a universal phenomenon and, in particular, it examines the parameterisation of the MSC. It concludes that there is parametric variation concerning which heads have an EPP. In TA, Fin

has an EPP when it is [uFoc]-marked, entailing that Top also has EPP when [uTop]-marked. Subject constructions realising MSCs are the result of multiple heads each with an EPP-feature. Pertinently, the thesis also hopes through this account of the MSCs in TA to provide a tentative response to Chomsky's (1995: 343) two questions regarding the MSC phenomenon: the first question is "[h]ow are such structures permitted by economy principles? The second question is 'why do languages differ with regard to MSCs, some allowing them, others not?'"

1.4. EPP is a condition on Top and Fin in Arabic: evidence from Subject doubling in TA

The thesis contends that the checking domains of the EPP in TA are the higher SpecTopP and lower SpecFinP positions of the MSC, with the EPP is analysed as a feature of [uTop]-marked Top and a [uFoc]-marked Fin, respectively. Starting from the derivation of subject doubling constructions in TA, the dissertation provides a novel crosslinguistic type of evidence consistent with Chomsky's (2000, 2001) idea that EPP can be associated with any head. The novelty here is that in subject-doubling constructions realising the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA, the EPP is shown to be paired with two heads corresponding to two EPP positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP. Generally, the status of the EPP, whether it is universal and what its precise domain is, has been an unsettled issue, with distinct types of evidence from a variety of languages discussed in the literature.

The standard view of the EPP is that it is a condition on the highest position in the IP-domain, which can be the SpecTP, or SpecAgrSP, or SpecFinP, depending on the exact analysis of the clause. Chomsky (2005, 2008) proposes a partly new take on the EPP, analysing it as part of a feature complex including the phi-features (person, number, gender), which is merged as a property of C, but is lowered to T.

Arabic, in its VSO order, and other VSO languages (like Celtic), have been argued not to conform to this standard view (Fassi Fehri 1993, 2009 a, b; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998). Therefore, the debate in generative grammar about the locus of the EPP has turned into what functional heads each language characterises in its clause structure and which head is relevant to the EPP. For instance, Chomsky (2005, 2008) assumes C and T to host the EPP feature wherein T inherits it from C, so SpecTP, at least for English, is the locus of the EPP.

This thesis defends the position that the EPP domain in TA, within a framework assuming a split CP (Rizzi 1997), is higher than the IP/TP layer by positing that the EPP is an unvalued feature of Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin. The EPP in Top is satisfied by movement of

a nominal constituent to SpecTop or external Merge (base-generation) of certain elements in SpecTopP. The EPP of the [+Foc]-marked Fin is satisfied by movement of a nominal constituent to SpecFinP. The fact that TA, in the various subject-doubling constructions, exhibits two subject positions shows that there is more than one position that potentially is an EPP-position. The fact that the different doubling constructions have distinct, and clearly definable information-structural properties argues that they involve the C-domain, the syntactic domain which is important for the information-structural properties of clauses, as articulated in detail in the cartographic research program.

1.5. A doubling role of H-forms in Arabic: evidence from TA

The present thesis claims that the H-form in Arabic has a subject-doubling function. Three instances of H-forms are examined: a tonic doubling H-form, a non-tonic expletive doubling H-form, and a non-tonic non-doubling copular H-form within a cleft construction.

It fleshes-out an original proposal in Fassi Fehri (1984-1988, 1993) about this type of pronouns in Arabic as corresponding to the clitic in a clitic doubling construction. Most importantly, however, the thesis revives an interesting claim in Edwards (2006) that such pronouns can be doubling pronouns. Although Edwards (2006) opts for a reanalysis/grammaticalisation approach of H-pronouns in his analysis of H-forms in equative constructions in Egyptian Arabic, he raises the possibility that H-forms in Arabic can be analysed as doubling pronouns.

Edwards' (2006) note on a possible doubling H-form in Arabic is an impetus to test-out its validity for the study of the NP-H pair in TA, particularly in terms of a MSC approach to constructions including such pronouns. The findings show that viewing the H-form as a doubling pronoun can shed new light on the puzzling status of such pronouns in the literature of Arabic grammar. It also validates the proposal that subject-doubling constructions in TA realise two MSC types, NP-H and H-NP MSCs, comprising doubling H-forms.

1.6. Research questions

The same issues outlined in the previous sections can be reset in the form of research questions:

- In what way the H-form in the NP-H pair is a doubling pronoun instead of a copular one in view of the literature (Eid 1983a,b; Fassi Fehri 1984-1988, 1993; Ouhalla 1997)?

- What information structure do the three NP-H sequences of the NP-H pair claim?
- How is it possible to distinguish in a principle-based way between each information structure type of the NP-H sequences?
- Structurally, what agreement behaviour is there between the doubles of each sequence of the NP-H pair? How does that affect the NP-H pair subject-verb agreement?
- What does empirically motivate in TA the small clause analysis as the base-generated structure of the subject doubling NP-H pair?
- What evidence in TA is there for a big DP structure subsuming the small clause of the subject doubling NP-H pair? How different is the big DP of the subject doubling NP-H pair from the existent crosslinguistic literature of big DPs of similar constructions (Fassi Fehri 1983, 1993; Uriagereka and Torrego 1995; Belletti 2005)?
- In what way is the Big DP approach more suitable to the TA's subject doubling NP-H pair than other doubling approaches such as the Partial copy and the Multiple spell-out of chain links approach (Barbiers et al. 2008)?
- What triggers the derivation of the subject doubling NP-H pair into the NP-H and H-NP MSCs?
- How does the derivation of the NP-H pair MSCs meet the distinct information structure types of the subject doubling sequences of the NP-H pair?
- Is EPP in Top equivalent to the claim that the subject in TA is the highest argument and that coupling EPP of Top with [+Top] argue for a topic prominent TA?
- What parameter is responsible for the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA?
- Parametrising the MSCs, in what way are the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA distinguished from the extant literature on MSCs such as in Icelandic (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996), MSC/CA (Doron and Heycock 1999) and Finnish (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002, 2008)?
- Does the parameter allowing the MSCs in TA explain disallowing them in a non-MSC language like English?

1.7. Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is organised as follows. It comprises five chapters. In addition to chapter one, the present introduction chapter, the thesis discusses the syntax of the subject doubling NP-H pair in TA in three main other chapters and concludes the findings in a fifth chapter, the conclusion. Chapter two will present some descriptive preliminaries to TA, introduce the

subject doubling data in TA, examine the information structure of the three sequences of the NP-H pair in TA and will, finally, briefly review the literature of H-forms in the tradition of Arabic grammar. Chapter three will be analytical in nature by addressing the structural analysis of the NP-H sequence of the pair. This analysis will motivate in a principle-based way the distinction between a subject doubling NP-H pair realising the NP-H MSC and a non-subject doubling NP-H cleft pair in TA as the non-MSC. As a theoretical background, the analysis will be based on an early Minimalist model, the ‘Lexicalist Hypothesis’ following Chomsky (1993), but also refers to later Minimalist concepts, following Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) in addition to a cartographic conception of clause structure (Rizzi 1997). Chapter four will also be analytical by investigating the syntax of the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair realising the H-NP MSC, according to the same theoretical assumptions as in chapter three. In Chapter three as well as Chapter four, the core contention is that, in TA, SpecTopP and SpecFinP spell-out the higher and lower subject positions, respectively, of the both NP-H and H-NP MSCs. As such, chapters three and four will adequately motivate the descriptive depiction of the NP-H pair presented in chapter two. Moreover, both chapters will argue that the EPP in TA is a feature of both Top and a [uFoc]-marked Fin. Chapter five summarises the findings and concludes the thesis.

Chapter 2. Tunisian Arabic and doubling: descriptive preliminaries

2.1. Introduction

The present introductory chapter deals with a number of descriptive preliminaries that relate to the study of doubling in TA. Particularly, it describes the linguistic properties of Tunisian Arabic (TA) in view of its relation to Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Maghrebi Arabic (Arabic spoken in North Africa). Then, the chapter presents samples of doubling from TA, as well as some crosslinguistic doubling data, mainly those concentrating on argument doubling. Another key aspect of this descriptive chapter is the information structure depiction of the two crucial argument doubling types we are concerned with in this dissertation: contrastive topic subject doubling vs.thetic information focus subject doubling. Both can be instances of the same pair comprising a NP and a third person pronoun, i.e., the NP-H pair, which can, additionally, encode a third non-doubling subject construction conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus. The chapter also reviews the status of this third person pronoun or as is known the H-form (along with Fassi Fehri 1993) in the literature of Arabic grammar.

These issues will be discussed according to the following organisation. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 provide an overview of the linguistic characteristics of TA by comparing it to MSA and CA. Section 2.4 presents a sample of the doubling phenomenon in TA; it distinguishes argument from non-argument doubling; it views crosslinguistic doubling samples. Section 2.5 considers the information structure of argument doubling in TA. It examines in particular the information structure of the NP-H pair responsible for subject doubling. In section 2.6, a brief review of the status of the H-form in the literature of Arabic grammar is given. Section 2.7 concludes the chapter.

2.2. Historical and sociolinguistic facts of Arabic

Arabic is a macrolanguage that covers a number of varieties. Basically, it is the language of the Arab World from the Middle East to North Africa. There is a diglossic situation throughout (following Fergusson 1971) where the standard variety, namely MSA is

spoken together with many local varieties.¹ MSA is itself a descendent from another older variant of Arabic, CA.

2.2.1. Arabic as a macrolanguage

According to Lewis (2009), Arabic is one of the macrolanguages of the world. Macrolanguages, following Lewis (2009) are “multiple, closely-related individual languages that are deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language.”² Arabic is believed to cover thirty individual varieties, in addition to the CA and MSA variants. These individual varieties themselves branch into many regional varieties.

2.2.1.1. MSA vs. CA

Historically, CA is the prevalent variant of Arabic during the Islamic conquests in the seventh century AD. Being the language of the Qur’an, CA became so prevalent a dialect that Fück (1955) and Versteegh (1984, 2001) consider the standard version of the main tribes’ dialects of the era. In Johnstone (1967) and Watson (2002), it is reported that Arab scholars believe that CA is the parent language for MSA and the rest of spoken Arabic varieties. Elgibali (1996) argue that CA and MSA are two similar variants of the same language, with one being the standard of the past and the other the standard of the modern times (Bin Muqbil 2006).

They are distinguished given the changes CA underwent in the late eighth century (Sayce 1880; Goodchild 2003). The changes have been explained as results of the exigencies of modernity and the influence of other languages, local or foreign to the area. These accelerated the restructuring of CA into MSA according to Holes (1995a). Compared to CA, MSA’s phonological and morphological categories are reduced; MSA is more analytical than the synthetic CA and tolerant to lexical borrowing from surrounding languages (cf. Fischer 1997).³

¹ Holes (1995a) considers the diglossic situation of Arabic an oversimplification. Instead, he describes the linguistic situation for Arabic as a continuum of changes and shifts between a pure MSA and pure regional dialects. Fassi Fehri (1993) takes CA as a koinè, rather than a colloquial language.

² This definition is retrieved from an online edition of *Ethnologue* at <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.

³ According to Holes (1995a), many rural dialects kept CA features, in particular those dialects in inner Arabia (present day Saudi Arabia), which were less exposed to changes induced in the conquered territories in towns and cities.

In this dissertation, I will treat them interchangeably as MSA/CA to mean the same standard version of Arabic in comparison to spoken Arabic dialects, except when there are explicit distinctions between MSA and CA. In some instances, however, I use Arabic as the collective term for all varieties of Arabic when it comes to shared properties, especially word order and the nature of the sentence-initial position.

2.2.1.2. MSA and CA vs. local varieties

From a sociolinguistic perspective, two variants, MSA/CA and the local variety, co-occur in daily language use, i.e., there is a diglossic situation according to Fergusson (1971). Local vernaculars are distinguished by being either sedentary (co-territorial) or the very conservative Bedouin (nomadic) varieties. Unlike the situation in cities, rural areas remained much more conservative by preserving some features from CA such as the CA's interdental fricatives /θ/, /ð/ and /d/ (Holes 1995a).

Watson (2002) refers to syntax as the place where the most significant changes took place between MSA/CA and the Arabic vernacular varieties. Nonetheless, this does not exclude other important differences regarding phonetic and morphological variations among these varieties of Arabic. Overall, the changes concern the syllabic structures, word order, verbal and nominal morphological marking and the pronominal systems. Samples of such disparities will be highlighted during the comparison between MSA/CA and TA.

2.2.1.3. Maghrebi Arabic and TA

Maghrebi Arabic refers to the Arabic variants used in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Libya. It is called Maghrebi to distinguish it from the Arabic used in *al Mashreq*, the East (i.e., the Middle East) as opposed to *al Maghreb*, the western part of the Arab World. All varieties of Maghrebi Arabic are known by their distinctive use of *n-* as the first person singular on verbs compared to the Middle East varieties. Maghrebi Arabic is known in the area as *Da:rija* which means the spoken dialect. It is indeed spoken in all types of communication and it is tolerant to borrowing words from languages of the colonisers of North Africa like French, Italian and Spanish, in addition to the influence of the Berber substrata.

TA is, then, one of these Maghrebi varieties. It is spoken all over Tunisia as well as the eastern part of the neighbouring Algeria and the western part of Libya. For Gibson (1998, 2008), TA is basically urban despite only slight but detectable distinctions from the rural

varieties, mainly in pronunciation and vocabulary (cf. Marçais 1950; Singer 1984) But, compared to MSA/CA, TA remains different in terms of phonology, morphology, and syntax. By TA, Gibson (2008) is referring to Tunis Arabic, which is the variety spoken in the capital city of Tunis. I will consider that variety as the Tunisian Arabic variety I am studying here. Apart from some slight distinctions from other parts of the country, Tunis Arabic is the main dialect broadly used in media and daily-life communication in many regions of Tunisia. It is also considered the ‘prestige variety’ towards which speakers from other parts of the country are shifting (Gibson 2008: 563). Its widespread use is also explained by the great migrant influx to the capital city Tunis, where they easily speak the variety spoken in the capital city. For all these reasons, TA refers here to Tunisian Arabic.

2.3. A Linguistic overview of TA compared to MSA and CA

This section compares TA and MSA/CA with respect to some prominent phonological, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic features.

2.3.1. Phonological properties of TA compared to MSA and CA

According to Holes (1995a) all spoken Arabic dialects are marked by changes compared to MSA/CA in terms of the consonant clusters, stress and syllabic types. In what follows, I consider the basic phonological distinctions and commonalities between TA and MSA/CA.

2.3.1.1. Consonants and vowels

Generally, the consonant system in TA is not different from the rest of Arabic dialects, except that some consonants can be attributed a phonemic status. Gibson (2008) explains their phonemic status by the fact that these consonants can either be pharyngealised as the result of internal developments, or borrowed from MSA/CA. For instance, the pharyngealised consonantal phonemes /ḃ/, /ṡ/, /ḡ/, and /z/ are the result of internal developments, while /ʔ/ (the glottal stop) is borrowed from MSA, and /p/, and /v/ from French. Note that /ʔ/ is kept after MSA/CA in *maṣḍar* ‘deverbal nouns’, words like *bi:ʔa* ‘environment’, and /p/ and /v/ after the French ones appear, respectively, in words such as *pisi:n* (French piscine, ‘swimming pool’) or in *gre:v* (French grève, ‘strike’) (cf. Singer, 1984).

As for the pronunciation of consonants, the MSA/CA plosive uvular /q/ has the voiced velar plosive reflex /g/ in the rural variant of TA, while it is maintained in the urban variant of TA. Note also the interdental fricatives such as the voiceless /θ/ and the voiced /ð/ of MSA/CA are kept in TA.

Turning to vowels, TA has six vowel phonemes like in MSA/CA with long vs. short distinctions included. But TA omits short vowels, if they are the final element of an open syllable. For instance, in TA, the verb *ktib* ‘he wrote’ compared to the MSA/CA *kataba* ‘he wrote’ under the influence of the Berber substrata (Gibson 2008). Interestingly, the MSA/CA diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ are noticeable in some women's dialect of the capital city, Tunis, (in men's and women's varieties in many internal regions as well) in words such as *leil* /layl/ ‘night’; in the rest of the country they are merged as /i:/ and /o:/ respectively.

2.3.1.2. Syllables

Like the rest of Maghrebi Arabic, TA has a different syllabic structure from MSA/CA with respect to the onset, the nucleus and the coda. While MSA/CA has a CV onset, TA has a CC one as in *kataba* vs. *ktib* mentioned above. TA observes a heavy or long vowel in the nucleus of the syllable, compared to MSA/CA, such as the opposition between *rajulun* ‘a man’ in MSA/CA vs. *ra:jil* ‘a man’ in TA. Unlike MSA/CA, TA is characterised by a CCC coda in words suffixed by part of the negative circumfix /f/ as in *ma:-**fuft**-f* ‘I did not see’, wherein the three consecutive consonants in bold make-up the coda. MSA/CA, on the other hand, cannot have more than two consonants in the coda of the syllable as in the word *yawm* ‘one day’.

2.3.2. Morphological Properties of TA Compared to MSA and CA

TA collapses morphological paradigms of MSA/CA, implying, therefore, how spoken dialects like TA simplify the synthetic nature of the language.

2.3.2.1. The Pronominal system

The pronominal system in Arabic is intimately connected to the discussion of the agreement features encoded on verbs or adjectives (cf. Fassi Fehri 1993). The main question is whether these agreement features are incorporated pronoun forms, or purely inflectional features. Fassi Fehri (1993) advocates that bound forms are verbal inflections and adjectival suffixes according to his Inflectional Analysis, following Chomsky (1982) and Rizzi (1982). Opposite to the Inflectional Analysis is the Incorporation Analysis where bound forms are

pronoun arguments incorporated into their governors, verbs or adjectives, following Anderson (1982), and Baker and Hale (1990).

Generally, whether free-standing pronouns or bound ones as in (2), pronouns in Arabic are licensed by the principle in (1), according to Fassi Fehri (1993: 98-99).

(1) Arabic pronouns are bound to their canonical governors (general principles permitting). Otherwise, they are free.

(2) a. **huwwa** ja:-'a

he come-PRF.3SM

“He came.”

b. ḥasib- tu- **hu** ja:- 'a

think-PRF.1SM-him come-PER.3SM

“I thought he came.”

c. ja:-'u: **hum** la: xudda:m-u- hum (Fassi Fehri 1993: 113)

come-PRF.3PM they not servants-NOM-their

“They came, not their servants.”

Another important distinction with respect to free-standing pronouns in Arabic is between *ḍama: 'ir al-muxa:tabatu*, i.e., [+Participant] pronouns like the ones in table.1 and *ḍama: 'ir al- ġiya:b*, i.e. [-Participant] pronouns as in table.1. The difference lies in the deictic reference to a discourse referent present in the conversation for the first type, whereas, the referent is absent or indirectly referred to for the second type. Put in other words, this distinction corresponds to Harley and Ritter's (2002) distinction between [±Participant] pronouns.

Table 1: Pronouns in MSA/CA: bound and free-standing forms

Person, number and gender	Nominative free-standing form	Objective clitic form	Possessive clitic form
1 SM/F 1 PM/F	ʾana: naħnu	-ni -na	-i: -na:
2 SM 2 SF 2 DM/F 2 PM 2 PF	ʾanta ʾanti ʾantuma: ʾantum ʾantunna	-ka -ki -kuma: -kum (u:) -kunna	-ka -ki -kuma: -kum -kunna
3 SM 3 SF 3 DM/F 3 PM 3 PF	huwwa hiyya huma: hum hunna	-hu -ha: -huma: -hum (u:) -hunna	-hu/hi -ha: -huma: -hum -hinna

Notice that the free-standing Nominative forms of pronouns chiefly occur in subject positions like (2a) and in emphatic apposition positions similar to (2c). The bound forms, however, are clitics suffixed to verbs, nouns and prepositions; they function as direct objects, indirect objects, and possessors. Both forms observe the same phi(ϕ)-feature specifications.

Like most of the spoken Arabic dialects, the pronominal system in TA has lost the dual-plural distinction found in MSA/CA. But distinctive among spoken Arabic dialects, TA does not show any gender marking in the second person pronoun, particularly in urban dialects according to Gibson (2008). Some rural varieties of TA keep, however, a pronominal system close to that of MSA/CA. This results in a seven-pronoun pronominal system of TA including both [\pm Participant] pronouns as table 2 illustrates, respectively.

Table 2: Pronouns in TA: bound and free-standing forms

Person, number and gender	Nominative free-standing form	Objective clitic form	Possessive clitic form
1 SM/F	'a.na:	-ni:	-i: , -(ya:)
1 PM/F	'ahna:	-na:	-na:
2 SM/F 2/3 PM/F	'inti 'intuma:	-ik, (-k) -kum	-ik, -(k) -kum
3 SM	huwwa	-u:, (-h)	- u:, -(h)
3 SF	hiyya	-ha:	-ha:
2/3 PM/F	huma:	-hum	-hum

() = after vowels

Like in MSA/CA, independent pronouns in TA are used in subject positions in (3a) and in apposition for emphatic reasons in (3b), as well.

(3) a. 'a:na: ji:- t

I come-PRF.1SM

“I came.”

b. ḡarb-u: k 'inti el-mujrmi: n ⁴

hit-PRF-you you the-criminals

“They hit you, the criminals.”

2.3.2.2. Demonstratives

The sets of demonstratives in MSA/CA and TA differ in a number of respects. One prominent distinction is their morpho-phonological shapes as in (4), despite the fact in both varieties, demonstratives are used adjectivally.

(4) a. ha:ḡa: al-walad-u [MSA/CA]

this the-boy-NOM

“This boy.”

b. ha: le-wled [TA]

this the-boy

“This boy.”

⁴ Case type is not glossed in TA as a null type realises Nominative, Accusative and Genitive similarly.

Demonstratives in MSA/CA keep the gender distinctions, except when plural, and Case marking, except when dual. The plural marking of demonstratives is similar to that of the pronominal system as in table.3.

Table 3: Demonstrative forms in MSA/CA

Number, Gender, and Case	Proximal	Distal
SM	ha:ða:	ða:lik, ða:ka
SF	ha:ðihi	tilka
P (Com)	ha:ʔula:ʔi	ʔu:la:ʔika
DM NOM	ha:ða:ni	ða:nika
DM ACC	ha:ðayni	ðaynika
DF NOM	ha:ta:ni	ta:nika
DF ACC	ha:tayni	taynika

TA, however, reduces the detailed demonstrative forms of MSA/CA into four proximal demonstratives, irrespective of gender. One exception is, nonetheless, worth noting: *haða(ya)* marks masculine singular and *haði(ya)* marks feminine singular, like in the pronominal system. It also merges the dual marking into the plural marking, with no Case distinctions. All this results in three forms expressing proximity and four forms expressing distance as table.4 illustrates.

Table 4: Demonstrative forms in TA

number and Gender	Proximal	Distal
SM/F	ha:	h / ʔaða:ka
PM/F	ha:	h / ʔaðukum
SM	ha:ða, haða:ya	h / ʔaða:ka
SF	ha:ði, haðiyya	h / ʔaði:ka

In addition, TA demonstratives can be doubled to express emphasis. Doubling can be by a pronoun as in (5a) or by the demonstrative itself as in (5b). Consider the part in bold in (5).

(5) a. **ha:ða huwwa** le-wled

this he the-boy

“This one is the boy.”

b. **ha:** le-wled **ha: ða** ħka:y-tu gri:ba

this the boy this story-his strange

"This boy's story is strange."

“This boy is strange.”

2.3.2.3. Verbal inflections

Verbal inflections in MSA/CA are derived by applying different morphosyntactic derivations to the root form of the verb. Affixation is the derivational tool whereby the verbal root acquires its inflections, yielding various temporal and aspectual uses. Affixation results in p-(refix) and s-(uffix) stems of the finite verb according to Holes (1995a). The p-stem specifies the ϕ -features, namely person, number and gender and specifies, as well, syntactic function, namely mood marking. An illustration of the p-stem of MSA/CA is given in (6). In (6), the prefixes *na-* and *ta-* in bold stand for the sum of phi-features, in addition to indicating the imperfective (present) tense in the indicative mood.

(6) a. naħnu **na-** ktub- **u** risa:lat-an

we 1PM/F.IPFV- write-1PM/F.IND letter- ACC

“We are writing a letter.”

b. ’antum **ta-** ktub- **u: na** risa:lat-an

we 2PM/F. IPFV- write-2PM/F.IND letter-ACC

“You are writing a letter.”

The s-stem marks the active and passive voice of the verb. The sample of s-stems (in bold) in MSA/CA in (7) stands for the active and passive, respectively.

(7) a. waṣal- **at** al-bint-u

arrive- 3SF.PRF.ACT the-girl-NOM

“The girl arrived.”

b. *ḍarib- a al-walad-u*

hit- 3SM.PRF.PASS the-boy-NOM

“The boy was hit.”

In TA, however, the affixational paradigm is simplified compared to that of MSA/CA. In the p-stem, TA verbal inflections no longer distinguish between masculine vs. feminine gender marking in the plural, generalising, instead, masculine marking to hold for both. Dual number marking is, thus, lost and is merged with the plural. Also distinctive of TA and Maghrebi Arabic, in general, is the shared p-stem by the first person singular and the first person plural prefixes. Most importantly, the p-stem of TA, unlike MSA/CA, does not indicate mood. Consider (8), for example.

(8) a. *’aḥna: ne- ktb-u: e-ddars ʕaʕra maṛra:t*

we 1PM/F. IPFV-write-3PM the-lesson ten times

“We write the lesson ten times.”

b. *’intu:ma: te- ktb- u: e-ddars ʕaʕra maṛra:t*

you 2PM/FEM. IPFV- write-3PM the-lesson ten times

“You write the lesson ten times.”

The simplification of the MSA/CA paradigm also extends to the s-stem of TA. TA expresses the second masculine and feminine singular alike. Note, furthermore, that TA utilises the same s-stem for first singular, second singular (masculine and feminine) and third feminine singular suffixes. The similarity in TA’s verbal s-stem among the second plural and third plural reflects the loss of dual number suffixes in TA, compared to MSA/CA. See, for example, the s-stem forms of the verb in TA in (9).⁵

(9) a. *xsar- na: el- maṭeʕ*

lose-1PM/F.PRF the-game

“We lost the game.”

⁵ The active-passive distinction is also lost in the s-stem of TA. Instead, it is expressed by a combination of prefix and suffix. Consider (i).

(i) *t- ḍrab- na:*

2/3 P/S M/F. PASS- hit- 1PM/F

“We were hit.”

b. xsar- **u:** el- mətef

lose-3PM/F. PRF the-game

“They lost the game.”

A more explicit sample of the verbal affixational paradigm (the p-and s- stems) in TA is given in the following table.

Table 5: Verbal conjugations in TA

Personal pronouns	Perfective	Imperfective
'a:na: (1SM/F)	ktb- et (1SM/F)	ne -ktb (1SM/F)
'ahna: (1 PM/F)	ktb- na: (1PM/F)	ne -ktb- u: (1PM/F)
'inti (2 SM/F)	ktb- et (2 SM/F)	te -ktb (2 SM/F)
'intuma: (2/3PM/F)	ktb- tu: (2/3PM/F)	te -ktb- u: (2/3PM/F)
huwwa (3 SM)	ktb (3 SM)	ye -ktb (3 SM)
hiyya (3 SF)	ktb- et (3 SF)	te -ktb (3 SF)
huma: (2/3 PM/F)	ktb- u: (2/3 PM/F)	ye -ktb- u: (2/3 PM/F)

2.3.2.4. Mood marking and mood types

Mood marking in MSA/CA concerns the inflectional marking on the imperfective (present) form of the verb. The imperfective verbal forms alternate their endings according to their mood types: indicative, subjunctive, jussive, energetic, etc. (cf. Fassi Fehri 1993).

In TA, however, there are no mood prefixes, which entail the absence of the indicative/subjunctive distinction following Gibson (2008: 569). Mood marking in TA is made possible by the composite relation between three mood particles- *ra:*, *ma:* and *ha:* and a pronominal suffix. Each particle is distinctive in standing for a particular meaning as illustrated below.⁶

⁶ I will restrict the examples to TA mood particles only, given their relevance, unlike mood marking in MSA/CA, to pronominal doubling in TA. See (11).

(10) a. **ra:-ni:** jiʃa: n

see-me hungry

“Look, I am hungry.”

ra: : to draw attention to something evident the hearer should be aware of.

b. **ha:** - ni: ji:- t

here- me come-PRF.1SM

“Here, I have come.”

ha: : to draw attention to the presence of the referent.

c. **ma:-ni:-ʃ** ma:ʃ- i:

not-me-not going.1SM

“I am not going.”

ma: : to draw the attention to the negated action.

These TA mood particles all equally impart a sort of emphasis, by virtue of attaching to the pronominal suffixes. Frequently in TA, these mood particles are followed by a free-standing pronoun that doubles the incorporated agreement pronominal on the particle as (11a) illustrates.

(11) a. **ra:- ni:** 'a:na: ji:- t

see- me (CLI) I come-PRF.1SM

“You see, it's me who has come.”

b. **ti: ra:- ni:** 'a:na: ji:- t

PRT see- me (CLI) I come-PRF.1SM

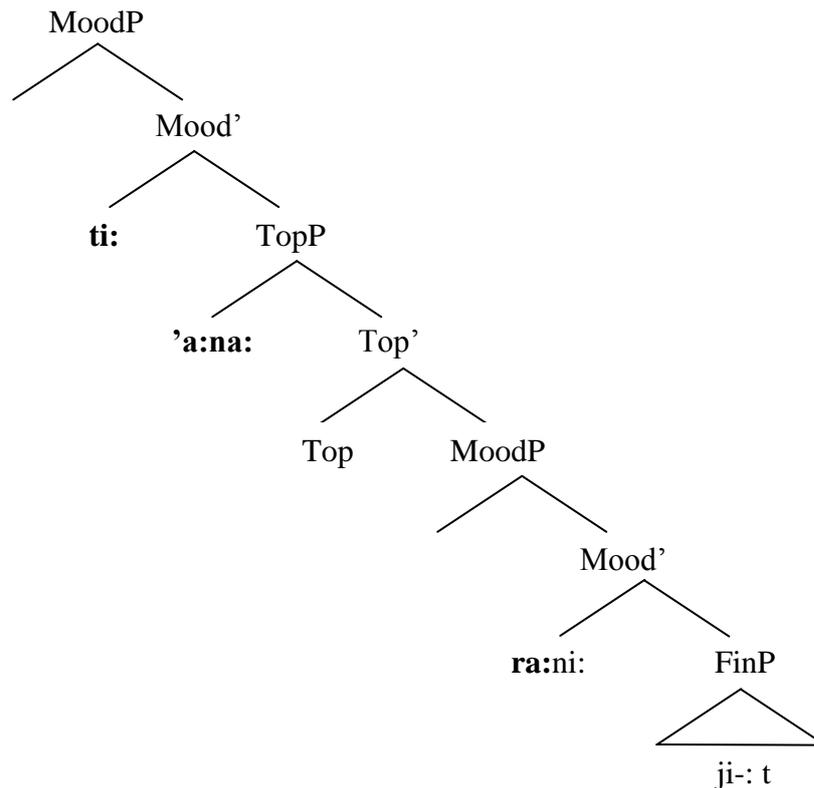
“Come on, it's me who has come.”

c. **ti:** 'a:na: **ra:- ni:** ji:- t

PRT I see- me (CLI) come-PRF.1SM

“Come on, it's me who has come.”

d.



More importantly, this type of particles and other ones such as the speech acts adverbial particle *ti*: ‘then/again’ co-occurring with the mood particles in bold in (11b) and (11c) are crucial diagnostics to be used in this dissertation. On the one hand, they help in this chapter identify the information structure of the doubling NP-H pair as contrastive topic as we shall see in 2.5. In chapter three and four, they will shed light on the nature of the clause structure in TA as suggested in a preliminary way in (11d) representing (11c). In particular, they are independent Mood heads in a MoodP preceding the higher topic position, where the subject will be shown to move. They are also characterised by their free distribution as in (11c). Further details are left to chapters three and four.

2.3.2.5. *Function words*

I briefly compare in this subsection the main function words in MSA/CA and TA that will be referred to in the analysis of subject doubling throughout the dissertation. Function words, in particular interrogative pronouns and negative particles are another parameter according to which TA obviously diverges from MSA/CA. See first the interrogative pronouns. The table below presents the MSA/CA and TA equivalents of the English *wh*-words.

Table 6: Wh-words in MSA/CA and TA

English	MSA/CA	TA
What?	Ma: (ðɑ:) ?	'a: ʃ, ʃnu:wa, ʃniya, ʃnu:ma(pl.), ʃla: ʃ ?
Why?	Lima: (ðɑ:) ?	La: ʃ, ʃla: ʃ ?, lwa: ʃ ?
Where?	'ayna?	Wi:n, fi:n ?
When?	Mata:?	Waqta: ʃ?
Which (one)?	'ayy?	'ana?
Who?	Man?	ʃku: n ?
How?	Kayfa?	Kifa: ʃ?
How much, many, long?	Kam?	Qadda: ʃ?

In TA, interrogative pronouns are distinguished by the morpheme *'a:ʃ* suffixed to most of the interrogative pronouns. It can also make interrogatives out of prepositions when attached to them as in *fa:ʃ* 'in what' and *ba:ʃ* 'with what' (cf. Gibson 2008). In addition, there is the possibility of using the conjunction *ya /'a:xi:* 'so and/or then', used, according to Gibson (2008), in narratives like an interrogative marker for yes/no questions. As I will illustrate in the section presenting subject doubling in various sentence types, this marker will be shown to coexist with sentences including doubling constructions such as in (12).

(12) 'a:xi: **hiyya e-ttufla** ja:- t ?

Q she the-girl come-PRF.3SF

“Did the girl come?”

As for negative particles, Holes (1995a) maintains that the negation systems of MSA/CA and local dialects, such as TA, differ, despite some obvious surface affinities in the overlapping use of negative particles, such as *ma:* and *la:*. MSA/CA has, in addition, the negative particles *lam*, *lan*, and *laysa*. The MSA/CA negative particles precede either a noun or a verb and differ in terms of syntactic distribution. For example, *ma:* negates a p-stem like in (13a) or s-stem verbs, and negates a pronominal subject like in (13b); *lan*, however, negates [a] subset of p-stem verbs shown in (14). Negative particles are in bold.

(13) a. **ma:** ḥall- a rakb- u- hu
 not come-PRF.3SM convoy-NOM-his

“He has not arrived yet.”

b. **ma:** ’ana: bi- qa:dim-in
 not I with-coming-GEN

“I am not coming.”

(14) **lan** ya- lṣab-a maṣa- kum
 not 3SM.IPFV-play-3SM with- you

“He is not going to play with you.”

In TA, on the other hand, negation is encoded by the circumfix *ma:-....-f*, with *ma:-* prefixing the verb and *-f* suffixing it. Frequently, the *-f* suffix is deleted in the presence of other negative quantifiers such as *fayy* ‘nothing’, *ḥadd* ‘no one’, and *ṣumr* ‘never’ which conjugates with different personal pronouns and precedes the *ma:* negative particle (cf. Gibson 2008). All possibilities are illustrated in (15).

(15) a. **ma:** ye- ṣjib- ni: -f
 not- 1SM/F.IPFV-like-1SM-not

“I do not like it.”

b. **ma:** ye- ṣjib- ni: **fayy**
 not 1SM.IPFV-like-1SM thing

“I like nothing.”

c. **ma:** ye- ṣjib-ni: **ḥadd**
 not 1SM.IPFV- like-1SM body

“I like nobody.”

d. **ṣumr-** u: **ma:** ṣjib- ni:
 never-3SM not like-PRF.1SM

“Never did I like him.”

There exists, as well, a negative *ma:* combined with any of TA's personal pronouns, which Gibson (2008: 570) dubs a 'negative copula'. It conjugates with personal pronouns such as *ma:ni:f* 'I am not', *ma:hu:f* 'he is not', *ma:humf* 'they are not', or *ma:kumf* 'you (3PL) are not), *makf* 'you (2SG) are not'. See the emboldened in (16).

(16) a. **ma:- ni:-f** maḥi:- el tunes
 not-1SM-not go-1SM.FUT to Tunisia
 "I am not going to Tunisia."

b. **ma:-hum-f** maḥi:- n el tunes
 not-they-not go-3PM.FUT to Tunisia
 "They are not going to Tunisia."

Another unconjugated form *muf* 'not' that omits the pronominal copula is also a negative particle in (17) that alternates with the conjugated form.⁷

(17) a. **muf** ja:-y el-yu: m
 not coming-1SM.FUT the-day
 "I am not coming today."

b. **muf** jayi:- n el-yu: m
 not coming-3PM.FUT the-day
 "They are not coming today."

2.3.3. Syntactic properties of TA compared to MSA and CA

This section briefly accounts for a number of syntactic issues regarding word order, sentence-initial position, and subject-verb agreement in MSA/CA and TA. It succinctly highlights the prominent distinctions and possible affinities between MSA/CA and TA with respect to such issues. This will be relevant to the syntactic analysis of subject doubling in TA in chapters three and four, given the correlations between subject doubling in TA and word order, sentence-initial positions and subject-verb agreement in TA and in Arabic, in general.

⁷ Note that this is regardless of whether these personal pronouns are copulas or not, as it is discussed in Eid (1983a, b; 1991, 1992).

2.3.3.1. Word order

In any pro-drop language such as Arabic, it is always hard to determine the basic word order (Gibson 2008). However, it is standardly assumed that VSO is the unmarked word order and SVO is the marked one for MSA/CA. Conversely, most spoken Arabic dialects, like TA, observe an unmarked SVO and a marked VSO order, according to Holes (1995a) and El Yasin (1985).

MSA/CA, word order has always been subject to distinct views supported by a multitude of observations. Holes (1995a) states that VSO, SVO, VOS, and OVS can all be equivalents for a sentence intending *a dog bites a man* as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ *kalb-un rajul-an*
bite-PRF.3S dog-NOM man-ACC
“A dog bit a man.”
- b. *kalb-un \text{\textcircled{a}}* *rajul-an*
dog-NOM bite-PRF.3S man-ACC
“A dog bit a man.”
- c. $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ *rajul-an kalb-un*
bite-PRF.3S man-ACC dog-NOM
“A man was bitten by a dog.”
- d. *rajul-an \text{\textcircled{a}}* *kalb-un*
man-ACC bite-PRF.3S dog-NOM
“A man, a dog bit.”

Holes (1995a) postulates that the way information in MSA/CA is organised lies at the basis of the flexible character of word order. He formulates this postulation into a discourse-based principle that explains word order flexibility in Arabic. It states that, regardless of its syntactic

function, namely subject or object, what is known and definite precedes what is new and indefinite (cf. El Yasin 1985).⁸

In a syntactic-based approach, Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that VSO is the result of V-raising to I(NFL), whereas, SVO is derived by S-raising to SpecIP. Contrary to Fassi Fehri (1993), Mohammad (1990) defends SVO as the unmarked word order for MSA/CA. Even in the VSO order, Mohammad (1990) postulates the existence of a preverbal expletive subject. The main argument is that the expletive licenses the agreement features marked on the verb, which accounts for the partial agreement characteristic of VSO order in MSA/CA.

In TA, Gibson (2008) suggests that SVO, rather than VSO, is the unmarked order for TA. This is based on the conjunction of a host of syntactic and discourse-based criteria. Gibson (2008) examines the frequency of occurrence of both SVO and VSO and concludes that SVO, as in (19a), is more common in conversations than VSO word order.

(19) a. e- rra:jel ma: ye- mʃ- i:-ʃ el da: r xaṭi:b-t-u:...

the-man not 3SM.IPFV-go-3SM-not to house fiancée-his-NOM

“The man does not go to his fiancée's house.”

b.u ki: f ye- mʃ- i:, yelzem bu:- ha: ye- bd-a: ḥa:der

...and if 3SM.IPFV-go-3SM must father-her IPFV-be-1SM present

“...And if he goes, her father must be there.”

Gibson argues that *erra:jel* ‘the man’ in (19a) is a topic because it is definite and, therefore, referential, or ‘accessible’. It can also be considered as a sort of contrastive topic, conveying men in general are exempt from that practices compared to women. As the topic has already been mentioned in (19a), there is no need for its iteration in (19b), but it can be referred to by what Gibson (2008: 570) calls ‘a reminder’ that is introduced in (19b) by the conjunction *u* ‘and’.

⁸ Still such a principle faces limitations in cases of contrastive focus or topical constructions following Holes (1995a).

2.3.3.2. *The sentence initial-position in MSA/CA vs. TA*

One of the most puzzling issues regarding word order in Arabic is the syntactic status of the sentence-initial position. Two main themes are customarily distinguished in this respect in both traditional and generative literature of Arabic grammar: the A vs. A-bar (A') status of the preverbal/initial position and, in the A' case, the topic vs. focus status of the position. I restrict the account to the topic vs. focus controversy because this is more directly related to our discussion of subject doubling in TA in the following chapters.⁹

To start with, MSA/CA is generally described as topic-initial, except for some instances of object fronting. Bakir (1980), Farghal (1992), and Ford (2009) all contend that Arabic is topic-initial in SVO.¹⁰

For the initial-sentence NP to be topic, it should be definite, specific and therefore referentially strong, following Fassi Fehri (1993). A focus NP, however, can be indefinite and more generic. Consider (20a) and (20b), respectively. Throughout the dissertation, I will underline the topic element and mark the focus element by italicised small capital letters.

(20) a. al-kita:b-u muhammad-un 'i- fstar- a: - hu

DEF-book-NOM Muhammad-NOM 3SM.IPFV-buy-3SM-it

“The book, Mohammad bought it.”

b. **KITA:B-UN* muhammad-un 'i- fstar- a: - **hu**

book-NOM (INDEF) Muhammad-NOM 3SM.IPFV-buy-3SM-it

Visibly in (20), another prominent difference between an NP topic in an initial-sentence position in (20a) and an NP focus in (20b) is that resumption by the resumptive pronoun *-hu* (glossed as *it* in (20)) can only hold for topics, and never foci (cf. Rizzi 1997).

⁹ The subject vs. topic distinction dates back to Arab traditional grammarians whose analyses have been, correctly or incorrectly, adopted by Arab modern grammarians (cf. Fassi Fehri, 1993: 91). Traditionally (8th and 9th centuries), there existed two distinguished grammar schools adopting different approaches to Arabic, namely Al-Basrah (in Iraq) and Al-ku:fa (in Iraq). According to Al-Basrah, the preverbal element in an SVO order is a topic that is generated in a non-argument position, i.e., an A' position (Fassi Fehri, 1993). This view is carried out by modern linguists such as Bakir (1980) and Ayoub (1982). The Ku:fa School, however, posits the subject to hold true for both preverbal and postverbal subjects. It is a fronted subject as in SVO and an agent subject in VSO. Mohammad (1990) follows this tradition in his analysis of subject-verb agreement (cf. Carter 1981; Versteegh 1990; Fassi Fehri 1993; Abdul Raouf 2001).

¹⁰ Building on the literature about Arabic clauses and initial positions in Doron & Heycock (1999), Doron and Heycock (2003) and Alexopoulou, et al. (2004), Hoyt (2006) argues that Arabic is a topic-prominent language.

Another key diagnostic of a topic rather than a focus, for Arabic, is left-dislocation. By left-dislocation, the sentence-initial NP can precede fronted constituents like question words, as in (21a) (Bakir, 1980). Such an NP can only be topic, never focus, as in (21b).

(21) a. 'a-tulla:b-u, mata: ḏahab-u: 'ila: al-ṣira:q-i
 the-students-NOM when go-PRF.3SM to the-iraq-GEN

“The students, when did they go to Iraq?”

b. *ṭulla:b-un, mata: ḏahab-u: 'ila: al-ṣira:q-i
 students-NOM when go-3SM.PRF to the-iraq-GEN

Yet another diagnostic property of a sentence-initial topic, as opposed to focus, is that it can be alternatively expressed by an “as for-construction”.¹¹ In Arabic, the counterpart construction is *amma: ...fa*. Like in English, it is impossible to topicalise an indefinite NP with *as for NP*, as in (22a), Arabic cannot topicalize an indefinite focus NP with *amma: ... fa*, as in (22b), but it can for a definite NP, as in (22c).

(22) a. *As for A BOOK, John found it.

b. *'amma: TA: LIB-UN fa- ḏarab-a- hu al-muṣallim-u
 as for student-NOM(INDEF) then-beat-PRF.3SM-him the-teacher-NOM

c. 'amma: a-tta: lib-u fa- ḏarab- a- hu al-muṣallim-u
 as for the-student-NOM then-beat-PRF.3SM-him the-teacher-NOM

“As for the student, the teacher beat him.”

Note that the three diagnostic criteria each provide a sufficient condition for topic-hood, but not a necessary condition.

Following Gibson (2008), TA is topic-initial when we consider the discourse-neutral criteria for an utterance like in (23a). The indefinite counterpart in (23b) will be an awkward topic in a discourse-neutral utterance. It can be a good initial-sentence position indefinite as in (23c), where it resumes an established referent in discourse, but in which case it means the situation is no longer discourse neutral. In this latter case, it is a perfect focus element as in (23c).

¹¹ A host of other diagnostics with respect to the topicality of the initial position in Arabic is extensively discussed in Bakir (1980), Fassi Fehri (1993), Ouhalla (1991, 1994), and Plunkett (1993).

(23) a. le-wled qʃad fi e-dda: r
 the-boy remain.PRF.3SM in the-house

“The boy remained at home.”

b. ? wled qʃad fi e-dda: r
 a boy remain.PRF.3SM in the-house

“A boy remained at home.”

c. *WLED* qʃad fi e-dda: r (muʃ ʈufla)
 a boy remain.PRF.3SM in the-house (not a girl)

“A *BOY* remained at home (but not a girl).”

The fully acceptable counterpart to (23b) should have VSO order, as in (23d). Yet, a definite topic subject in a VSO sentence is always possible in TA as in (23e).

d. qʃad wled fi e-dda: r
 remain.PRF.3SM a boy in the-house

“A boy remained at home.”

e. qʃad le-wled fi e-dda: r
 remain.PRF.3SM the-boy in the-house

“The boy remained at home.”

The topicality of the sentence-initial definite NP can be tested by the TA counterpart of the ‘*amma: ...fa* ‘as for-construction’ diagnostic, namely *ka:n-ek ʃla: ...ra:* (literally, it means if you want to know about), such as in (24b) corresponding to (23a) and (24c) corresponding to (23b) or (23c).

(24) a. ka:n-ek ʃla: le-wled, ra:-hu: qʃad fi e-dda:r
 be.PRF-you on the boy, PRT-he(CLI) stay.PRF.3SM in the-house

“As for the boy, he remained at home.”

b.* ka:n- ek ʃla: wled, ra:-hu: qʃad fi e-dda:r
 be.PRF-you on a boy PRT-he(CLI) remain.PRF.3SM in the-house

The NP is definite and referentially strong in (23a); in (24a), the NP is not only definite, but it can also be embedded within the ‘as-for construction’ that hosts definite topic NPs but never indefinite NPs as in (24b). Comparing (24a) to (24b), it becomes obvious that only the definite topic NP in (23a) can be resumed by the particle pronominal clitic.

Furthermore, the topicality of the sentence-initial NP in TA can be sustained by other diagnostics. For instance, the subject NP in (25) cannot be an initial topic subject (in SVO) if it is a quantified indefinite NP as in (25a). That is possible only in a VSO sentence like in (25b).

- (25) a. * barfa na:s ja:- w l- el-ʕers
 many people come-PRF.3PM/F to-the-wedding
 b. ja:-w barfa na:s l-el-ʕers
 come-PRF.3PM/F many people to-the-wedding
 “Many people attended the wedding.”

Another type of evidence for the topicality of the sentence-initial position in TA is that it can be a topic subject as well as a topic object. Consider (26), respectively.

- (26) a. Ali fra:- el-karhaba u Kareem fra:- e-dda:r
 Ali buy-PRF.3SM the-car and Kareem buy-PRF.3SM the house
 “Ali bought the car and Kareem the house.”
 b. el-karhaba fra:- ha: Ali u e-dda:r fra:- ha: Kareem
 the-car buy-PRF.3SM-her (CLI) Ali and the house buy-PRF.3SM-her (CLI) Kareem
 “The car, it is Ali who bought and the house, it is Kareem who bought.”

Given these diagnostics, it is evident that the sentence-initial position in TA is a topic position; therefore, I will be throughout the dissertation assuming that the general tendency for MSA/CA and TA is topicality of the initial-sentence NP.

2.3.3.3. *Subject-verb agreement asymmetries*

Closely related to the word order issue in different Arabic varieties is the characterisation of subject-verb agreement in terms of an asymmetry. The asymmetry, characteristic of MSA/CA in particular, is that under SVO order, the subject fully agrees with

the verb, as in (27a). Under VSO order, however, it only observes partial agreement with the verb, as in (27b) (Fassi Fehri 1993; Mohammad 1990; Benmamoun 1999).¹²

(27) a. al-bana:t-u ji' - na:
the-girls-NOM come-PRF.3PF
“The girls came.”

b. ja:-'at al-bana:t-u
come-PRF.3SF the-girls-NOM
“The girls came.”

Full agreement stands for agreement in person, number, and gender features. Partial agreement is agreement in gender only, whereas number remains singular, regardless of the number of the postverbal subject.

Contrary to MSA/CA, in TA, subject-verb agreement is not sensitive to the word order distinction. Therefore, the asymmetry is not attested: the verb fully agrees with the subject, regardless of whether it precedes or follows it. Consider (28).

(28) a. e-ttufla ja-: t
the-girl come-PRF.3SF
“The girl came.”

b. ja-: t e-ttufla
come-PRF.3SF the-girl
“The girl came.”

c. le-bna:t ja-: w
the-girls come-PRF.3PF
“The girls came.”

¹² Note that other accounts express the distinction as rich vs. poor agreement. Both stand for the same agreement facts in Arabic.

d. ja-: w le-bna:t

come-PRF.3SF the-girls

“The girls came.”

2.3.4. Interim summary

In this linguistic overview of TA and MSA/CA I have pointed out various similarities and differences between these two varieties of Arabic, with respect to their phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic features. The overview is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to draw attention to issues that will be pertinent in the syntactic investigation of subject doubling in TA in the rest of the dissertation.

2.4. Doubling in TA: an overview

Barbiers et. al (2008: 2, 3) defines syntactic doubling as “[...] a constituent (i.e., a morphosyntactic feature, morpheme, word, or phrase) is expressed two or more times and for each doubling construction, we have to ask if it involves purely syntactic doubling [like spelled-out wh-traces], doubling with a semantic effect, or doubling with a discourse function.” A similar definition is advanced by Poletto (2006: 1), according to which doubling is about “two elements sharing a single syntactic function (and often also their morphological form or syntactic category) in the same clause...”

As for the literature on doubling per se in Arabic, there seem to be no systematic account, apart from the literature on clitic doubling.¹³ Rather, the study of doubling has remained a subtopic within the general topic of emphasis in Arabic grammar.¹⁴ Emphasis by doubling is frequent in the spoken varieties in particular, as noted in Al Batal (1990), Johnstone (1991, 1994), Holes (1995b), Eid (1996) and Rieschild (2006). This attests to the fact that doubling, regardless of function, is a distinctive interactional property and a productive strategy of Arabic (Rieschild (2006: 18).

As each language has its proper linguistic resources to express meanings, it turns out that Arabic has doubling as a natural resource for speakers to express various types of prominence, intensity, emphasis, and focus during interactions.

¹³ On clitic doubling in Arabic, see Fassi Fehri (1982, 1993), Aoun (1996) Aoun and Benmamoun (1998).

¹⁴ I am using the notion ‘emphasis’ only as a heuristic device, and only at this early stage. The more precise meanings of doubling will be articulated below.

In the following, I will present a sample of doubling data in TA, substantiating this general observation about doubling as a productive device in Arabic. I will begin by making a distinction between non-argument vs. argument doubling.

2.4.1. Doubling in TA: Non-argument vs. argument doubling

Doubling in TA can be with argument NPs as well as with non-argument constituents. Argument doubling concerns nominal and pronominal NPs. Non-argument doubling includes instances of verbal, adverbial, and adjectival doubling. In what follows, I present a sample of the most frequent non-argument doubling before I account in detail for argument doubling in TA, which is going to be pivotal to the dissertation.

2.4.2. Non-argument doubling in TA

A customary emphatic device in TA is the recurring doubling of verbs and adverbials as well as other non-argument categories like adjectives and prepositions. I will for the sake of illustration refer only to verbal and adverbial doubling. In TA, verbal doubling takes place in SVO and VSO alike, as in (29a) and (29b), respectively, or in the pro-drop structure in (29c).

- (29) a. el-xa:tim **mja-:** **mja-:**
 the-ring go-PRF.3SM go-PRF.3SM
 “The ring was lost (and will never be found).”
- b. **mja-:** **mja-:** el-xa:tim
 go-PRF.3SM go-PRF.3SM the-ring
 “The ring was lost (and will never be found).”
- c. Ø **mja-:** **mja-:**
 pro go-PRF.3SM go-PRF.3SM
 “It was lost (and will never be found).”

In all of them, doubling emphasises the action or event denoted by the verb. Notice that the double in (29c) is a fixed collocation in TA conveying the irreversible loss of something.

Adverbial doubling is also a familiar conversational feature in TA serving emphasis on events or actions. Consider, for example, the gradable adverbial doubling in (30).

(30) ʔi:ja-: **tawwa tawwa**

come-IMP.2SM/F now now

“Come now, right now.”

2.4.3. Argument doubling in TA

Argument doubling stands for the duplication of a nominal or pronominal argument, regardless of its position and/or function in the sentence. The most familiar type of argument doubling, to start with, is that of clitic doubling. In clitic doubling, a nominal or a free-standing pronominal can form a doublet with a pronominal bound to its governor. A nominal can also double or be doubled by a free-standing pronominal in subject or object position.

For expository purposes in this section, I will be calling this second type *nominal argument doubling* as it comprises lexical nominal material. Third, the free-standing pronominal can also form a doublet with another similar or different free-standing pronominal. I will refer to this as *pronominal argument doubling* because it exclusively involves pronominal material, and to keep it distinct from the previous two types. Throughout the dissertation, I will be using the terms *doublet* and *doubling pair* interchangeably to refer to the set of two items in a doubling relation, and the term *double* to refer to each member.

In what follows, I consider an illustration of the three different cases of argument doubling in TA. It will be visible from the glosses that no claim at present is yet made as to the more precise meaning, specifically information structure, of each type. I will dwell on such issues in section 2.5, where an information structure-based distinction is proposed.

2.4.3.1. Clitic doubling

Clitic doubling consists of a lexical NP or a free-standing pronoun resumed by a verbal resumptive clitic pronoun as in (31a) and (31b). The verbal pronominal clitic can itself be doubled by an appositive free-standing pronoun in (31c). Consider first clitic doubling in TA in (31). The doubling elements are in bold.

(31) a. **le-wla:d**, ʃuf- t - **hum**

the-boys see-PRF.3SM-them

“The boys, I saw them.”

b. **huma:** ʃuf- t- **hum**

they see- PRF.1SM-them

“Them, I saw.”

c. ʃuf- t- **ha: hiyya** muʃ ʔuxt- ha:

see-PRF.1SM- her she not sister-her

“I saw her, not her sister.”

Then, a sample of crosslinguistic clitic doubling is illustrated in (32) from Spanish, and (33) from Italian (Belletti 2005: 2).¹⁵

(32) **Lo** vi a **Juan**.

(I) him (CLI) saw to Juan

“I saw Juan.”

(33) a. **Gianni**, **lo** vedo.

Gianni (I) him (CLI) see

“Gianni, I see him.”

b. **Lo** vedo, **Gianni**.

(I) him(CLI) see Gianni

“I see him, Gianni.”

2.4.3.2. *Nominal argument doubling*

It is possible in TA to have a lexical NP doubled by a free-standing pronoun, preceding or following it. This is a further device the grammar of TA possesses to express emphasis. Notice, importantly, that these nominal doublets can surface in either declarative, interrogative,

¹⁵ Actually, Belletti’s (2005: 2) Spanish example (32) is taken from Jaeggli (1982). She makes a distinction between clitic doubling in this example and (33a) which she labels Clitic-Left Dislocation and (33b) which is a case of Right-Dislocation. I will consider all of them as different types of clitic doubling.

or exclamatory sentences.¹⁶ I will restrict the illustration to the declarative examples in (34) (= (1a) and (1b) in chapter one, respectively).

(34) a. **le-wled huwwa** mʃa-: l- el-masraḥ, muʃ e-ṭṭufla

the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“The boy went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b. **huwwa le-wled** mʃa-: l- el-masraḥ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ

he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not

“I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

Frequently in TA, the nominal argument doubling pairs in (34) can surface in fixed collocations such as (35). It is indeed customary in TA that the verbal particle *sa:ra:* ‘now I see’ embeds nominal argument doublets, typing the utterance as a sort of exclamation showing surprise.

(35) a. *sa:ra:* **le-wled huwwa** mʃa-: l-el-masraḥ, muʃ eṭṭufla !

PRT the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the girl

“Ah! Now I see, the boy went to the theatre, not the girl!”

b. *sa:ra:* **huwwa le-wled** mʃa-: l- el-masraḥ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ!

PRT he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in mind -my-not

“Ah! Now I see, I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

In the literature of Arabic grammar, the doubling pronoun in (35) has been known as the H-pronoun or the H-form (Fassi Fehri 1993). It can show up in different sentence positions, undertaking, as a result, different roles (Eid 1983a, b; Fassi Fehri 1984-1988, 1993; Edwards 2006). Consider, for instance, the various occurrences of the H-form in (36). The H-form can

¹⁶ For instance, nominal doubling in sentences like (34a) can be typed interrogative in TA by either keeping the same order internal to the doubling pair of (34a) or a different one from (34a). Both are given in (i) and (ii), respectively.

(i) **le-wled huwwa** mʃa-: l- el-masraḥ?

the-boy he go- PRF.3SM to the-theatre

“Did the boy go to the theatre?”

(ii). **le-wled** mʃa-: l- el-masraḥ, **huwwa?**

the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre, he

“The boy went to the theatre, did he?”

be a third person expletive pronoun sensitive to gender agreement as in (36a), or can be (for some) a copular H-form that is sensitive to agreement in number and gender in (36b).

- (36) a. hiyya e-ddeniya şfi:ba
 she(3SF) the-life(3SF) difficult
 “Life is tough.”
- b. e-ṭṭufla hiyya el-muʃkla
 the-girl COP_{3SF} the-problem(3S)
 “The girl is the problem.”

However, the H-form can also be an expletive H-form insensitive to person, number and gender as in (36c). In (36d), the H-form is an interrogative H-form insensitive to person, gender and number.

- c. huwwa ʿintuma: ta- ŧrf-u: -h rabbi: !
 he(3SM) you(2DM/F) IPFV.know-2D/3PM/F-he god
 “I doubt you believe in God.”
- d. huwwa ʿinti ji:t ?
 he(3SM) you (2SM/F) come-PRF.2SM/F
 “Was it that you who came?”

In the nominal doubling data as well as in the pronominal doubling data in TA, the H-form is the doubling pronoun. The doublets in (34), (35), and similar argument doublets to follow, are made-up of the H-form and a NP. This pair of constituents will throughout the dissertation be referred to as the NP-H pair, regardless of the internal arrangement of its constituents: whether the H-form precedes or follows the NP.

The information structure of the NP-H pair and the doubling nature of the H-form are left to sections 2.5 and 2.6, respectively, for further elaboration.

Another equally important issue which I put off until section 2.5 is the surface similarity between the NP-H pair in (37) (= (1c) in chapter one) and the same pair in (34a).

(37) le-wled huwwa elli: mfa: l- el-masrah, muj e-ttufla
 the-boy he that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“It was the boy who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

“The boy was the one who went, but not the girl.”

In (37), the NP-H pair does not, like (34a), stand for a doubling pair, and the H-form is not a doubling pronoun. The construction in (37) will later be analysed as a non-doubling NP-H pair, where the NP is a single subject of a cleft construction predicated by a copular pronoun *huwwa* ‘he’, the H-form in (37).

It is worth noting that the nominal argument doubling is not specific to TA. On the contrary, there seems the evidence that similar argument doubling data exists in many languages. For instance, Belletti (2005: 6) takes (38) to be what she labels strong pronoun doubling, which is similar to nominal argument doubling of TA. Notice that Belletti (2005) assigns to the Italian counterpart of the H-form in TA, here *lui* ‘he’, the status of ‘strong doubling pronoun’.

(38) **Gianni** verrà **lui**.

Gianni will come he

“Gianni himself will come.”

In Finnish, as well, a lexical argument NP can be doubled by a third singular masculine pronoun. Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 324) dub such doubling pronouns in Finnish ‘deficient pronouns’ with the role of doubling. They also cite another doubling type from Swedish, different from the Finnish type, in that the order of NP and pronoun is the reverse (Holmberg and Nikanne 2008: 344). The Finnish example and the Swedish one are given in (39a) and (39b), respectively.

(39) a. **Se** on **Jari** lopettanut tupakoinnin. [Finnish]

he has Jari quit smoking

“Jari has quit smoking.”

b. **Jari** har **också han** slutat röka. [Swedish]

Jari has also he quit smoking

“Jari, too, has quit smoking.”

Yet another construction is found in modern Brazilian Portuguese: the lexical NP in a left-dislocated position or right-dislocated position can be doubled by a free-standing pronoun in the main clause. This type of argument doubling is similar to the doubling data in (32), (33) and particularly in (38), where the resumption is by means of a free-standing strong pronoun instead of a clitic. Consider the following expressions in Brazilian Portuguese, from Kato (2000), as cited in Belletti (2005: 20).

(40) a. **João, ele** comprou un carro.

“João, he bought a car.”

b. **Ele** telefonou, o **João**.

“He telephoned, João.”

2.4.3.3. *Pronominal argument doubling in TA*

Pronominal doubling is crucially a further salient type of argument doubling in TA. Interestingly, pronominal doubling in TA substantiates the distinction in the tradition of Arabic grammar between two forms of corroboration which are still visible in some generative approaches to Arabic (cf. Ouhalla 1997). The forms are *attawki:d allafdi*: ‘lexical corroboration’ and *attawki:d almaʕnawi*: ‘semantic corroboration’. Both are attested in TA in (41) and (42).

To start with, the distinct pronominal doubling in (41a) and (41b) stands for the lexical corroboration type. The surprise in (41a) is made explicit by the negative continuation while (41b) implies a sense of astonishment of ignoring the presence of someone, given the interrogative continuation. The role of the H-form is again central in establishing the doubling relation in the several instantiations of pronominal argument doubling in TA.

(41) a. **’inti huwwa** ji-: t, muf huma

you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F not they

“You came, not them.”

b. **huwwa ’inti** ji-: t, waqt- a: f !?

he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F, time- Q

“Ah! You’re here, since when?”

The doubling by a reflexive pronoun in (42) is a species of semantic corroboration, following the Arabic traditional terminology. The *ru:ḥu:/nafsu*: ‘self-‘ expression in TA stands for a reflexive that establishes a semantic relationship with the free-standing subject pronoun. It further specifies, for emphatic purposes, the free-standing pronoun by repeating the same referent of the pronoun as in (42), hence the reflexive, instead of doubling it with another pronoun with another referent as in (41) (cf. Rieschild 2006).

(42) **huwwa** b- **ru: h-u: / b- nafs-u:** mʃa:- l-el- masraḥ
 he with-spirit-his/with-self-his go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
 “He himself went to the theatre.”

Note that the embedding of the pronominal doubling construction (41b), in particular, in a sentence headed by the verbal particle *sa:ra*: ‘Now I see’ as in (43) is somewhat distinctive of TA, similarly with that of nominal doubling in (35). This represents a common utterance in TA to express surprise.

(43) a. **sa:ra: huwwa ’inti** ji:- t, waqt- a:f !?
 PRT he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.3SM time- Q
 “Fancy you’ve come, since when?”

b. **huwwa ’inti** sa:ra: ji:- t, waqt- a:f !?
 he.3SM you.2SM/F PRT come-PRF.3SM time- Q
 “Ah! I had no idea when you came!”

(43a, b) are both exclamations conveying astonishment due to ignoring the coming of someone.

Another fixed expression in TA bears heavily on the identical pronominal doubling of the third person feminine pronoun, *hiyya* ‘she’, conjoined to a CP as illustrated in (44). This is a particular fixed collocation of TA echoing a reaction to a previous event or deed.

(44) a. **hiyya hiyya** u e-ttufla mʃa:- t l- el-masraḥ
 she she and the-girl go-PRF.3SF to the-theatre
 “And the girl did go to the theatre!”

b. **hiyya hiyya** u le-wled mfa:- l- el-masrah

she she and the boy go-PRF.3SM to the-theatre

“And the boy did go to the theatre!”

c. [hiyya hiyya] u [CP C [TopP Top Subj...]]

The fixed nature of this particular pronominal doubling expression is shown by the fact that it can co-occur with any subject and has no effect on agreement. The verb strictly agrees with the subject.¹⁷ Notice, however, that the [hiyya hiyya] construct is loosely adjoined with the CP in (44c), and given the agreement facts, i.e., agreement is only with the subject inside the CP, I will be disregarding such constructions in the analysis of subject doubling in TA.

Crosslinguistically, pronominal doubling seems to be a prominent speech feature in many languages and language groups. For instance, Barbiers et.al (2008: 2) distinguishes in several varieties of Dutch between identical pronominal doubling and distinct pronominal doubling. In (45a), there is identical pronominal doubling, except that the second occurrence of *zij* ‘she’ is strong from a prosodic perspective. Typical of Dutch dialects is the doubling of wh-pronouns whether identical pronominals like (45b) in Drenthe or distinct like in (45c) in North Holland.

(45) a. **Zij** heef **zij** daar niets mee te maken. [Flemish Brabant]

she has she there nothing with to do

“She has got nothing to do with it.”

b. **Wie** denk je **wie** ik gezien heb? [Drenthe]

who think you who I seen have

“Who do you think I have seen?”

c. **Wie** denk je **die** ik gezien heb? [North-Holland]

who think you REL.PRON I seen have

“Who do you think I saw?”

¹⁷ Note that in TA *hiyya hiyya* ‘she she’ is sometimes used alternatively with *hiyya u hiyya* ‘she and she’, but given the redundancy in using the conjunction *u* ‘and’ between the pronouns and after the whole construction, *hiyya hiyya u mf-a:* is more frequent than *hiyya u hiyya u mf-a:*.

The same phenomenon is depicted in Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 325-326) as salient in spoken Finnish. Identical pronominal doubling is illustrated in (46a) while distinct pronominal doubling is given in (46b).

(46) a. **Me** ollaan **me**-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

we are-1PL we-too quit smoking

“We have quit smoking, too.”

b. **Se** ole-n **minä**-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

SE have-1SG I- too quit smoking

“I, too, have quit smoking.”

Pertinently, Belletti (2005: 20), citing Kato (2000), reports that identical pronominal doubling with a kind of strong pronoun as in (47) is very common in modern Brazilian Portuguese.

(47) **Ele, ele** é meu amigo.

he, he is my friend

“He is my friend.”

2.4.4. Summary of the section

Summarising, it has been shown that the grammar of TA puts doubling at the disposal of the TA speaker, as a very useful device, in order to express emphasis, surprise, astonishment and several other illocutions and speech acts. This has been made explicit in the two forms of syntactic doubling I have presented in this section: non-argument doubling vs. argument doubling. Both have been divided into subsets of doubling. Argument doubling in TA has been characterised as distinguishing three subtypes: clitic doubling, nominal argument doubling and pronominal argument doubling.

These three subtypes have not been claimed to be unique of TA, or even unusual, for a wide range of similar subtypes have been crosslinguistically substantiated. Particularly in TA, however, argument doubling has been deemed very productive in the sense that some subtypes can be embedded in more than one sentence type, namely declarative, interrogative and exclamatory. Essentially, in both nominal and pronominal argument doubling, doubling is encoded by the same NP-H pair where the H-pronoun is the doubling pronoun.

Crucially, the NP-H pair in TA appears in three different constructions, two doubling NP-H constructions and a non-doubling construction. Having three distinct instances of the same -- on the surface at least -- NP-H pair necessarily requires an investigation of the syntactic reality behind it. Foreshadowing the syntactic analysis of the NP-H pair in TA in chapters three and four, it suffices to point at this stage to the correlation between the syntax of the NP-H pair and a host of syntactic issues that have been extensively examined with regard to Arabic and other languages. For one thing, the fact that the NP-H pair in TA is a subject connects it to issues concerning the syntax of subjects. For instance, there should be an analysis of how such NP-H pair satisfies the EPP, following Chomsky (1982), as the principle that requires each clause to include a subject. For another, the fact that the subject doubling NP-H pair is about two subjects relates its study to the literature on the MSC phenomenon that is realised in many languages with different subject constructions. Moreover, it seems appealing to examine the doubling versions of the NP-H pair vs. the non-doubling version in order to attempt an adequate account of the puzzling nature of the H-pronoun in Arabic, given its pivotal role in the three different versions of the NP-H pair in TA. These and other concomitant issues are involved in the syntax of the NP-H pair in TA.

However, I put off this syntactic investigation to coming chapters, in favour of an account of the information-structural effects of the various versions of the NP-H pair. The information structure analysis will help explain in a principle-based manner the distinctions between the three instances of the NP-H pair. Afterwards, their syntactic investigation will become motivated.

2.5. The Information structure of subject doubling in TA

This section accounts for the information structure of the argument doubling data. The purpose is to point out the fact that sharing the same doubling NP-H pair does not necessarily entail displaying the same information structure. On the contrary, the one and only NP-H pair can in a number of utterances in TA realise contrastive topic subject doubling and in others, a non-doubling contrastive/exhaustive focus subject of clefts. Interestingly, it can also realisethetic subject doubling introducing information focus.

Such endeavour can be undertaken by first enumerating the contexts of occurrence of both nominal and pronominal argument doubling before capturing that within an adequate information structure framework.

2.5.1. The NP-H pair as contrastive topic subject doubling: occurrence and articulation

I describe in what follows the utterance situations in TA of (34a) repeated in (48). More importantly, I show how the discourse situations map onto the information structure of (48). In particular, the doubling NP-H pair of (48) characterises contrastive topic subject doubling. Notice that I here resume underlining topics and italicising foci while prosodic prominence is via small caps on either topics or foci.

- (48) le-wled HUWWA mʃa: l-el-masraḥ, muʃ e-ttufla
the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

Consider first the context of (48). Utterances of the sort in TA come out as the result of a context similar to (49-51), which is about an exchange as to whether the boy went to the theatre or not. This discussion sets out with (49), where speaker A wants to know whether the boy really went to the theatre.

- (49) 'a:xi: le-wled mʃa: l-el-masraḥ ?
Q- the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
“Did the boy go to the theatre?”

The reply from speaker B confirms in (50) that the boy did go to the theatre.

- (50) le-wled mʃa: l-el-masraḥ
the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
“The boy went to the theatre.”

Speaker A, unconvinced by the reply in (50) as he might have presupposed other referents, is aware speaker B still has a set of other referents the speaker wishes he might access, given the utterance in (51).

- (51) 'a:na: fi: ba:l- i: e-ttufla mʃa:t l-el-masraḥ, muʃ le-wled
I in knowledge-my the-girl go-PRF.3SF to-the-theatre not the-boy
“I thought the girl went to the theatre, not the boy.”

What speaker B expresses in (48) is the confirmation of the same discourse referent by partly reiterating his reply in (50) and partly distinguishing the referent from other possible referents, given the tagged continuation. Consider again (48) in (52).

(52) le-wled HUWWA mʃa-: l- el-masraḥ, muʃ e-ṭtufla

“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

In a more conceptual-based analysis, namely in terms of information structure notions, the construction (52) deals with an aboutness topic and a contrastive topic, respectively (Strawson 1964; Chafe 1976; Lambrecht 1994; Kiss 1998; Büring 2003; Krifka 2007). In the literature, the definition of topic is always tied up to the notion of aboutness topic. Indeed, Krifka’s (2007: 30) defines topic as “the entity that a speaker identifies, about which then information, the comment, is given. This presupposes that information in human communication and memory is organized in a way that it can be said to be “about” something.” Contrastive topics, on the other hand, are “topics with a rising accent [, which] consist of an aboutness topic that contains a focus...” (Krifka 2007: 34). I will leave the structural properties of topicality to chapter three where the structural analysis of the contrastive topic NP-H doubling pair takes place.

In this respect, the doubled NP le-wled ‘the boy’ in (52) is the aboutness topic while the tonic form of the doubling H-pronoun is the marker of contrastive topic that renders the aboutness topic a contrastive one. By closely scrutinising the development of the situation from (49) to (52), the aboutness topic in (49), (50) and (51) turns into a contrastive topic in (52). To reach such a conclusion, let us first test the aboutness of the topic in (49), (50) and (51), then consider its contrastive status in (52).

In (50), le-wled ‘the boy’ is topic of the sentence by virtue of being already presupposed, i.e., a given entity, in the question (49). This can be confirmed by the ‘As for-construction’ topic diagnostic in TA, namely *ka:nek ʃla:* ‘as for’. Consider (50) tested by the *ka:nek ʃla:* in (53).

(53) ka:n- ek ʃla: le-wled, le-wled mʃa-: l-el-masraḥ
 be.PRF-you on the-boy the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre

“As for the boy, he went to the theatre.”

Then, following Krifka's (2007) definition of aboutness topic, *le-wled* 'the boy' in (49) and (50) is the entity the information of going to the theatre is about. Evidently, *le-wled* 'the boy' in (50) is an aboutness topic because it is either presupposed as in (49), and meets the topic diagnostic in (53).

Having explained that (50) comprises an aboutness topic, let us move on to study how the exchange in (51) and (52) turns that very topic of (49) into a contrastive topic in (52).

Before that, notice that the notion focus in Krifka's (2007) definition of contrastive topic as the combination of aboutness topic and focus is meant, as is standardly assumed, to imply alternatives, out of which it selects one. In the case of contrastive topics, the focus part, following Krifka (2007) and Büring (2003), indicates alternatives to the aboutness topic.

In (52), the NP-H doubling sequence imparts the contrastive topic. The division of labour is as follows: *le-wled* 'the boy' is the aboutness topic according to (49), (50) and (53); the tonic doubling H-pronoun is postulated to stand for Krifka's (2007) focus portion of a contrastive topic. As such, the tonic doubling H-form implies that the aboutness topic is selected out of a number of alternatives. The alternative is what I have indicated speaker A is trying in (51) to access. Consider again (51) in (54).¹⁸

(54) 'a:na: fi: ba:l-i: e-ttufla mfa:-t l-el-masrah, muʃ *le-wled*

“I thought the girl went to the theatre, not the boy.”

For Krifka (2007: 34), the rationale behind contrastive topics is that some utterances do not 'deliver all the information that is expected.' Thus, the utterance (54) is carried-out because (50) is not delivering all the information expected by the speaker. On the contrary, the information in (50), in the terms of Krifka (2007: 37), "gives a limited or incomplete answer" that diverges from the expectations of the speaker. (54) introduces two alternatives: the aboutness topic *le-wled* 'the boy' and another discourse referent *e-ttufla* 'the girl', which I assume to be another aboutness topic, bearing in mind that, in either case, some person is presupposed to have gone to the theatre. What (52) does is selecting the aboutness topic then contrasting it against any other possible referent as is indicated in the tagged negative continuation.

¹⁸ What happens between (49) and (52) stands for what Büring (2003) labels 'incremental answering', in the sense that the contrastive topic of (52) reflects a development of speech from an aboutness topic in (49) to a contrastive one in (52).

Probing the information structure has therefore shown that in TA an aboutness topic like in (50) is expressed by a single subject constituent, whereas a contrastive topic is realised by a subject doubling NP-H pair like in (52). Internal to contrastive subject doubling pair, the NP stands for the aboutness topic contrasted by the tonic doubling H-form.

Finally, it should be noted that this strategy of turning an aboutness topic into a contrastive topic by means of doubling is frequent in TA.¹⁹

In a similar vein, yet in a different context, the exchange (49-52) could develop till (50), but as another continuation of (50) speaker A utters (55) to test-out other possible replies that might include other discourse referents.

(55) 'a:na: smaʕ-et bu:- h mʃa: , muʃ huwwa

I hear-PRF.1SM father-his go-PRF.3SM not he

“I heard his father went, not him.”

The utterance in (55) is a further example showing that a single aboutness topic subject is not sufficient to meet the speaker’s expectations. Thus, inserting other possibly presupposed referents, namely *bu:h* ‘his father’, to have undertaken going to the theatre is motivated.

Faced with (55), speaker B replies with (56) which is this time preceded, unlike (52), by a speech acts adverbial particle like *ti:* ‘then/again’ and the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’ as in (56).²⁰

¹⁹ The strategy in TA of repeating and doubling a given referent serves the purposes of emphasis. Take for instance the following hypothetical situation: speaker A in (i-v) is annoyed with people every time citing Salem, a discourse referent, to be behind everything. This annoyance is expressed by speaker A sarcastically listing in a disapproving way how every deed should be referred to Salem. Note that the deeds might not have to do with what exactly Salem did/does; hence, many contradictory actions are mentioned...

- | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| (i) <u>sa:lem HUWWA</u> ʕmal ! | (ii) <u>sa:lem HUWWA</u> sreq | (iii) <u>sa:lem HUWWA</u> drab |
| salem he do.PRF.3SM | salem he steal.PRF.3SM ! | salem he hit.PRF.3SM ! |
| “Intended: <u>SALEM</u> did that.” | “ <u>SALEM</u> stole.” | “Intended: <u>SALEM</u> hit someone.” |
| (iv) <u>sa:lem HUWWA</u> t-sallef | (v) 'a :ʃ ba:ʃ t-rud- u:- h <u>salem</u> haða : | |
| salem he IPFV-borrow.3SM ! | what IPFV-make-3SM-him salem this | |
| “Intended: <u>SALEM</u> borrowed money.” | “Intended: For goodness sake! Who can this <u>Salem</u> be! | |

²⁰ Notice that *ʕa:d* in the periphery of VP means ‘already’, and can be make up a construction together with the particle *ti:* ‘then/again’ as in (i) making the exasperation from repetiton stronger as is glossed by ‘Come on’. It is considered an aspectual particle as it is glossed by the aspectual ‘should have’ if it is in an initial position as in (ii).

(56) ti: le-wled HUUWA ʕa:d mʕa:
 PRT the-boy he PRT go-PRF.3SM

“Come on, it was THE BOY that went.”

Evidently, the information structure analysis of (52) can be validated by the customary use in TA of a host of speech acts adverbial particles like *ti*: ‘then/again’ and aspectual particles like *ʕa:d* ‘already’. In particular, speech acts adverbial particles like *ti*: ‘then/again’ chiefly resume a previous speech act, or recover the topic of a previous speech act; hence, I will be calling them topic recovery speech acts adverbial particles. Followed by a plain aboutness topic, the construction in TA will be less acceptable as in (57).

(57) ? ti: le-wled ʕa:d mʕa:
 PRT the-boy PRT go-PRF.3SM

“Come on, the boy already went.”

An improvement of (57) in TA is possible either by contrasting the topic as in (56), or by repeating the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’ in a tagged position as in (58) to insist on the event of the boy’s going and nobody else’s, communicating at the same time the speaker’s impatience.

(58) ti: le-wled ʕa:d mʕa:-, ʕa:d !
 PRT the-boy PRT go-PRF.3SM PRT

“Intended: Come on, I have just said the boy already went!”

In either case, subject doubling is the suitable choice. In Chapter three, the aspectual *ʕa:d* will be shown in some instances to come in between the two members of the doublet.

(i) ti: ʕa:d le-wled HUUWA mʕa:
 PRT PRT the-boy he go-PRF.3SM

“Come on, then, THE BOY went.”

(ii) (ti:) ʕa:d ji:- t
 (PRT) PRT come.3PRF.SM

“You should have come.”

It is also aspectual in a sentence-final position. There, *ʕa:d* can be glossed as ‘already’ like in (iii) conveying the speaker’s disapproval of being forced to insist and repeat a previous reply. Repetition is obvious in the temporal structure of the event.

(iii) le-wled HUUWA mʕa: ʕa:d
 the-boy he go-PRF.3SM PRT

“Come on, THE BOY already went!”

In so doing, they insist on a particular referent in the conversation and in most cases, these particles contrast or correct the topic referent against a set of other referents. Take, for example, the speech acts adverbial particle *ti*: ‘then/again’ in (56). It conveys annoyance and exasperation from insistently setting apart the same discourse referent among other alternatives. The same meaning is also conveyed by the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’.²¹

In addition, the particle *ti*: ‘then/again’ has a mood implication, especially one that is obvious in resuming a conversation.²² The speech acts particle *ti*: ‘then/again’ in (56) recovers the previous reply in (50) (*lewled mfa: lelmasrah* ‘the boy went to the theatre’), which explains the absence of negative continuation in this case, compared to (52). It entails that the speaker is contrasting and insisting on the boy as the one who went, rather than anyone else.

Visibly, the use of such particles suitably requires a subject-doubling construction where the aboutness topic in (50) becomes a contrastive topic as in (56).

Interestingly, instead of (56), speaker B can react to (55) by (59) with another mood adverbial particle.²³

(59) ra:- hu le-wled HUWWA ya-ʕmal-ha:
 PRT-him the-boy he IPFV-do-her
 “Look! THE BOY can do it.”

²¹ Another familiar speech acts adverbial particle in TA to the one in (56), is *ma:w* ‘don’t you know that’ as in (i). It helps resume a previous utterance, but also draws attention to the correct referent in view of the negative continuation. Accordingly, subject doubling is borne-out.

(i) ma:w qu-l-na:- l- ek le-wled HUWWA mfa:- , muf bu:-h
 PRT say-PRF.3PM-to-2SM t he-boy he go-PRF.3SM not father-his
 “We have already told you that THE BOY went, not his father.”

²² Like the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’, the verbal particle *sa:ra*: ‘now I see’ that I described in section 2.4 to widely occur with subject doubling in TA as is again illustrated in (i) whereby the particle forces the doubling of the subject in the expression of surprise.

(i) sa:ra: le-wled HUWWA mfa:-
 PRT the-boy he go-PRF.3SM
 “Ah! Now I see; THE BOY went.”

²³ As mentioned in subsection 2.4.2.4, the role of such particles will be much more prominent in chapters three and four when they are used as diagnostics to determine the clause structure of TA and the positioning of the subject doublets.

In (59), speaker B draws by virtue of the mood particle *ra*: ‘look/I see’ speaker A’s attention to the possibility that the boy and nobody else might have done it and went to the theatre. The mood particle *ra*: ‘look/I see’ can precede the NP-H pair in contexts where there is rhetorical questioning of the discourse referent undertaking a given event. To reiterate, the purpose of the mood particle, as is described in the subsection 2.3.2.4, is to draw attention or in some cases to remind speaker A of someone or something. Here, the mood particle draws the attention of speaker A that out of other presupposed referents it is always possible the boy did it, implying the contrastive topic information structure.

All in all, I have, until now, accounted in a principled-based way in terms of information structure for the fact that TA makes use of single subjects to express an aboutness topic, but subject doubling in the case of contrastive topics. These results have been validated by the extensive use in TA of some speech acts adverbial particles that equally use the same strategy: doubling the subject to express contrastive topic.

Examining now the contexts of occurrence of subject pronominal doubling in (41a), repeated below as in (60), it is expected the same description and resulting information structure analysis of (48) would follow.

(60) 'inti _____ HUWWA ji: -t, muʃhuma
 you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F not they
 “YOU came, not them.”

Utterances like (60) appear in situations where the speaker contradicts a claim to the effect that a certain referent presupposed in the discourse is carrying-out an activity, proposing, instead, another referent: in this case the addressee. The tagged negative continuation makes explicit that (60) selects one referent out of a presupposed set of referents. Referring to Krifka’s (2007) understanding of aboutness topic vs. contrastive topic, I take it that in (60) contrastive pronominal topic doubling contrasts with an unexpected aboutness topic.

This view becomes more obvious when the topic recovery verbal particle *sa:ra*: ‘now I see’ is tagged as in (61). Implicitly, the construction means that the speaker has presupposed a given referent, hence an aboutness topic, to come, but he finds someone else contrary to his expectations. Contrastive topic by means of subject doubling in (61) is the most convenient construction in TA to meet this conversational need.

(61) 'inti _____ HUWWA ji: -t, sa: ra:
 you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F PRT
 “YOU came, now I see!”

Likewise, the verbless (equative) (62) employs pronominal subject doubling to deal with a very frequent speech situation in which the TA speaker unexpectedly experiences a contrary outcome to what he has originally speculated.²⁴

(62) 'inti _____ HUWWA el-mas'u:l!
 you.2SM/F he.3SM the-responsible
 “YOU’ re the responsible officer!”
 “Intended: I never thought YOU to be the responsible officer!”

The speculation as to whom the speaker would meet is transposed into an aboutness topic. Because the outcome is unexpected and unsatisfying, the speaker implicitly contrasts that aboutness topic with other alternatives, which warrants the use of subject doubling to express contrastive topic.

One final note is with respect to the agreement internal to the NP-H doubling sequence. By examining the glosses of (61), it is visible that the doubling H-form does not agree with the following verb; otherwise, the construction would be ungrammatical as in (63).

(63)* 'inti _____ HUWWA ja- : , sa: ra:
 you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.3SM PRT

The agreement of the verb with the doubled pronoun 'inti 'you' sheds light on the doubling nature of the H-form, which is going to be extensively discussed as I move on to the syntactic analysis in chapters three and four.

²⁴ Possibly (61) can be interchangeable with (i) below, again using the verbal particle *sa:ra:* ‘now I see’.

(i) sa: ra: 'inti _____ HUWWA (el-mas'u: l) !
 PRT you.2SM/F he.3SM the-responsible
 “Ah! Now I see, YOU ‘ re the responsible officer.”

Summarising, there has been ample evidence that the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA optimally realises a contrastive topic. This has been evident in the contexts of occurrence of nominal and pronominal subject doubling, and conceptually consolidated by the notions of information structure. To conclude, doubling in TA has been seen to correspond to topic contrastiveness. Indeed, internal to the NP-H doubling pair, the tonic H-pronoun doubles the aboutness topic and at the same time contrasts it, turning it into a contrastive topic.

2.5.2. The NP-H pair as non-doubling contrastive/exhaustive focus subject of clefts: occurrence and articulation ²⁵

I have noticed that the apparently similar NP-H pair realising contrastive topic subject doubling in TA can result in a non-doubling construction. This is the case of the non-doubling NP-H pair in (37), which is repeated below in (64).

(64) *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: mʃa: l- el-masraħ, muʃ e-ttufla
 the-boy COP_{3s} that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“It was *THE BOY* who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

“*THE BOY* was the one who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

Examining the context of the utterance will shed light on its information structure. I analyse constructions like (64) as cleft constructions, which might tempt us to assimilate clefts, at least on the surface, to contrastive topic subject doubling. However, unlike the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pairs as in (52), clefts in TA convey contrastive/exhaustive focus. This species of focus is realised by the non-doubled NP-H pair of (64). It turns-out that the role of the non-tonic H portion of the pair in clefts is reduced to that of a copula linking H-pronoun, rather than the doubling strong H-pronoun of (52).

Let us view these results with more details. To start with, see how utterances like (64) turn-up in a conversation in TA. Constructions like (64) are spelt-out as responses to questions like (65).

(65) Who went to the theatre, the boy or the girl?

²⁵ Contrastive focus is also known in the literature as corrective focus, exhaustive focus and cleft focus. Also, languages differ in encoding contrastive focus. According to Krifka (2007:6) and Kiss (1998), several ways of marking contrastive focus are attested in many languages. Clefts are one way, which adds to the contrastive meaning an exhaustive interpretation. Krifka (2007: 23) calls it cleft focus.

Responding to (65) necessitates determining the specific identity of the referent and contrasting it against a set of other possible alternative referents. The single focus subject in the cleft construction (64) contrasts one agent against another without any presupposition or expectation concerning the choice, hence its contrastive focus nature. As for the non-doubling H-form in (64), its role is to link by predication the cleft clause and the single contrastive focus element.

According to Kiss (1998), Büring (2003), and especially Krifka's (2007) construal of contrastive/exhaustive focus, *LE-WLED* 'THE BOY' in (64) is a contrastive focus. In Krifka's (2007: 10) approach, the standard use of focus is highlighting 'a part of an answer to the wh-part of a constituent question.' In (65), the wh-portion is seeking the identity of one referent, among two alternatives, who has undertaken going to the theatre: the boy or the girl. Moreover, Krifka (2007: 22) characterises questions like (65) as a restricted type of questions or 'closed alternative' questions to which the answer operates on a limited number of alternatives, i.e., the boy, or the girl in (65).²⁶

Suitably, the answer to (65) in (64) identifies and restricts to *LE-WLED* 'THE BOY' as one such alternative to have gone to the theatre. Consider again (64) in (66).

(66) *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: mʃa:- l- el-masraħ, muʃ e-ʃtufla

"It was *THE BOY* who went to the theatre, but not the girl."

"*THE BOY* was the one who went to the theatre, but not the girl."

Notice that the contrastive focus in (66) pertinently bears an additional exhaustive reading by virtue of the cleft clause. The cleft clause, following Kiss (1998) and Krifka (2007: 23), is an exhaustive focus-marking device. By exhaustive, it is meant that the referent is the only one alternative and its denotation is logically the strongest, out of many, to undertake, for instance, going to the theatre in (66). Indeed, the focus constituent in (66) is contrastive, in the sense that it is contrasted against other alternatives and also exhaustive in view of the cleft.

This is what the non-doubling NP-H pair is in reality encoding: on the one hand, the NP portion of the pair encodes the contrastive side of the focus. On the other hand, the non-tonic copular H-portion of the pair links the focus to its exhaustive side given the cleft clause.

²⁶ Opposite to a restricted question, Krifka (2007: 22) mentions the non-restricted or 'open alternative' type of questions like (ii), which is different from the restricted question (i). The answer to (i) for Krifka (2007: 22) is less contrastive. B's answer in (ii) is my suggestion.

(i) A: What do you want to drink, tea or coffee?
B: I want to drink [TEA]_F.

(ii) A: What do you want to drink?
B: I want to drink [COFFEE, TEA, MILK]_F.

Providing more evidence in favour of the non-doubling nature of this sort of NP-H pair, consider in (68) two possible replies to (67).

(67) Who out of these three went to the theatre?

(68) a. SA:LEM mfa:-

salem go-PRF.3SM

“SALEM went.”

b. SA:LEM huwwa elli: mfa:-, m- e-θla:θa

salem COP_{3s} that go-PRF.3SM out of- the-three

“It was SALEM who went out of the three.”

“SALEM was the one out of the three who went.”

Both replies in (68) identify the requested agent by the speaker. However, (68b) is slightly different in the sense that it clearly contrasts the agent against other possible ones. Given the continuation in (68b), contrastiveness is motivated by the speaker picking-out one particular agent out of three. Consequently, this reflects the uniqueness of the subject that the cleft construction further restricts by virtue of marking it exhaustive focus. The cleft is introduced by the non-tonic H-form predicator to identify the unique agent of the action. Contrary to (68b), (68a) can be read ‘at least SALEM went’, therefore, not excluding others to have possibly gone to the theatre.

TA, in sum, makes use of the same NP-H pair device to convey distinct information structures. In one version, the NP-H pair is a device that realises a contrastive topic subject doubling in a mono-clausal sentence. In another, the NP-H pair is part of a biclausal cleft construction conveying contrastive/exhaustive subject focus. As will be discussed in Chapter three, the H-form plays two distinct roles in the two constructions: in one, it is a tonic doubling H-pronoun; in the other, it is a non-tonic nominal copula.

2.5.3. The NP-H pair as thetic subject doubling: occurrence and articulation

The third type of NP-H pair in TA is the nominal argument doubling construction (34b) and the pronominal argument doubling (41b). Both are repeated in (69a, b), respectively.²⁷

- (69) a. huwwa le-wled mfa-: l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ
he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
“I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”
- b. huwwa ʾinti ji-:t, waqt- a: ʃ !?
he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time- Q
“Ah! You’re here, since when?”

Although (69) shows the reverse H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair, studying its occurrence conditions and mapping that onto its information structure of (69) will show that it is a case of subject doubling, but different from that of the NP-H sequence in (52).²⁸ It drastically deviates from it in terms of information structure. Indeed, the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair in (69) is argued to stand for thetic subject doubling introducing information focus, compared with the contrastive topic subject-doubling version of the NP-H pair in (52).

Thetic sentences following Marty (1884), speakers, unlike in topic-comment structures, do not need to force a presupposition or predicate the discourse referent with any property. In this sense, the referent is non-topical. The speaker is inquiring about an event without any predication of the given entity to any property (Lambrecht 1994: 121).

Viewing the spell-out contexts of (69a), to start with, it is clear from the negative continuation *ma:fi:ba:li:f* ‘I have no idea’ that the utterance indicates new information. Accordingly, neither the discourse referent, nor the event in (69a) is presupposed. In TA, constructions like (69a) can make a good interrogation seeking information related to going to the theatre. If so, the following are three possible responses.

²⁷ Notice that I am not underlining or italicising any part of the NP-H sequence in the thetic construction, given that they should in reality all be italicised and marked by small capitals for focus, following Lambrecht’s (1994) view that thetic is sentence focus, whereby all elements should be focus. For simplicity and clarity, I keep them without any highlight to be clearly recognised in comparison with the other two instances of NP-H pair.

²⁸ As is noted in subsection 2.4.3.2 above, I keep calling the NP-H pair to stand for the distinct constructions, regardless of the H-NP sequence of its thetic meaning. This is because the three constructions comprise the same elements: the NP and the H-pronoun.

- (70) a. mʃa:-
 pro go-3PRF.SM
 “He went.”
- b. ma: mʃa:- ʃ
 not go-3PRF.SM-not
 “He did not go.”
- c. ma: fi: ba: l-i :-ʃ
 not in mind-my-not
 “I have no idea.”

Responding by (70) consolidates the newness of the information in (69).

Compare now (69b), repeated again in (71a), to contrastive topic doubling as in (71b) and to contrastive/exhaustive focus such as in (71c).

- (71) a. huwwa ʻinti ji:-t, waqt- a: ʃ!?
 “Ah! You’re here, since when?”
- b. ʻinti HUWWA ji:-t, waqt- a: ʃ!?
 you he come-PRF.3SM time-Q
 “YOU came, since when?”
- c. ʻINTI huwwa elli: ji:-t, u waqt- a: ʃ ji:-t!?
 you COP_{3S} that come-PRF.3SM and time- Q come-PRF.3SM
 “YOU are the one who came, and since when?”

The only instance where information is not presupposed and therefore is all-new appears in (71a). In (71b), however, information is presupposed and contrasted. In (71c), information is identified and contrasted. Note that in (71c), the tagged interrogation is different from (71a) and (71b) because it indicates that the occurrence of the action of coming of that particular referent is not itself expected. Neither of (71b) and (71c) is about ‘out-of-the blue’ information (Lambrecht 1994; Krifka 2007). Another kind of comparison validates the same result. Consider the minimal pairs including (72a) (= (69b)), and its contrastive focus counterpart in (72b).

(72) a. huwwa 'inti ji:-t, waqt- a: f !?

“Ah! You’re here, since when?”

b. 'INTI ji:-t, waqt- a: f !?

you come-PRF.3SM time- Q

“It’s *YOU* who came, since when?”

In (72b), the contrastive focus does not need doubling of its subject by an H-form. 'INTI 'YOU' is a species of contrastive focus without being exhaustive as the case of (71c) that is clearly exhaustive given the cleft construction. This implies that, without the non-tonic H-form, (72a) cannot imply in TA the information focus of athetic construction as in (73a) which illustrates the inappropriate context. It can, however, make a good contrastive focus as in (73b).

(73) a. # 'inti ji:-t, waqt- a: f !?

you come-PRF.3SM time- Q

b. 'INTI ji:-t, waqt- a: f !?

you come-PRF.3SM time- Q

“It’s *YOU* who came, since when?”

Clearly, then, subject doubling of the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair is a strategy in TA to express information focus where information is given for the first time.

In other contexts, this H-NP sequence could be presentational, should that express general information. Consider how the exchange between A and B leads to an NP-H pair, of the H-NP variety, realising subject doubling that presents some information about given discourse referents and events.

(74) A: bsifa ʕa: ma, hiyya e-ʔtufla te- mʕi:-

generally she the-girl IPFV-go-3SF

“Generally, girls go (to the theatre) (so shouldn’t she?)”

B: 'aħna: fi seber- na: hiyya e-ʔtufla ma:-te- mʕi:- -ʕ

we in tradition-our she the-girl not IPFV-go-3SF-not

“In our tradition, girls do not go (to the theatre).”

Subject doubling in (74) presents general information about the beliefs and traditions of the interlocutors A and B. It expresses a common or general practice of girls in A's traditions but not in B's. The generality of the event is visible in the adverbials of manner *bsifa ʕa:ma* 'generally' and *'ahna: fi: seber-na:* 'in our tradition'. Glossing *hiyya e-ṭṭufla* by the English bare plurals further illustrates the generality of the information presented in (74).

Comparing thesethetic constructions to contrastive focus and contrastive topic constructions helps validate their description asthetic and highlight their presentational aspect. This is illustrated in the following minimal pairs. First, consider the pair in (75) that repeats (74A) in (75a) and compares it to a contrastive focus construction in (75b).

(75) a. *bsifa ʕa: ma, hiyya e-ṭṭufla te- mʕi:-*

“Generally, girls go to the theatre (so shouldn't she?)”

b. * *bsifa ʕa: ma, hiyya E-ṬṬUFLA te- mʕi:-*

generally she the-girl IPFV-go-3SF

The ungrammaticality of (75b) is explained by the mixture of strategies. On the one hand, it seeks to convey general information as in (75a) by virtue of the introductory adverbial *bsifa ʕa:ma* 'generally' and by the H-form *hiyya* 'she', which are together glossed as a generic plural in English. On the other hand, it contrasts a particular identified non-generic (specific) referent by a prosodically-strong doubled NP that implies contrastive focus. A contrastive focus with an exhaustive implication with the use of the cleft is also unacceptable if it makes recourse to the same strategy as in (76).

(76) * *bsifa ʕa: ma, hiyya E-ṬṬUFLA elli: te- mʕi:-*

generally, she the girl that IPFV-go-3SF

To have an acceptable contrastive focus version of (75b) and contrastive/exhaustive focus of (76), there should be no subject doubling as in (77).

(77) a. *E-ṬṬUFLA te- mʕi:-, muʕ ʕumm- ha:*

the-girl IPFV-go-3SF not mother-her

“It's *THE GIRL* who goes (to the theatre), but not her mother.”

b. *E-ṬṬUFLA* hiyya elli: te-mǰi-:, muǰ ’umm- ha:
 the-girl COP_{3S} that IPFV-go-3SF not mother-her

“*THE GIRL* is the one who goes (to the theatre), but not her mother.”

As a result, athetic construction in TA communicating presentational information focus occurs only by doubling the subject according to an H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair. The thetic sequence of the NP-H pair cannot convey contrastive topic in (78b), although both constructions are about subject doubling. Consider the following minimal pair comprising again (74A) in (78a) and its suggested contrastive topic subject doubling in (78b).

(78) a. *bsifa* ʕa: ma, hiyya e-ṭṭufla te- mǰi-:

“Generally, girls go to the theatre, so shouldn’t she?”

b. **bsifa* ʕa: ma, HIYYA e-ṭṭufla te- mǰi-:

generally she the-girl IPFV-go-3SF

It is again the mixture of strategies that bans (78b) from being neither information focus, nor contrastive topic. Notice that the adverbial *bsifa ʕa:ma* ‘generally’, and the non-tonic H-form and the generic nature of the referent in (78a) conveniently serve to express information focus. However, this strategy does not convey contrastive topic, even if the H-form is a tonic one as we have seen above in constructions like (48). Notice that, in a contrastive topic NP-H pair the topic referent should be a specific one by virtue of being, for example, presupposed, unlike the generic information focus like in (74A). In other words, we cannot present general information in view of a contrastive topic that is used for other purposes we have already outlined in the subsection 2.5.1.

Conceptually, the depiction of subject doubling in (69a) and (74) shows, in addition to presenting new information, the absence of presupposition from such utterances, as it is indicated in the definition of thetic sentences above. As such, they correspond to thetic or ‘out-of-the blue’ utterances, following Lambrecht (1994) and Krifka (2007). In Lambrecht’s (1994) approach, constructions like (69a) are all assertions and void of any presupposition. For him, they are dubbed as sentence focus. For Krifka (2007:11-12), the thetic constructions are standardly known to arise from questions like (79).

(79) a. What happened?

b. What was there?

In our case, a possibly similar question corresponding to (74) is in (80).

(80) What's the general state of affairs?

Answering (80), the general state of affairs in (74) is that girls, in one environment, go to theatre; in another, they do not.

The three questions in (79) and (80), respectively, are queries about new information. Replying to such questions is argued to take place by information focus, which highlights what is new in the utterance. Note, importantly, according to Krifka (2007), citing Marty (1884), that even thoughthetic utterances lack presupposition and thereby a topic constituent, they are not about nothing. On the contrary,thetic constructions bear a topic denotation.²⁹

Relevant to our description of (69a), the contention should then be that the NP-H pair in its H-NP sequence can in TA realise subject doubling, but it is one that stands for information focus, instead of a contrastive topic as is illustrated in (52) above. I tentatively argue that the NP-portion of the pair corresponds to the information focus constituent while the non-tonic H-form will be considered an empty expletive valuing the unvalued [uEPP] feature of Top in an analysis that will be articulated in detail in chapter four.

Moving on to (69b), repeated in (81), it seems that, here too, TA utilises pronominal subject doubling for the same new information purposes similarly with the nominal subject doubling in (69a).

(81) huwwa 'inti ji:-t, waqt- a: f !?

“Ah! You're here, since when?”

The newness of the information in (81) is implicit in the surprise and interrogation about the referent's unexpected event of coming. Notice, once again, that the tagged interrogative continuation supports the surprise effect.

In some other contexts, reinforcing the sense of surprise, the speech participants might embed theirthetic utterance within the verbal particle *sa:ra*: ‘now I see’. Such a particle has been

²⁹ Thetic constructions are by definition all focus (Lambrecht 1994), but without dispensing with the topic denotation inthetic utterances. This leaves us with the option that a covert topic is at work in such utterances. The same claim is made in Lambrecht (1994:141):thetic constructions can have a topic with an expletive filling a topic position in the absence of a logical subject like in (i).

(i) It is raining.

described above to type the utterance as a sort of exclamation expressing surprise. This effect has been observed in (43a), repeated below in (82).

- (82) sa:ra: huwwa 'inti ji: -t, waqt- a:f !?
PRT he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.3SM time- Q
“Fancy you’ve come, since when?”

To reiterate, in (82), there are no presuppositions, neither about the event nor about the referent. In both, the speaker reacts to a new unexpected event. In these ‘out-of-the blue’ cases, the H-NP doubling sequence of the NP-H pair in TA is straightforward.

2.5.4. Summary of the section: the implications of the information structure of the doubling and non-doubling NP-H pair

This section has investigated the spell-out contexts and the information structure of the NP-H pair in TA. It has been concluded that the NP-H pair is found in three different structures. Only two structures realise genuine subject doubling, whereas the third realises a non-subject doubling construction. Interestingly, the subject doubling NP-H pair can encode two different information structure constructions: a contrastive topic subject doubling vs. athetic subject doubling introducing information focus. The non-doubling construction expresses a single contrastive/exhaustive focus in a cleft sentence.

Importantly, it has been indicated that contrastive topic subject doubling and the non-doubling contrastive/exhaustive focus only on the surface observe the same NP-H sequence of the NP-H pair. A closer scrutiny of their information structure shows they are distinct. As will be demonstrated in more detail in Chapter three, in one case, contrastive topic subject doubling activates a doubling tonic H-pronoun bearing the contrastive feature responsible for contrasting the NP-topic against other topic referents. In the other case, the non-doubling sequence activates a non-tonic H-pronoun predicating a cleft complement to the contrastive/exhaustive single focus subject. All in all, the same NP-H pair works differently in the bi-clausal cleft introducing a contrastive/exhaustive non-doubled focus subject from that of the mono-clausal sentence introducing contrastive topic subject doubling.

2.6. The doubling H-pronoun in Arabic grammar: a brief review

2.6.1. The H-form in Arabic: a host of unrelated roles

The foregoing information structure description of the NP-H pair in TA has distinguished three distinct roles to the H-portion in the NP-H pair: a tonic doubling pronoun, a non-tonic doubling pronoun, and a non-tonic non-doubling pronoun. This is reminiscent of the controversy in the literature of Arabic grammar over the unrelated functions of this type of H-pronouns (Eid 1983a, b; Fassi Fehri 1984-1988, 1993; Doron 1986; Ouhalla 1999; Edwards 2006).

In this section, I briefly review the literature relevant for the characterisation of the H-form that has been, until now, described as part of three different NP-H constructions in TA. I will not, however, dwell on any syntactic claim, leaving that to chapters three and four. Three analyses of H-forms can be distinguished in Arabic grammar: the copular H-form analysis, the expletive H-form analysis and the focus H-form analysis.

Central to the copular analysis, to start with, is the verbal-like behaviour of the H-form in equative sentences in some Arabic varieties.³⁰ In Egyptian Arabic, in particular, Eid (1983a: 203-204) claims that the H-form in (83) is a copula.

(83) il-mudarris **huwwa** il-laṭi:f
the-teacher COP_{3S} the-nice
“The teacher is the nice person.”

Eid’s (1983a) account is based on the affinities between the H-form in that position and the copular verb in MSA/CA *ka:na* ‘be’, the Egyptian Arabic counterpart of which is *ka:n* in (84), especially when both are conjugated with the Egyptian Arabic negative circumfix *ma:f* ‘not’ as (84) illustrates.³¹ Both copulas are in bold.

³⁰ Other approaches like Fassi Fehri’s (1993) prefer a distinction between a copula H-form and a predicative H-form. The distinction reflects the different identificational vs. predicational properties of equational sentences. For Fassi Fehri (1993), only under the identificational type do we speak of the suppletive copula role of H-forms. The predicative H-form, on the other hand, becomes predicative only derivationally, i.e., when it moves. I will here keep using the copula to mean both. For further details, see Fassi Fehri (1993). From another perspective, Adger and Ramchand (2003: 325) consider ‘the distinction between predicational and equative copular clauses as illusory.’

³¹ For Cowell (1964) and Brustad (2000), the H-form is a ‘quasi-verbal’ element, as cited in Edwards (2006: 53).

(84) a. il-mudarris ma:-**ka:n**-ʃ laʔi:f
 the-teacher not-PRF.3SM-not nice

“The teacher was not nice.”

b. il-mudarris ma:-**huwwa**:-ʃ laʔi:f
 the-teacher not-(COP_{3S})-not nice

“The teacher is not nice.”

The syntactic position of the H-form in (84b) is apparently the same as that of the verbal copula in (84a). It hosts the negative circumfix, and intervenes between the subject and the predicate, apparently linking them in the manner of the verbal copula.³²

This analysis seems plausible for the non-doubling H-form in TA, which has been described as a predicator linking the contrastive/exhaustive focus subject like in (64) above, repeated here in (85).

(85) *LE-WLED* **huwwa** elli: mʃa:- l- el-masraḥ, muʃ e-tʔufla

“It was *THE BOY* who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

“*THE BOY* was the one who went, but not the girl.”

Negating the H-form, as in (86), with the TA negative circumfix *ma:-....-ʃ* ‘not’ shows only a partial analogy with the facts in Egyptian Arabic, given the ungrammaticality of (86a) vs. the grammaticality of (86b).

(86) a.* *LE-WLED* ma:-**huwwa**-ʃ elli: mʃa:- l- el-masraḥ, e-tʔufla mʃa:-t

the-boy not- COP_{3S}- not that go.PRF.3SM to-the-theatre the-girl go-PRF.3SF

b. *LE-WLED* ma:-**huwwa**-ʃ huwwa elli: mʃa:- l- el-masraḥ, e-tʔufla mʃa:-t

the-boy not- COP_{3S}- not he that go.PRF.3SM to-the-theatre the-girl go-PRF.3SF

“It was not *THE BOY* who went to the theatre, the girl did.”

“Intended: *THE BOY* was not the one who went to the theatre, but the girl.”

³² In Eid (1991), the copular H-form in negative constructions, as in (84), is considered as a ‘negative pronoun’ which in terms of feature composition is similar to free pronouns. The only distinction between negative pronouns and non-negative free-standing pronouns lies in the way their respective syllabic structure behaves with respect to focus. Negative pronouns tend to lengthen their final syllable to meet the requirement of the focus stress; non-negative free-standing pronouns equally bear a focus stress, but on their first syllable. A more elaborate discussion on this issue is in Edwards (2006: 57-58).

(86b) indicates that the H-pronoun in TA is a copula only if it is doubled by another H-form, which serves as a sort of negation within doubling in TA (cf. Edwards, 2006).³³

Let us now consider the expletive H-form analysis in Arabic grammar. Fassi Fehri (1993: 118-120) contends that H-forms can be used as expletives. Its feature composition is, as is expected from expletives, null. In MSA/CA, however, the expletive can be specified for gender as in (87a) and (87b), or a combination of gender and number as in the SVO sentences in (87c), but never for person as in (87d), as the glosses in bold indicate, following Fassi Fehri (1993:118-119).³⁴

- (87) a. **huwwa** al-kasal-u
 he the-laziness-NOM
 ‘‘It is laziness.’’
- b. **hiyya** al-ḥaya: t-tu
 she the-life-NOM
 ‘‘It/That’ s life.’’
- c. **humu** al-fala:sifat-u
 they the-philosophers-NOM
 ‘‘They are philosophers.’’
- d. ’inna- **hu** ’ana: ³⁵
 that- it/him (**3SM/N**) **I (1SM)**
 ‘‘It is me.’’

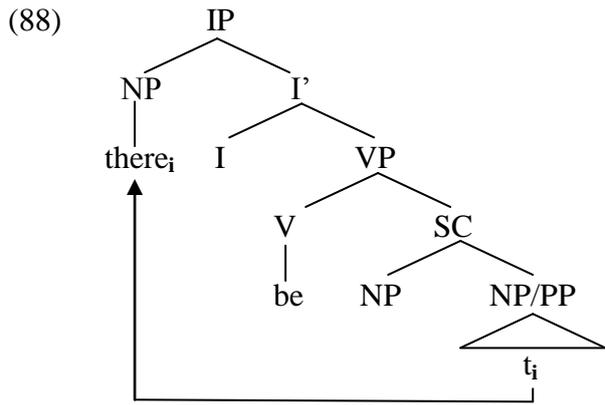
As for the derivational history of such expletive H-forms, Fassi Fehri (1993:119) adopts the idea that the expletive-H-form like in (87a), for instance, originates as a base-generated predicate before targeting at surface structure the subject position.

This analysis is based on Moro’s (1991, 1997) Inverse Copula Analysis to account for the derivation of existential *there* in English (Fassi Fehri 1993). Following this analysis, the existential *there* raises from a base-generated predicate position inside a small clause as in (88).

³³ Given (86a), the copular role of the H-form in TA is possible in declaratives as in (85). In negative constructions, the copular role in TA as in (86b) seems to hold only if it is doubled. This is an important observation regarding the distinction in TA between copular vs. doubling H-forms. Yet, I will leave it to future research, as it does not directly relate to our analysis in this dissertation.

³⁴ Example (87b) is not Fassi Fehri’s. It is suggested to show the variety in gender compared to (87a).

³⁵ Recall that for Fassi Fehri (1993), H-forms can be free-standing pronouns as well as clitic pronouns like that of (87c).



It is tempting to apply the expletive analysis of H-forms to the subject doubling NP-H pair in TA. For one thing, the H-form is deficient, lacking person features, shown by the fact that it can double a second person pronoun, as is illustrated in (89) (= (69b)).³⁶

- (89) **huwwa** **'inti** **ji:-t,** **waqt- a: f !?**
 he (3SM) you (2SM/F) come-PRF.3SM/F time-Q
 “Ah! You’re here, since when?”

There are certain similarities but also some differences between the analysis I will propose for the H-form in the TA subject doubling constructions (in chapter four) and Fassi Fehri’s (1993) analysis of expletive constructions. Without dwelling on this issue here, it suffices, though, to recall that it is the doubled information focus NP which is in reality a subject rather than the expletive doubling H-form. I will leave the derivation and distribution of the expletive H-form in subject doubling in TA to a more elaborate analysis in chapter four.

The third important analysis to distinguish in the literature of the H-form in Arabic is the focus H-form analysis according to which the H-form is a functional head (Ouhalla 1999; Edwards 2006). At the core of the functional category account is that the H-form is a focus pronoun heading a functional category.³⁷

³⁶ A thorough account of the feature specification of the doubling H-forms in the NP-H as well as in the H-NP sequences of the NP-H pair will be given in chapters three and four, respectively.

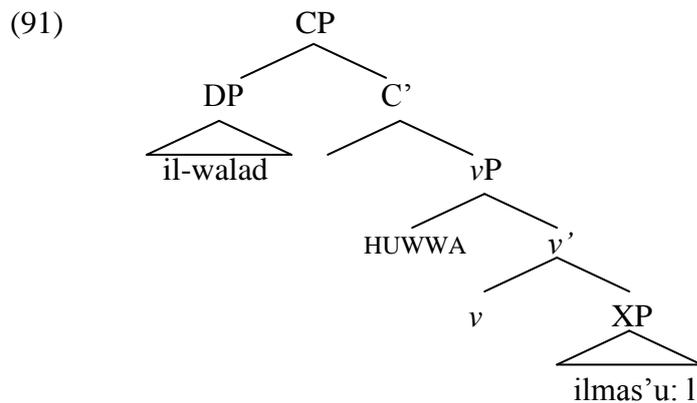
³⁷ Several variants of this approach exist in Fassi Fehri (1984-1988), Ouhalla (1999), Jelinek (2002) and Edwards (2006). The review here is based on Edwards’ (2006) account.

Edwards (2006: 60) explicitly highlights the information structure properties of the H-form in his structural analysis of H-forms in Egyptian Arabic, as in (90).

- (90) il-walad HUWWA il-mas'u: l [Egyptian Arabic]
 the-boy COP_{3s} the-responsible
 “The boy is the one responsible.”

Edwards’ (2006) approach is known as the reanalysis/grammaticalisation account of the focus H-forms into subject agreement features. In more concrete terms, it concerns the reanalysis/grammaticalisation of H-forms from a subject pronoun specifier into a functional head, which is equivalent to the ‘cyclic process whereby monomorphemic specifier elements can undergo reanalysis as functional heads.’ (Edwards, 2006: 51).³⁸

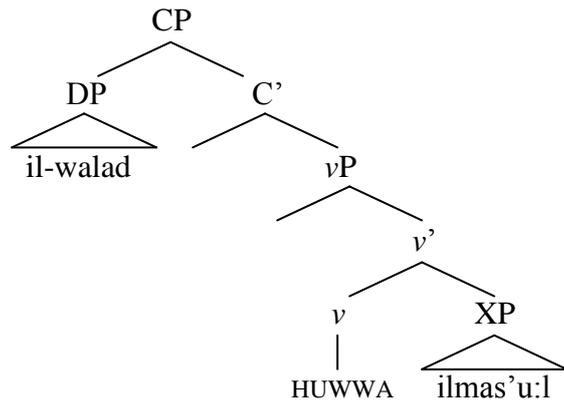
The reanalysis of the focus H-pronoun in (90) builds on the idea that equatives like (90) derive from a left-dislocated structure followed by a predicate including pronominal resumption like (91).



According to (91), the leftmost DP *il-walad* ‘the boy’ is in a topic position resumed by the strong pronoun HUWWA ‘HE’ in SpecvP. There, the strong pronoun is in a subject pronoun position receiving Nominative case and receiving its theta-role. The reanalysis takes place in (92) to turn the focus H-pronoun into the ‘semi-functional’ head of vP (Edwards, 2006).

³⁸ The reanalysis view draws heavily on Simpson and Wu (2002) and Van Gelderen’s (2004) ideas regarding the emergence of functional categories from specifier phrasal constituents.

(92)



The merits of Edwards' (2006) analysis are considerable. For instance, it reconciles the informational properties of H-forms and their syntactic ones on a purely structural basis. Another merit is that it provides a historical explanation of some of the properties of the H-form in terms of a diachronic process familiar in other languages.

Edwards' (2006) reanalysis hypothesis, although it has much to recommend it in the case of equative constructions cannot account for the subject doubling data in TA. For one thing, the subject doubling constructions contain a verb, which presumably raises to *v* (and further to T, as generally assumed for Arabic, as in Fassi Fehri (1993)). Thus, arguably, Edwards' (2006) reanalysis proposal is unable to account for the properties of the doubling H-form TA.

Up to this point, the three analyses of the H-pronoun in Arabic characterise the H-pronoun as a copular, expletive, or a reanalysed H-pronoun. They all, however, overlook the crucial doubling property of the H-form as in the subject doubling of TA.³⁹

It should, nonetheless, be pointed out that Edwards (2006), although only in passing, suggests attributing a possible doubling role to H-forms in subject positions in sentences

³⁹ A caveat, though, is in order here. Fassi Fehri (1984-1988, 1993) refers to a doubling role a species of parenthetical/appositive H-forms such as in (i) and (ii) can perform. In (i), the free pronoun doubles the incorporated agreement pronoun. In (ii), the free pronoun doubles the clitic pronoun.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------|
| (i) 'i-ltaqay-t-u | bi-h-i | HUWWA | (ii) ja: ' - u: | HUM | la: 'ixwat- u | -hum |
| meet-PRF.1SM | with-him-GEN | he.NOM | come-PRF.3PM | they.NOM | not brothers-NOM-their | |
| "I met HIM." | | | "THEY came, not their brothers." | | | |

similar to (90) above. Edwards' (2006: 61) concluding remarks also suggest that the doubling pair possibly realises a MSC since it comprises two coreferential nominative subjects.⁴⁰

2.6.2. Summary of the section

Two properties of the H-form in Arabic have been reviewed in this section with respect to three distinct approaches. First, the H-form is assimilated with verbal copulas in equative constructions in Egyptian Arabic, following Eid (1983a, b; 1991). The same property is adopted in Edwards' (2006) account of equative constructions in Egyptian Arabic, except that Edwards (2006) approaches equatives and H-forms differently from Eid (1991). It has been shown that Edwards' copular analysis of H-forms depends on the view that equatives are left-dislocated structures wherein the H-form is originally a resumptive focus pronoun that is reanalysed as a functional head *v*. The third approach has been about the second property of H-forms, the expletive H-form that is different from the copular one in terms of derivation. Derivationally, the expletive H-form has been reported to correspond to its English counterpart by raising from the base-generated predicate position to the derived subject position, which makes its derivational history entirely different from, for instance, the reanalysis account of the copular H-form. Finally, it has been noted that these three approaches, apart from a final note in Edwards (2006), disregard the doubling property of the H-form, which is central to our subject doubling data in TA.

2.7. Conclusion

To conclude, the present chapter has presented a host of descriptive preliminaries regarding TA, MSA/CA, the doubling data in TA, the information structure of subject doubling in TA, and the status of H-forms in the literature of Arabic grammar.

In sections 2.2 and 2.3 I have presented some descriptive preliminaries the purpose of which is to serve as a background for an elaborate syntactic investigation of subject doubling in Arabic to follow in chapters three and four. I have in the outset dealt with some historical and sociolinguistic facts that are broadly related to Arabic in general, and TA, specifically. I have at the same time pointed-out to the major noticeable shifts in TA from the standard and normative MSA/CA.

⁴⁰ Originally, the MSC idea follows from Doron and Heycock's (1999) proposal that iterated topic subjects in Arabic are best captured in the form of a MSC. Edwards (2006) keeps the same multiple subject structure, but discusses a different relation internal to the elements comprised in the MSC. Further details are in Edwards (2006).

In section 2.4, I have introduced the doubling phenomenon in TA. Then, I concentrated on argument doubling as the syntactic type of doubling that is going to be the main theme of the dissertation, especially its nominal and pronominal subtypes.

In section 2.5, I have explored the information structure of subject doubling in TA. The relevant subsections there depicted first the contexts where subject doubling in TA occurs. Then, the subsequent subsections have attempted to conceptualise that description within some models of information structure, Krifka's (2007) model in particular. It was found that, interestingly, in TA, the same NP-H pair encodes three distinct information structure types. It was concluded that subject doubling conveys either a contrastive topic subject or athetic subject information focus.

The H-portion of the NP-H pair in these three disparate types has been shown to behave differently. It can be a strong H-pronoun bearing a focus feature while doubling the topic NP in contrastive topic subject doubling. In thetic subject doubling, the H-form is a non-tonic expletive doubling pronoun doubling an information focus subject. In the non-doubling sequence, the H-pronoun is a predicator linking the contrastive/exhaustive focus NP to a cleft complement.

These copular, expletive and tonic/focus properties of the H-form in NP-H pair in TA have been reviewed to reflect variously-oriented approaches in the literature on H-forms in Arabic grammar. It has, however, been noticed that, except for an incidental mentioning, the doubling status of the H-form, as in TA, has been somewhat neglected. The thesis is an attempt to compensate for the paucity of research on the doubling H-form and its key role in the structure of subjects in TA in particular, and in Arabic by way of extension.

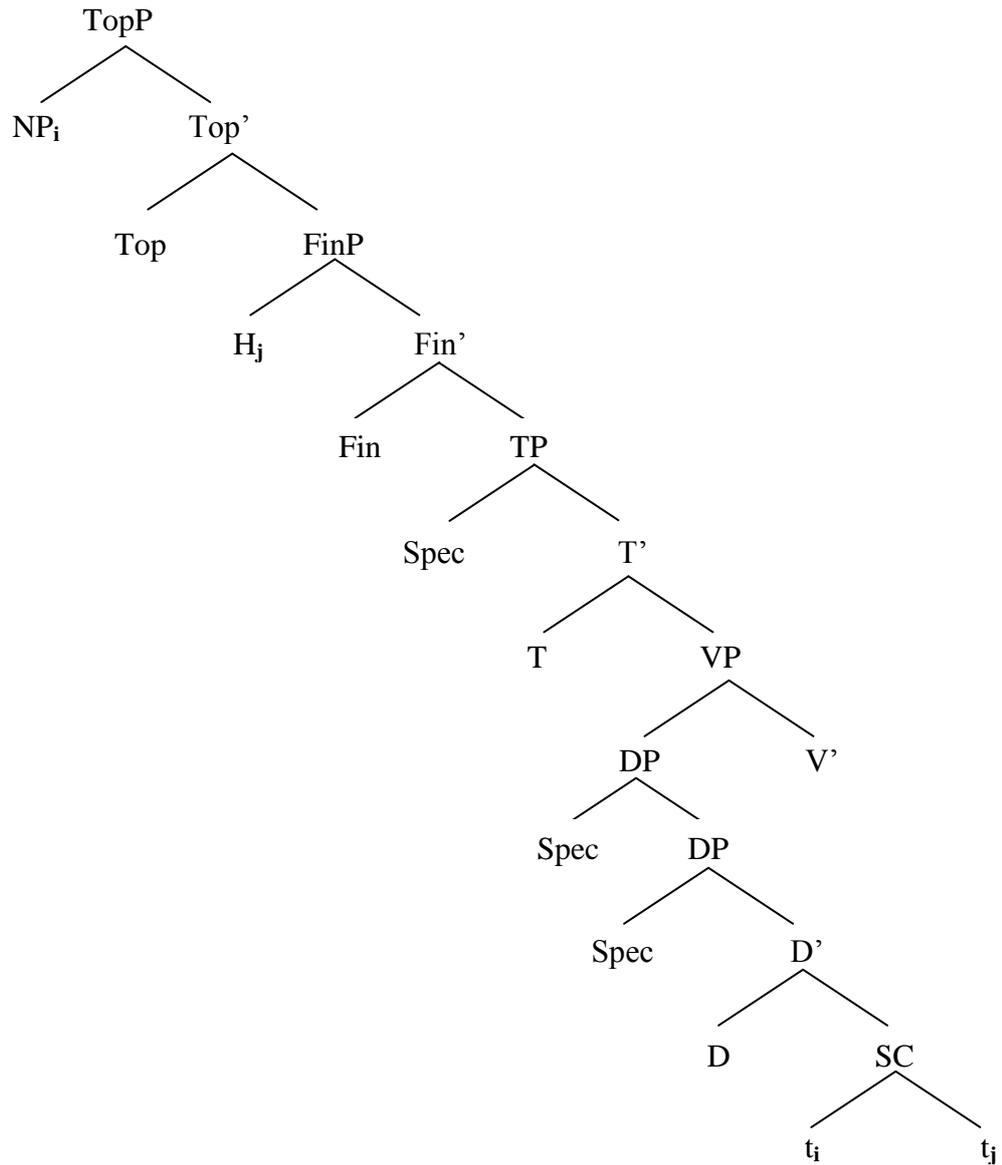
Chapter 3. The syntax of the NP-H pair in TA: contrastive topic subject doubling vs. non-doubling contrastive focus subject

3.1. Introduction

The present chapter investigates the syntax of the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA. The main proposal is that the NP-H pair displays a topic-focus articulation that results from the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. The NP-H subject doublet will be discussed to be a Multiple Subject Construction (MSC) in TA, a notion to be defined below. I will argue that the NP-H pair as in (1a) has the structure as in (1b).

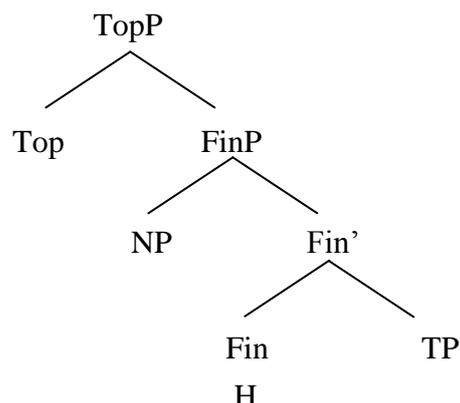
- (1) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa- : l- el-masraħ, muʃ e-ttufla
the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b.



The H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair will be shown in chapter four to have the same structure, but with the NP and H reversed. The cleft construction, which superficially resembles the NP-H subject doubling sequence of the NP-H pair, has a structure that locates the NP in SpecFin(inite)P and the copular H in Fin as in (2), resulting, as we will discuss in due time, in a non-doubling subject.

(2)



The SpecTopP and SpecFinP in (1) and (2), will be discussed to stand for our topic-focus articulation. To reiterate, the construction (1) exhibits more than one subject position, which illustrates what is in the theory of generative grammar known as the MSC, first discussed by J. Bobaljik and D. Jonas in early nineties (Bobaljik and Jonas 1993; Jonas 1995; Bobaljik and Jonas 1996) before it was further elaborated in Chomsky (1995: chap. 4). It will be argued that clauses in TA always have the basic structure in (1) and (2), where the Top head is either plus or minus-marked. In the former case, it must have a spelled-out specifier.

Another key claim outlined in this chapter is that the doubling pair, before targeting SpecTopP/FinP, is base-generated in a big DP, following the Big DP approach to doubling (Uriagereka 1995a, b; 1997, 1998). This base-generated big DP in TA has an internal layered structure of a Small Clause (SC) as in (1) above. This small clause encodes a predication relation, between the two members of the NP-H doubling pair. Compared to other doubling theories, the Big DP approach will be argued to yield a better analysis of subject doubling in TA than, in particular, the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links theory, following Barbiers et al. (2008). Although Barbiers et al.'s (2008) theory is based, like the Big DP approach, on the idea that the doubling pair originates as a constituent, it is a theory that, as we shall see, organises the internal-DP hierarchy differently from the Big DP approach. The layered big-DP account of subject doubling in TA will be argued to be an improvement on extant big DP accounts of doubling in Arabic.

Equally important, claiming the NP-H doubling pair as a MSC will be consolidated by comparing the MSC in TA to other MSCs in the literature. This parametric variation will show that it is the SpecFinP parameter that makes the MSC possible in TA.

The discussion of all these issues is organised as follows. In section 3.2, I will outline the theoretical framework of the syntactic analysis. Section 3.3 discusses the big DP hypothesis especially in relation to subject doubling in TA. After summing-up the findings of 3.3 in 3.4, section 3.5 addresses the structural analysis of both NP-H sequences of the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA. I deal in particular with the syntax of the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair, the syntax of non-subject doubling cleft NP-H pair and the comparison of MSCs in TA and MSA/CA. Section 3.6 sums-up the findings and concludes the chapter.

3.2. Theoretical background

This section sketches a number of related theoretical issues that will underpin the syntactic investigation of the doubling NP-H pair in TA. In particular, it reviews some key Minimalist ideas, following Chomsky (1993) and subsequent work, which will be explored in the derivation of the NP-H pair in TA. It also discusses the nature of the small clause which constitutes the base-generated doubling NP-H pair. It will be assumed that from this small clause two distinct subject constituents are derived in two distinct subject positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP. Hence, this is a MSC. As the main claim here is that SpecTopP and SpecFinP are the EPP positions in TA, there will be a review of the status of the EPP in the literature of generative grammar. Likewise, claiming that the derivation of the subject NP-H in TA is an instance of the MSC phenomenon requires a crosslinguistic overview of the properties of other MSC proposals in the literature. Such an overview will serve as a background for the comparative subsection 3.5.5 where the MSC in TA is compared to the MSC in MSA/CA in this chapter and to the MSCs in Icelandic and Finnish in chapter four.

3.2.1. The derivation of the NP-H pair: key Minimalist assumptions

I adopt a lexicalist theory of syntactic derivation (following Chomsky 1993). Verbs and other lexical heads enter the syntactic derivation with inflections for tense, agreement, mood, etc. These inflections need to be checked by the corresponding functional categories that are merged as heads in the derivation of sentences, in the order determined in part by UG and/or by the semantic contribution they make, but leaving room for some crosslinguistic variation. For instance, the position of negation in the functional sequence is subject to parametric variation (Zanuttini 1997; Ouhalla 1990). I assume that checking is a feature-valuation operation (cf. Chomsky 2001). For example, T has an unvalued tense-feature [uTns], which probes the structure for a valued tense feature, and receives a value from the tense feature on the verb. Checking of the inflectional features is typically accompanied by head-movement, from head

to head observing the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1983; Baker 1988). Given languages like English which have verb inflections but no verb movement, there must be other ways to check inflectional features (Bobaljik 1995). However, Arabic is known to be a language with verb movement to higher sentential heads (Fassi Fehri 1993; Mohammad 1990; Ouhalla 1994).¹

This model presupposes that there are functional heads in the structure of the sentence corresponding to the inflections on the verb. Thus, in the case of Arabic, we know that the sentential structure must have heads encoding tense, mood, agreement, and negation. A strong version of the theory assumes that UG fully determines the set of categories, meaning that all languages have the same functional categories even when there is no overt evidence for them in the shape of free morphemes or inflections (see Cinque 1999). I will not take a stand on whether the strongest version of the theory is correct, but I will assume that there are heads whose presence is dictated by UG, which may or may not be overtly realised. In particular, I will assume, following Rizzi (1997), Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) and Belletti (2004) that there is a head Fin, located high in the functional sequence of the IP domain (above T and Neg), encoding an abstract finiteness feature, but also, as we shall see, encoding focus. I will, as I proceed, attempt an illustration of a possible overt realisation of Fin in TA. Some functional heads also encode features attracting phrasal categories, e.g. DPs, and checking features of these categories. Among these are focus and topic features.

3.2.2. The derivational nature of the small clause in TA: against a constituent analysis of the NP-H pair

This subsection considers the fact that in TA, in view of (1b) above, the underlying subject small clause does not move as a whole to the one and single derived position, SpecTP for instance. On the contrary, according to (1b), the claim is that the members of the doubling NP-H pair move to distinct positions. Although they both, in a sense, realise the subject's Case and theta-role, they are syntactically independent categories moving to the distinct SpecTopP and SpecFinP positions of the topic-focus articulation.

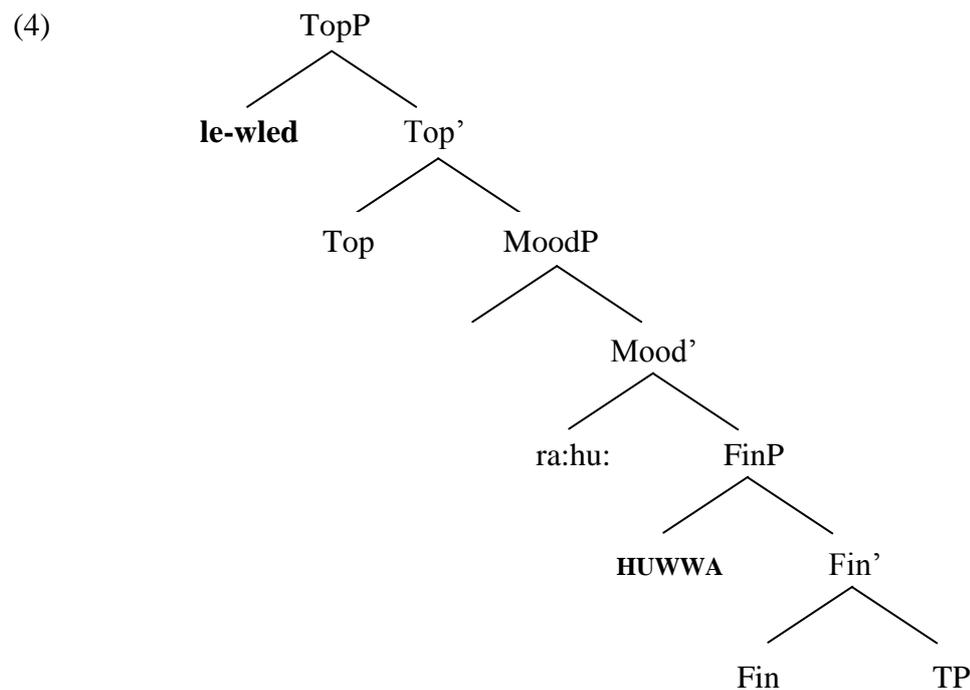
¹ In Arabic, verb movement can get more complex, especially with the existence in one construction of more than one inflected verb such as the case of compound tenses. I will, however, keep to simpler cases of verb movement ignoring such complications here.

In fact, looking only at their base-generated predication relation as well as their derived position does not show that they are two distinct constituents. However, a number of diagnostics show that, when derived, they are split.

First, such constructions in TA can have the speech acts adverbial particle expressing mood in TA coming in between the doubling pair. This is illustrated in (3) and (4). The members of the doublet are in bold.

- (3) **le-wled** ra:- hu: **HUWWA** mʃa:- l- el-masraħ, muʃ e-ttufla
the-boy PRT-he(CLI) he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“Look, **THE BOY** went to the theatre, not the girl.”

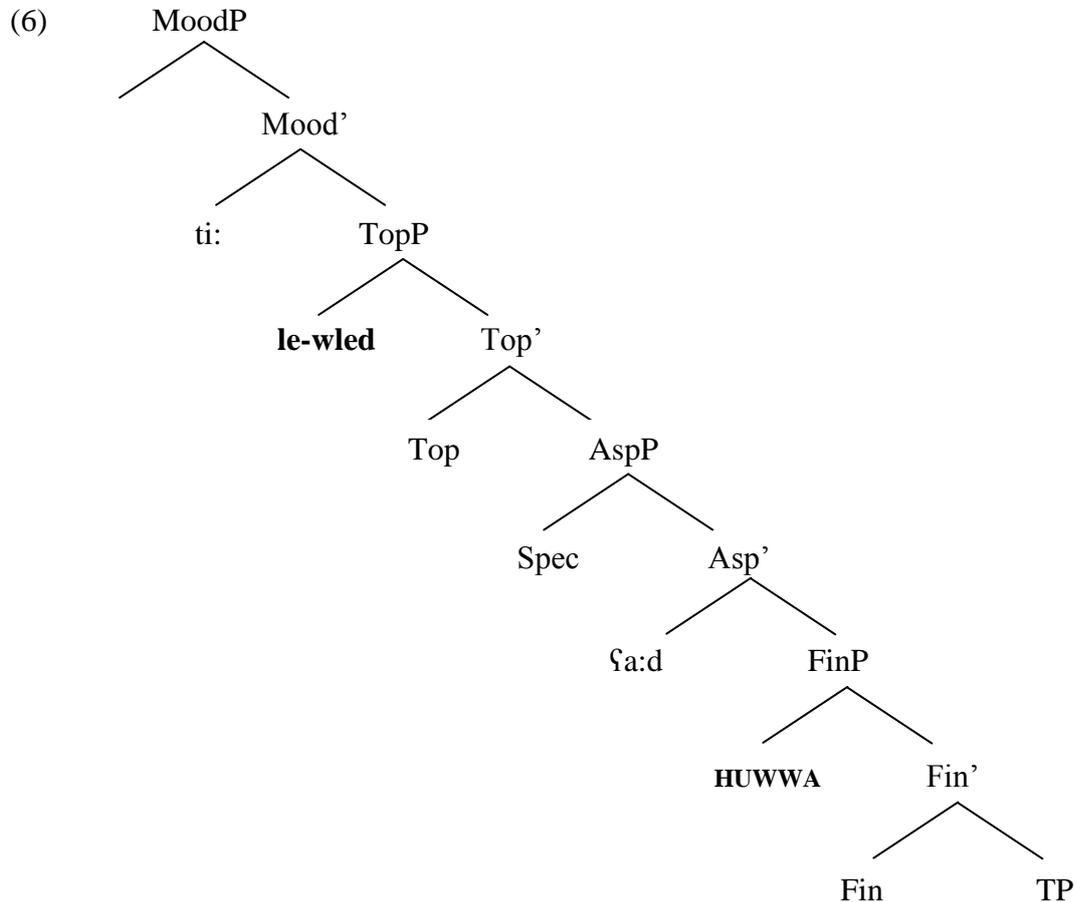
Schematically, (3) is represented in (4) where the doubling members originating from the small clause move to SpecTopP and SpecFinP as separate constituents.



Second, the doublet can be split by the aspectual particle *ʃa:d* ‘already’ which co-occurs with the mood speech acts adverbial *ti:* ‘then/again’ that functions as a topic recovery particle, as we labelled this type of particles in 2.5.1.² This is illustrated in (5) and represented in (6).

² The role of the particle *ti:* ‘then/again’ and the aspectual particle *ʃa:d* ‘already’ will become more obvious when they are used as diagnostics in subsection 3.5.2.2 for the postulation in TA of a TopP and FinP.

- (5) *ti: le-wled ʕa:d HUWWA mʕa:-*
 PRT the-boy PRT he go-PRF.3SM
 “Come on, THE BOY already went.”

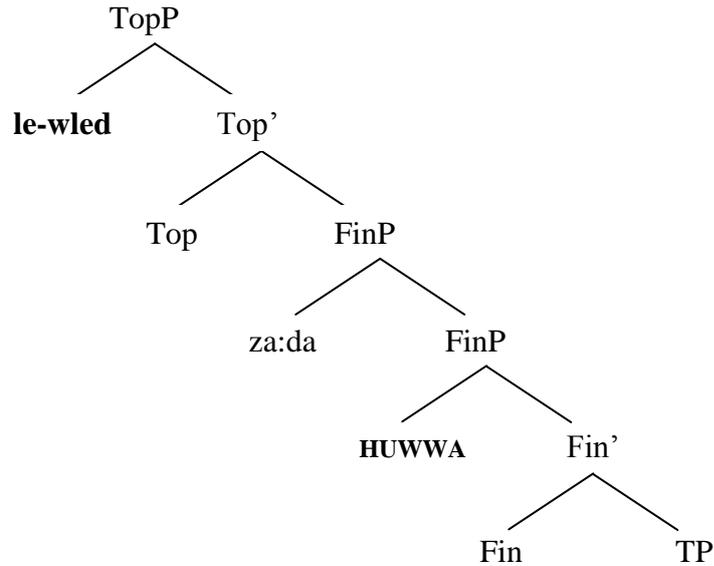


Third, TA, though marginally, can have the TP-adverbial *za:da* ‘also’ intervening between the doubling NP-H pair as it is illustrated in (7) and (8).³

- (7) *le-wled za:da HUWWA mʕa:- l- el-masraħ (muʕ e-ʕufla barka)*
 the-boy also he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the- girl only
 “THE BOY also went to the theatre (not the girl only).”

³ The TP adverb *za:da* ‘also’ will be a crucial diagnostic in testing whether the MSC in TA is VP-external like the MSCs in Icelandic or in Finnish, as we shall see in chapter four.

(8)



It is worth mentioning that the same derivational history will be argued to hold for the H and NP of the H-NP sequence to be discussed in chapter four. That is to say, the NP and H of the NP-H sequence discussed in this chapter observe the same underlying structure as the H and NP of the H-NP sequence and both employ the same derived positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP.

3.2.3. Subjecthood and the status of the EPP in the theory of generative grammar

As is mentioned in chapter one, subjecthood has always been a volatile issue in the theory of generative grammar whether that relates to the definition or structural distribution of subjects. In this section, I will outline a working definition of subjects and MSCs for this dissertation and review the status of the EPP in the literature of generative grammar.

A subject is defined in this dissertation as the highest argument, in the sense of the argument that is merged last. More precisely, it is the highest argument that splits up in the syntax into two parts, i.e., two nominals (the two doubles), hence the dissertation, accordingly, is about the MSC in TA. The two nominals are located in two structural positions, SpecTopP and SpecFinP, to be motivated in the clause structure of TA in section 3.5. Both positions make up one subject with one theta role and only one Case. Note also that the two nominals are both grammatical subjects the split of which conveys complex information structure whether in the case of the NP-H or H-NP subject doubling sequences of the NP-H pair as we shall see in this chapter and chapter four, respectively.

In this respect, the notion of MSC sounds misleading as long as our subject is one subject despite the fact it splits into two nominal subjects holding two structural positions. This view is not different from what is in the literature on MSCs. Indeed, some definitions of MSCs consider that a MSC is about one subject and that the additional subject is a topic or a focus (Yoon, 2007: 3). In another line of thinking, the MSC is about more than one subject in view of the Nominative case marking as ‘typical subject coding property.’ (Yoon, 2007: 3). For this reason, I will be using the notion of MSC to stand for the derivation of the NP-H pair doubles into two grammatical subjects in two distinct subject positions, but they are two subject parts that in fact start, as is clarified in the previous subsection as, as a complex constituent meaning one subject.

Turning now to the status of the EPP, note that the original formulation of the EPP (Chomsky 1981: 111), it states that a clause must have a subject. In terms of the theory prevalent then, this meant that SpecIP had to be lexically filled. This condition is particularly well-motivated in the case of languages like English, where finite clauses have to have an expletive subject pronoun in constructions lacking a lexical subject. There has been a rich debate concerning the status of the EPP in languages that allow null subjects and typically also do not require expletive subjects (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Manzini and Roussou 1999; Platzack 2003, 2004; Svenonius 2002; Holmberg 2005). There is also the question how to deal with VSO-languages, where it seems that the subject does not need to move to SpecIP. MSA is one such language, raising the issue whether Arabic has the EPP-requirement at all (Fassi Fehri 1993, 2009a, b; Harbert and Bahloul 2002; Benmamoun 2008).

Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes to redefine the EPP as a feature which, in principle, any head can have, subject to parametric variation. This feature occurs in conjunction with a ‘probe’, that is an unvalued feature in need of valuation. The probe will seek a ‘goal’ in its c-command domain, that is a category which has a matching but valued feature and will provide a value for the probe. If the probe has an associated EPP-feature, the goal will move and end up as the specifier of the probing head. In English, for example, T has a set of unvalued ϕ -features (person and number) combined with an EPP-feature. The effect is that the constituent which values T’s unvalued ϕ -features, that is the subject, moves to SpecTP. In the absence of a lexical subject, the EPP-feature requires Merge of an expletive as SpecTP. In this way, the EPP-feature has the effect of the original EPP condition.

This is compatible with the hypothesis that MSA does not have an EPP-feature in T, resulting in VSO word order. Believing that, like English, the expletive solution saves the situation for the EPP in VSO is simply counterintuitive. On the contrary, presuming an expletive in VSO to satisfy the EPP complicates the situation (Fassi Fehri 1993, 2009a, b; Benmamoun 2008). Originally, Mohammad's (1990, 1999) 'Expletive Hypothesis' in VSO sentences postulates the projection of SpecTP that is filled by an expletive to value the EPP feature.⁴ Fassi Fehri (1993, 2009a, b), however, strongly argues against forcing an expletive in VSO constructions for EPP reasons. What in fact Fassi Fehri (1993) opposes is the formulation of this 'Expletive Hypothesis' stating that the expletive 'dictates' agreement features on the verb (Mohammad 1990). On the contrary, Fassi Fehri (1993: 39) shows that the verb does not necessarily agree with the expletive, but agrees, instead, with the postverbal subject as is illustrated in the contrast between (9) and (10). The expletive H-form is in bold.⁵

(9) a. 'inna-**hu** za :r- a- ni: Ø ala: Ø-u ja:ʕira: t-in
 that- it/he.3SM visit-PRF.3P-me three-NOM poets 3PF-GEN

“Literally: It visited me three poets.”

“Intended: Three poets visited me.”

b. 'inna-**ha:** za: r- at- ni: Øala: Ø-u ja: ʕira: t-in
 that-her.3SF visit-PRF.3PF-me three-NOM poets 3PF-GEN

“Literally: It visited me three poets.”

“Three poets visited me.”

(10)* 'inna-**hunna** zur- na- ni: Øala: Ø-u ja:ʕira: t-in
 that-them.3PF visit-PRF.3PF-me three-NOM poets 3PF-GEN

In a model where the EPP is checked by an AGR(eement)-subject, instead of a T-subject, the expletive H-form is in SpecAgrP mediating the agreement feature, [Gender] especially, between its coreferential NP (*Øala:Øu sha:ʕira:tin* 'three poets') and the specified AGR as in (9) (Fassi Fehri 1993: 38-55). But, given the failure of the expletive H-form to mediate [number] agreement as in (10), Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that the expletive H-form should not be stipulated in VSO structures. We are left with only one option: the empty expletive pro in

⁴ Following Mohammad (1990, 1999), the 'Expletive Hypothesis' entails that the expletive is specified in a spec-head agreement singular masculine by default, whether in a VSO or an SVO analysis of Arabic. It also stipulates the expletive dictate these very values on the verb.

⁵ Notice that in addition the expletive H-form can only be singular, it can be either masculine as in (9a) or feminine as in (9b).

VSO sentences. Fassi Fehri (1993) proposes the existence of an empty *pro* to function as an expletive. But, again unlike Mohammad's (1990) proposal, the empty pro-expletive does not license AGR on the verb; instead, AGR is licensed by the postverbal argumental subject and that the feature values on the pro-expletive are licensed by AGR (Fassi Ferhi 1993: 42). Yet, the existence of a null pro-expletive seems convenient option to support EPP in VSO, but it is an option that Fassi Fehri (1993:54) doubts for the lack of evidence.

This is not sufficient for the description of TA, though. VSO order occurs in TA. But so does SVO, as we showed in 2.3.3. And, as we have seen, TA also has S-SVO, the subject doubling constructions. In such constructions, there are two subject NPs that end up in two subject positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP. In one subject doubling construction, there is an expletive H-form that will be discussed to be relevant to the valuation of the EPP feature. Postulating two subject positions implies that it is possible to endow either head, i.e., Top or Fin, with the EPP.

I will adopt a version of Chomsky's (2000, 2001) idea, for the description of TA. I will propose that Top as well as Fin can be endowed with an EPP-feature. If Top is merged unvalued, as [uTop], it will be accompanied by an EPP-feature. [uTop] will probe for a topic-marked argument, and the EPP-feature will trigger movement of this constituent to SpecTopP and Top becomes [+Top]-marked Top. Fin may have an unvalued focus feature [uFoc], always combined with an EPP-feature. [uFoc], a subfeature of Fin, will probe for a focus-marked constituent, and the EPP-feature will trigger movement of it to SpecFinP and Fin becomes [+Foc]-marked Fin. Alternatively Top might not find a matching goal, so they get minus-marked, i.e. [-Top]-marked Top, in which case it does not have an EPP-feature and as a result no movement is triggered. Likewise, the focus-feature of Fin can be minus-marked, i.e., [-Foc]-marked Fin, in which case it does not have an EPP-feature and again no movement happens. The spell-out of a [-Top]-marked Top and a [-Foc]-marked Fin structure results in a VSO construction in TA. When the structure is a [+Top]-marked Top and a [-Foc]-marked Fin, the result is an unmarked (non-doubling) SVO structure with an aboutness topic in SpecTop and the EPP is in Top. A structure composed of a [-Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin spells-out the non-doubling (cleft) NP-H pair which is an unmarked SVO. As for the marked case of SVO, i.e., subject doubling, both subject-doubling sequences of the NP-H pair, NP-H and H-NP, as we will see, are the result of a [+Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. According to this structure, the EPP is in Top and is also in Fin.

3.2.4. The MSC: crosslinguistic evidence

A number of other MSCs have been discussed in the literature. One example of this is the Transitive Expletive Constructions (TEC) in Icelandic, German, and Dutch (Jonas 1995; Bobaljik and Jonas 1996; Zwart 1997). Another example of MSCs is found in Finnish, following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008). Semitic (Arabic and Hebrew), following Doron and Heycock (1999; 2003; 2009) is discussed to exhibit a MSC realised by they call the Broad subject construction.

I will refer to all these subject constructions as distinct manifestations of the MSC phenomenon, following Chomsky's terminology (1995: chap. 4). Reviewing them will provide a pertinent background for the comparison in this chapter between the MSC in TA and MSA/CA and between TA and Icelandic and Finnish in chapter four.

3.2.4.1. The Icelandic MSC: *SpecAgSP*, *SpecTP*

The TEC in Icelandic, as in (11), displays what looks like two subjects: the expletive subject *Það* 'there' and the lexical subject *margir jólasveinar* 'many Christmas trolls'. Consider (11) (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996: 196).

- (11) *Það borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun.*
there (EXPL) ate probably many Christmas.trolls the.sausages
"Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages."

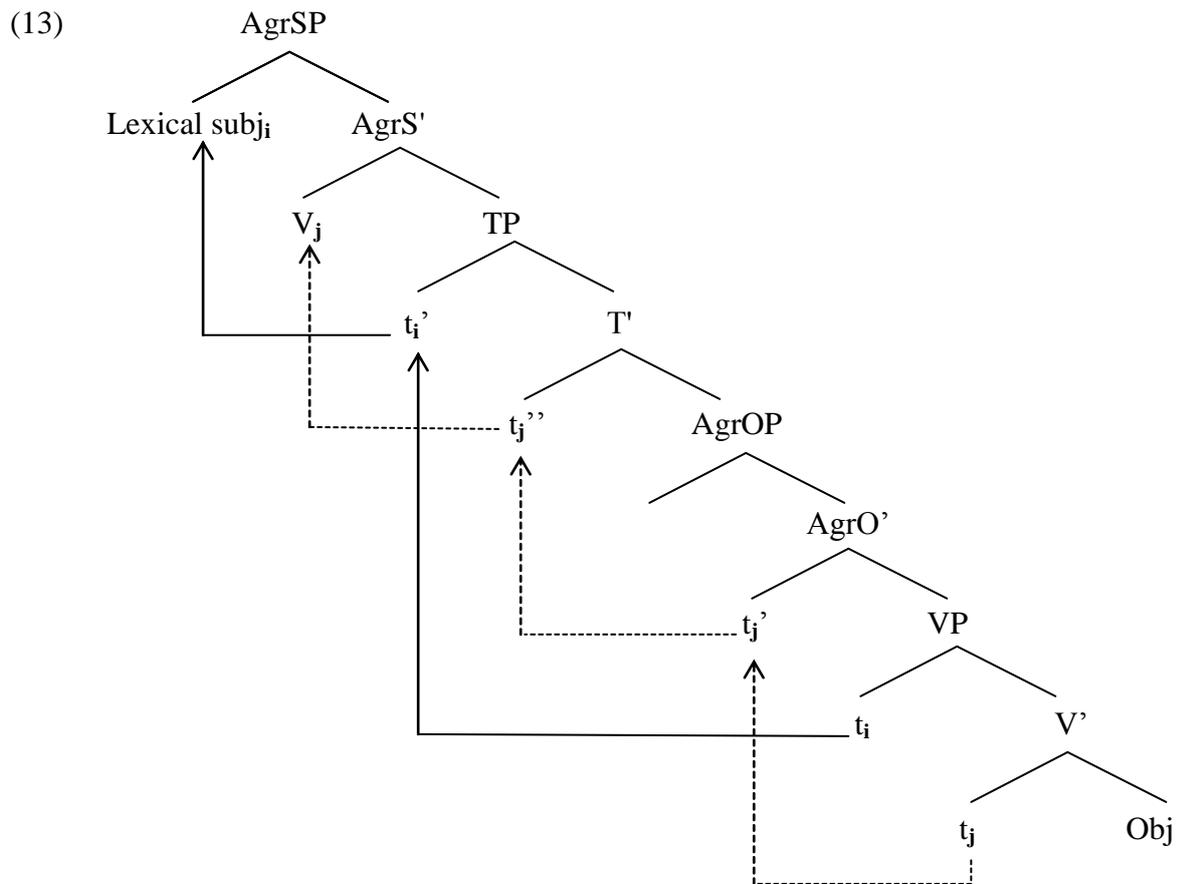
An initially attractive analysis is that this construction is derived by leaving the subject in the VP-internal position where a lexical (thematic) subject is first merged according to the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, and merging an expletive in the VP-external subject position, *SpecIP* (Koopman and Sportiche 1988; Fassi Fehri 1993). It can be shown, however, that the lexical subject is not inside VP (or *vP*), given the fact that the lexical subject can precede certain sentence adverbs.⁶ This is illustrated in (12) (Holmberg 2002: 92).

- (12) *Það hafa margir stúdentar þegar lesið þessa bók*
there (EXPL) have many students already read this book
"Many students have already read the book."

⁶ Notice that I am not illustrating the *vP* projection in the trees as I am only interested in the derived VP-external positions hosting the multiple subjects: *SpecAgrSP* and *SpecTP* in Icelandic and *SpecFinP* and *SpecTP* in Finnish below.

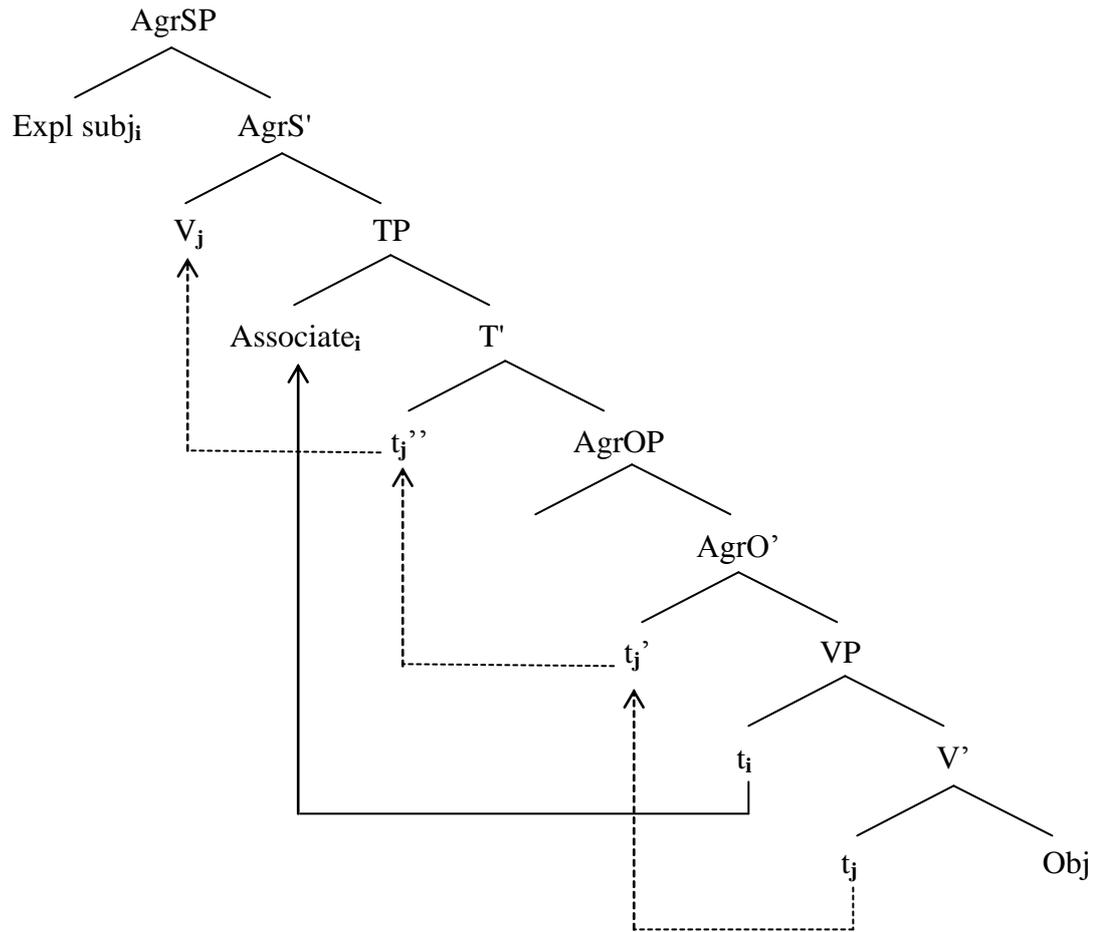
In (11), two grammatical subjects appear to occupy two VP-external positions. The question, then, is which are the derived VP-external positions able to host the expletive and the lexical subject of (11), respectively?

Adopting the structure of the sentence proposal by Chomsky (1993), Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) assume that the lexical subject is base-generated in SpecVP. In ordinary single-subject sentences, it moves from there to SpecTP, and on to SpecAgrSP, while the finite verb moves by successive head-movement, to AgrS. This derives (13).

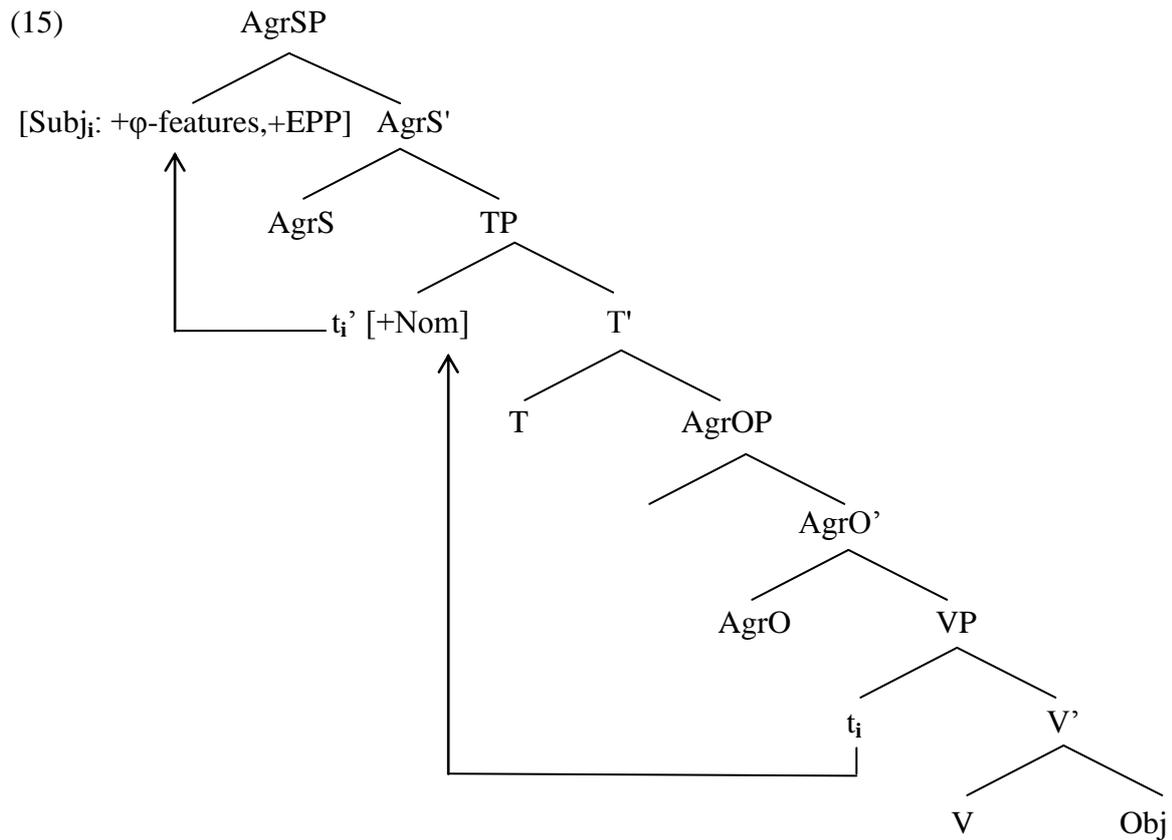


But, as a marked alternative, Icelandic has the option of merging an expletive pronoun with AgrS' instead of moving the subject there, deriving (14).

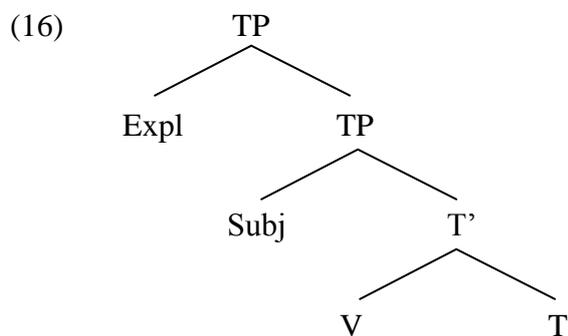
(14)



The lexical subject moves to SpecTP to check Nominative case. Then, it proceeds to SpecAgrSP at LF, in order to replace the expletive and check agreement and the EPP (formalised as a D-feature, following Chomsky (1995: ch.4)). Consider (15), illustrating the various movement operations of the lexical subject.



The notion that there can be two subjects has been discussed by Chomsky (1995: chap. 4) in a theoretical framework that eliminates Agr heads and projections (AgrS and AgrO). Instead, Chomsky (1995: chap. 4) argues that the TEC employs two specifier positions of the same head. The two subjects in Icelandic would be merged as multiple specifiers of the same head, namely T, deriving the MSC. Consider in (16) the structure of the multiple-specifier construction discussed in Chomsky (1995: 356-357).



A problem with Chomsky's (1995: chap. 4) analysis of the Icelandic TEC is that it does not account for the word order. As (13) shows, the finite verb intervenes between the expletive and the lexical subject. In Chomsky's (1995: chap. 4) tree in (16), there is no head position between

the two specifiers (Chomsky 1995: chap.4) suggests that the word order Expletive-V-DP is the result of postsyntactic reordering.

3.2.4.2. The Finnish MSC: *SpecFinP*, *SpecTP*

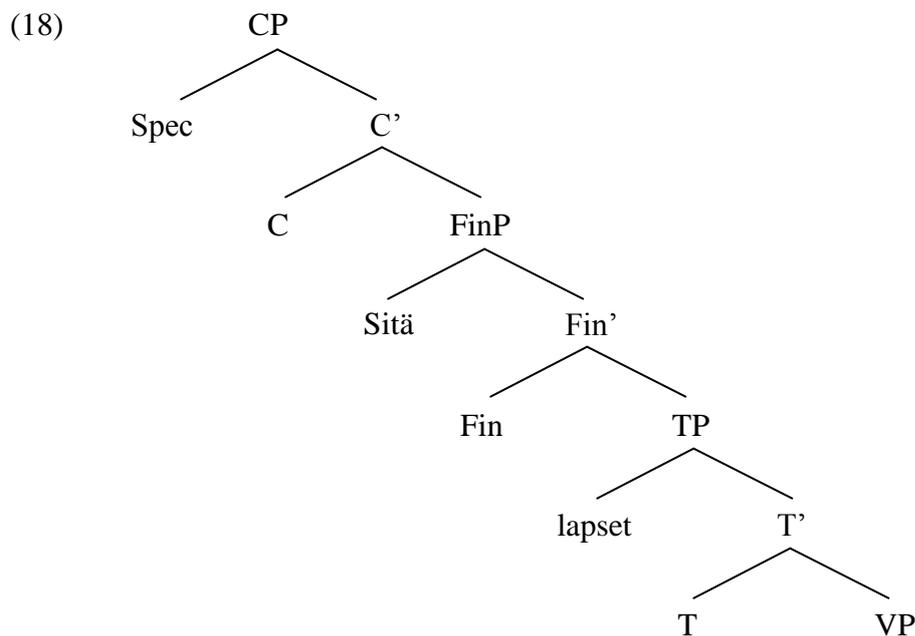
Finnish has a construction, exemplified by (17), that includes two subjects: one is an expletive pronoun occupying a higher position; the other is a lexical subject DP sitting in a lower position. Both subjects are in VP-external positions (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002: 72). This is shown by the fact that a VP-external adverb can intervene between the lexical DP and the main verb.

(17) Sitä ovat nämä lapset jo oppineet uimaan.

EXPL have these children already learned to.swim

“These children have already learned to swim.”

The structure of the Finnish MSC is basically the same as in Icelandic, except that the high subject position is named *SpecFinP* instead of *SpecAgrSP* in Holmberg and Nikanne (2002). The MSC in Finnish is structured as in (18).⁷



As in Icelandic, in the unmarked case the subject moves all the way to *SpecFinP*, but as a marked alternative, the subject can remain in *SpecTP*, and an expletive is merged as *SpecFinP*. Also as in Icelandic, the finite verb moves to *Fin*.

⁷ Originally, Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) use FP instead of FinP. For clarity, I will be using FinP because both F and Fin stand for finiteness according to Holmberg and Nikanne (2002).

Following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002), there exist two triggers in Finnish forcing the externalisation of constituents from within a VP-internal position. One is a Nominative case-checking feature, triggering movement of a Nominative-marked DP out of VP (within the framework of the “Lexicalist Hypothesis” where DPs are merged with a Case-feature which must be checked by moving close to a Case-checking head; Chomsky (1993)). The other is a feature [-Foc], a property of arguments that are not focused, i.e. that are topics. In Finnish, this feature is attracted to SpecFinP by an EPP-feature in Fin.

Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) stipulate that all arguments in Finnish are endowed with a feature [\pm Foc]. If the argument is specified [+Foc], it means that it is interpreted as an information focus. As such, it can stay within the information focus domain, which Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) claim is TP in Finnish. If it is [-Foc], it cannot stay within the information focus domain, but must move to SpecFinP which is the topic domain in Finnish.

Thus, SpecFinP hosting the [-Foc] constituent is the topic position in Finnish. Note, importantly, that the SpecFinP position hosts subject as well as non-subject topic elements; in this sense, Finnish is a ‘topic-prominent language’, unlike for instance Icelandic, which is ‘subject prominent’ in that only the subject can fill the highest specifier position in the IP-domain (SpecAgrSP in the theory summarised above).

Thus, in (17), analysed in (18), the EPP feature which attracts [-Foc] is satisfied by the expletive *sitä* in SpecFinP. The thematic subject DP *lapset* ‘children’ moves to SpecTP to check its Nominative case feature with T. The interpretive effects of this feature checking in a MSC yields a topic in the SpecFinP topic position and information focus in the focus SpecTP position.

The Icelandic and the Finnish MSCs have in common that they are a means to keep the subject in a low focus position, SpecTP.⁸ They differ in that the higher position (SpecAgrSP

⁸ This is also evident in another Finnish MSC discussed in Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 324). Consider (i).

(i) Nyt se on Tarja-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 now (EXPL) she has Tarja-too quit smoking
 “Now, Tarja, too, has quit smoking.”

It is athetic subject doubling construction wherein the doubling pronoun is not an expletive, but a deficient pronoun with number, but not person. The construction is particularly natural with focus marking on the lexical subject, the clitic *kin* ‘also, even’. The analysis is the same as in (18). Its discussion will be left to chapter four when we compare it to the thetic H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair in TA.

and SpecFinP, respectively) is a designated subject position in Icelandic but a topic position in Finnish.

The Finnish MSC, also, does not conform with Chomsky's (1995: chap. 4) analysis of the MSC as two specifiers of the same head T. In Finnish, the MSC makes use of two differently motivated and specified heads: Fin and T, respectively, shown by the fact that the moved finite verb or auxiliary intervenes between them.

3.2.4.3. *The Semitic MSC: SpecTP, SpecTP*

Another MSC type is illustrated by a construction in Semitic that displays two subjects, i.e. the Broad subject construction, following Doron and Heycock (1999, 2003, 2009).⁹ They argue that such a construction includes an ‘“extra” clause-initial DP’, the Broad subject, in addition to the thematic subject that they label the Narrow subject. (19) is an illustration of multiple subjects in MSA/CA (Doron and Heycock 1999: 70).

- (19) 'al- bayt- u 'alwa:n- u- hu za:hiyat-un
the-house-NOM colours-NOM-its bright-NOM
“Literally: the house, its colours are bright.”

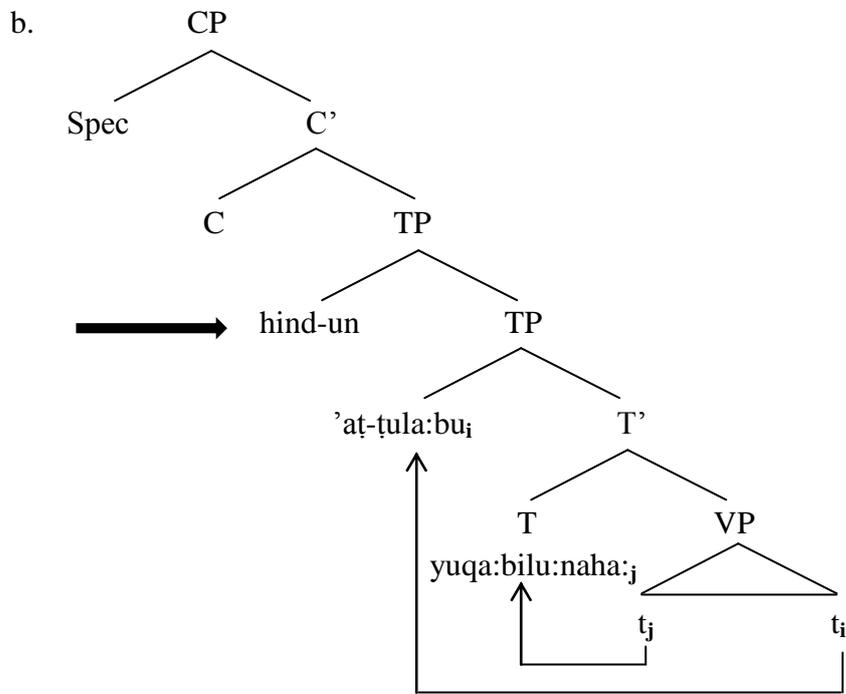
The central contention in view of (19) is that the initial DP, namely *'albaytu* ‘the house’ is not a left-dislocated topic, but, rather, a subject.¹⁰ It is a Broad subject that does not receive any theta-role from the sentence-level predicate that assigns the theta role to what they consider the Narrow subject, the thematic subject *'alwa:nuhu* ‘its colours’ in (19). As for the predication, there is the sentence-level predicate such as the adjectival predicate *za:hiyatun* ‘bright’ for the Narrow thematic subject, but there is also a special predication mechanism predicating the Broad subject. It is special in the sense it is a sentential predicate which can be a full clause, as when *'alwa:nuhu za:hiyatun* ‘its colours are bright’ is predicating a property of *'albaytu* ‘the house’. Therefore, the Broad subject construction in Arabic is about recursive predication yielding multiple subjects. Regarding their interpretive effects, Doron and Heycock (1999) claim that the Broad subject as well as the Narrow subject in Arabic can be either topics or foci.

⁹ I will, however, consider only examples cited in Doron and Heycock (1999).

¹⁰ A number of diagnostics are suggested in Doron and Heycock (1999: 71-77) supporting a subject analysis of the initial DP in sentences like (19) and discounting the dislocation analysis. I take it for granted here, following their analysis, to be a subject.

This description of the multiple subjects in the verbless sentence in (19) holds as well for those of the verbal sentence in (20a). The distinct properties of the Broad subject and the Narrow subject in (19) and (20a) affect their derivation. Consider, for instance, the derivation of the Broad subject and Narrow subject of (20a) according to (20b) (Doron and Heycock (1999: 79)).¹¹

- (20) a. hind- un 'aṭ-ṭula: b- u yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:
 hind(F)-NOM the-students(M)-NOM IPFV-meet-3PM-her
 “The students are meeting Hind.”
 “Literally: Hind, the students are meeting her.”



In (20b), the head T has two specifiers. In this respect, the MSC in MSA/CA follows Chomsky’s (1995: chap. 4) analysis (16) of MSCs. It is also argued that it results from the same checking mechanisms as in Chomsky (1995: chap. 4) (Doron and Heycock 1999: 78-79). Doron and Heycock (1999) point out that one difference in the derivation between the Broad subject and Narrow subject in (20a) lies in the variation in the verbal agreement behaviour and its effect on the subject movement. Doron and Heycock (1999), following Doron (1996), argue

¹¹ I am shifting to another sentence other than (19) to ensure the derivation of a sentence with a verbal predicate in (20a), rather than the one with the adjectival predicate in (19) to further highlight the subject-verb agreement relation.

that strong number agreement in Arabic is overtly marked on the verb moved to T, which forces the overt movement of the Narrow subject in (20a) to check strong number agreement on T in SpecTP. If it is weak number agreement, the subject remains in SpecVP.¹² They take this strong vs. weak agreement distinction to account for the ‘rigid ordering constraints’ holding for the construction (20a), where the non-agreeing Broad subject must precede the agreeing Narrow subject (Doron and Heycock 1999: 79). The Narrow subject should move to check strong number agreement features, then the Broad subject is merged in the higher SpecTP wherein it cannot check the already checked number agreement features. In that position, the Broad subject prevents access to the Narrow subject by higher functional heads, and thereby prevents movement of the Narrow Subject.

In sum, MSCs like (20a) shows that the Broad subject and the Narrow subject are in many ways different. The Narrow subject is sensitive to a theta role, agreement, Case, overt movement and occupies the overt checking position, the lower SpecTP. Opposite to it, the Broad subject is assigned an argument status by a special predication mechanism, is not sensitive to theta role, neither to agreement and is the result of Merge at the higher SpecTP to check Case. The Broad Subject hypothesis will be discussed in more detail in subsection section 3.5.5.2 below, after the syntactic analysis of the MSC in TA has been presented and discussed.

3.2.4.4. *Summary of the section*

I have considered in this section the MSC phenomenon that relates in several ways to subjecthood and the EPP. I have also shown that it is a non-unitary phenomenon (also misleading as a notion as is shown in 3.2.3) by describing its different manifestations in three different languages belonging to distinct language groups: Icelandic, Finnish and Semitic (Arabic in particular). I have also referred to its conceptualisation in early Minimalism by Chomsky (1995: chap. 4) in terms of multiple specifiers of the same head T. It has, however, been visible throughout that Chomsky’s MSC structure is not tenable in all these languages. On the whole, it should not be surprising that these four languages markedly differ with respect to the MSC. We will concentrate in this chapter on the comparison between the MSC in TA as it

¹² In this case, weak number agreement is checked by the subject remaining in SpecVP by Procrastinate (Doron and Heycock 1999: 78-79). Consider this in (i).

(i) yu-qa:bil-u ʔaṭ- ṭula:b- u hind-an
 IPFV- meet-3M the-students(M)-NOM Hind(F)-ACC
 “The students are meeting Hind.”

will be shown to be realised by the NP-H subject doubling pair and the MSC in MSA/CA realised by the Broad subject construction according to Doron and Heycock (1999). We, therefore, leave the MSCs in Icelandic and Finnish to chapter four as they display a number of similar properties with the MSC in TA that will be shown in chapter four to be realised by thethetic H-NP subject doubling pair.

3.3. A Big DP approach for the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA

I take up in this section the properties of the base-generation structure of the subject NP-H doubling pair in TA. I assume that the NP-H pair as in (21a) (= (1a) and (21b) is merged as the thematic subject in SpecVP in the form of a big DP constituent, following the Big DP approach to clitic doubling in Romance (Uriagereka 1995a; Torrego 1988; Belletti 2005).¹³

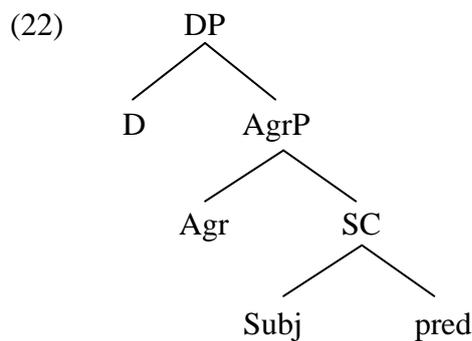
- (21) a. *le-wled HUWWA mfa- : l- el-masrah, muj e-ttufla*
 the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”
- b. *'inti HUWWA ji-: t, muj huma:*
 you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F not they
 “YOU came, not them.”

The more general hypothesis we will be following with respect to the investigation of the NP-H doubling pair in this chapter and the H-NP one in chapter four is that the two doubles start out as a one constituent, a 'big DP'. This big DP receives one theta-role and is assigned one Case. It is also marked for the information-structural features [\pm Top], [\pm Foc]. These two features are probed by functional heads in the left periphery of the sentence with unvalued topic and focus features, which causes movement of the DP. In the course of the derivation, this big DP can split into two components, where one component moves to a topic position, and the other part to a focus position, in the left-periphery of the sentence. In this way the sentence ends up with 'two subjects', which are, however, two components of the same argument, the same subject as it is outlined in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. Note that the internal structure of this big DP will be shown in subsection 3.5.3, to remain controversial as far as the movement of the doubles subsumed within the SC is concerned, but I will be assuming Uriagereka's (1995b, 1998) proposal that the subject and the predicate of the SC should adjoin to SpecDP (big DP). There

¹³ Underlining topics and italicising foci will be put off until I structurally show in section 3.5 that they are topics and foci.

will equally be in subsection 3.3.3 some independent evidence in TA for a construct such as the SC I postulate in the big DP.

Our starting claim for a big DP approach is that doubling constructions reflect an internally-layered structure of a DP. Indeed, some versions of the Big DP approach maintain that, in similar categorical organisation of other DP constructions, the doubling pair, like possessive constructions, corresponds to an integral relation (a part-whole relation) between the subject and the predicate of the small clause (Kayne 1993; Hornstein et al. 1994; Uriagereka 1995b, 1997, 1998). Schematically, this big DP looks like (22) (Bleam 1999: 94).



In TA, there exist a number of empirical reasons which support the small clause analysis of the doubling pair internal to the big DP comprising the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA. It will be shown that the big DP account I assume for the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA is in many ways more suitable than the existent big DP analyses in the literature of Arabic grammar, for doubling as well as other constructions (Fassi Fehri 1982, 1993). At the same time it fares better with respect to the construal of the structure of subject doubling pair in TA than other doubling analyses, chiefly the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach that is based on an entirely different internal hierarchy of the DP (Barbiers et al. 2008; Holmberg and Nikanne 2008).

The section is organised as follows. I start with a descriptive section on the various possible combinations in TA of the NP-H subject doubling pair, where I closely examine the agreement properties pertaining to the pair. The different occurrences of subject doubling in TA are compared to a crosslinguistic sample of subject doubling data. As these variously displayed doubling data derive from the doubling theories and approaches mentioned above, I then briefly refer to the two main opponent doubling approaches that have been widely discussed throughout different Minimalist versions of generative grammar. I consider, in particular, the Big DP approach, and the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links

approach. This brief review of doubling approaches will pave the way to the most important subsection: the big DP base-generated structure of subject doubling in TA. In this subsection, I outline various empirical reasons that support the Big DP approach as the most suitable analysis from which we derive the facts of the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA. Afterwards, I compare the resulting big DP constituent proposal for the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA to those suggested for MSA/CA, as well as comparing it to the structurally-different DP perceived by the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach to represent doubling constructions in many languages.

3.3.1. The doubling NP-H pair in TA and the feature make-up of the doubling pronoun: an enumeration

I closely examine in what follows the various agreement patterns between the doubling NP and the doubling H-form in the NP-H doubling pair as in (21) shown again in (23a) and (23d). It will be clear that there is full agreement (in person, number and gender) in several cases similar to (23a) such as in (23b) and (23c); however, some cases show deficient agreement in person and gender. The doubling H-form will be concluded to be inherently third person.¹⁴

(23) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa: l- el-masraħ, muʃ e-ṭṭufla
 the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b. e-ṭṭufla HIYYA mʃa:t l- el-masraħ, muʃ le-wled
 the girl she go-PRF.3SF to-the-theatre not the-boy
 “THE GIRL went to the theatre, not the boy.”

c. le-wla:d HUMA: ya-ʃml-u: hakka !
 the-boys they IPFV-do-3PM like this
 “THE BOYS do like this.”

“Intended: I doubt THE BOYS do like this (it must have been someone else).”

¹⁴ Alternatively, the doubling H-form is an inherently personless pronoun. The same alternative will come-up again in chapter four.

- d. 'inti HUWWA ji-: t, muʃ huma:
 you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F not they
 “YOU came, not them.”

Clearly, while the doubled NP fully agrees with its doubling pronoun in (23a), (23b) and (23c) the doubled pronoun *'inti* ‘you’ in (23d) which is specified second person masculine lacks agreement in person with the third singular masculine doubling H-form. They only share number (and vacuously gender, since the second singular pronoun is gender-neutral in TA; see 2.3.2.1). In terms of subject-verb agreement, two opposite facts are evident. On the one hand, there is full (number, gender, and person) agreement between the verb and the subject doubling pair (both distinct derived members included) in (23a), (23b) and (23c).¹⁵ On the other hand, there is full agreement only with the pronominal doubled-NP part of the NP-H pair in (23d), while the doubling H-form shows only partial agreement with verb. What this means the full subject-verb agreement in subject doubling constructions in TA is agreement only with the doubled NP part but not with the H-form. As we will see, examining the different agreement facts internal to the doubling pair and subject doubling-verb agreement in TA will shed more light on the structural properties of subject doubling in TA. I will first establish the precise agreement properties of third person subjects, and then proceed to first and second person subjects.

The contrast between (24a) and (24b) shows that the NP and the H-pronoun agree in gender. (24c) shows that the verb agrees with the NP in gender.

- (24) a. e-ʔtufla HIYYA ʃaml-et- ha: bi edi: -ha:, muʃ wa: hed 'a:xer
 the-girl she.3SF do-PRF.3SF-it with hands-her not one else
 “THE GIRL did it herself, not anyone else.”
 “Intended: Only THE GIRL was to blame.”
 b. *e-ʔtufla HUWWA mʃa:-t l- el-masraḥ, muʃ le-wled
 the-girl he.3SM go.PRF.3SF to-the-theatre not the-boy
 c. *e-ʔtufla HIYYA mʃa:- l- el-masraḥ, muʃ le-wled
 the-girl she.3SF go.PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-boy

¹⁵ Recall our basic assumption in subsection 3.2.2 that the doubling pair does not make-up one constituent.

(25) a. le-wla:d HUMA: ya-ʕml-u: hakka !

the-boys they IPFV-do-3PM like this

“THE BOYS do like this.”

“Intended: I doubt THE BOYS do like this (it must have been someone else).”

b. *le-wla:d HUWWA mʃa:-w

the-boys he.3SM go-PRF.3PM

c. *le-wla:d HUMA: mʃa:-

the-boys they.3PM/F go-PRF.3SM

(26) a. le-bna:t HUMA: ye-ɖhurl-hum el-ħka:ya hakka

the-girls they.3PM/F IPFV-appear-3PF the-story like this

“The GIRLS thought the story to be as it is.”

b. *le-bna:t HUWWA mʃa:-w

the-girls he.3SM go-PRF.3PF

e. *le-bna:t HUMA: mʃa:-

the-girls they.3PM/F go-PRF.3SM

Now consider the case of first and second person subject doubling as in (23d) above. I here include subject doubling in verbless clauses, where, as is claimed in subsection 2.5.1, this type of doubling is common in TA. I also consider two subtypes of subject doubling. The first employs third person H-forms (labelled as free-standing [-Participant] pronouns in table.2 in chapter two), doubling first and second person pronouns (labelled as free-standing [+Participant] pronouns table.2 in chapter two). The second tackles exclusively third person H-forms. In both, I test distinct as well as identical subject doubling constructions and compare them to crosslinguistic distinct and identical doubling data. This will be relevant to the discussion in subsection 3.3.2 when we compare the approaches of doubling, where especially one, namely the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links, is partly based on identical doubling.

To start with, consider H-forms doubling first and second person singular pronouns. I will begin with third person H-forms doubling second person singular pronouns as in our example (23d), illustrated again in (27a), or as in (27b) (= (62) in chapter two), respectively.

There is lack of person agreement internal to the subject doubling NP-H pair. Full agreement holds, however, with subject doubling-verb agreement in (27a).

- (27) a. 'inti HUWWA ji-: t, muʃ huma:
 you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F not they
 “YOU came, not them.”
- b. 'inti HUWWA el-mas'u:l !?
 you.2SM/F he.3SM the-responsible officer
 “YOU’re the responsible officer !?”

Note, interestingly, that identical doubling, i.e., full agreement between the NP and the doubling pronoun is not possible as shown in (28).¹⁶

- (28). *'inti 'INTI ji-:t !!
 you.2SM/F you.2SM/F come-PRF. 3SM/F

Let us now view third person H-forms doubling first person singular pronouns. The same lack of person agreement is borne-out when the subject is first person. In (29a) and (29b), the first person singular pronoun is doubled by the third-person singular H-pronoun.

- (29) a. 'a: na: HUWWA el-ǧa:ləʃ na-ħki: mʃa:-k
 I.1SM he.3SM the-wrong IPFV-talk-1SM with-you
 “I’ m wrong in talking to you, I shouldn’t have!”
- b. 'a: na: HUWWA el-mas'u:l !?
 I.1SM he.3SM the-responsible officer
 “I’m the responsible officer!?”

¹⁶ Note that one case where identical doubling is possible in TA is when the identical doubling pronoun is tagged at the end of the sentences as in (i) and (ii), for instance.

- (i) 'inti ' ji-:t , 'inti !?
 you.2SM/F come-PRF.3SM/F you.2SM/F
 “You came, did you?”
- (ii) huwwa ja-: , huwwa?
 he.3SM come.PRF.3SM he.3SM
 “He came, did he?”

Identical doubling is again impossible.

(30) *ʔa:na: ʔA:NA: el-masʔu:l !?

I.1SM I.1SM the-responsible officer

Now consider the doubling of first and second person plural subjects in (31) and (32), respectively. As shown in the case of nominal NP-H pair subject doubling in (23a), for example, agreement in number obtains in subject doubling of pronominal subjects, too. This is illustrated first with the doubling of plural first person pronominal subjects in (31).

(31) a. ʔaħna: HUMA: el- masʔu:li:n !?

we.1PM/F they.3PM/F the-responsible officers

“WE’re the responsible officers!?”

b. * ʔaħna: HUWWA el-masʔu:li:n !?

we.1PM/F he.3SM the-responsible officers

c. *ʔaħna: HUWWA el-masʔu:l !?

we.1PM/F he.3SM the-responsible officer

In the case of second person plural pronominal subjects, the same number agreement pattern is illustrated in (32).

(32) a. ʔintuma: HUMA: el-masʔu:li:n !?

you.2PM/F they.3PM/F the-responsible officers

“YOU’re the responsible officers!?”

b. * ʔintuma: HUWWA el-masʔu:li:n !?

you.2PM/F he.3SM the-responsible officers

c. * ʔintuma: HUWWA el-masʔu:l !?

you.2PM/F he.3SM the-responsible officer

The partial agreement, namely lack of person agreement, in (31a) and (32a) is accepted. The lack of number agreement is not.

Visibly, what is characteristic of the agreement behaviour in (27-32) is that there is agreement in number (and vacuously in gender) only, while in all these cases there is no agreement in person at all. Instead, the third person pronoun is used to double all pronouns. I conclude from

this that the H-form is inherently third person. This conclusion will be validated when we deal in chapter four with the H-NP pair wherein the doubling H-form will also be described as inherently third person.

As for gender, the pronouns *'inti* ‘you’, *'a:na:* I, *'aħna:* ‘we’, and *huma:* ‘they’ are all grammatically gender-neutral.¹⁷ The agreement is sensitive to grammatical gender only. This is illustrated by the lack of agreement in semantic gender in (33) where *'inti* ‘you’, unlike in (27) above, refers to a female.

(33) *'inti* HUWWA *ji-:t,* *muf* *'umm-uk*
 you.2SF he.3SM come-PRF.2SF not mother-your
 “YOU came, not your mother.”

As a result of this discussion of the agreement properties internal to doubling NP-H pair, it is possible to conclude that the H-pronoun has the features [Number, Gender], but is inherently third person. These features are unvalued features, [uNumber, uGender], which are assigned values by the NP. The [Number] feature will be either singular or plural. The [Gender] feature will be either masculine or feminine, but it will get the default value masculine if the NP does not have grammatical gender.

So far, TA supports pronominal doubling combining first and second person pronouns and third person free-standing pronouns. It has also been shown that pronominal doubling including only (identical or distinct) first and second person free-standing pronouns is barred in TA, conforming to the generalisation in Arabic that doubling is only possible with H-forms. It is, nonetheless, striking to find-out that identical pronoun doubling is impossible even with third person pronouns.

(34) a. **huwwa* HUWWA *ja-: !?*
 he.3SM he.3SM come.PRF.3SM

¹⁷ I am counting the plural aspect of *huma:* ‘they’ here which can also stand for dual in TA, as I mentioned in table.2 in chapter two.

- b. *hiyya HIYYA ja- : t¹⁸
 she.3SF she.3SF come-PRF.2SF
- c. *huma: HUMA: ja-: w !?
 they.2DM/F they.2DM/F go-PRF.3PM/F

It could be mentioned that the agreement facts discussed in this chapter regarding the contrastive topic subject NP-H doubling sequence of the NP-H pair will not be very different from those in thethetic subject H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair to be discussed in chapter four. The only difference will be that the doubling H-form in the NP-H pair in this chapter observes number agreement, compared to the expletive H-form in the H-NP pair in chapter four, which will be shown not to agree at all.

We will now examine the agreement properties of some crosslinguistic subject doubling data, in order to compare it to the one in TA. Crosslinguistically, there are languages that allow distinct as well as identical pronominal doubling. Finnish, for instance, allows, like TA, distinct pronominal subject doubling as in (35a). Moreover, Finnish allows identical doubling as in (35b), unlike TA in (34) (Holmberg and Nikanne 2008: 325). We will return to Finnish subject doubling data in chapter four because it instantiatesthetic doubling, not contrastive topic subject doubling, but it is still useful in this chapter to get an idea of the crosslinguistic variation that exists as regards agreement in connection with subject doubling.

- (35) a. Se ole-n minä-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 SE.3S have-1S I.1S-too quit smoking
 “I, too, have quit smoking.”
- b. Se on se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 SE.3S has-3S SE.3S-too quit smoking
 “He/she/it, too, has quit smoking.”

¹⁸ See that in chapter two there are similar occurrences to (34b), but in a restricted collocation use as in (i) below (= (44a) from chapter two).

(i) hiyya hiyya u e-ṭṭufla mfa:t l- el-masrah
 She she and the-girl go-PRF.3SF to the-theatre
 “And the girl did go to the theatre!”

Finnish also allows identical pronominal doubling of the first plural pronoun, differently from TA in (31). Consider the Finnish example in (36) (= (46a) in chapter two).

- (36) Me ollaan me-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.
 we.1P are-1P we.1P-too quit smoking
 “We have quit smoking, too.”

Like in TA, in Finnish the doubling pronoun does not agree in person, but does agree in number (Holmberg and Nikanne 2008). Grammatical gender agreement does not count in Finnish as the language does not have it. Unlike TA, however, there is identical doubling in Finnish.

It is reported in Barbiers et al. (2008: 2) that some Dutch dialects allow various types of distinct as well as identical pronominal doubling. In chapter two, identical doubling in (37a) (= (45a) in chapter two), has been described as frequent in Flemish Brabant. In North Holland, it is common to have distinct wh-pronominal doubling as in (37b) (= (45c) in chapter two). In Drenthe, identical wh-pronominal doubling as in (37c) (= (45b) in chapter two).

- (37) a. Zij heef zij daar niets mee te maken. [Flemish Brabant]
 She.SF has she.3SF there nothing with to do
 “She has got nothing to do with it.”
- b. Wie denk je die ik gezien heb? [North Holland]
 who think you REL.PRON I seen have
 “Who do you think I saw?”
- c. Wie denk je wie ik gezien heb? [Drenthe]
 who think you who I seen have
 “Who do you think I have seen?”

Finally, Brazilian Portuguese has been referred in chapter two to exhibit several sorts of pronominal doubling. Let us here, for instance, repeat again (47) from chapter two in (38) which shows, once more unlike TA’s third singular identical pronominal doubling in (34a), that identical doubling of third singular pronouns (the H-form equivalent in TA) occurs in Brazilian Portuguese (Kato 2000 as cited in Belletti 2005: 20).

(38) Ele, ele é meu amigo.
he.3SM he.3SM is my friend
“He is my friend.”

Summing-up, we have examined the agreement behaviour of a number of possible subject doubling pairs in TA. We have, first, viewed agreement with nominal doubling NP-H pairs. We, then, addressed agreement with pronominal doubling NP-H ones where there has been a distinction between the first and second person free-standing pronouns doubled by third person free-standing pronouns (our H-forms) and exclusively H-form doublets. Agreement has been considered within and without the doubling pairs. Within, i.e., internal to the pair, it has been concluded that there is agreement in number and grammatical gender, but not in person. We, therefore, conclude that the doubling H-pronoun has the features [uNumber, uGender], here the gender feature is assigned masculine as a default value when the doubled NP lacks grammatical gender. It has also been shown that the H-form is inherently third person. Verb agreement with the doubled subject has been seen to allow only full agreement, which should be perceived to follow from the general observation in Arabic that SVO order implies full subject-verb agreement. Finally, the comparison of subject doubling in TA with crosslinguistic doubling data has shown that there are similarities but also differences. Like TA, Finnish subject doubling agrees in number but not in person (Finnish lacks grammatical gender). Unlike TA, Finnish allows identical doubling. This is also seen in other languages, including at least certain dialects of Dutch and Brazilian Portuguese. This last observation is going to be relevant in determining which doubling theory is adequate as a sub-theory of UG in sanctioning crosslinguistic subject doubling. I take up this issue in the following subsection.

3.3.2. Two competing doubling approaches and two distinct structures of DP

I am going to briefly characterise the two approaches that are distinguished in the literature of doubling: the Big DP approach, and the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach (D'Alessandro 2009: 10). I opt for these two approaches to doubling because the claims they make are based on the distinct and identical subject doubling data I have illustrated in the previous subsection. This will serve as a background for subsection 3.3.3 where I opt for the Big DP approach to underpin the analysis of the subject doubling NP-H pair

in TA. Noticeably, although both approaches derive the doubling pair from a single DP, they disagree as to how they characterise the DP-internal organisation.¹⁹

3.3.2.1. *The Big DP approach*

The Big DP approach considers the elements of the doublet, namely the doubling clitic or full pronoun plus the doubled subject NP, as sub-constituents originating from one big constituent: the big DP. During the derivation, the big DP splits, and the sub-constituents move to different syntactic positions (Sportiche 1988; Uriagereka 1995a, b; Kayne 1994; Belletti 2005).²⁰

In the literature of generative grammar, it is possible to distinguish more than one version of the Big DP approach (cf. D’Alessandro 2009). Arguably, Uriagereka’s (1995 a, b) big DP account for clitic doubling in Romance remains the standard version. Other revised versions have been reported: the Splitting and Stranding approach, following Belletti (2005), Poletto’s (2006, 2008) Feature-complex and feature-stripping approach, and the Double spell-out approach, following Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2008) (cf. D’Alessandro 2009).

On the basis of diachronic and synchronic semantic, syntactic and morphological evidence, Uriagereka (1995a: 81) argues that third person Romance clitics and determiners are the same category. Following Uriagereka (1995a: 81), the Big DP approach capitalises on the observation that clitics in Spanish behave like determiners, i.e., heads. Thus, the DP structure for the Spanish clitic-doubling construction in (39) (= (32) in chapter two) is thought to be like in (40). The doublets are in bold.

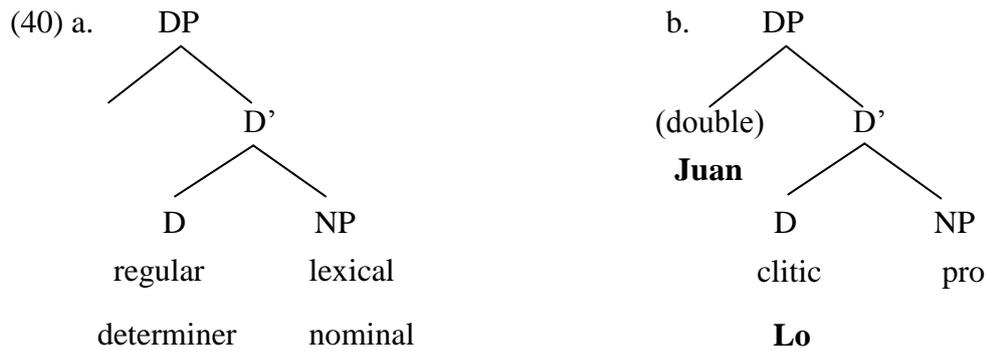
(39) **Lo** vi a **Juan**.

(I) him(CLI) saw to Juan

“I saw Juan.”

¹⁹ Both claims for an internal hierarchy of a DP should in fact follow from Abney’s (1987) DP Hypothesis that states that there exists a functional layer above the lexical layer of the NP.

²⁰ Originally, the big DP constituent was first proposed by Kayne (1972) to account for subject clitic-doubling in French.



Granting the syntactic head property of clitics, the internal structure of the clitic-doubling construction in (39) corresponds to that of the DP in (40a). In (40a), the determiner sits in a specifier position of the head D of the base-generated DP. Likewise, the clitic sits in (40b) in the same specifier position of the DP comprising it and its double NP. As a head, the clitic in (40b) can undergo head-movement that moves the clitic from within, for instance, an object DP, targeting a head landing site. The lexical part of the DP is left in an object clause-internal position where it is assigned Case by the Case marker *a*. Case assignment follows from Kayne’s (1975) Generalisation that states clitic doubling is only possible in languages which avail themselves of an extra Case marker (*a* here) for the extra argument.

In one of its extended versions, on the other hand, Belletti (2005) shows that the Big DP approach accounts for doubling other than clitic doubling as in (39).²¹ It conveniently derives strong pronoun doubling in Italian such as, for instance, in (41) (= (38) in chapter two) (Belletti (2005: 6, 12).

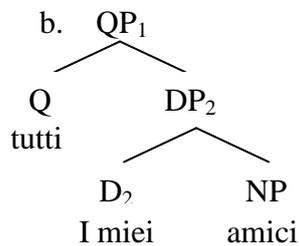
(41) **Gianni** verrà **lui**.
 Gianni will come he
 “Gianni himself will come.”

Instead of Uriagereka’s (1995a) standard big DP structure in (37b), Belletti (2005: 3, 7) argues that the distribution of doubling in (41) is more similar to that of Sportiche’s (1988) floated quantifier structure in (42b) representing (42a).

²¹ Belletti’s (2005) version of the big DP approach is also extended to explain exclusively pronominal doubling in Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002, 2008) or wh-doubling in Poletto and Pollock (2004), and Poletto’s (2006, 2008) Feature-complex and feature-stripping version that examines distinct sorts of doubling in Italian. Note, finally, how this label squares with Belletti’s (2005: 1) article title: ‘Extended doubling and the VP-periphery’. I here only refer to Belletti’s (2005) extended version, first given the succinct nature of the section, and second its relevance to Italian subject doubling data that I have already described in chapter two.

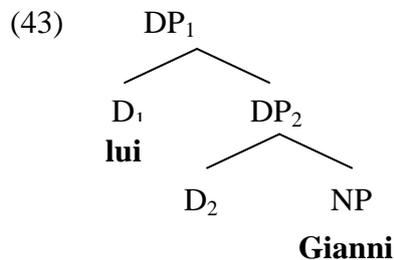
(42) a. I miei amici hanno tutti parlato.

“My friends have all spoken.”



Central to Sportiche’s (1988) analysis of (42a) is that the floated quantifier originates from a big DP comprising the lexical NP *I miei amici* ‘my friends’ and the quantifier *tutti* ‘all’. During the derivation, the lexical NP splits from the quantifier to move upwards, whereas, the quantifier part of the big constituent is stranded.

According to Belletti (2005), there is a sort of doubling taking place in (42a), similar to that of (41), except that the strong doubling pronoun *lui* ‘him’ in (41) replaces the quantifier in (42a). By way of analogy with (42b), the big constituent representing (41) is suggested in Belletti (2005: 7) to look like in (43).



The big DP in (43) is DP₁ subsuming both D₁ and DP₂. Said differently, DP₁ is D₁ referring to the strong pronoun doubler in (41), and it is also DP₂ standing for the doubled lexical material.

In such a structure, Belletti (2005) maintains that postulating a big DP for two lexical elements does not entail assigning a distinct theta-role to each of them. Both elements receive, instead, one single theta-role. This theta-role assignment mechanism is based on the assumption that the theta role assigned to DP₁ in (43) encompasses D₁ and DP₂, the DP-internal doubling elements. Notice, importantly, that DP-internal theta-role assignment works concomitantly with identifying the nature of the relation that holds among the different DP-internal constituents (Belletti 2005: 3).

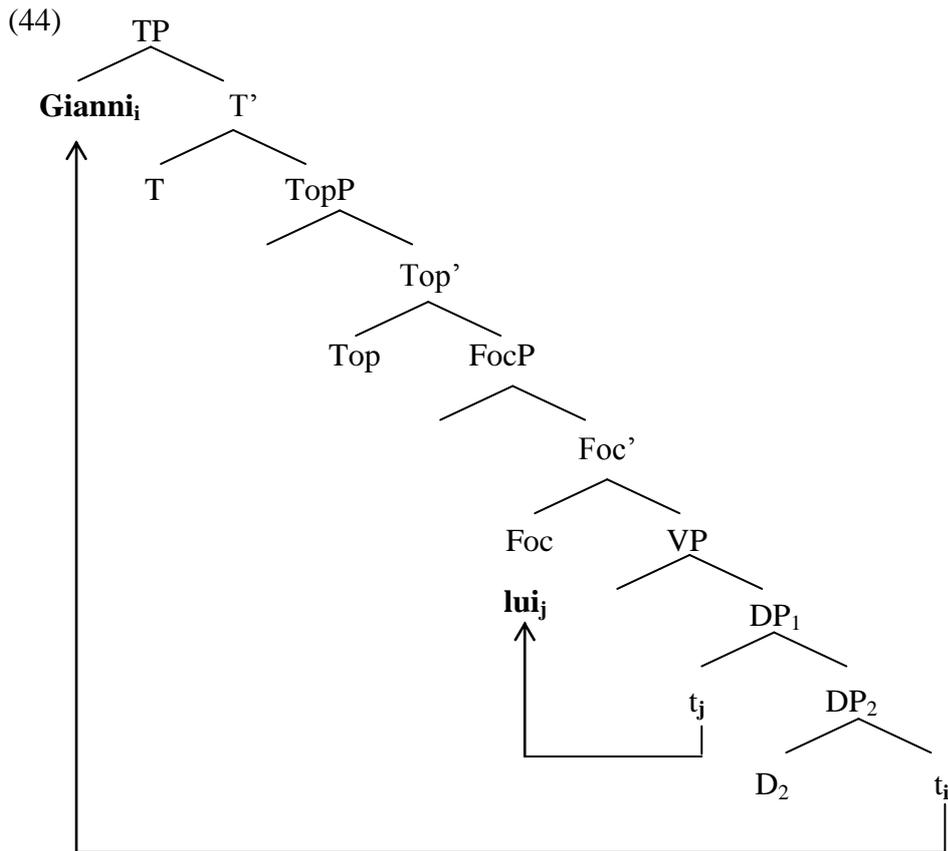
In the literature, DP-internal relations are often collectively labelled as relation R (Hornstein et al. 1994). Relation R is an abstract relation underlying many relations such as possession or part-whole relations. The equivalent of relation R in the doubling NP-H pair in TA will be the predication relation between the doubled NP and the doubling H-form, making-up the subject and predicate of the small clause structure that is internal to the big DP in TA.

Starting from (43), the computation splits DP₂ off, as in the case of quantifier floating, and moves the lexical NP complement of D to the preverbal position as in (44). The pronoun is stranded in a position suitable to its clitic status, if it is a clitic, or a position suitable to its status as a strong pronoun, most likely a focus position.²² The strong focus pronoun moves as shown in (44) to a VP-peripheral position, following Belletti's (2004) proposal of the existence of low-IP periphery similar to the Rizzi's (1997) cartographic CP-periphery.²³

Consider (44), showing the results of the splitting and stranding of the doubling strong pronoun in (41).

²² It is in this respect, that Belletti's (2005: 4) variant of the Big DP approach is the 'Splitting and Stranding' version.

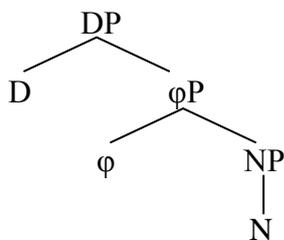
²³ According to the studies of the left-periphery as, particularly, in Rizzi (1997) and in Poletto (2000), the external area, the CP area, of the clause (IP) is more articulated than it is traditionally thought in generative grammar. This resulted in many dedicated peripheral positions to IP that split C positions as such include Force, Finiteness, Topic, and Focus. The same proposal is thought to hold for the lower-periphery of the IP, namely the VP-periphery, following Belletti (2004). The Low-IP periphery is perceived to have dedicated Topic and Focus positions above the VP layer.



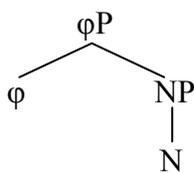
3.3.2.2. *The Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach*

Unlike the Big DP approach, the DP in the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach observes a different DP-internal organisation to that of (40b) and (43). Following the original proposal of Déchaine and Wiltschko's (2002: 410), it is based on the idea that a pronoun is not a primitive category. Instead, the pronoun is made-up of three pronominal layers, as illustrated in (45).

(45) a. pro-DPs



b. pro-φPs



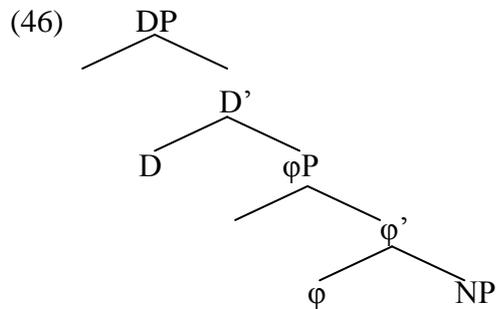
c. pro-NPs



The innermost layer is a pronominal NP (pro-NP). To pro-NP may be added a φ-layer, forming a pro-φP, to which may be added a D-layer, forming a pro-DP. This yields a three-way phrase

structure-based classification of pronouns into strong, weak, and clitic pronouns. Where strong pronouns are DPs, weak pronouns are ϕ P and clitic pronouns are NPs.

Based on (45), the doubling construction according to the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach has the structure in (46).



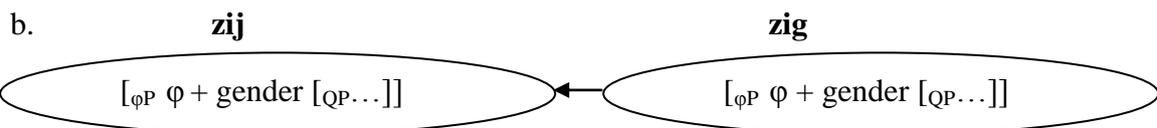
Referring to the copy theory of movement, as in Chomsky (1995: chap. 4), Barbiers et al. (2008) advocate that doubling is the result of copying features that are already merged in the clause structure and spelling them out in the form of chain links in distinct structural positions.

If copying is full, then the Dutch identical pronominal doubling in (47a) (= (37a)) is derived according to (47b) (Barbiers et al. 2008: 82).

(47) a. **Zij** heeft **zij** daar niets mee te maken.

She.SF has she.3SF there nothing with to do

“She has got nothing to do with it.”

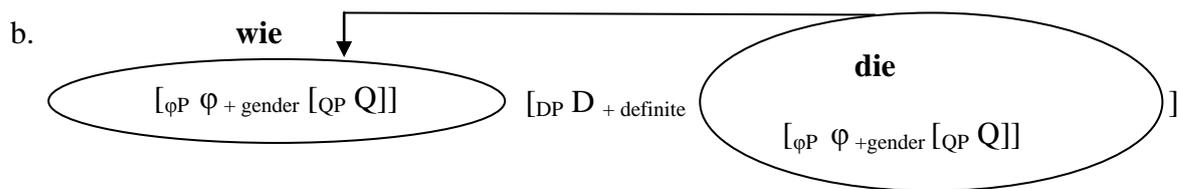


If copying is partial, i.e., concerns only a subset of features, then the non-identical doubling in (48a) repeating (37b) above, is derived as shown in (48b) (Barbiers et al. (2008: 82).

(48) a. **Wie** denk je **die** ik gezien heb?

who think you REL.PRON I seen have

“Who do you think I saw?”



The point in (48b) is that what is copied is one of the constituents of the full pronoun in (46), either DP, φP or QP. In (48b), it is the φP. This theory is known as ‘Partial copy and multiple spell-out’, despite the fact that full copying is possible. However, this is just a consequence of how copying works. Full copying is the special case where the copying affects the whole category, instead of a part of it. The theory predicts that the copy spelled-out in a higher position has to be identical or less specified compared to the one spelled-out in a lower syntactic position (Barbiers et al. 2008). That is to say, it predicts that we cannot have a higher DP doubling a lower φP, or a higher φP doubling a lower NP. Barbiers et al. (2008) claim that this prediction is confirmed by the Dutch doubling data they discuss.

Examining the base-generated structure of the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA, I take the Big DP approach to be the most suitable approach to follow. A number of empirical reasons from TA will motivate this choice.

3.3.3. The big DP analysis of the NP-H doubling pair in TA

In the present subsection, I give reasons to prefer the Big DP approach for the base-generated structure of the NP-H pair subject doubling in TA in (23a) and (23d), repeated in (49a) and (49b), respectively.

(49) a. le-wled HUWWA mfa:- l- el-masrah, muf e-ttufla

the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

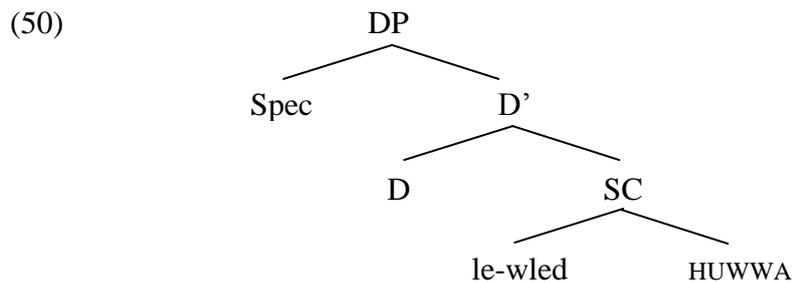
b. ’inti HUWWA ji-: t, muf huma:

you.2SM/F he.3SM come-PRF.2SM/F not they

“YOU came, not them.”

Central to this analysis is the postulation of a SC comprising the members of the doubling pair in a predication relation (Hornstein et al. 1994; Uriagereka 1995b, 1997, 1998). I will utilise Hornstein et al.'s (1994) proposal of a relation R abstraction to stand for this predication relation. A number of arguments are presented to argue in favour of the predication relation in the doubling construction in TA, similarly to the relation R postulated for other constructions such as possession constructions. Another crucial claim in this section pertains to the precise characterisation of the small clause I propose to base-generate the predication relation subsuming the doubled NP and its doubling H-form. The main argument will be that the NP-H pair in an independent context makes a licit root small clause, following Rapoport (1987). Importantly, the big DP structure I develop here will be different from the aforementioned big DP proposals I have outlined above accounting for doubling in Spanish (following Uriagereka 1995a) and Italian (following Belletti 2005).

Initially, I take it that the subject doublet in (49a), for instance, is base-generated in a big DP structure as in (50).



According to (50), the big DP postulates a dedicated SC projection in which the doublet elements internally observe a predication relation. The SC has a subject with inherent valued ϕ -features. There is also a SC predicate, the H-pronoun, with [uNumber, uGender], and it copies the values of the SC subject. It will be clear as I proceed that this assumption explains why I dispense with the projection of Agr as it is assumed in Kayne's (1993) and Hornstein et al.'s (1994) accounts of SC within a big DP. Thus, my assumption about agreement is in keeping with Chomsky's (1995: chap. 4) proposal of eliminating Agr. As such, the diagram in (50) represents the internal hierarchy of the base-generated big DP.

But, before exploring this proposal, some background is in order concerning (50), a big constituent that is in many ways different from the big constituent proposals I reviewed in (40b) for Spanish and (43) for Italian, respectively. In particular, I seek to show that (50) corresponds to the big DP that structurally realises possession constructions (Szabolcsi 1981,

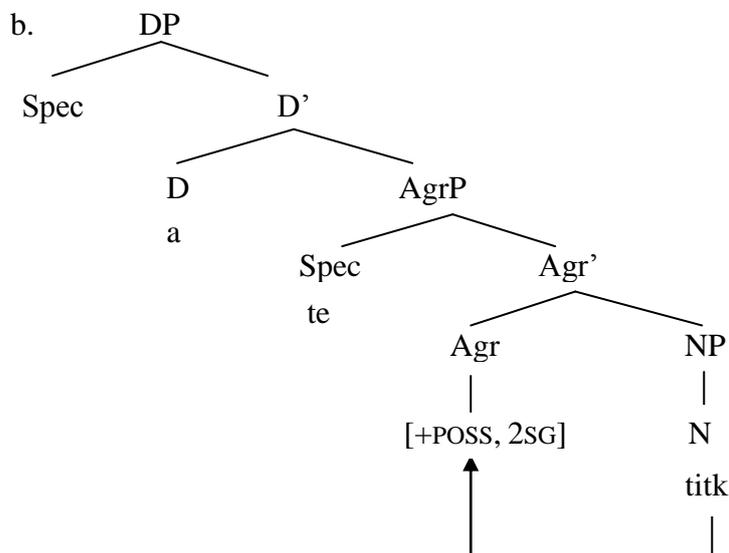
1983, 1987). The same big DP hypothesis is further elaborated in Hornstein et al. (1994) and Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998) to include a SC projection corresponding to some relation R internal to possession constructions. I will review the main empirical reasons supporting the projection of this SC, and then move on to consolidate the status of a similar SC in (50).

Let us first begin with the review of the background. (50) is reminiscent of the big constituent originally advocated by Szabolcsi (1981, 1983, 1987) to represent possession constructions in Hungarian, in which there are two functional layers above the lexical layer.

(51) a. a te titk-od

the your secret-POSS.2SG

“Your secret.”

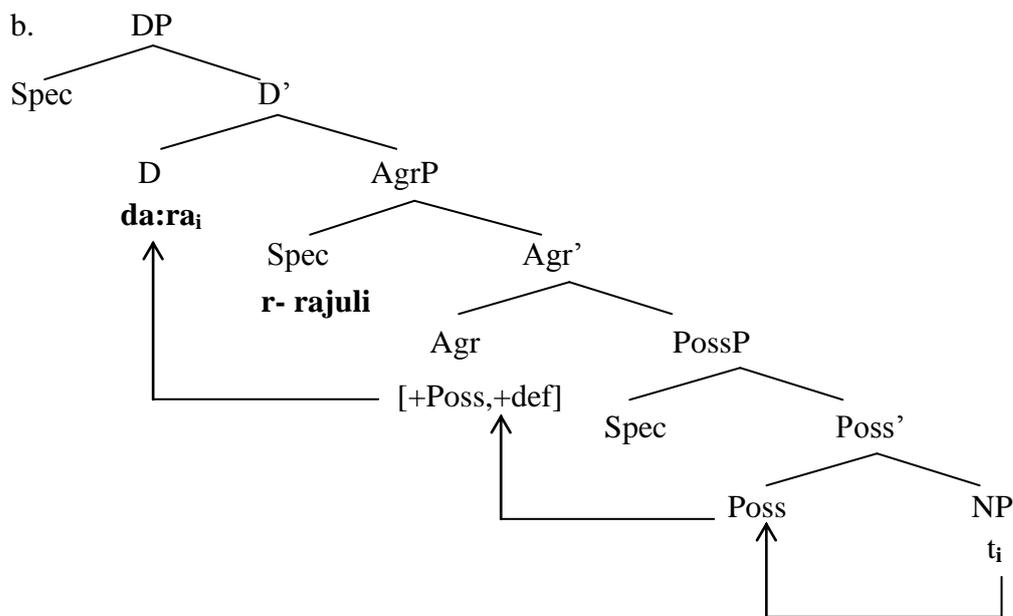


Under Szabolcsi’s (1987) analysis, the obligatory agreement relation internal to the possession construction in (51a) motivates the AgrP layer (Agr as exists in Szabolcsi’s analysis) inside the DP. The noun *titk* ‘secret’ is assumed to undergo, like verbs, head-to-head movement to check agreement features in Agr. The possessor *te* ‘you’ in SpecAgrP is assigned Nominative case. The upper layer, the DP one, is headed by the functional head D, *a* ‘the’.

Although this structure has much to recommend it, it does not account for why the N behaves like a verb in undergoing head-to-head movement. I later show, following Hornstein et al. (1994) and Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998) that it is the predicate nature of non-verbal constituents within a small clause which explains why they behave like verbs.

Prior to that, notice that (51b) has also been claimed to account for possession constructions in English, following Kayne (1993), as well as in Arabic, following Fassi Fehri (1993). I here concentrate on the one adopted for Arabic in order to later establish a link between the structure of possession constructions in Arabic and the doubling ones in TA. However, I slightly depart from Fassi Fehri’s (1993: 222) big DP structure. Instead, I follow in this very particular type of constructions Kayne’s (1993) structure that is more consistent with what Fassi Fehri (1993: 230) dubs a ‘universal schema’ for DPs.²⁴ Therefore, (52b) can stand for the internally-layered DP structure to account for the possession construction in (52a). Originally, (52a) is from Fassi Fehri (1993:217). The possession construction is in bold.

(52) a. **daxal-tu** **da: r-a** **r-rajul-i**
 enter-PRF.1SM/F house-ACC the-man-GEN
 “I entered the man’s house.”



The big DP in (52b) includes three different functional layers above the lexical NP: PossP, AgrP and DP. According to Fassi Fehri (1993), the PossP is motivated by the possession relation holding between the genitive NP possessor *r-rajuli* ‘the man’ and the possessed *da:ra* ‘house’. The functional Poss is at the same time head and theta marker. In this way, the

²⁴ In principle, both Kayne (1993) and Fassi Fehri’s (1993: 222) proposals adopt a layered big constituent to account for possession constructions in English and Arabic, respectively. The difference is in terms of consistency to what is considered in Fassi Fehri (1993: 230) ‘a universal schema for inflectional nominal structure.’ While Kayne’s (1993) structure is consistent with this universal schema by projecting AgrP internal to the big constituent, Fassi Fehri’s (1993: 217) does not, but rather contradicts the universal schema that Fassi Fehri (1993: 230) claims he is adopting. Fassi Fehri’s (1993: 228) inconsistency is explained by his uncertainty of whether AgrP projects in Arabic nominal expressions or not. See a detailed discussion of this issue in Fassi Fehri (1993: 216-230).

genitive possessor gets its possessor role outside NP. In order to receive Case, DP possessors move to SpecAgrP, according to Kayne (1993). But, as Agr, by assumption, cannot by itself in English license any constituent in its specifier, Kayne (1993) posits that it is the definiteness of D selecting AgrP that helps Agr licensing the possessor DP. Things are not that different in Arabic. Notice in (52b) Agr is specified by Poss and def(initeness) features which characterise the relation between the nominals in the possession construction *da:ra rrajuli* ‘the man’s house’ in (52a). According to Fassi Fehri (1993: 222), the possessed N incorporates in Poss and thereby gets its possessed role outside NP. On its way to D, it checks definiteness and possession features in Agr, which it shares with the other possessor DP, the genitive DP. Agreement in definiteness and possession features takes place under Fassi Fehri’s (1993: 219) ‘matching requirement in definiteness between the head noun and the genitive NP.’ In D, the possessed DP assigns theta-role and Genitive case to the possessor DP.

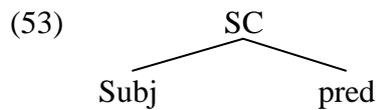
The upshot of this discussion is to motivate on the basis of possession constructions a big DP in Arabic, which is as internally articulated as the one in Hungarian in (51b). Recall that we are providing a background for the postulation of a big DP structure as in (50) that represents subject doubling in TA.

Yet, neither (51b), nor (52b), according to Hornstein et al. (1994) succeeds to capture the internal relation characterising the possession constructions. For Hornstein et al. (1994), there is strong reason to believe that possession constructions or similar constructions mirror the part-whole (or integral) relation and inalienable possession that is in principle implied by such constructions. This relation is formalised in Hornstein et al. (1994) by the abstract notion Relation R.

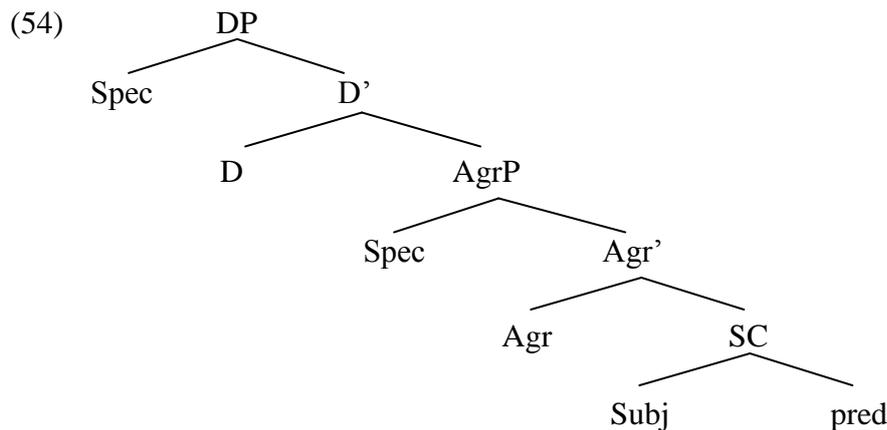
It can be argued that a species of this relation R exists in Arabic possession constructions such as in (52a). There is an attributing relation that attributes the possession of the house to the man. In terms of structure, relation R should be reflected in the DP-internal structure. The relation R for Hornstein et al. (1994) and Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998) is best structurally captured as a SC. Uriagereka, (1995b, 1998) in particular, puts forth an independent SC inside the DP, in addition to the separate AgrP and DP layers.²⁵ Relation R in a small clause should

²⁵ There is, however, a basic difference between Hornstein et al. (1994) and Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998) in conceptualising the small clause. For Hornstein et al. (1994), contra Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998), AgrP is the small clause itself. In our conception of the structure of the big DP, as I said above, we dispense with the Agr projection.

hold between a subject and a predicate similarly with (53) Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998). This holds irrespective of the fact whether the predicate is verbal or non-verbal.



In view of (53), the three layers advocated by Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998) should look like in (54), reformulating, thus far, (52b).



Additionally, I adopt Kayne's (1993) key insight that D in (50) or in (54) can be prepositional, where later in the derivation it incorporates onto an inflectional element, say I or T.

Up to this point, I have provided some empirical background from the literature explaining the projection of a SC to derive some constructions such as the possession constructions. Having outlined that, I shall now explain why the big DP (50) includes the projection of a SC that subsumes the constituents of subject doubling in TA.

In this regard, note that I have already explained in view of (54), following Hornstein et al. (1994) and Uriagereka (1995b, 1997, 1998), that a relation R is behind the projection of a SC including a subject and the predicate. I take this claim to hold in TA as well. In other words, I support a similar relation R, a predication relation in our case, holds in constructions comprising the doubled NP and the doubling tonic H-pronoun forming an NP-H pair in TA.

My empirical reasons supporting a small clause in (50) are based on the following paradigm of sentences in TA.²⁶

(55) a. bu:-k HUWWA !? (ba:b-a: 'a:na:)

father-your he (father-my I)

“YOUR FATHER !?”

“Intended: He is my father, not yours.”

b. 'ummu-k HIYYA ! (wxeit-i:)

mother-your she (sister-my)

“YOUR MOTHER darling does this!”

c. ra:jel HUWWA !

man he

“A BRAVE MAN he should not be!”

d. salem B-I:D-U:!

salem with-hands-his

“SALEM, himself !”

e. si:d-ek HUWWA !

master-your he

“HE is the master.”

“Intended: He is better than you.”

There is reason to think that this sort of constructions in TA are instances of the root small clause phenomenon, along the lines of Doron (1986) and Rapoport (1987). For instance, Rapoport (1987:72-81) considers the Semitic predicative sentences as in Hebrew in (56) and the Russian ones in (57) as root small clauses. Root small clauses are simply nominal sentences, provided they stand by themselves as meaningful nominal sentences.

(56) a. ha-yeled student [Hebrew]

the-boy student

“The boy is a student.”

²⁶ Notice that in (55b) the translation gloss *sister* is translated by *darling* because in that sense in TA *sister* means *darling*. (55c) is idiomatic in TA, where the original *ra:jel* ‘man’ is translated by one meaning of *ra:jel* in TA, which is bravery.

b. ha-yalda pikx-it

the-girl smart-f

“The girl is smart.”

(57) a. etot mal' čik bol'noj [Russian]

this boy sick

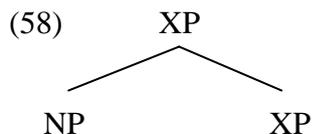
“This boy is sick.”

b. Ivan vrač

Ivan doctor

“Ivan is the doctor.”

Rapoport (1987) argues that (56) and (57) are nominal sentences; as a result, they stand for a semantically meaningful unit. They all derive from a root a small clause comprising two phrases. According to Rapoport (1987: 72), the small clause is represented as in (58).



The TA nominal sentences in (55) are, on the whole, in keeping with Rapoport’s (1987) analysis of (56) and (57). From an interpretive point of view, to start with, if uttered as independent expressions as in (55), the sentences are entirely meaningful semantic units in TA. In terms of structure, the nominal sentences in (55) include two nominal phrases, thus providing another type of evidence in favour of the root small clause structure, which, to reiterate, comprises two nominal phrases in a nominal sentence.

By the same token, I submit that the NP-H subject doubling pairs under investigation in this chapter resembles in structure and in interpretive effects those in (55). Consider the NP-H subject doubling pair in TA in (23) above, again in (59).

(59) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa:- l-el-masraħ, muʃ e-ʔtufla

“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b. ʔinti HUWWA ji:-t, muʃ huma:

“YOU came, not them.”

Like the sentences in (55), the doubling pairs *le-weld HUWWA* or *'inti HUWWA* can stand for a root small clause in TA, hence they are the subject and the predicate of a small clause. We may conclude that the similarity between doubling pairs in TA and root small clauses supports a SC projection in (50).

Summing-up, I have given substance to the proposal that the Big DP approach to doubling is worth pursuing for a number of reasons. I have first provided a background analysis that draws heavily on the literature of similar constructions to doubling that observe a relation R. This relation is instantiated by the predication relation we are assuming to exist between the members of the doubling pair. Importantly, such a relation projects a small clause comprising a subject and a predicate. The SC is itself a layer, among other layers, articulating the internal hierarchy of a big DP. The big DP including the two doubles is assumed to receive one theta role and one Case. Thereafter, I have provided evidence that TA generates structures that are best analysed as instances of small clauses. These structures have been shown to be similar to those of contrastive topic subject NP-H doublets, with regard to structure and interpretive effects.

By way of comparison, it should be pointed-out that the big DP constituent in (50) is in many ways more elaborate than the ones suggested in some versions of the Big DP approach. Take, for instance, the big DP in (40b) taken to account for clitic doubling in Spanish, or the one in (43) accounting for strong subject doubling in Italian. Evidently, both fail to characterise the nature of the relation between the doubling elements in the way (50) does for subject doubling in TA. The only merit they have is that they provide two distinct dedicated positions for nominal phrases inside a big constituent. They fall short, however, of explicitly characterising an internal, direct relation between these two nominals inside the DP.

There exist, nonetheless, other insightful accounts that explore and define the predication relation holding for doubling constructions and various other constructions in Arabic. Yet, there is suggestive evidence that they do not as accurately elaborate the internal structure in the big DP in (50), which is a reason to prefer (50). I take up this issue in the following section.

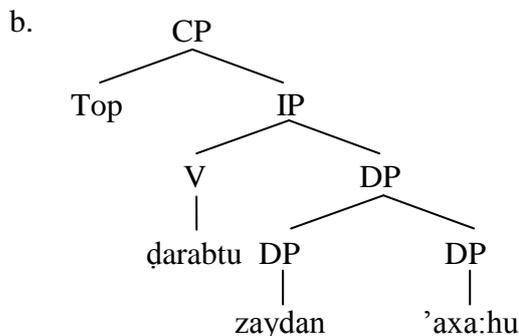
3.3.4. The big DP in TA vs. Fassi Fehri's (1982) big DP: predication vs. apposition

A number of accounts in Arabic grammar postulate a big DP analysis to some clitic-left dislocation constructions including an H-form (Fassi Fehri 1982). They, interestingly, characterise some relations of apposition to occur internal to the big constituent. Comparing them to the small clause analysis I have adopted above to realise the predication relation in the doubling pairs in TA will buy us more evidence in favour of our present big DP analysis. For instance, Fassi Fehri's (1982) apposition proposal for big DPs does not hold for the big DP I am discussing to account for the NP-H pair in TA. Instead, it will be obvious that the NP-H pair is best analysed as expressing a predication relation.

In his early accounts of clitic left-dislocation in MSA/CA, Fassi Fehri (1982) supports a structure akin to a big constituent subsuming the clitic and the nominal element before movement takes place to split them.

The structure (60b) was thought, within an early GB theory, to account for the base-generated structure of the clitic left-dislocation in (60a), following Fassi Fehri (1982: 10-11).²⁷

- (60) a. zayd-an ḡarab-tu 'ax- a: - hu
 zayd-ACC hit-PRF.ISM brother- ACC- his
 “Zayd, I hit his brother.”



Fassi Fehri (1982) stipulates that the big DP constituent stands for an appositive construction. The apposition for Fassi Fehri (1982) is chiefly evident in the Accusative case matching, where, internal to the big constituent, one DP, say *zaydan*: ‘Zayd’ stands in apposition and/or

²⁷ I slightly modify the labels originally used by Fassi Fehri (1982) such as substituting ‘S’ by CP and NP by DP.

alternates with *'axa:hu* ‘his brother’ (also possible, *'axa: zaydan:* ‘the brother of Zayd’).²⁸ The derivation would split the big DP by moving the VP-internal topic element *zaydan* ‘Zayd’ to the topic position standing for the DP in apposition (the substitute) internal to VP but is resumed by the left-dislocated topic by virtue of the resumptive pronoun *-hu* ‘his’.

Fassi Fehri’s (1982) approach has the merit of advocating a possible big constituent that is empirically valid given the apposition/substitution relation internal to such constituent. The appositive relation, however, does not hold of other left-dislocation constructions in Arabic as in (61).

- (61) *'al- bint-u 'ahbab- tu- ha:*
 the-girl-NOM love-PRF.1SM-her
 “The girl, I loved her.”

What is in fact relating the dislocated topic *'albintu* ‘the girl’ to the clitic *ha:* ‘her’ is anaphoric resumption, rather than substitution. Alternatively, a SC layer as suggested for the big DP in (50) can better characterise the internal, direct relation between the two DPs in (60a), which here is defined by Fassi Fehri to be a substitution relation. Indeed, in MSA/CA, the two DPs *zaydan* ‘Zayd’ and *'axa:hu* ‘his brother’ and similar cases as in (62) can, like the TA nominal sentences in (55), Hebrew in (56) and Russian in (57) make good root small clauses. See now in (62) examples of nominal clauses made up of two DPs as in (60a).

- (62) a. *zayd-un 'axu:-ka !?*
 zayd-NOM brother-your
 “How come Zayd is your brother!”
 b. *zayd-un 'usta:ðu-ka!?*
 zayd-NOM teacher-your
 “How come Zayd is your teacher!”

As I have shown in TA, examples like (62) can be analysed as two parts of a SC within a big DP, which will more suitably characterise the internal relation between the two DPs.

²⁸ Notice that originally what Fassi Fehri (1982) calls apposition is based on terminology from the tradition of Arabic grammar where in constructions of the sort, the nominal used alternatively with another is called *badal* ‘substitute’. See Fassi Fehri (1982).

3.3.5. The big DP in TA vs. the categorical DP of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links

I here compare the big DP analysis of subject doubling in TA to the other doubling approach I have outlined in subsection 3.3.2.2 above, namely the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach to doubling (Barbiers et al. 2008). It will be obvious that the subject doubling data in TA are more appropriately derived under the Big DP approach. For one thing, the agreement behaviour of the NP-H doublet given in subsection 3.3.1 argues against the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach, in which the agreement feature make-up of doubles is crucial.

Let us, first, see what the critique against the Big DP approach is among the proponents of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach. Following Barbiers et al. (2008) and Holmberg and Nikanne (2008), a base-generated big DP constituent never survives after the derivation takes place. In other words, it does not remain as a composite big constituent as it is initially merged, thus there is no direct observational evidence that such a constituent exists.

Another argument is that the Big DP approach is originally based on the observation that, in Romance, the doubling clitic is equivalent to the determiner. As such, the Big DP approach is tailored to a particular Romance doubling fact and lacks, therefore, crosslinguistic validation, following Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002, 2008). They contend that the Big DP approach cannot account for doubling data in Germanic languages as these do not support a similarity between clitics and determiners as is illustrated in (63) from Wambeek Dutch.²⁹ (63) is from Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2002: 291).³⁰

(63) a. Jef ziet de vrouw.

Jef sees the-DET woman

“Jef sees the woman.”

²⁹ Wambeek is a Southern Dutch dialect.

³⁰ It is worth pointing-out, however, that Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen’s (2002, 2008) develop some version of Uriagereka’s (1995a, b) Big DP approach, but it is one that shows a categorical organisation. By categorical, it is meant to be similar to the DP proposed by Déchaine and Wiltshko’s (2002: 410), given (46), which is also central to the Partial copy and multiple-spell out of chain links. Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen’s (2002, 2008) do not adopt the partial copying and spelling-out chain links as in Barbiers et al. (2008).

b. Jef ei- se gezien

Jef has-her (CLI) seen

“Jef saw her.”

Visibly, Wambeek Dutch distinguishes between determiners like in (63a) and clitics in (63b), which discounts at least some versions of the Big DP approach as the appropriate account.

The main argument in favour of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links theory, in Barriers et al. (2008), is that it predicts that the higher copy will never be more specified than the lower copy; it will be either identical or less specified. This prediction, they show, is right for the languages they discuss. The Big DP theory does not make this prediction.

In response to the first point of critique, I have argued above that we do see direct evidence of, at least, the lexical component of the Big DP I assume in this work, namely the SC consisting of a DP subject and a pronominal predicate, in the form of root small clauses. To the second point of critique, note that the version of the Big DP theory that I assume here, in which the big DP has a SC as its lexical base, does not presuppose that the pronominal part of the double is a determiner.

As for the argument from the features of the doubles, the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links theory can equally well be blamed for being strictly tailored to a language-related data, the Germanic doubling data in this case. This approach is based on the observation that we find identical doubling as in (64a) (= (37a)) or distinct doubling as in (64b) (= (37b)) in several Dutch dialects, where the higher double is less specified than the lower double (as they argue), but we find no constructions where the higher double would be more specified than the lower one.

(64) a. Zij heeft zij daar niets mee te maken.

“She has got nothing to do with it.”

b. Wie denk je die ik gezien heb?

“Who do you think I saw?”

While this may be true of Dutch dialects and some other languages, the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links cannot be supported in TA, given that, first, identical doubling is barred in TA as in (65) (= (28)).

(65) *’inti ’INTI ji:-t !!

Second, the higher copy may be more specified than the lower copy, as shown by (66).

(66) ’inti HUWWA ji:-t, muf huma:

“YOU came, not them.”

The doubled pronoun *’inti* ‘you’ in (66), compared to the doubling H-form, has a person feature in plus. The doubling H-form, as I have shown, has number and gender but no person. Thus, the prediction made by the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach, which contends that a the higher link of the chain should be equal to, or less specified than the lower one, is false for the type of doubling we are discussing here, in TA. This is also seen in (59a), repeated in (67).

(67) le-wled HUWWA mfa:- l- el-masrah, muf e-ṭṭufla

“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

Obviously, the doubled NP *lewled* ‘the boy’ in (67) is more specified in terms of features than the doubling H since it has lexical features. So the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach cannot account for the NP-H doublets in TA.

This is reminiscent of Holmberg and Nikanne’s (2008: 344) claim that because the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach is originally based on exclusively pronominal doubling data, its predictions do not hold for cases like (68a) (= (39b) in chapter two) and (68b) in Swedish, which is similar to the doubling pair in (67) in TA.

(68) a. Jari har också han slutat röka.

Jari has also he quit smoking

“Jari, too, has quit smoking.”

b. Pojkarna kunde inte dom heller öppna dörren.

the-boys could not they either open the-door

“The boys couldn’t open the door, either.”

Holmberg and Nikanne (2008) claim, following Engdahl (2003), that (68) presents a species of subject doubling in Swedish. The doubling pair in (68) contains a lexical element doubled by a pronoun. This makes it similar to the doubling pair in TA as in (67). In both, noticeably, the higher copy is more specified than the lower one. Notice also that, unlike the Partial copy and

multiple spell-out of chain links, the Big DP approach I have been claiming to account for the distinct subject doubling NP-H pair in TA does not provide an explanation for the absence of identical doubling in TA, either. This implies that the identical doubling pair does not look to arise from a big constituent and therefore fails to follow from the big DP hypothesis. I will leave this problem for further research and concentrate on the Big DP approach as the suitable approach for the non-identical subject doublets in TA.

We may conclude that the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach falls short of accounting for subject doubling data in TA. The Big DP approach is more promising in that respect. There may be cases of doubling, though, found in some languages where the Big DP hypothesis (of the kind I am advocating here) is, arguably, not the right approach. The wh-pronominal doubling in (64b) may be such a case.

3.4. Interim summary

The sections 3.2 and 3.3 have been about providing a theoretical background to the chapter. In the first, I have outlined the main theoretical assumptions I will be following in the derivation of the NP-H pair in the next section, 3.5. In particular, the lexicalist assumption that lexical heads enter the derivation with interpretable features while corresponding functional categories are uninterpretable will help explain our postulation of an uninterpretable Top and Fin heads to trigger the derivation of the NP-H pair in TA. Top and Fin will be supposed to project encoding features that trigger the movement of DPs to their specifiers respectively deriving the SpecTopP and SpecFinP positions that will be analysed to stand for the topic-focus articulation of the subject doubling NP-H pair in TA. An important assumption I have outlined is that the DPs of the doublet move as independent categories, regardless of their derivation from the SC that subsumes them in a predication relation, all within a big DP. Equally important is the assumption that the two nominals of the doublet are about one subject with only one theta role and only one Case, but it is one that splits for information structure reasons resulting in a MSC.

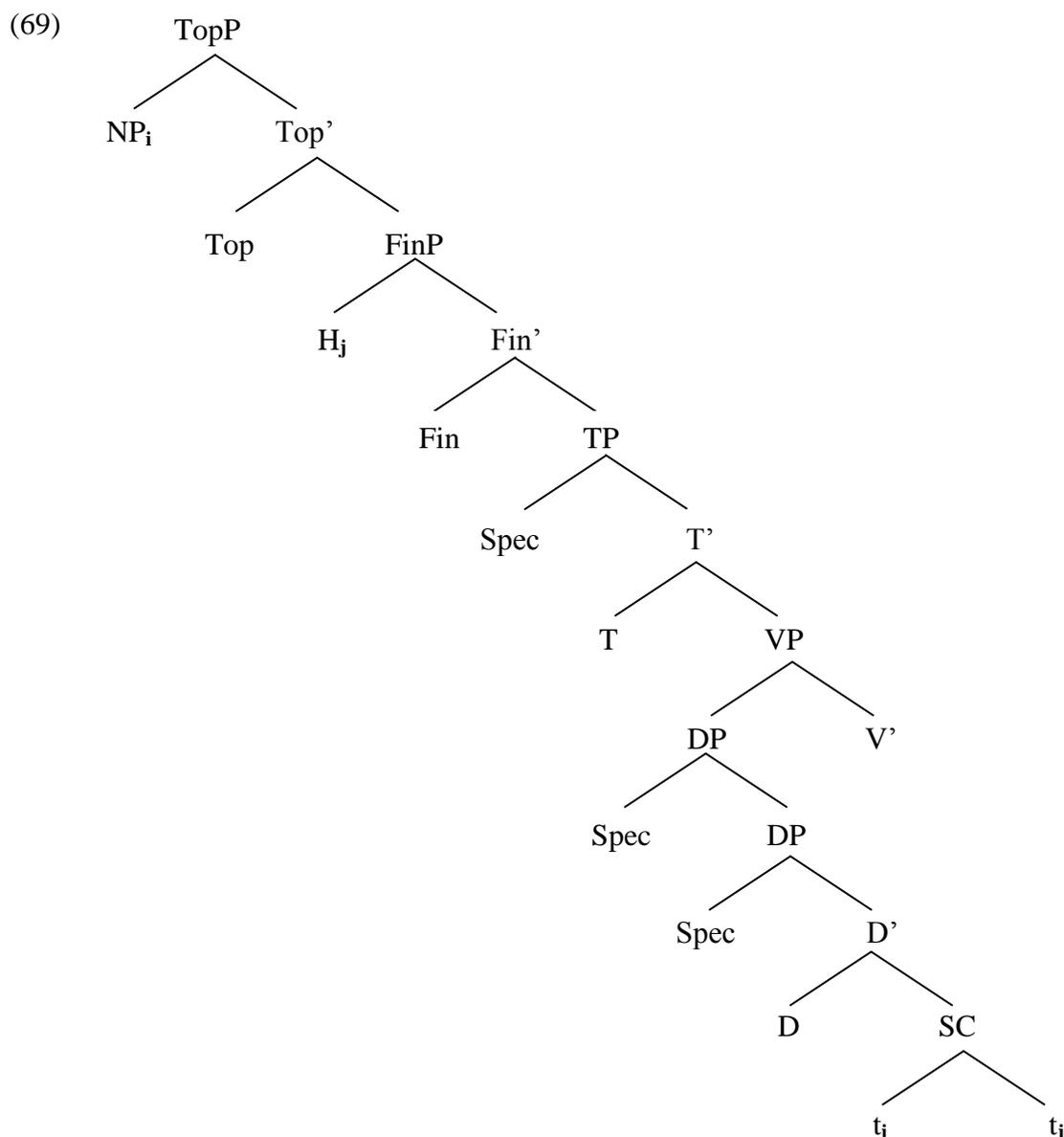
In the second, section 3.3, I have outlined this big DP as the base-generated structure of the NP-H pair in TA. Based on various constructions that are considered in the literature to observe a relation R as an abstraction for possession or part-whole relations, I have argued that, likewise, the NP-H pair instantiates a relation R, namely a predication relation. This predication relation takes place within a SC layer of the functional structure of the big DP including the NP-H pair. In TA, I have shown that the NP-H pair construction makes-up a root

small clause. In this SC, the subject of the SC has inherent ϕ -features [Person, Number, Gender] from which the inherent third person H-form predicate of the SC copies the values of the subject to value its [uNumber, uGender]. Postulating a big DP approach with an internal SC has been argued to further elaborate the big DP suggested by Fassi Fehri (1992) to deal with similar cases in MSA/CA. The SC analysis in TA has been shown to apply to Fassi Fehri's (1982) doublet. This means that the members of this doublet can be the members of a root small clause where it becomes possible to characterise the substitution relation holding between them. Fassi Fehri's (1982) structure of two DPs has been shown to remain non-explicit with respect to where substitution should occur between the two DPs subsumed under a big DP. I have also distinguished the Big DP approach to be more promising in dealing with the subject doubling NP-H pair in TA than the other existent doubling approach, namely the Partial copy and multiple spell-out approach, although the latter can look more adequate with respect to some doubling data that is not manifest in TA, such as wh-pronominal doubling.

On the basis of these claims, we will take-up in section 3.5 the derivation of the NP-H pair in TA. Two central issues will be considered: the spell-out properties of the NP-H pair and the MSC nature of the NP-H pair. For the first, it will be shown that both Top and Fin heads are associated with EPP that triggers movement of subject constituents to spell-out their specifiers: SpecTopP and SpecFinP. For the second, it will be discussed that the NP-H pair conveying contrastive topic is a MSC that is made possible by the fact that TA positively values the SpecFinP parameter.

3.5. The structural analysis of the NP-H constructions

The present section investigates the syntax of the NP-H pair. It seeks, in principle, to adequately explain the fact that this pair, as we described in chapter two, yields two opposite information structure types: a contrastive topic subject doubling construction and a contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling focus subject. Moreover, the section proposes a clause structure in TA that provides two dedicated distinct positions, namely TopP and FinP positions to host the constituents of the NP-H pair as in (1b) in the outset, repeated here in (69). Notice that the internal structure of the big DP is slightly different from the original one in (50), given the adjunction of the doubles to the edge of the big DP when the derivation starts, as will be later clarified.



Structurally, I will be claiming as I have shown in 3.2.3 that the derivation of the contrastive topic NP-H doubling pair depends on the feature valuation of [uTop] and [uFin]. That is if [uTop] gets valued, and the EPP associated with Top forces the movement of a [+Top]-marked constituent to SpecTopP, Top becomes [+Top]-marked. If [uFin] gets valued, and the EPP paired with it triggers the movement of a [+Foc]-marked constituent, Fin becomes [+Foc]-marked.³¹ Accordingly, the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair will be shown as the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. As for its non-doubling NP-H pair counterpart conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus, it will be the

³¹ Note that by [uFin] I mean the unvalued focus sub-feature of Fin, i.e., [uFoc] of Fin that probes for a matching goal, that is a [+Foc]-marked constituent that the EPP forces to move to SpecFinP. But for ease of presentation, I will keep referring to heads rather than to their features such as [uFin]. This makes it easier when I refer to the EPP to pair with [+Fin] and [+Top].

result of a [-Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. Building on this analysis, two crucial proposals will be advocated as a result of the derivation of the NP-H pair in TA. First, the EPP feature will be coupled with the [+]-marked head, which means that there is no EPP if the head is [-]-marked. In this respect, we will suggest that, in the marked case, i.e., contrastive subject doubling NP-H pair, the EPP will be in Top and in Fin as both are, respectively, [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked. In the unmarked non-subject doubling contrastive/exhaustive focus, only Fin is sensitive to the EPP as it is [+Foc]-marked while Top is [-Top]-marked. The second proposal is that the derivation of subject doubling in TA illustrates the MSC phenomenon.

The MSC account of the NP-H pair in TA and subjecthood in Arabic, in general, suitably accounts for a number of issues in the syntax of Arabic. First, I will argue that the MSC analysis of subject doubling in TA validates the topichood property of the sentence-initial position in Arabic on the basis of subject doubling data. Second, the MSC analysis of subject doubling in TA will be shown to capture in TA, and Arabic in general, the difference between a tonic doubling H-pronoun vs. a non-tonic copular H-pronoun, suggesting, therefore, a principle-based solution to the puzzle posed by these H-forms in the literature of Arabic as it has been reviewed in section 2.6 in chapter two.

The plausibility of the MSC in TA as realised by subject doubling will be shown to be a consequence of setting by TA of the SpecFinP parameter according to one of the choices made available within this parameter, allowing the MSCs.

The discussion of these issues will be according to the following organisation. It sets-out with a brief reminder from chapter two of the different information structure internal to the NP-H pair: a contrastive topic subject doubling construction vs. a contrastive/exhaustive single focus subject in a cleft construction. Then it outlines what I consider the appropriate clause structure in TA and the feature-valuation system according to which the derivation takes place. The subsequent subsection shows the derivation of the ambivalent NP-H pair resulting, in one structure, in a contrastive topic subject doubling and, in another, a cleft NP-H pair. Finally, it compares the MSC in TA to the one in MSA/CA and compares TA as a MSC-language to English as a non-MSC language.

3.5.1. The information structure of the ambivalent NP-H sequence: a recap

First, consider in (70) (= (21)) the doubling version construction of the NP-H pair. Note that I resume in this section the underlining of topics and italicising of foci.

(70) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa-: l-el-masraħ, muʃ e-ṭṭufla

“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b. ʔinti HUWWA ji-: t, muʃ huma:

“YOU came, not them.”

The NP-H pair in (70) exhibits a contrastive topic. It was claimed in chapter two that, following Krifka (2007), contrastive topic is the result of an aboutness topic that is focused. It was also shown that TA expresses the aboutness topic by means of a single topic constituent, but uses an NP-H doublet in order to convey contrastive topic. Internal to the doubling NP-H pair, the NP stands for the aboutness topic while the H-portion is a tonic doubling pronoun focus that contrasts the aboutness NP topic.

Second, consider in (71) (= (37) in chapter two) the cleft version of the NP-H pair.

(71) *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: mʃa -: l- el-masraħ, muʃ e-ṭṭufla

the-boy he that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“*THE BOY* was the one who went, but not the girl.”

Although superficially similar to the NP-H pair in (70), the NP-H pair in (71) was described in chapter two to lack an aboutness topic and only displays focus which we called, following Krifka (2007) and Kiss (1987), contrastive/exhaustive focus. Internal to the NP-H pair in (71), the NP-portion stands for the single contrastive/exhaustive focus subject, whereas the H-form is the copula.

The gist of this review is to show that TA activates the same sequence of the NP-H pair for two opposite structures. In both, the subject is realised differently: a doubled subject in the first vs. a non-doubled subject in the second. In both, to reiterate, the NP-H pair conveys two opposite information structure types: a contrastive topic subject and contrastive/exhaustive focus. All conspire to qualify this very sequence of the NP-H pair, at its best, as an ambivalent construction in TA. I will discuss in the following subsections that these different interpretations of the NP-H pairs follow from distinct feature-valuation computations and distinct spell-outs of structures that I will clarify as I proceed.

3.5.2. The structural analysis of the ambivalent NP-H pair in TA: structural preliminaries

In this section, I present a number of arguments motivating a clause structure I suggested in the outset in (1b) (also in (69)) to represent the derivation of the NP-H pair. I, however, suggest a more elaborate structure that shows, unlike (1b), the feature specification of the head categories according to the lexicalist theory, following Chomsky (1993) as I outlined in subsection 3.2.1, the theoretical background of the syntactic analysis in this chapter; and following Chomsky (2000, 2001) regarding the status of the EPP, as I clarified in subsection 3.2.3. I will in particular provide some arguments illustrating the existence of TopP and FinP in TA. Outlining the feature-valuation system will also be pertinent in order to understand the derivation of the ambivalent NP-H pair in SpecTopP and SpecFinP.

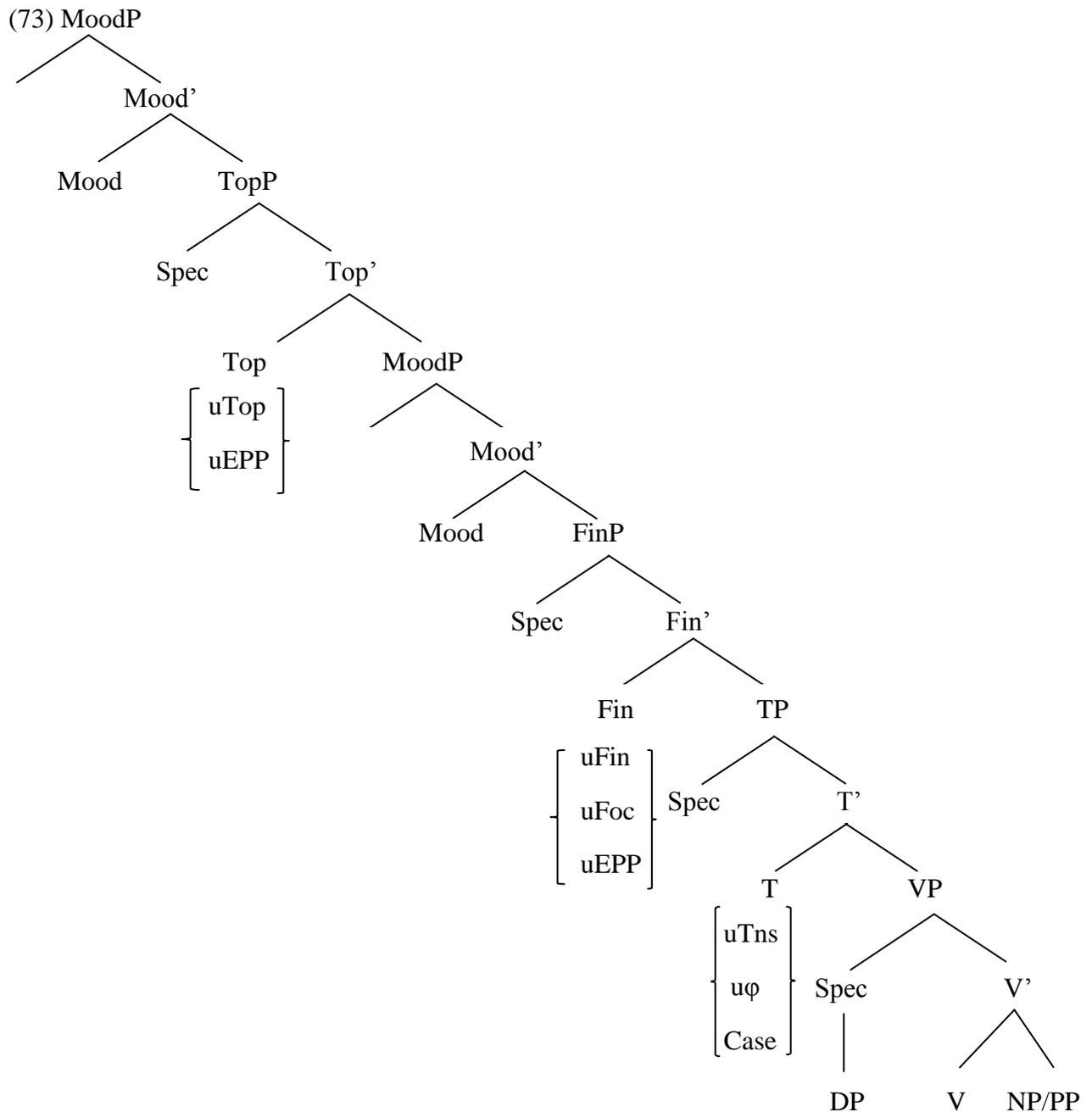
3.5.2.1. *The clause structure in TA*

The diagram in (73) presents the clause structure in TA. I assume the structure of the clause in TA to have two dedicated functional layers above TP, namely TopP and FinP. Note that one way to show that TopP and FinP occur below C is that subject constructions like (70) can be embedded. Consider for instance the embedding of (70a) in (72).

(72) 'a: na: fi: ba:l- i: elli: le-wled HUWWA mfa: l-el-masrah, muj e-ttufla

I in- knowledge-my that the-boy he.3SM go-PREF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“I know that THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”



Before describing (73), see that I am drawing (73) according to an X' theory conception of trees, where the specifier positions are represented (Chomsky, 1981). Notice that assuming X' theory is inconsistent with the derivational Minimalist theory within which I am situating the analysis of the syntactic investigation of the NP-H pair. In a Minimalist theory following Chomsky (1993) and subsequent works, structures are derived by Merge, and therefore no specifier positions exist before they are created by external or internal Merge. Nevertheless, I am assuming the X'-based tree for ease of exposition and in order to clarify the different feature checking/valuation operations between the lexical items and the functional categories, as will be clear in subsections 3.5.3 and 3.5.4.

Returning now to (73), MoodP in (73) is a position dedicated in TA to host speech acts particles that reflect different types of mood.³² They will be tested, following Cinque's (1999) universal hierarchy of adverbs, and it will be shown that they can be merged above TopP as well as between TopP and FinP, and between FinP and TP.³³ TopP and FinP are the subject doubling positions situated above TP, realised in the MSC in TA. The DP in SpecVP is supposed to stand for the big DP in (50), which I have argued to represent the base-generated structure of the NP-H pair in TA.

As for the feature make-up of the functional categories in (73) and the feature-valuation system I have already described are behind the spell-out of several constructions in TA. To reiterate, the [uTop] and the [uEPP] in Top are coupled with one another. If [uTop] finds a matching goal, i.e. a [+Top]-that moves to SpecFinP marked constituent that the EPP requirement forces to move to SpecTop, in which case Top becomes [+Top]-marked. Fin also becomes [+Foc]-marked when [uFin] finds a matching [+Foc]-marked constituent that, triggered by EPP, moves to SpecFinP. This valuation mechanism will be shown to be responsible for unmarked as well as marked constructions in TA. In other words, it will be behind the spell-out of the unmarked (i.e., non-doubling structures) SVO sentence in TA including an aboutness topic, the unmarked SVO sentence including a contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling subject NP-H pair, a null-subject construction, a VSO construction, and the marked (i.e., doubling structures) cases of the subject doubling NP-H and H-NP sequences of the NP-H pair.

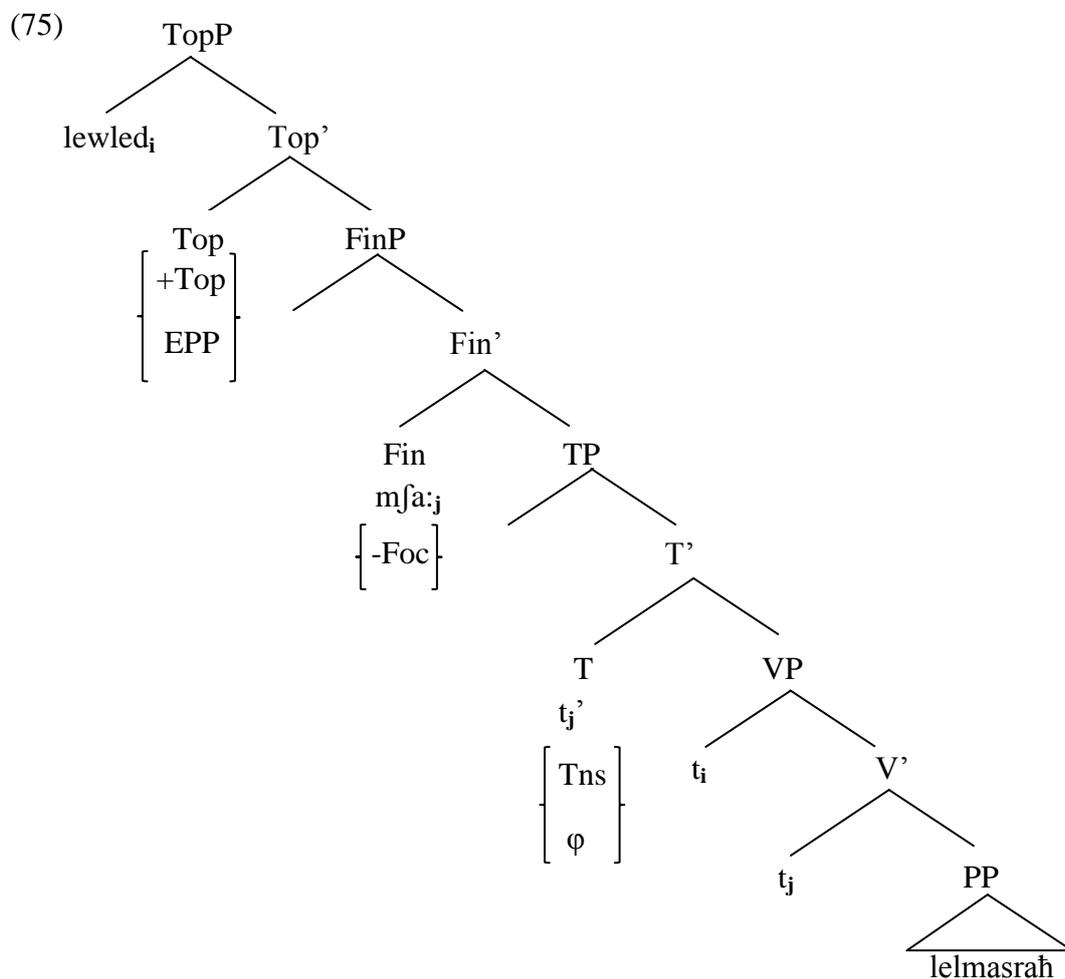
Let us start with illustrating the feature-valuation system related to (73) on the basis of the unmarked SVO sentences including an aboutness topic, null subject sentences, and VSO ones. We will leave the marked sentences including subject doubling NP-H pair as well as the unmarked subject non-doubling NP-H pair to separate subsections. Consider first the spell-out properties of the unmarked non-doubling SVO case, i.e., the absence of the NP-H doubling pair, as in (74).

³² An account of mood particles in TA has been given in chapter two in section 2.3.2.4 and in section 2.5. See (11) in 2.3.2.4.

³³ For ease of illustration with respect to (70), I only deal with those MoodP projections relevant to the placement of the subjects in the MSC.

(74) le-wled mfa -: l- el-masrah
 the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
 “The boy went to the theatre.”

In (74), the single subject *lewled* ‘the boy’ is interpreted as an aboutness topic, therefore, we consider it a [+Top]-marked constituent that makes a matching goal for [uTop] in (73). This means that EPP triggers the movement of the [+Top]-marked constituent, *lewled* ‘the boy’, to SpecTopP, in order to get valued and in the process Top gets [+Top]-marked. Fin, however, will be marked [-Fin] in the absence of a [+Foc]-marked constituent entailing, as a result, that there is no EPP in Fin. So, (74) is the consequence of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and a [-Foc]-marked Fin structure as in (75).³⁴



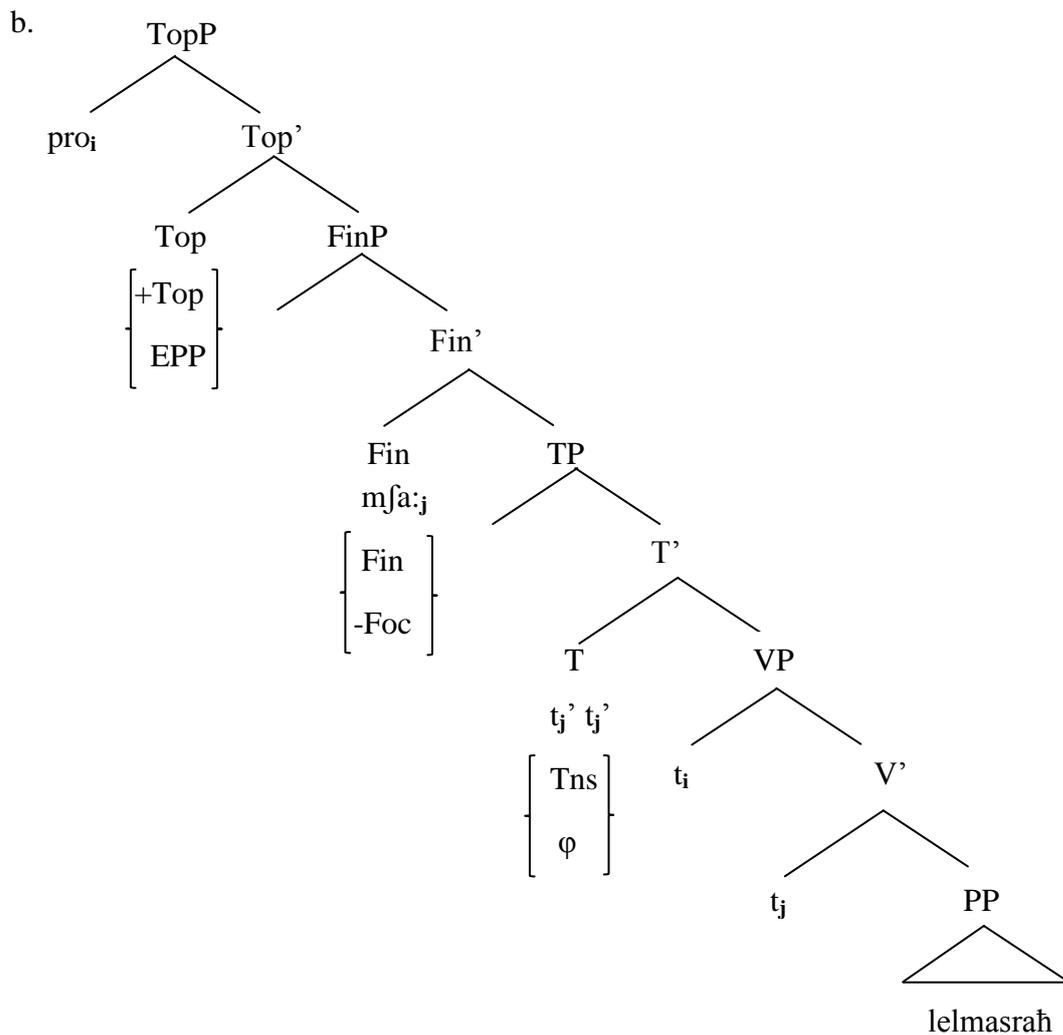
Given Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001), T’s u ϕ -features are valued by the subject without movement to SpecTP. The [uTns] feature of T is valued by V; I assume this must be

³⁴ We can do without specifying the valued [EPP] feature in (75) given our assumption that EPP is paired with a [+]-marked head, Top or Fin. But for the sake of clarification, I will keep showing it in the derivations.

accompanied by the movement of V to T. The verb also values [uFin] and (normally) moves to Fin. According to (75), Top has an [uTop] feature and an [uEPP] feature. [uTop] probes for the [+Top]-marked VP-internal NP *lewled* ‘the boy’ as its matching goal to value Top. [uEPP], based on such probe-goal matching, forces the VP-internal NP to move to SpecTopP. There, it is interpreted as aboutness topic. Fin is [-Foc] marked with no EPP, hence no movement to SpecFinP, but the verb raises to value [uFin]. What we get is a non-doubling ordinary (unmarked) SVO structure with the preverbal subject as an aboutness topic keeping the information focus inside the VP.

See now how does the feature-valuation system regarding (73) derive null-subject constructions in TA such as (76a) according to (76b).

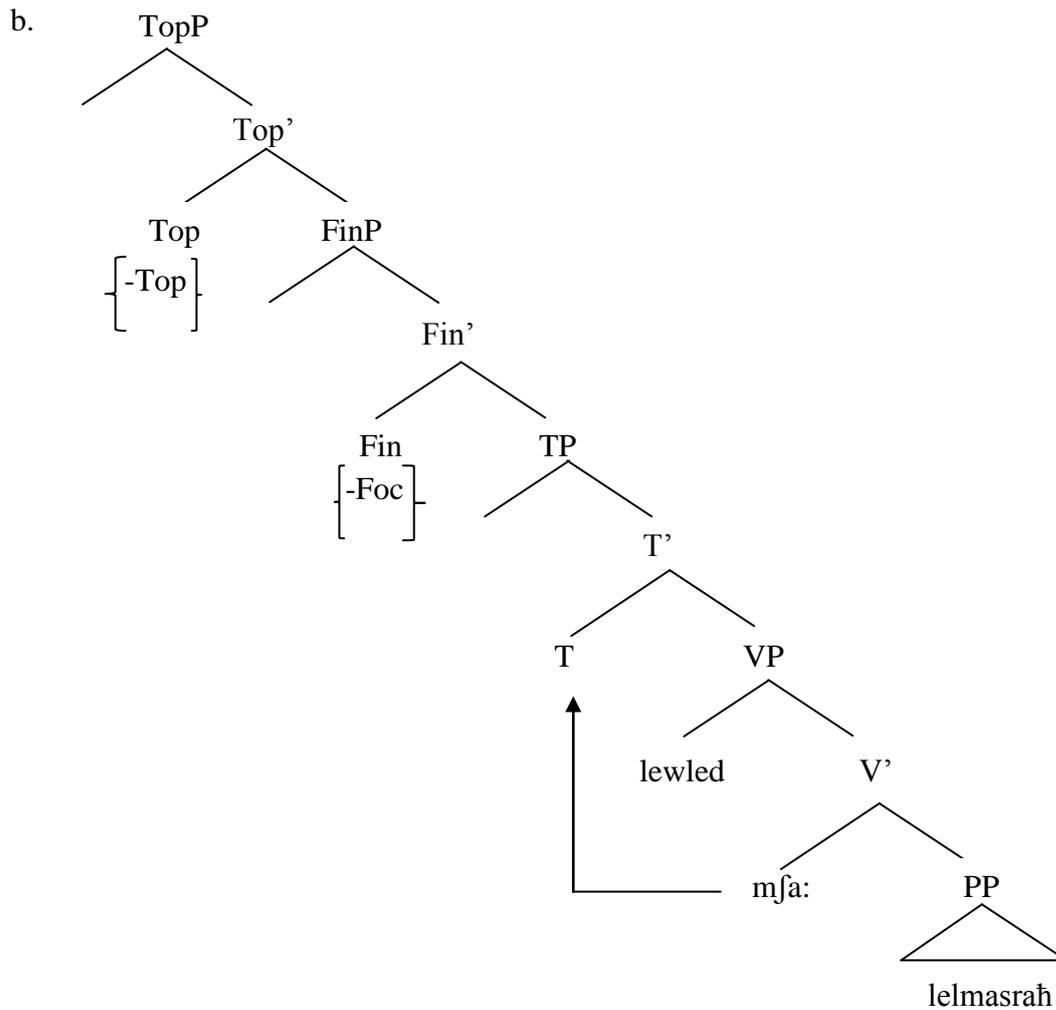
- (76) a. Ø mʃa:- l- el-masraħ
 pro go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
 ‘‘He went to the theatre.’’



According to (76b), the subject is *pro*, a null pronoun with all the (valued) features of a pronoun, starting out in VP, assigning feature values to the ϕ -features in T, and being attracted by the EPP-feature of Top. It is not spelled-out, because it is in a chain with T (it is a copy of the ϕ -features in T), and only one member of a chain needs to be spelled-out, and that member has to be T because T has other features as well, especially tense, so it must be spelled-out (Holmberg 2010). The spell-out of (76a) is then the result of a [+Top]-marked Top and [-Foc]-marked Fin with the EPP in Top as it is associated with a [+Top]-marked Top.

Third, VSO constructions in TA are another type of constructions on the basis of which we test the spell-out of constructions according to the feature make-up of heads in (73) and our assumptions as to the feature-valuation system taking place in (73). Given the VSO counterpart of (74) in TA, we expect the derivation spells-out a [-Top]-marked Top and [-Fin]-marked Fin structure. This is illustrated in cases like (77a) represented in (77b).

- (77) a. mʃa -: le-wled l- el-masrah
 go-PRF.3SM the-boy to-the-theatre
 “The boy went to the theatre.”



It is obvious in (77b) that the only movement called for here is V-movement to value [uTns]. Top is [-Top] in the absence of a [+Top] marked constituent; Fin is [-Fin] in the absence of a [+Foc]-marked constituent. This means that there is no EPP in either Top or Fin.

Until now, we have tested-out in what ways the feature content of the heads, Top and Fin, especially, as in (73) get their corresponding features valued and which structures they spell-out. It has been possible to account for three constructions in TA: an unmarked SVO with an aboutness topic to spell-out as a result of a [+Top]-marked Top and [-Foc]-marked Fin structure. The same structure has been shown to spell-out a null-subject construction in TA. As for the VSO type, it has been shown to result from [-Top]-marked Top and [-Foc]-marked Fin structure. In all, it has been shown that EPP is associated with a [+]-marked head.

If so, we need now to see how we obtain a non-ordinary (marked) SVO in TA in terms of the feature specification of Top and Fin in (73). In other words, how do we derive the subject doubling NP-H pairs (the NP-H and H-NP sequences)? A related question is how do we derive the non-doubling NP-H pair? Leaving the H-NP sequence to chapter four, we shall now

examine the feature-valuation system resulting in the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair as well as in its unmarked counterpart, the non-doubling contrastive/exhaustive focus NP-H pair subject (the cleft NP-H pair). As it will be discussed in the upcoming subsections, the ambivalence internal to the same NP-H sequence of the NP-H pair conveying these two opposite information structure interpretations will be shown to follow from distinct feature-values of Top and Fin. But prior to accounting for the distinct computations of these features and the resulting structures, I shall provide evidence that SpecTopP and SpecFinP in (73) are distinct positions in TA.

3.5.2.2. *The TopP and FinP positions of the MSC in TA: properties and rationale*

I examine in what follows a number of diagnostics that argue for the postulation in TA of a TopP and FinP in (73). This is to argue against the alternative idea that simply there is just one neutral preverbal position, which can be topic or focus.

Arguing in favour of a TopP in (73) is based on facts arising from definiteness vs. indefiniteness, and non-focus resumption. In addition, ruling-out a question operator in SpecTopP in TA, and topic recovery speech acts adverbial particles cannot be explained without assuming that there is a dedicated TopP position.

Consider, first, the definiteness condition on topics in (78).

- (78) a. e-ttufla_i ja: b-et- ha:_i 'umm-ha:
 the-girl bring.PRF.3SF-her (CLI) mother-her
 “The girl, her mother brought her.”
- b.* tufla_i ja:b- et- ha:_i 'umm-ha:
 a girl bring.PRF.3SF-her(CLI) mother-her

A central property of topichood that has extensively been discussed in the literature of topics in Arabic is its definiteness requirement (Fassi Fehri 1993). An object can be fronted and resumed by a clitic, and interpreted as a topic, but only if it is definite. An indefinite object can be fronted, but cannot be resumed by a clitic, and can only be interpreted as focused (conforming to Rizzi’s (1997) generalisation that focus is incompatible with resumption).

Another argument in favour of a TopP in TA arises from the distribution of interrogatives in TA. Although we might think that a question operator in TA logically precedes a topic or a subject constituent, the facts in (79) show the opposite.

(79) a. le-wled, men waqt-a:ʃ wall-a yet-kallem hakka ?
 the-boy from time-Q become-PRF.3SM IPFV-speak.3SM like this
 “Since when is the boy talking like this?”

b. * men waqt-a:ʃ, le-wled wall-a yet-kallem hakka ?
 from time-Q the-boy become-PRF.3SM IPFV-speak.3SM like this

The situation in (79) is similar to the situation in Italian, analysed in terms of a cartographic left-periphery in Rizzi (1997), where the interrogative operator is situated in SpecFocP which is lower than TopP. If wh-movement is to a position in the left-periphery, higher than Fin, then (79a) shows that there is a SpecTop position even higher. Thus far, we have pointed-out that the left-dislocated position in TA is a topic position.³⁵

Ultimately, although mood speech acts particles might occur in TA higher than topic elements, they are not counterexamples to the postulation of TopP per se, for two main reasons. Before outlining these reasons, consider the distribution of the mood particle *ti*: ‘then/again’ in (80) (see also (11) in subsection 2.3.2.4).

(80) a. le-wled HUUWA ʃa:d mʃa:-
 PRT the-boy he PRT go-PRF.3SM
 “Come on, THE BOY already went.”

b. le-wled ti: HUUWA ʃa:d mʃa:-
 the-boy PRT he PRT go-PRF.3SM
 “Come on, THE BOY already went.”

c. ti: le-wled ʃa:d HUUWA mʃa:-
 PRT the-boy PRT he go-PRF.3SM
 “Come on, THE BOY already went.”

³⁵ Note that in the light of (i), the order in the left-periphery is given in (ii),

(i) le-wled, ʃa:d men waqt-a:ʃ wall-a yet-kallem hakka ?
 the-boy PRT from time-Q become-PRF.3SM IPFV-speak.3SM like this
 “Since when has the boy been talking like this?”

(ii) [Top [(ʃa:d) [Wh [Fin...]]]]

Recall that we described mood particles like *ti*: ‘then/again’ in subsection 2.5.1 to resume and recover the topic referent from a previous utterance to an undergoing one, hence the term topic-recovery speech acts adverbial particles. This implies that they cannot correlate with focus elements as in (81).

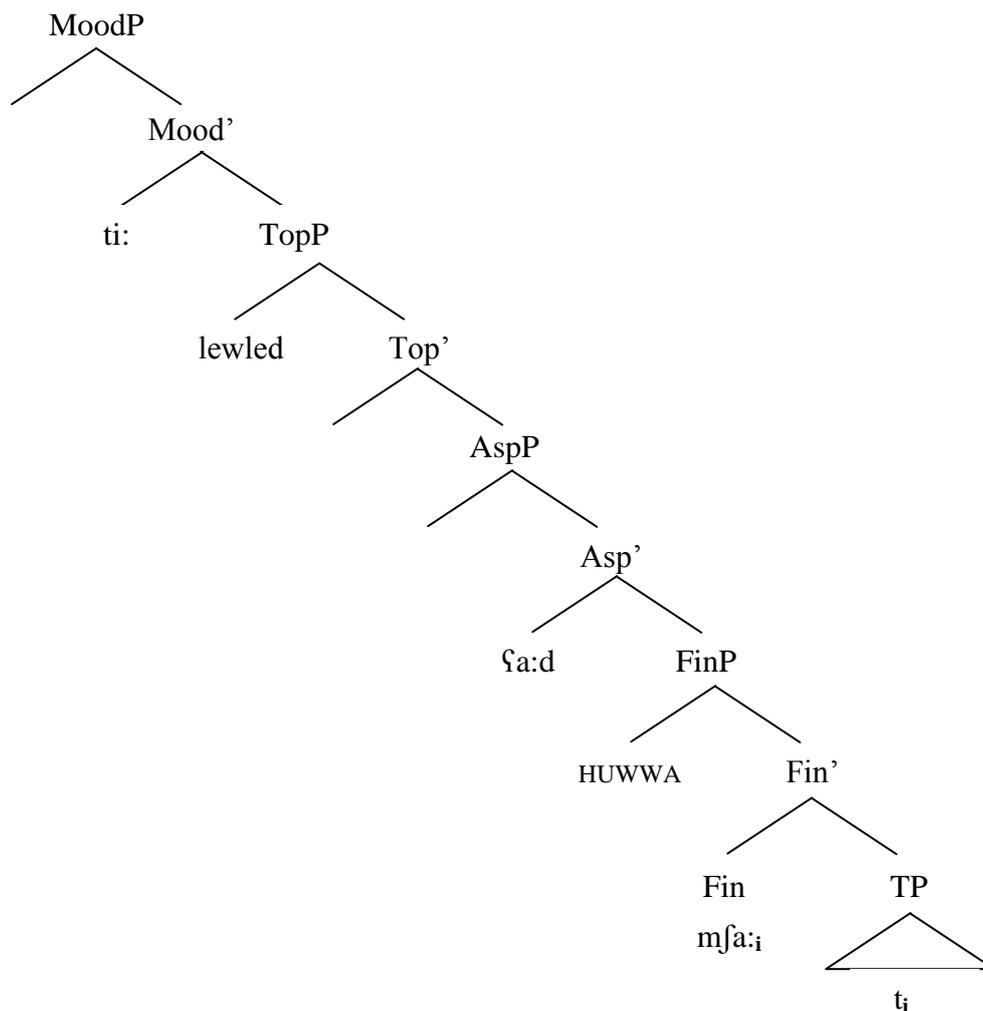
(81) a. ? *ti*: *LE-WLED* huwwa *ʕa:d* *elli*: *mʕa-* l- el-masraḥ, *muʕ* e-*ṭṭufla*
 PRT the-boy COP_{3S} PRT that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

“Intended: Come on, *THE BOY* was the one who went, but not the girl.”

b. * *LE-WLED* *ti*: huwwa *ʕa:d* *elli*: *mʕa-* l- el-masraḥ, *muʕ* e-*ṭṭufla*
 the-boy PRT COP_{3S} PRT that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl

Second, the mood adverbial particle *ti*: ‘then/again’ (and the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’) in TA, as I have pointed out above with respect to (73), observe a somewhat free distribution, thereby, they can occur higher than TopP, in MoodP, more precisely. For instance, see the representation of (80c) (= (5) in (82) (= (6)).

(82)



Visibly, the free distribution of the mood speech acts adverbial particles and aspectual particles like *ʒa:d* ‘already’ shown in (82) is no different from (73). As in (82), they can split the NP-H pair as well as they could be higher than the NP-H pair as in the case of (80a) (= (56) in chapter two). A similar claim has been made in subsection 3.2.2 where I argued against the constituent analysis of the NP-H pair. There, it was also postulated that mood speech acts adverbial particles like *ra:* ‘look/I see’ and aspectual particles like *ʒa:d* ‘already’ can intervene between TopP and FinP showing that although the members of the NP-H pair are base-generated as a single constituent within a SC, they derive as distinct constituents in SpecTopP and SpecFinP, respectively.

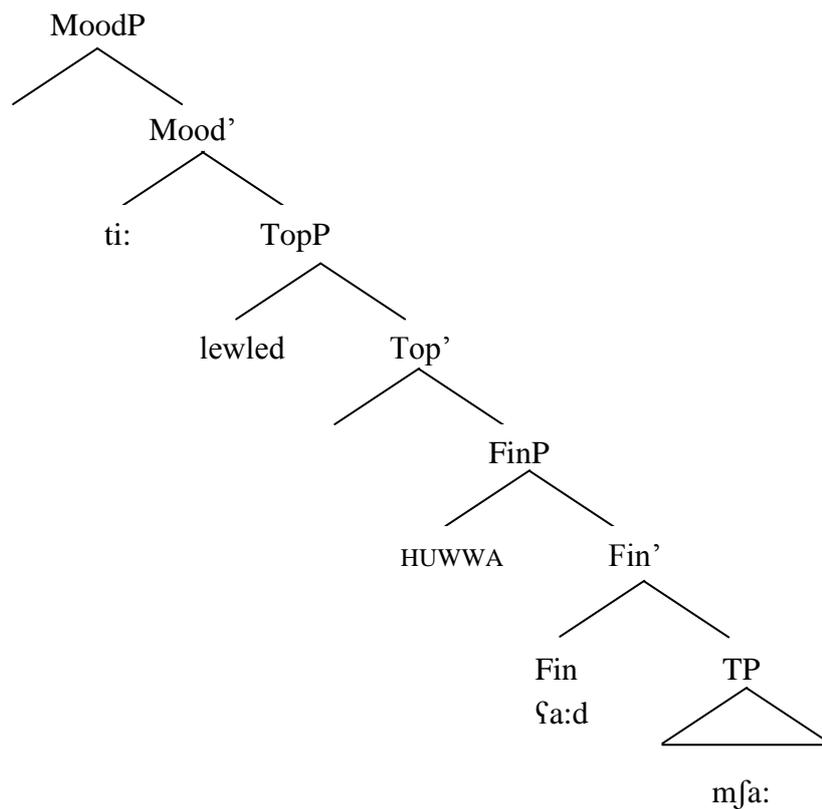
The distribution of the aspectual particle *ʒa:d* ‘already’ with respect to the verb in (80) can be analysed as follows. In (80a) and (80b), the verb does not move to Fin as Fin is occupied by the aspectual particle *ʒa:d* ‘already’. This, I claim to be an argument supporting the postulation of FinP in TA, as I will clarify in (83) below. This does not mean that Fin will

keep its [uFin] unvalued. Given locality, [uFin] gets valued by the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’ instead of the verb.

In sum, I have shown that we can postulate a TopP position in TA as in (73) instead of assuming that there is one neutral preverbal position that can be interpreted as either topic or focus. Indeed, it has been made clear that in TA a topic position is the position that hosts definite constituents and rejects focused ones. It has also been shown that from such a topic position, the topic in TA can be resumed in dislocation cases by a resumptive pronoun in the predicate. Additionally, the question operator diagnostic has shown that there are at least two preverbal positions, one topic position and one wh-position. Finally, the placement of speech acts mood adverbial particles in TA has been in keeping with the postulation of TopP in TA.

As for the projection of FinP, I have assumed in subsection 3.2.1 as a theoretical preliminary that the postulation of FinP is based on the fact that Fin is provided by UG. It is still possible --though -- to argue in favour of FinP in (73) on the basis of the behaviour of the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’ as in (80) as represented by (82). For instance, we have suggested that the verb in (80a) and (80b), unlike (80c), is blocked from movement higher than T because of the existence of the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’. What this implies is that in both cases there exists a head position higher than T to which the verb could have moved but was not allowed for some reason. This head is Fin. Then, the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’ fills in Fin and therefore blocks the movement of the verb to Fin as it is the case in (80c) shown in (82). As such, Fin does not get valued by the movement of the verb, but, instead, by the aspectual particle *ʕa:d* ‘already’, in view of locality considerations. This is illustrated in (83).

(83)



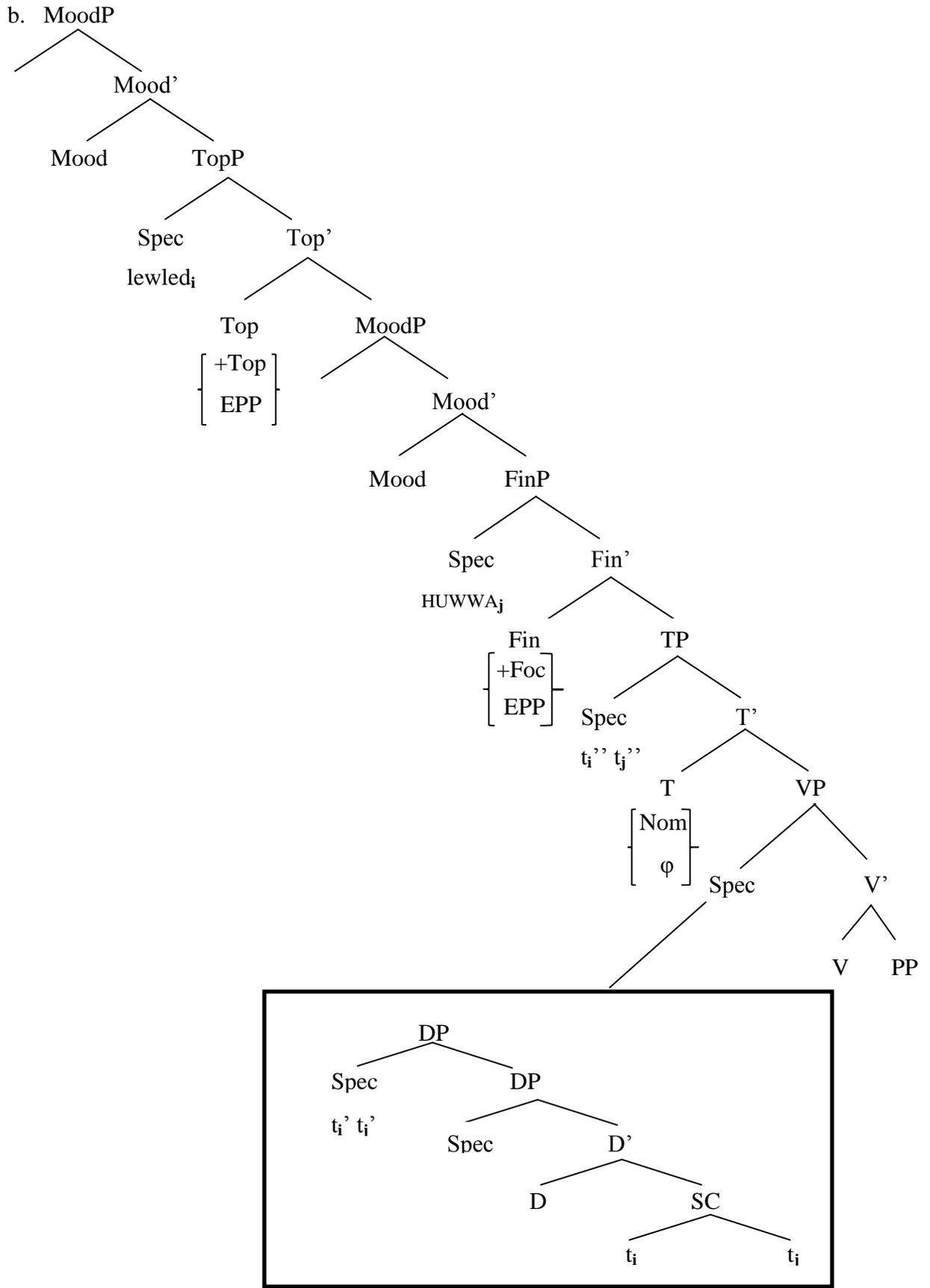
Also, we might in the light of (83) consider the possibility that this head that is higher than T is not necessarily Fin as it could be a focus head, Foc, which is higher than T and lower than Top, following Rizzi's (1997) cartographic approach. But, there is also reason to take it as a Fin head bearing a [Foc] feature as Fin is also higher than T and lower than Top. Accordingly, SpecFinP will be discussed in the next subsection to host the focused doubling H-form that will value [uFoc] of Fin.

3.5.3. The derivation of the contrastive topic subject-doubling version of the NP-H pair

Based on (73), and in view of the discussion in subsection 3.5.2 as to the existence in TA of TopP and FinP, I move on in what follows to derive the two opposite constructions of the NP-H pair. The contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair will be the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure where EPP is in Top and Fin. The contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling subject NP-H pair focus will be result of the spell-out of a [-Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure where EPP is in [Fin] only. The derived NP-H pair will stand for the MSC articulating topic and focus in SpecTopP and SpecFinP, respectively.

I consider first contrastive topic subject doubling as, for example, in (84a) (= (70a)) and its derivation according to (84b).

- (84) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa- : l- el-masrah, muʃ e-ʦufla
the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”



Recall that in (73) Top seeks the valuation of its [uTop] and [uEPP] features. Likewise, Fin looks for the valuation of its [uFoc] and [uFin] and [uEPP] features. T has valued [Case] and unvalued [u ϕ] features. Indeed, as I have stated in the structural preliminaries in subsection 3.5.2 that according to (73), the feature values of Top and Fin in TA are either [+Top] or [-Top] for Top; and [+Foc] or [-Foc] for Fin. Top becomes [+Top] only if there is a matching VP-internal [+Top]-marked constituent that EPP forces to move to SpecTop. Similarly, Fin becomes [+Fin] when it finds a [+Foc]-marked VP-internal constituent. If not, its value is [-Foc].

Also remember that this feature-valuation system in TA has been shown to account for the derivation and spell-out of a number of constructions such as in (74), (76a), (77a) shown again in (85), respectively.

(85) a. le-wled mja -: l- el-masrah

“The boy went to the theatre.”

b. \emptyset mja-: l- el-masrah

“He went to the theatre.”

c. mja -: le-wled l- el-masrah

“The boy went to the theatre.”

For instance, our analysis of (85a) has shown that the whole construction is the consequence of a [+Top]-marked Top and a [-Foc]-marked Fin structure postulating that EPP is in Top. The derivation of (85a) has resulted in an unmarked SVO sentence with an aboutness topic interpretation of the subject as the result of valuing Top [+Top] and valuing Fin [-Foc].

Being a marked structure, given its two subject constituents, the derivation of (84a) will, however, spell-out a different structure from that of (85a). Before exploring the spell-out properties of (84a) according to (84b), it is worth noting that the derivation occurs in two parts: within the big DP and then after the elements of the big DP split, creating the contrastive topic subject NP-H doubling pair.

First, we consider the derivation of the NP-H pair internal to the big DP. Notice that the big DP structure according to (50) above is tagged to the bottom of (84b) as the base-generated structure of the DP in SpecVP, where the NP-H pair in TA is initially merged from the lexicon. This big DP, as is assumed in section 3.3, to bear one and only theta role and one and only

Case. Moreover, I have shown that the H-form predicate of the SC copies the valued [Number] and [Gender] features of the lexical subject of the SC in order to value its [uNumber] and [uGender] features.

According to (84b), the subject and the predicate of the SC make-up a constituent in SpecVP but not in their derived positions where the two nominal split for interpretive reasons. This is based on our assumption that the NP and the H-form are base-generated as a single constituent, and move as a constituent to SpecTP, but split when they move higher (subsection 3.2.2), i.e. to SpecTopP and SpecFinP. This big DP is originally assumed to be one subject that is specified as a [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked constituent corresponding to the aboutness topic NP part of the doublet and the tonic (focus) doubling H-form part, respectively. The derivation of the NP and H-form will be discussed to be the same as the derivation of the H and NP of the H-NP sequence that we investigate in chapter four, except that the H-NP pair will be, instead, specified as a [+Foc]-marked constituent. Both NP-H sequences of the NP-H pair have the same underlying SC structure with the NP the subject and the H-form the predicate and both employ the same derived positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP.

As for the internal structure of this big DP, it is a controversial issue. I will assume a version of Uriagereka 1995b, 1998). The details of the derivation of the sentence with subject doubling from the underlying structure with a big DP containing a small clause are likewise controversial. I assume that the big DP both members of the SC in (84b) adjoin to SpecDP, prior to moving to SpecTopP and SpecFinP. Such a movement is theoretically motivated: Locality dictates that they need to first move to the edge of the big DP, to be accessible for probing from outside the DP. This is reminiscent of Uriagereka's (1995b, 1998) original argument as to the nature of the big DP. For Uriagereka (1995b, 1998), the existence of functional layers above the SC layer is explained by the need of the subject and predicate generated in the small clause to move higher in the big DP structure. What the intermediate structure, i.e., SpecDP, remains, nonetheless, unclear. In the absence of a more justifiable intermediate structure to which the doubles of the small clause move in (84b), I will keep adhering to Uriagereka's (1995b, 1998) main proposal as to the internal structure of the big DP. What should be of more importance to us all and regardless the somehow stipulative nature of applying Uriagereka's (1995b, 1998) is that the big DP -- though made of two doubles -- is one argument with one theta role, one Case and is marked [\pm Top, \pm Foc]. I assume that when adjoined to SpecDP, both doubles will be able to share the topic and focus features of the big DP in order to be probed, as the derivation proceeds, by the EPP features of [uTop] and [uFin].

It is in this respect, as we shall next see, the two nominal parts are one syntactic object but end up splitting into two syntactic objects.

Second, we examine the derivation of the NP-H pair from outside of the big DP. Because T in (84b) has unvalued ϕ -features, it probes for their valuation on the valued ones of the NP-H pair. T's ϕ -features and Case features get valued by the ϕ -features and Case features of the big DP, triggering, like any other subject DP, the movement of the big DP subject, to SpecTP. Note that the indices in (84b) are not referential indices, but merely a convention to keep track of the movement.

The derivation goes on in order to value the unvalued features on Top and Fin. According to (84b), Top probes for the valuation of its [uTop] feature in addition to its [uEPP] feature and Fin probes for valuation of its [uFoc] feature. We have a situation with two features, both of them EPP-marked, targeting the same constituent, the big DP. The solution in TA is to split the DP: One part (the substantive, referential part) moves to SpecTopP, while the formal part (the H-pronoun) moves to SpecFinP. Only then Top becomes [+Top]-marked and the EPP feature associated with Top gets valued. Derived there, the doubled NP of the NP-H pair is interpreted as an aboutness topic. From SpecFinP, the tonic doubling H-form doubles and at the same time contrasts the aboutness topic NP double already derived in SpecTopP. Therefore, the contrastive topic interpretation of the NP-H pair that we have assumed following Krifka (2007) is the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure where an aboutness topic is doubled, focused and contrasted as it is the case in (84b) illustrating the derivation of (84a). It is only by then that the big DP subject splits up giving rise to a MSC.

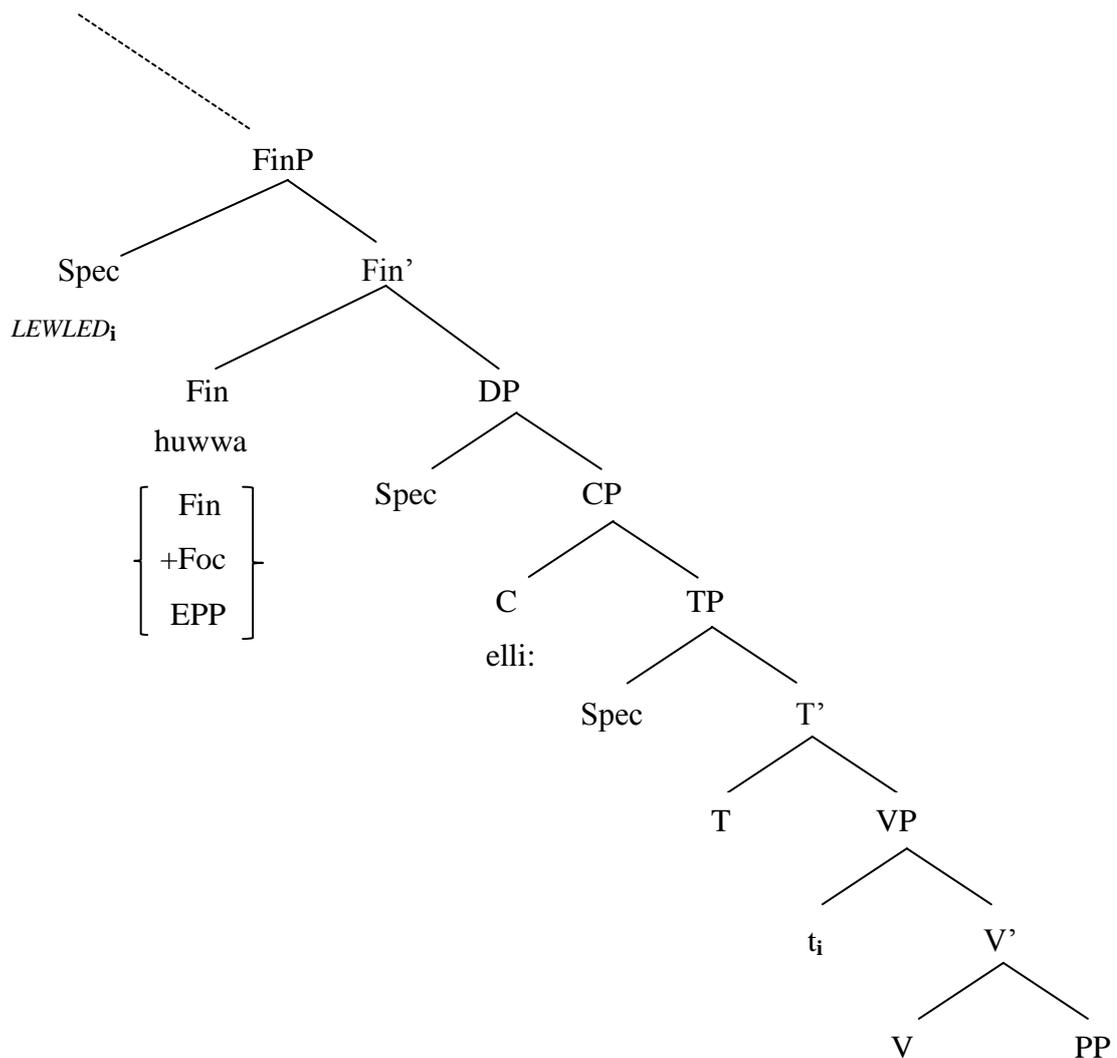
Summarising, the position hosting the aboutness topic part of the subject doubling construction is SpecTopP, while the position hosting the focused part of the subject doubling construction is SpecFinP. In this way, the two positions make-up the MSC in TA. It is also in this way the subject in TA is the highest argument in the clause structure, given our definition of subjecthood in TA in 3.2.3. This will again be confirmed when we deal in chapter four with the other marked subject case, i.e., subject doubling H-NP sequence.

3.5.4. The derivation of the cleft version of the NP-H pair: a non-doubling construction

I carry-on in this section the derivation of the NP-H pair in TA, but concentrating on the derivation of its cleft version, given the general schema in (73). I will argue that the derivation of the cleft NP-H pair as in (86a) (= (71)) according to (86b) results in a non-doubling cleft NP-H pair conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus, instead of the contrastive topic of the subject doubling NP-H pair. Unlike the contrastive topic NP-H pair doublet, the cleft sequence of the NP-H pair employs a non-doubling, non-tonic nominal copula H-form and results from the spell-out of a [-Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. Notice that in (86a), I gloss the H-form as *COP_{3S}*, instead of *he* as in the previous cases.

- (86) a. *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: mja: l- el-masrah, muʃ e-ʃtufla
 the-boy COP_{3S} that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY was the one who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

b.



Prior to accounting for (86b), a brief description of the properties of the components of the cleft NP-H pair is worth taking up. In particular, I will be considering their feature composition. First, their agreement properties are not different from the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair counterpart, as it has been shown in section 3.3 above. Like the doubling H-form, the copular H-form of the cleft NP-H pair agrees with the NP part in number and grammatical gender, but not in person as it is inherently third person. This is illustrated in the paradigms in (87), (88) and (89).

There is full number and gender agreement between the NP and the copular H-form when the NP is third person as in (87).

- (87) a. *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: ja-:
 the boy.3SM COP_{3SM} that come-PRF.3SM
 “*THE BOY* was the one who came.”
- b.* *LE-WLA:D* huwwa elli: ja-:w
 the-boys.3PM COP_{3SM} that come-PRF.3P
- c. *LE-WLA:D* huma: elli: ja-:w
 the-boys.3PM COP_{3PM} that come-PER.3P
 “*THE BOYS* were the ones who came.”
- d. *LE-BNA:T* huma elli: ja-:w
 the-girls.3PF COP_{3PF} that come-PRF.3P
 “The girls were the ones who came.”
- e.* *LE-WLED* hiyya elli: ja-:
 the boy.3SM COP_{3SF} that come-PRF.3SM

The contrast between (87a) and (87b) shows that the H-form agrees with the NP in number. Agreement in number also obtains in (87c) and (87d) between the NP and the H-form, but agreement in gender is neutral as always with plural nouns. The contrast between (87a) and (87d) shows agreement in gender between the NP and the H-form.

Like the doubling H-form, the copular H-form does not agree in person with the pronominal NP as is illustrated in (88) where only number agreement is observed. As we concluded for the doubling H-form, the copular H-form is inherently third person and does not agree in person with the second person pronominal NP.

(88) 'INTI huwwa elli ji:-t
 you.2SM COP_{3SM} that come-PRF.3SM
 “YOU were the one who came.”

Similarly with the doubling NP-H pair, only grammatical gender is possible internal to the non-doubling cleft NP-H pair, given the lack of semantic gender agreement in TA. In (89), the pronominal NP 'INTI 'YOU' can stand for male or female referents as shown by the postverbal NPs *eḥba:b* 'young boy' and *lella* 'lady' in (89a) and (89b), respectively.

(89) a. 'INTI huwwa elli: ji:-t si: e-ḥba:b
 you.2SM COP_{3SM} that come-PRF.3SM mr. the-young boy
 “YOU, young boy, were the one who came.”
 b. 'INTI huwwa elli: ji:-t lella
 you.2SF COP_{3SM} that come-PRF.3SM lady
 “YOU, lady, were the one who came.”

Therefore, the agreement properties of the cleft H-form in (86a) are similar to those of H-form in the doubling NP-H form. Yet, the former is a copular H-form while the latter is a doubling H-form. Such distinction between H-form types has been described in chapter two to underlie the distinction between a subject-doubling NP-H pair conveying contrastive topic vs. a similar NP-H sequence of the NP-H pair that conveys a contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling subject focus. I will now turn to illustrate this distinction structurally in view of the derivation of (86a) according to the structure in (86b).

First, consider the position of the copular H-form in (86b). The H-form is a copular head and, unlike the doubling H-form in the NP-H pair doublet, does not originate from a SC. I assume that the copular H-form ends in Fin to value [uFin] feature of Fin. In this respect, the nominal copular H-form in (86a) behaves like a verb, as the pair of sentences illustrates in (90).

(90) a. *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: tkallam
 the-boy COP_{3S} that speak-PRF.3SM
 “THE BOY was the one who spoke.”

b. *LE-WLED* *ɟkar* *elli: tkallam*
 the-boy thank.PRF.3SM that speak.PRF.3SM
 “*THE BOY* thanked the one who spoke.”

The nominal copula in (90a) behaves like the verbal copula, BE, being in a position predicating the subject to the relative clause complement. The fact that it behaves like a verb is enough reason, then, to analyse the H-form as a head.

Second, showing that the H-form is a copular head entails that there is no doubling, compared to the other similar sequence of the NP-H pair conveying contrastive topic subject doubling. Instead, the NP part of the NP-H pair in (86a) is non-doubled subject NP. According to (86b), the [uFoc]-marked Fin probes for the valuation of its [uFoc] and the [uEPP] associated with [uFoc] of Fin. Given that the NP part of the non-doubling NP-H pair is [+Foc]-marked, it is a matching goal for the probe of Fin. [uEPP] triggers the movement of the NP focus *LEWLED* ‘*THE BOY*’ to SpecFinP, which turns Fin into [+Foc] by virtue of valuing its [uFoc] and [EPP] features. As for Top, it is [-Top] as there is no [+Top]-marked constituent to value the [uTop] of Top, which implies that there is no EPP associated with Top in such a case. Accordingly, the contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling subject focus in (86a) is the result of spelling-out a [-Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. In this structure, unlike, in the case of the contrastive topic subject doubling as in (84a), it has been visible that EPP is only associated with one head, Fin, here.

After dealing with the derivation of both ambivalent NP-H sequences of the NP-H pair, i.e., the contrastive topic subject doubling and the contrastive/exhaustive non-subject doubling focus, it now stands to reason to explain in a principle-based way such ambivalence. I have argued that the two constructions are the result of the spell-out of distinct structures that behave differently with regard to EPP. On the one hand, the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H sequence of the NP-H pair is spelled-out after a [+Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin with EPP paired with two heads: Top and Fin. On the other hand, the contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling subject focus has been shown to result from the spell-out of a [-Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin with EPP in Fin. This analysis is also suitable to distinguish in TA between the doubling nature of the H-form in subject doubling vs. the copular H-form in non-subject doubling. That is to say, the subject doubling sequence as the marked case is a MSC in TA, whereas the non-subject doubling cleft construction has a single subject, and in this sense represents the unmarked SVO situation.

Therefore, it has also been possible, in addition to deriving these ambivalent NP-H sequences, to account for the derivation of other constructions in view of their spell-out conditions. The effect of this will be to help distinguish the marked subject doubling cases such as the contrastive subject doubling NP-H pair in this chapter and thethetic subject doubling H-NP pair in chapter four from unmarked non-doubling constructions. It is also pertinent to the study of the behaviour of the EPP building on marked vs. unmarked constructions in TA. By way of summary, the constructions we have been studying are illustrated again in (91).

- (91) a. le-wled mfa -: l- el-masrah
the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
“The boy went to the theatre.”
- b. Ø mfa: l- el-masrah
pro go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
“He went to the theatre.”
- c. mfa -: le-wled l- el-masrah
go-PRF.3SM the-boy to-the-theatre
“The boy went to the theatre.”
- d. le-wled HUWWA mfa- : l- el-masrah, muƒ e-ṭṭufla
the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”
- e. LE-WLED huwwa elli: mfa: l- el-masrah, muƒ e-ṭṭufla
the-boy COP_{3S} that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“THE BOY was the one who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

These constructions in (91) have all been argued to be the result of the spell-out of various structures that correspond to (73) and the feature content of its Top and Fin categories. For instance, it has been shown that (91a) (= (74)) has been the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and [-Foc]-marked Fin structure conveying an aboutness topic in an unmarked SVO construction with EPP located in Top. (91b) (= (76a)) has been analysed as the consequence of spelling-out a [+Top]-marked Top and [-Foc]-marked Fin structure where a null subject *pro* fills in SpecTop and EPP is in Top. This has been argued to spell-out the null-subject construction in TA as another case of the unmarked SVO. (91c) (= (77a)) has been

examined to be the consequence of a [-Top]-marked Top and a [-Foc]-marked Fin structure that accounts for the unmarked VSO constructions in TA with no EPP in either Top or Fin. (91d) (= (84a)) has been studied as the marked case of subject constructions, compared to (91a), (91b), (91c) and (91e). This construction includes two subjects in a subject-doubling construction that has been claimed to instantiate a MSC in TA. It has been shown that it is the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin structure where EPP is coupled with both Top and Fin. In this respect, its spell-out properties are different from (91a), (91b) and (91c). Its very spell-out properties distinguish it from (91e) (= (86a)), its non-doubling counterpart, that arises from the spell-out of a [-Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin structure where EPP is located in Fin. The various spell-out properties and the resulting structures are summarised in the following table.

Table 7.1.: The Spell-out properties of unmarked and marked subject constructions in TA³⁶

	[+Top] [-Foc] EPP	[+Top] [+Foc] EPP EPP	[-Top] [+Foc] EPP	[-Top] [-Foc]
Unmarked SVO (aboutness topic subject)	(91a)			
Unmarked SVO (null subject)	(91b)			
Unmarked VSO				(91c)
Marked SVO (contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair)		(91d)		
Unmarked SVO (non-subject doubling NP-H pair)			(91e)	

3.5.5. The NP-H MSC compared and the SpecFinP parameter

The purpose of this subsection is to test-out the plausibility of the NP-H subject doubling pair as a MSC (the NP-H MSC) in TA and to elaborate the SpecFinP parameter that will be argued to make the NP-H MSC (and the H-NP MSC in chapter four) possible in TA. This endeavour is based on comparison of the NP-H MSC in TA with crosslinguistic MSCs in the literature. In particular, the parametric variation will concentrate on comparing the NP-H

³⁶ I number it table 7.1 because it is lacking the H-NP construction that will be added in table 7.2 in chapter four.

MSC in TA to the MSC realised in MSA/CA by the Broad subject construction, following Doron and Heycock (1999), leaving the comparison with the other MSCs to chapter four. It will also examine how a non-MSC language such as English conveys contrastive topic in the absence of the TA's NP-H MSC. The structures and the spell-out properties of the various MSCs and non-MSCs will be formulated as following from some choices within the SpecFinP parameter.

3.5.5.1. *The MSCs once more: a reminder of structures and properties*

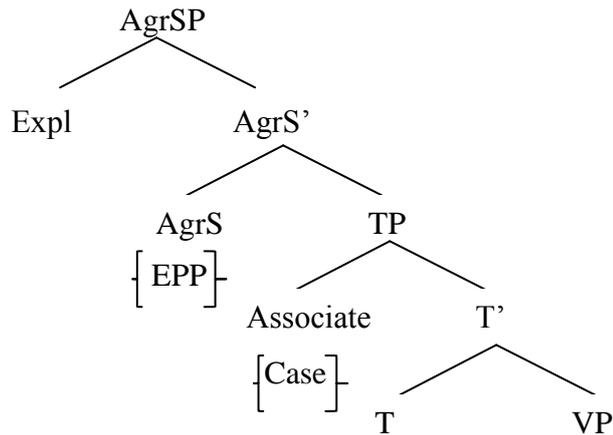
Here is a brief reminder from subsection 3.2.4 of the properties and structures of the MSCs in Icelandic, Finnish, and MSA/CA. The comparison in this chapter will mainly be between the MSC illustrated by the NP-H doubling pair and the one posited for MSA/CA by Doron and Heycock (1999). It then includes English as a non-MSC language.

Icelandic displays constructions including multiple subjects. This is the case of the TEC as in (92) (= (14)) (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996: 196).

- (92) Það borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun.
 there (EXPL) ate probably many Christmas.trolls the.sausages
 “Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages.”

(96) is the marked sentence structure in Icelandic (compared to the unmarked structure of single-subject sentences) where two subjects are spelt-out: the expletive subject *Það* ‘there’ and the lexical subject *margir jólasveinar* ‘many Christmas trolls’. In terms of clause structure, Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) argue that the two subjects occupy two VP-external positions: SpecTP and SpecAgrP. The derivation of (92) results in locating the lexical subject in SpecTP and merging the expletive subject in SpecAgrSP as shown in (93).

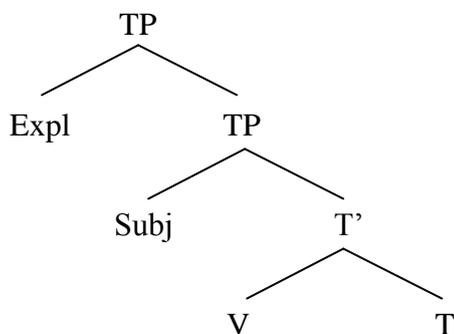
(93)



According to Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), SpecTP is the Nominative case and focus position of the lexical subject, whereas SpecAgrSP is the A'- and EPP position that is filled in by the expletive in marked structures such as in (93), or by the lexical subject in unmarked structures.

Contra Bobaljik and Jonas's (1996) structure, Chomsky (1995: chap.4) postulates a different structure from (93). Chomsky (1995: 356-357) posits that MSCs are the result of merging two specifiers of the same head T, hence the multiple specifier analysis. This is taken as the standard representation of a MSC as in (94) (= (16)).

(94)

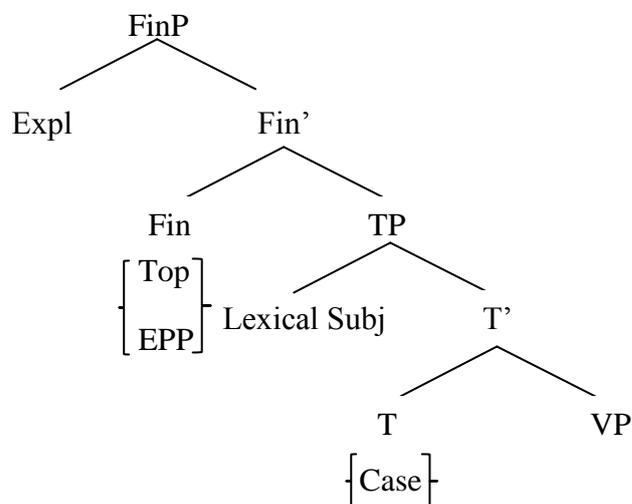


The structure (94) does not derive the exact word order facts in Icelandic as in (92), for instance, where a head filled by V intervenes between the multiple subjects as shown in (93).

Likewise, Finnish is also known to contradict (94). Let us first review the properties of the MSC in Finnish. Finnish displays, as a marked structure, two subjects instead of one, following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008). In Finnish, the MSC corresponds to constructions including an expletive in a higher subject position and a lexical subject in a lower position as in (95) (= (17)) (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002: 72).

(95) Sitä ovat nämä lapset jo oppineet uimaan.
 EXPL have these children already learned to.swim
 “These children have already learned to swim.”

(96)



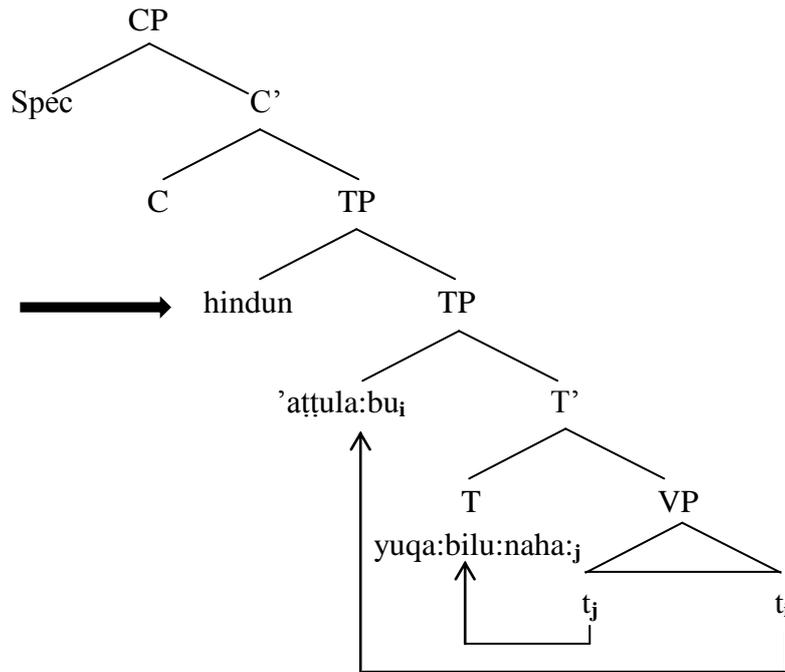
Based on (96), we can easily see in what way the Finnish MSC contradicts Chomsky’s (1995: chap.4) standard structure in (94). The MSC in Finnish makes use of two different specified heads the higher of which hosts V as in (96).

There is, however, a double subject construction that conforms with (94). It is the Broad subject construction in Semitic, following Doron and Heycock (1999) as in (97) (= (20a)).

(97) hind- un ’aṭ-ṭula: b- u yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:
 hind(F)-NOM the-students(M)-NOM IPFV-meet-3PM-her
 “The students are meeting Hind.”
 “Literally: Hind, the students are meeting her.”

Doron and Heycock (1999) argue that in (97) *hindun* ‘Hind’ is an extra clausal-initial non-thematic DP subject that they label Broad subject. The second subject, *’aṭṭula:bu* ‘the students’, is the thematic subject that they label the Narrow subject. The two subjects occupy two A-positions as in (98) (= (20b)), modelled on (94).

(98)

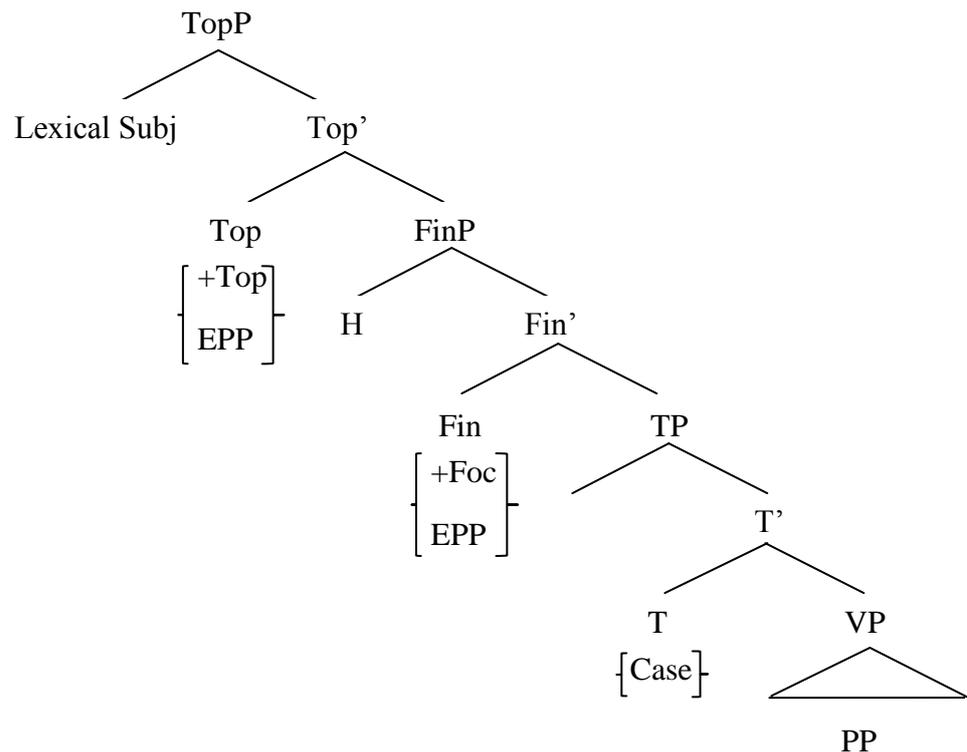


As discussed in section 3.2.4.3, given locality of agreement checking, the Narrow subject in the low position agrees with the verb and blocks the Broad subject from agreeing with the verb. The Broad subject is the result of Merge in the higher SpecTP (as the arrow indicates). Doron and Heycock (1999) remain inconclusive as to where to satisfy the EPP, but it should be the lower SpecTP knowing that they follow Chomsky’s (1995: 356-357) MSC structure in (94). In terms of interpretive effects, Doron and Heycock (1999) assume that both the Broad as well as the Narrow subject can be topic or focus.

The plausibility of the NP-H MSC in TA will be tested-out by comparing it to the MSC in MSA/CA. The NP-H MSC as in (99a) (= (84a)) has been discussed to derive according to the structure in (84b), which I partially repeat in (99b).

- (99) a. le-wled HUWWA mja- : l-el-masrah, muḡ e-ṭṭufla
the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b.



The MSC account of the subject doubling NP-H in (99a) has been based on the structure that TA derives subject doubling in SpecTopP and SpecFinP as in (99b). There, the higher TopP is the topic and EPP position hosting the lexical subject, but also the expletive H-form subject inthetic constructions, as we shall see in chapter four. The lower FinP is the focus and also EPP position while the TP position in TA is the Nominative case position.

It will be shown that the spell-out of (99a) according to (99b) is the result of a parametric choice that TA makes with respect to the SpecFinP parameter. The precise formulation of this parameter will be discussed in section 3.5.5.4, below.

3.5.5.2. *The MSC of subject doubling in TA vs. the MSC of Broad subject constructions in MSA/CA*

In this subsection, I will compare the NP-H MSC in TA to the MSC realised in MSA/CA by the Broad subject construction, hence the Broad subject-MSC. I will in particular claim that while TA can exhibit a similar Broad subject-MSC, MSA/CA cannot have the NP-H MSC. This distinction will be first shown to correspond to distinct options each language has despite that both languages observe the same structure, [TopP Top [FinP Fin...]]. It will be argued that MSA/CA, unlike TA, lacks the doubling H-form required for the NP-H MSC. Second, it will be claimed that this distinction does not prevent TA and MSA/CA, regardless of the MSC type, to opt for the same option within the SpecFinP parameter.

To begin with, we enumerate the properties of the Broad subject construction, following Doron and Heycock (1999) and consider the arguments supporting the Broad subject construction as a MSC in MSA/CA.

Consider first the properties of the Broad subject constituent, as the initial non-thematic phrase that gives the name to the whole construction as in (100a) (= (97)) and (100b) (= (23)), according to Doron and Heycock (1999: 70). Then, view its properties in relation to the second Nominative subject, the thematic Narrow subject.

(100) a. hind- un 'aṭ-ṭula: b- u yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:

“The students are meeting Hind.”

“Literally: Hind, the students are meeting her.”

b. 'al- bay- tu 'alwa:n-u- hu za:hiyat-un

the-house-NOM colours-NOM-its bright-NOM

“The house has bright colours.”

“Literally: The house, its colours are bright.”

Being non-thematic as in (100) does not mean this initial phrase is not associated with subjecthood. On the contrary, its sensitivity to Case-marking as in (101a) and quantification as in (101b) makes the Broad subject similar to the single thematic subject of the unmarked sentence in Arabic (Doron and Heycock 1999: 72-74).

(101) a. ḍanan-tu hind-an yu-qa: bil-u-ha: 'aṭ-ṭula: b-u

think-PRF.1S Hind-ACC IPFV-meet-3M-her the-students-NOM

“I thought Hind to have been met by the students.”

b. kull- u 'insa:n-in tu-ḥibb-u- hu 'umm-u-hu

every-NOM man-GEN IPFV-love-3F-him mother-NOM-his

“Everyone’s mother loves him.”

“Literally: Everyone, his mother loves him.”

In (101a), the Broad subject can, like the ordinary thematic subject, be embedded under an Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verb; in (101b), it can also be quantified. The quantification of the Broad subject in (101b) implies that the Broad subject cannot be a topic or a left-dislocated phrase. For instance, the minimal pair in (102a,b) distinguishes between a

grammatical embedded Broad subject construction under an ECM verb and the ungrammatical topicalisation of the same embedded construction as in (102b). Opposite to (102b), the matrix grammatical topicalisation in (102c) is accepted (Doron and Heycock 1999: 72).

(102) a. *ḍanan-tu hind-an yu-qa:bil-u-ha: ’aṭ-ṭula: b-u*
 think-PRF.1S Hind-ACC IPFV-meet-3M-her the-students-NOM

“I thought Hind to have been met by the students.”

b.* *ḍanan-tu hind-an yu-qa:bil-u ’aṭ-ṭula: b-u*
 think-PRF.1S Hind-ACC IPFV-meet-3M the-students-NOM

“I thought Hind to have been met by the students.”

c. *hind-an* *yu-qa:bil-u ’aṭ-ṭula: b-u*
 Hind-ACC IPFV-meet-3M the-students-NOM

“Hind, the students are meeting.”

For Doron and Heycock (1999), the embedding diagnostic shows that topicalisation structures of the Broad subject construction are illicit structures. This is explained by the absence of the clitic resumptive pronoun in (102b), compared to (102a).

Furthermore, Doron and Heycock (1999) dispense with the left-dislocation analysis of the Broad subject construction. According to Doron and Heycock (1999: 75), the anaphoric relation in (103) between *Zaydan* 'Zayd' and the clitic pronoun *hu* 'him' is a relation of obligatory local control rather than an antecedent-resumptive pronoun relation such as the one in left-dislocation structures.

(103) *qa:l-a muḥammad-un ’inna zayd-an qad tajarra’-a ’an yu-qa:bil-a*
 say-PRF.3SM Mohammad-NOM that Zayd-ACC had dare-PRF.3SM to IPFV-meet-3SM
 al-muṣallim-a

the-teacher

“Mohammad said that Zayd had dared to meet the teacher.”

Therefore, the Broad subject cannot be left-dislocated, following Doron and Heycock (1999), in the sense that it should be associated with a fixed topic role, the way left-dislocated elements are.

Until now, the data (100)-(103) has shown that the Broad subject, the non-thematic initial subject phrase of the Broad subject construction, behaves like a thematic subject of the ordinary type. For instance, it can be embedded under an ECM verb, and it can be quantified. It cannot be topicalised and it cannot be left-dislocated. Moreover, Doron and Heycock (1999: 74), referring to similar Japanese Broad subject constructions, argue that those Broad subjects do not necessarily occur in a focus position, so that they cannot always be licensed by focus. They, however, alternate between a topic and a focus role.

Consider now the properties of the Broad subject in comparison with the Narrow subject. According to Doron and Heycock (1999), in (104) (= (100a)), for example, the Narrow subject *'atṭula:bu* 'the students' is the thematic subject, whereas, as I mentioned earlier, *hindun* 'Hind' is the non-thematic Broad subject.

(104) hind- un 'aṭ-ṭula:b-u yu-qa: bil-u:na-ha:

“The students are meeting Hind.”

“Literally: Hind, the students are meeting her.”

Non-thematic is not saying the Broad subject is a non-argument, following Doron and Heycock's (1999) framework. For them, while the Narrow subject in (104) is a subject argument in the normal sense that is predicated by the clause's main individual predicate, the Broad subject becomes a subject argument being predicated by the MSC itself which, following Doron and Heycock (1999), serves as the new complex sentential predicate for the Broad subject. It is in this sense the Broad subject construction is the result of recursive predication.

Moreover, the Broad subject can observe a part-whole relation with the Narrow subject as in (105) (= 100b)) with the Narrow subject, the part, and the Broad subject, the whole.

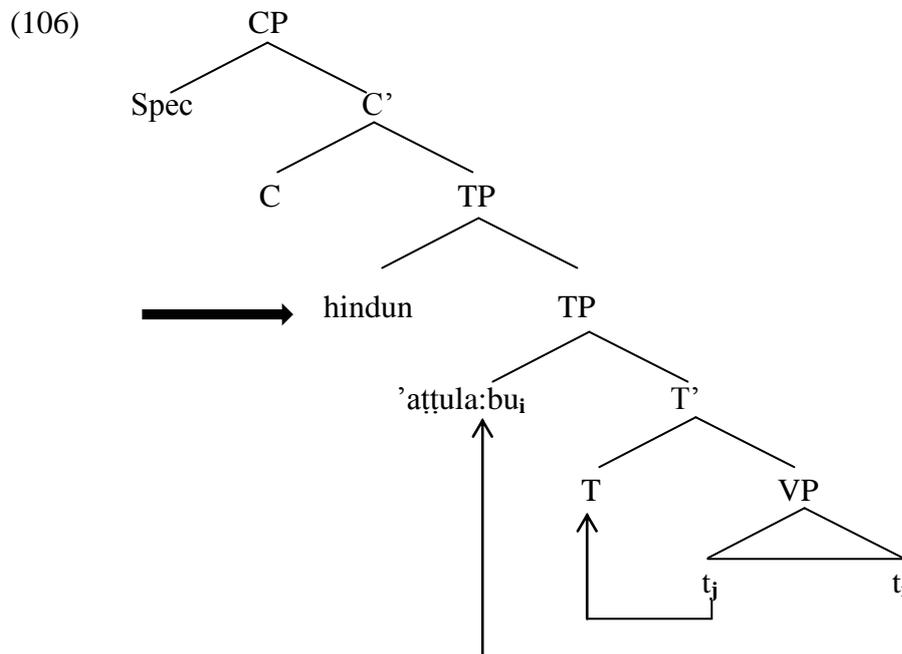
(105) 'al- bayt- u 'alwa:n- u- hu za:hiyat-un

the-house-NOM colours-NOM-its bright-NOM

“Literally: the house, its colours are bright.”

Another crucial criterion in the distinction between the Broad subject and the Narrow subject is the ordering constraint. This constraint requires that the Broad subject must precede the Narrow subject. In terms of structure, the Broad subject should occupy the higher SpecTP position of the MSC while the Narrow subject the lower SpecTP position of the MSC as in

(106) (= (98)). It should be noted that such word order of the two subjects strongly correlates with agreement feature checking and scope.



In terms of feature checking, the Narrow subject in (107a) (= (104)) moves out of its VP-internal subject position as shown in (106) to check the strong number agreement feature in the lower SpecTP in (106). The Broad subject, however, is argued to be the result of external Merge in the higher SpecTP position that is the merger position in the standard MSC structure, following Chomsky (1995: chap.4). Therefore, the Broad subject is not the result of movement from within the VP in (106), which explains the ungrammaticality of (107b), following Doron and Heycock (1999).

(107) a. hind- un 'aṭ-ṭula: b- u yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:

“The students are meeting Hind.”

“Literally: Hind, the students are meeting her.”

b. * 'aṭ-ṭula: b- u hind- un yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:

the-students-NOM Hind-NOM IPFV-meet-3PM-her

Because of island constraints, Doron and Heycock (1999) maintain that the position of the Broad subject is a merger position and not a derived position. Indeed, they claim that if a movement analysis were to motivate a derived position for the Broad subject, it should also, by way of analogy, explain the A-movement of possessor in (108) which displays a case of

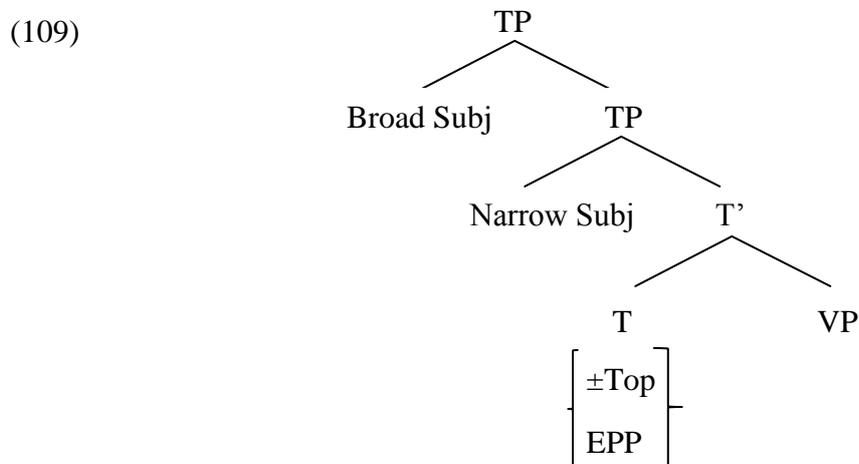
possessor raising moving ‘form out the unmoved (base-generated) object’ Doron and Heycock (1999: 81).

(108) *ayy-u muxrij-in ’ajnabiyy-in la: n-uri:d ’afla:m-a-hu min du:n-i*
 any-NOM director-GEN foreign-GEN not IPFV-show.1P films-ACC-his without
tarjamat-in
 translation-GEN

“No foreign director has films shown by us without subtitles.”

Given that the possessor raising of *ayyu muxrijin ’ajnabiyyin* ‘no foreign director’ in (108) is not a case of movement from the base-generated object *’afla:mahu* ‘his films’, Doron and Heycock (1999) conclude that it must be a case of merging the Broad subject at the higher SpecTP position in (106).

In sum, the description of the Broad subject and the Narrow subject making up the MSC in MSA/CA, following Doron and Heycock (1999), yields the following. The Broad subject cannot be a fixed topic like the left-dislocated topic; it can be focus or topic. It is non-thematic but can, by a special predication mechanism, become a subject argument. It can be quantified and therefore has scope. It occupies a merger position, the higher SpecTP of the MSC, and is never the result of movement from within a VP-internal position. Opposite to that, the Narrow subject is the thematic subject that is base-generated in the VP-internal position from which it moves to the lower SpecTP position for verbal agreement checking purposes. In this respect, the Broad subject realises a MSC that is formalised as in (109) (= (94)) with two dedicated SpecTP positions hosting the Broad and Narrow subjects, respectively.



(109) is the standard MSC structure as in Chomsky (1995: 356-357) where, instead of the expletive as in (94) above, the Broad subject is externally merged, following Doron and Heycock's (1999) analysis of Broad subject constructions. Note that we assume the EPP position is the lower SpecTP where EPP is a condition on T. As for the interpretive features of both subjects, Doron and Heycock (1999) claim that both subjects can either be topic of focus; that is why, T is marked with [+Top] element or [-Top] to mean a focus element.

In order to compare the Broad subject MSC in MSA/CA to TA's NP-H MSC, we need to consider whether the Broad subject construction in MSA/CA is ever possible in TA, so that it can be claimed to be another instance of the MSC, in addition to the NP-H MSC (H-NP MSC in chapter four). Indeed, there exist constructions in TA such as in (111) similar to the Broad subject constructions in MSA/CA, such as those in (110a) (= (104)) and (110b) (= (105)).

(110) a. hind-un 'aṭ-ṭula: b- u yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:

“The students are meeting Hind.”

“Literally: Hind, the students are meeting her.”

b. 'al- bayt- u 'alwa:n- u- hu za:hiyat-un
the-house-NOM colours-NOM-its bright-NOM

“Literally: the house, its colours are bright.”

(111) a. ʕli: e-ṭalaba y- ʃu: f- u: fi:-h

ali the-students IPFV-see-3PM/F in-him

“Literally: Ali, the students are seeing him.”

b. e- dda:r ḥyu: ṭ-ḥa: ʕa:li:-n

the-house walls-its high.3P

“Literally, the house, its walls are high.”

(111) shows, like (110), that TA can exhibit a MSC realised by a species of the Broad subject construction of MSA/CA, following Doron and Heycock (1999). For instance, similar to (110a) in MSA/CA, there is strict verb-subject agreement in (111a), in TA, with the inner NP subject (the Narrow subject) instead of the outer subject (the Broad subject). If agreement and the resulting ordering constraint (Broad subject higher than Narrow subject) as in (111), in TA, are violated, i.e., Broad subject following Narrow subject as in (112b), the sentence is ruled-out, typically like (112a) (= (107b)) in MSA/CA.

- (112) a. * 'aṭ-ṭala: b- u hind- un yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:
 the-students-NOM Hind-NOM IPFV-meet-3PM-her
- b.* e-ṭalaba ṣli: y- ʃu: f- u: fi:-h
 the-students ali IPFV-see-3PM/F in-him

So, if TA realises the MSC phenomenon by the Broad subject construction as in (111), in addition to the NP-H pair we have studied in this chapter, we need to examine in what ways both instances of the MSC in TA are similar and different in terms of structural and interpretive properties. For this purpose, compare (113a) (= (99a)) to (113b) (= (111a)) that now has its topic underlined and its focus with italicised small capitals.

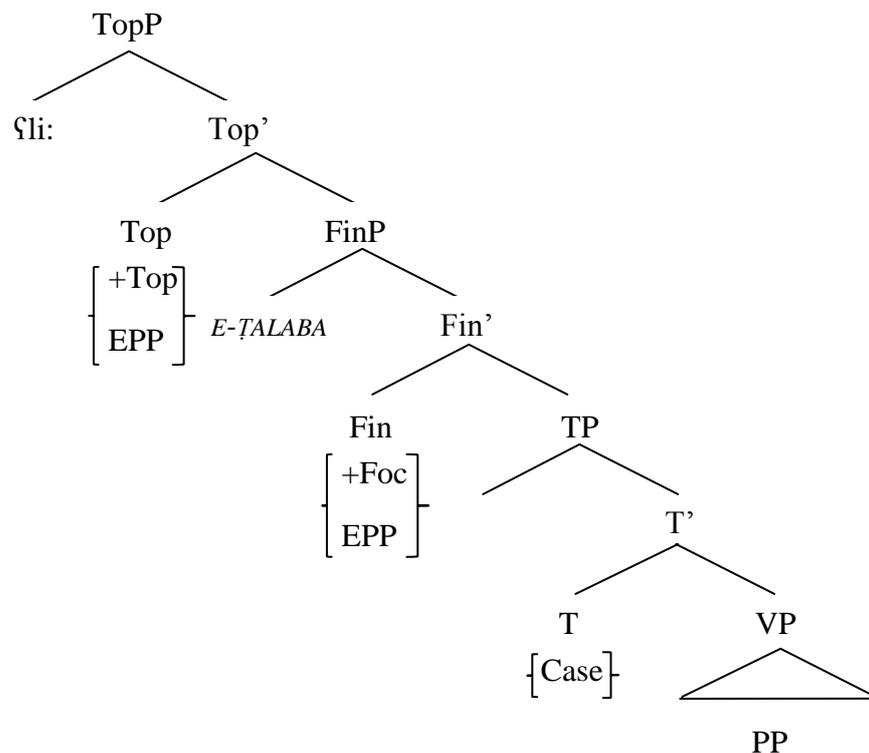
- (113) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa:- l- el-masraḥ, muʃ e-ṭṭufla
 the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”
- b. Ṣli: *E-TALABA* y- ʃu:f- u: fi:-h
 ali the-students see-PRF-3PM/F in-him
 “Literally: Ali, *THE STUDENTS* were seeing him.”

One obvious difference is that subject-verb agreement works differently in (113a) and (113b). As we have seen above, the verb in the TA’s Broad subject construction in (113b) strictly agrees with the inner NP, i.e., the Narrow subject, whereas it does not agree with its counterpart inner subject, the H-form, in the NP-H MSC in (113a). Instead, the verb in (113a) agrees with the outer topic subject, the doubled NP. This agreement behaviour in (113a), as is explained in subsection 3.3.1, follows from the fact that the H-form itself has unvalued agreement features and gets them valued by the valued agreement features of the lexical subject NP. This is, then, why the verb does not trigger agreement on the H-form and thereby the verb has to agree in (113a) with the higher doubled subject NP.

In terms of information structure, there seems to be no difference between (113a) and (113b), except that (113a) conveys contrastive topic while (113b) has a succession of a hanging topic followed by a information focus. Clearly, then, although the contrastive focus conveyed by the Narrow subject in (113b) does not contrast the topicality of the higher subject topic as (113a) does, nothing precludes us from concluding that both MSCs in (113) express a topic in a higher subject position and a focus in a lower subject position.

This interpretive similarity should then correspond to a structural one. In other words, like the spell-out properties of the NP-H MSC in (113a), the Broad subject MSC in TA in (113b) is typically the result of spelling-out of a structure comprising a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP. That is, instead of (109), the Broad subject MSC in TA derives, like the NP-H MSC, according to (114) (= (99b)).

(114)



Note that we are not arguing that the Broad subject-MSC as in (113b) is strictly derived like the NP-H pair as in (113a), as there is no evidence for a big DP from which the Broad and Narrow subject NPs in (113b) originate. But, there is evidence according to (114) that the two preverbal NPs of the Broad subject-MSC occupy the same subject positions that the NPs of the NP-H MSC in (113a) do. Therefore, given (114), the Broad subject-MSC in TA, like the NP-H MSC, exhibits two EPP features associated with the functional heads Top and Fin, respectively.

Up to this point, we have shown that the Broad subject construction realising a MSC in MSA/CA, following Doron and Heycock (1999), has an equivalent counterpart construction in TA realising a MSC besides the NP-H one. We have concluded that although these MSC types do not share the same base-generated structure, they both equally derive their subject NPs in SpecTopP and SpecFinP, respectively, given the two EPP features coupled with [+Top]-marked Top and the [+Foc]-marked Fin.

Interestingly, we expect that, given that the Broad subject-MSc in TA is an instance of the [TopP Top [FinP Fin...]] structure as in (114), MSA/CA, like TA, has the option of two EPP features associated with Top and Fin, respectively. If so, it should follow that, like TA, MSA/CA has the NP-H pair with a doubling H-form. Yet, the contrast between TA and MSA/CA in (115) illustrates the opposite.

(115) a. le-wled HUWWA mfa-: l- el-masrah, muj e-ttufla
 the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b. * al-walad-u HUWWA ḏahab-a 'ila: al-masrahi
 the-boy-NOM he go-PRF.3SM to the-theatre

(115b) shows that MSA/CA does not have an NP-H pair with a doubling H-form. It also shows that MSA/CA does not convey contrastive topic the way TA does, i.e., using a doubling H-form. So, if MSA/CA observes, like TA, the same [TopP Top [FinP Fin...]] structure, the question to raise in view of (115b) is the following: what does prevent a language (MSA/CA here) from having a doubling NP-H pair (or an H-NP pair)?

One obvious answer would be that MSA/CA does not have a doubling H-form. If so, then this indicates that there are (at least) two distinct reasons why a language does not have a MSC including a doubling pronoun:

- (a) The language has only one EPP-feature in the subject domain (Fin can be both [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked coupled with one EPP).
- (b) The language does not have a doubling H-form, i.e., third person pronoun with unvalued gender and number features (a pronoun predicate of a SC embedded in a DP).

MSA/CA seems closer to option (b) rather than option (a): MSA/CA does not attest the doubling H-form (see section 2.6).

Below I will formulate these options more explicitly as choices allowed by UG with respect to a small set of parameters. But, before that, I shall now compare TA, as a MSC-language, to English, as a non-MSC language, regarding the NP-H MSC.

3.5.5.3. Contrastive topic in TA and English and the plausibility of the NP-H MSC in TA

We compare in what follows the contrastive topic NP-H MSC in TA to the counterpart contrastive topic construction in a non-MSC language such as English. The purpose of this comparison is to test the plausibility of the NP-H pair realising a MSC and see what options English takes in the absence of the NP-H MSC.

To begin with, we need to clarify what it means that English is a non-MSC language? English is a non-MSC language because it does not exhibit any of the constructions that we have seen in this chapter (and will see in chapter four) to realise a MSC. Consider the minimal pairs in (116).

- (116) a. (i) le-wled HUWWA mʃa-: l-el-masraħ, muʃ e-ttufla [TA]
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”
 (ii)* The boy HE went to the theatre. [English]
- b. (i) hind-un ’aṭ-ṭula: b-u yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha: [MSA/CA]
 “The students are meeting Hind.”
 (ii) * Sarah the students are meeting her. [English]
- c. (i) Það borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun. [Icelandic]
 “Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages.”
 (ii) *There has someone eaten an apple.³⁷ [English]
- d. (i) Sitä ovat nämä lapset jo oppineet uimaan. [Finnish]
 “These children have already learned to swim.”
 (ii)* There have these children already learned to swim [English]
- e. (i) huwwa le-wled mʃa-: l- el-masraħ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ [TA]
 “I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”
 (ii)* It/He the boy went to the theatre [English]

³⁷ This example is cited in Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: 208).

Visibly, the counterpart MSCs in English as in (116) are simply unattested. For instance, English cannot have a NP-H subject doubling construction like that in TA, as is illustrated in (116a (ii)). It cannot have the Broad subject construction as in MSA/CA as is shown in the minimal pair (116b). It also does not allow the Icelandic TEC as in (116c (i)) (= (92)).³⁸ Neither can English have a construction like subject doubling in Finnish as in (116d (i)) (= (95)). Finally, it cannot have the H-NP subject doubling in TA as in (116e (i)) (= (69a) in chapter two), which we will study in chapter four.³⁹

Restricting the comparison to English and TA, we first need to see how English expresses contrastive topic such that it is different from the way TA conveys it, i.e., by the NP-H MSC. Consider the conversation in (117).

- (117) a. The boy went to the theatre.
b. I thought the girl went to the theatre.
c. No, THE BOY went, not the girl.
d. *No, the boy HE went, not the girl.

(117) shows that the only licit contrastive topic construction is the one in (117c). Contrastive topic in (117c) is expressed by a single topic subject NP. (117d) shows that English does not express contrastive topic the way TA does by virtue of the doubling H-form that adds contrast to the doubled aboutness topic NP.

Compared to the contrastive topic NP-H MSC that is the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top associated with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin associated with EPP, contrastive non-subject doubling in English, as in (117c), seems to be the result of a single [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked head, by assumption Fin, coupled with one EPP feature.

Asking the same question we asked above comparing TA to MSA/CA: What prevents a language (English here) from having a doubling NP-H pair (or an H-NP pair)? In terms of the reasons explaining why a language fails to allow a MSC, English takes option (a) below, disallowing any of the MSCs in (116). English also does not have a doubling H-form, but this is, in a sense, irrelevant.

³⁸ See, however, Henry and Siobhan (2007), who show that some English dialects exhibit the TEC.

³⁹ Thráinsson (1996) has proposed that languages allowing the MSC are those which have rich agreement morphology and therefore have more than one head in the I-domain. See Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) for counterarguments to Thráinsson's (1996) proposal.

- a. The language has one EPP-feature in the subject domain (Fin can be both [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked coupled with one EPP).
- b. The language does not have a doubling H-form, i.e., third person pronoun with unvalued gender and number features (a pronoun predicate of a SC embedded in a DP).

However convincing this explanation might look, it still needs to follow from a more principle-based approach articulating what is common among all these languages (TA, MSA/CA and English) in more formal terms, i.e., in terms of universal principles and what choices they make to diverge on the MSC, i.e., the parametric choices they make. This will be discussed in the next subsection.

3.5.5.4. The SpecFinP parameter

I outline in this subsection the principles and parameters that make the NP-H (and the H-NP as well) possible in TA: the SpecFinP parameter. This parameter will explain in what ways the NP-H MSC in TA is distinct from other crosslinguistic types of MSCs, the Broad subject-MSc in MSA/CA, in this chapter, and the TEC-MSc in Icelandic and the Finnish subject doubling-MSc in chapter four. It will also account for the difference between TA as a MSC-language and English as a non-MSc language.

Initially, let us recall the findings of the previous subsection. We have seen that MSA/CA observes the [_{TopP} Top [_{FinP} Fin...]] structure, like TA; but, unlike TA cannot exhibit the NP-H MSC. The proposed reason was that MSA/CA does not have the required doubling H-form. English, unlike TA and MSA/CA, does not attest a MSC of any type, and that was explained by the postulation that English is a language with one EPP-feature associated with a [+Top]- and [+Foc]-marked Fin.

These findings can be formulated to correspond to parametric choices allowed by UG. Attaining this requires a number of assumptions. First, we said that for TA to spell-out the contrastive topic NP-H MSC, it needed two heads, Top and Fin, marked with two features [+Top] and [+Foc], respectively, and associated with two EPP features. It also needed a [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked big DP that can satisfy the EPP of both Fin and Top. English, on the contrary, to convey contrastive topic, needed just one head, Fin, with topic and focus features, coupled with just one EPP feature. Compared to TA, English needs either a [+Top] or a [+Foc]-marked DP (or an expletive) to satisfy the EPP of Fin in SpecFinP. Visibly, what

distinguishes TA from English can be reduced to the feature make-up of Top and Fin heads in the subject domains of TA and English. This parametric variation is formulated as follows.

(118) The SpecFinP parameter:

Universal: [uTop] and [uFoc] are head features in the Fin-domain, i.e. the structural domain including Fin and the domain immediately above Fin.⁴⁰

Parameter: (a) [uTop] and [uFoc] are features of the same head Fin, or

(b) Fin is dedicated to [uFoc].

Selecting the (b)-option entails that Top is a separate (higher) head. Assuming with Chomsky (2000, 2001) that any head can have an EPP-feature, there are separate parameters dictating whether Fin does or does not have an EPP-feature and whether the head Top does or does not have an EPP-feature. In both TA and English, Fin has an EPP-feature. In TA, Top has an EPP-feature.

According to (118), we can now explain the difference between TA and English as in (119) (= (116a)) in a more principle-based way.

(119) a. le-wled HUWWA mʃa-: l-el-masraħ, muʃ e-ṭṭufla

“THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

b.* The boy HE went to the theatre.

English does not exhibit a MSC with or without a doubling H-form because it takes option (a) of the SpecFinP parameter: [uTop] and [uFoc] are features of the same head Fin, which has an EPP-feature. By contrast, the fact that TA exhibits the NP-H MSC including a doubling H-form follows from option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter: Fin is dedicated to [uFoc]. This in turn means there is in TA a separate Top head, which can have an EPP-feature, and has one in TA, meaning that Fin and Top both have an EPP feature that needs to be satisfied by moving or (externally) merging a constituent with their projected phrase. In this chapter, we have seen that the aboutness topic NP fills the SpecTopP position satisfying EPP of Top, whereas the focused doubling H-form fills SpecFinP to satisfy the EPP of Fin. In chapter four, we will see that the expletive H-pronoun of the H-NP MSC fills SpecTopP satisfying EPP of Top while the

⁴⁰ The Universal does not actually need to be Universal. It could be the value of a parameter, but where all the languages we are discussing here and in chapter four have the same value. There are strict VSO languages, after all.

doubled subject information focus NP fills SpecFinP satisfying EPP of Fin. The MSC in Finnish and Icelandic will be shown in chapter four to follow, as in TA, from option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter.

We can likewise claim that TA's other MSC, i.e. the Broad subject-MSc, as well as the Broad subject-MSc in MSA/CA are the result of setting the SpecFinP parameter according to option (b). Consider first the Broad subject-MSc in both languages in (120) (= (110a) and (111a), respectively).

(120) a. hind-un 'AṬ-ṬULA: B-U yu-qa: bil-u: na-ha:

“The students are meeting Hind.”

“Literally: Hind, *THE STUDENTS* are meeting her.”

b. ʒli: E-ṬALABA y-fu: f-u: fi:-h

“Literally: Ali, *THE STUDENTS* are seeing him.”

In both TA and MSA/CA, the Broad subject construction includes a topic NP followed by a focus NP. According to option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter, there is evidence on the basis of (120) that both languages have a separate Top head with EPP features to which *hindun* ‘Hind’ in (120a) and *ʒli:* ‘Ali’ in (120b) move to SpecTopP to satisfy EPP of Top. Also, in both languages the EPP of Fin is satisfied by moving the subject focus NP ‘AṬ-ṬULA:BU’ ‘*THE STUDENTS*’ as in (120a) or by ‘E-ṬALABA’ ‘*THE STUDENTS*’ to SpecFinP as in (120b). The difference between TA and MSA/CA as regards doubling then boils down to a lexical difference: TA has a doubling H-pronoun, MSA/CA does not.

In sum, we have shown in this comparative subsection that the possibility of the NP-H MSC in TA follows from a particular option that TA takes with respect to the SpecFinP parameter.

3.5.6. Summary of the structural analysis section

The structural analysis of the NP-H pair has explained that its ambivalence (generating two NP-H sequences) corresponds to two opposite structures. First, it has been discussed that what was described in chapter two as contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair is in fact the result of spelling-out a [+Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. Second, what was described as a non-subject doubling cleft NP-H sequence conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus is the result of spelling-out of a [-Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. In

particular, the derivation of this ambiguous NP-H pair has motivated two dedicated subject positions, SpecTopP and SpecFinP. On the one hand, the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair has been shown to realise a MSC in TA, the NP-H MSC, as the marked construction. On the other hand, its contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling NP-H pair subject focus has been shown to spell-out a non-MSC unmarked construction. Importantly, given the derivation of the NP-H pair in TA, it has been shown that EPP in TA can be in Top and Fin, following Chomsky's (2000, 2001) proposal that EPP is a feature that can associate with any head. This correlates with our background definition of subjecthood in TA as the highest argument in the clause that splits up into two nominal for information structure purposes.

Our description in chapter two of the tonic H-form as a doubling pronoun has been in this chapter structurally borne-out. The tonic doubling H-form is [+Foc]-marked, and is probed by the [uFoc] feature of Fin coupled with EPP. Triggered by the EPP, it moves to SpecFinP and values [uFoc] of Fin. In the cleft construction, the H-form is a copula, i.e. a head, not itself marked for topic or focus.

The NP-H MSC in TA has been compared to the MSC in MSA/CA that is realised by the Broad subject construction and to counterpart constructions expressing contrastive topic in non-MSC languages such as English. This parametric variation has consolidated the NP-H pair as a MSC and TA as a MSC-language. The NP-H MSC has been claimed to follow from the fact that TA sets the SpecFinP parameter according the option stating that Fin is dedicated to [uFoc]. We, however, remain undetermined as to the exact definition of the MSC; that is why we have been throughout aware that it could be a misleading notion.

On the whole, what this section has attempted to achieve is providing a response to Chomsky's (1995: 343) two questions as to the MSC phenomenon: 'why do languages differ with regard to MSCs, some allowing them, others not?' and '[h]ow are such structures permitted by economy principles?'. The section has first taken-up the second question and discussed the derivation of the NP-H doubling pair into a MSC according to Minimalist conceptions; then, it has looked after the second question by comparing the NP-H MSC in TA English as a non-MSC language.

3.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has investigated the syntax of the NP-H sequences of the NP-H pair in TA that we characterised in chapter two as ambiguous. It has been possible in this chapter to resolve this ambiguity in structural-based terms. It has been discussed that both NP-H sequences are the result of spelling-out two opposite structures. The contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H sequence has been argued to derive from a [+Top] and [+Foc]-marked big DP subject argument comprising NP and H doubles in a SC. This big DP is triggered from SpecDP by the EPP of a [uTop]-marked Top and the EPP of a [uFoc]-marked Fin triggering movement to SpecTopP and SpecFinP, respectively, to value Top and Fin and spell-out SpecTopP and SpecFinP. The contrastive/exhaustive non-doubling subject focus NP-H construction, on the other hand, has been shown not to derive from a SC within a big DP structure. Instead, its contrastive/exhaustive subject focus NP is originally a VP-internal NP triggered by the EPP of the [uFoc]-marked Fin to move to SpecFinP to value the [uFoc]-marked Fin. Its H-form has been shown to be a copular pronoun observing head movement to Fin. The resulting structure is an unmarked non-MSc structure, compared to the marked NP-H MSc.

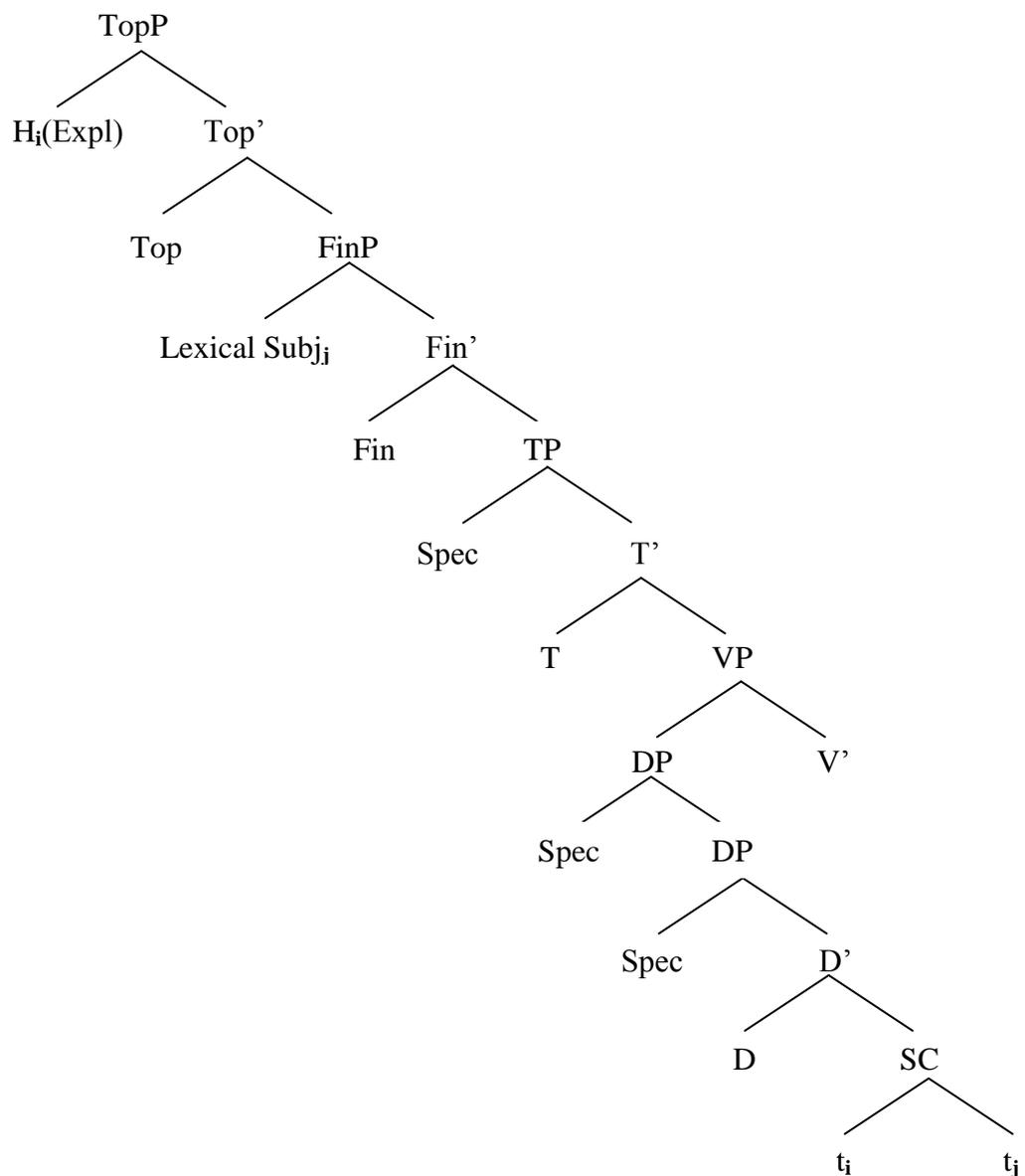
The NP-H MSc has been compared to the Broad subject-MSc in MSA/CA according to Doron and Heycock (1999). It has also been tested-out regarding a non-MSc language like English. This parametric variation has shown that the NP-H MSc is a plausible MSc in TA. Importantly, the variations between TA, English and the MSA/CA, have all been reduced to correspond to particular options each language takes in setting the SpecFinP parameter, allowing or disallowing the MSc. Maintaining the SpecFinP parameter to give rise to the NP-H MSc in TA and therefore characterising TA as a MSc-language will be further confirmed in view of derivation of the other H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair, thethetic doubling H-NP pair that we will take-up in chapter four.

Chapter 4. The syntax of the thetic NP-H pair in TA: a case of subject doubling

4.1. Introduction

I investigate in this chapter the syntax of the reversed H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair in TA. I argued in chapter two that this is the third possible construction exhibiting the NP-H pair in TA, in addition to the contrastive topic subject doubling and the cleft constructions. Like the structural analysis of contrastive topic subject doubling in chapter three, I argue in the present chapter that the H-NP sequence has the structure in (1).

(1)



The syntactic analysis of the H-NP sequence first examines the base-generated structure of the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair. It will maintain the same big DP analysis of this sequence of the NP-H pair, given a number of empirical reasons from TA supporting a root small clause property of the H-NP pair that is internal to the big DP as in (1). The derivation of thisthetic type of subject doubling will show that it is the consequence of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top and [+Foc]-marked Fin structure. Although this same structure was argued in chapter three to spell-out the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair, it will be shown that it dispenses in this chapter with spelling-out [+Top]-marked Top given the absence of a valued [+Top]-marked element. EPP will be assumed, as in chapter three, to be coupled with Top except that in this chapter triggering the empty expletive H-Form by EPP to SpecTopP values EPP without valuing [uTop] of Top. The derivedthetic subject doubling H-NP will be shown to be another instance of the MSC. Its properties will be analysed accordingly. It will in particular consolidate the idea that the invariant grammatical subject positions for the NP-H pair, regardless of sequence, are SpecTopP and SpecFinP. SpecTopP is the higher subject position that hosts EPP and the topic constituent while SpecFinP is the lower subject position containing the subject focus and EPP. Likewise, it will maintain the basic assumption in this thesis that the subject in TA is the highest argument.

The plausibility of the MSC realised by thethetic doublet in TA will be tested by comparing it to other MSC proposals for similar multiple subject constructions such as in Finnish and Icelandic. The three languages will be argued to set in the same way the SpecFinP parameter allowing them to exhibit the MSC.

These issues are discussed according to the following organisation. In section 4.2, I investigate the base-generated structure of the H-NP construction according to the Big DP approach. Particularly, I address some more empirical reasons supporting the postulation of a small clause structure internal to a categorical big DP. Section 4.3 takes-up the derivation of the H-NP construction and compares the MSC proposal for thethetic H-NP doublet in TA to those in Finnish and Icelandic. Section 4.4 concludes the chapter.

4.2. The big DP analysis of thethetic subject NP-H pair

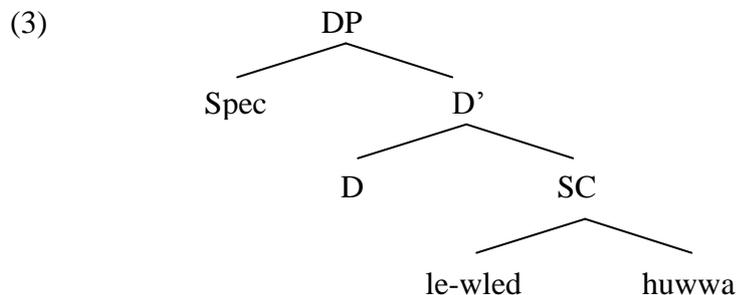
This section examines the plausibility of the big DP structure for the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair. We saw in chapter three the merits of adopting such an analysis for the NP-H sequence of the NP-H pair. We validate in this chapter the claim that the big DP approach is again tenable for the H-NP doublet. In particular, we will show that its base-generated structure

is a subject small clause containing the members of the construction as subject and predicate, respectively. We claim, unlike the tonic doubling pronoun of the NP-H doublet in chapter three, that the H-form of the H-NP doublet in this chapter is an empty expletive that agrees only with third person doubled subject NPs; otherwise, it does not agree at all. Internal to the big DP, the H-NP constituents also form a chain by the virtue of which they share the same theta role and the same Case. .

4.2.1. The proposal: a base-generated categorical big DP

The big DP that we believe to be the base-generated structure of the H-NP sequence in (2) is given in (3) (= (50) in chapter three).

- (2) a. huwwa le-wled mfa:- l- el-masraħ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f
 he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
 “I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”
- b. huwwa ’inti ji:-t, waqt-a: f !?
 he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time- Q
 “Ah! You’re here, since when?”



Two important assumptions from chapter three are worth recalling with respect to (3): the derivational nature of the small clause and the internal hierarchy of the big DP.

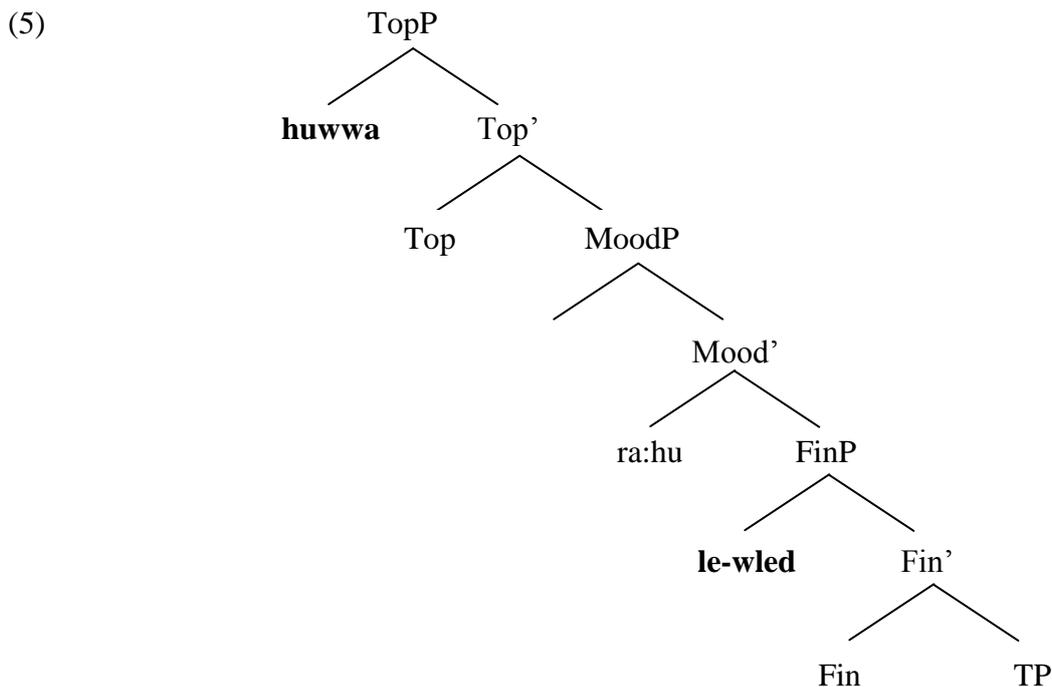
First, notice that, just as in the analysis in the previous chapter, the underlying subject small clause does not move as a single constituent to one derived position, say, for instance, SpecTP. On the contrary, I assumed in chapter three that the members of the small clause, move as independent syntactic categories to two distinct positions: SpecTopP and SpecFinP as in (4). There is empirical evidence from TA that shows why we can maintain the same assumption for the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair in TA in this chapter. Indeed, it was made clear in chapter three that the behaviour of speech acts mood adverbial particles, aspectual

particles and the distribution of TP-adverbials argue against an analysis of the H-NP doubling pair as a constituent, in their derived position. To illustrate this with regard to the H-NP pair, consider in (4) the behaviour of the speech acts mood adverbial particle *ra:hu* ‘look/I see’. The doubling pair is in bold.

- (4) **huwwa** ra:-hu **le-wled** mfa:- l- el-masrah
 he PRT-he(CLI) the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre

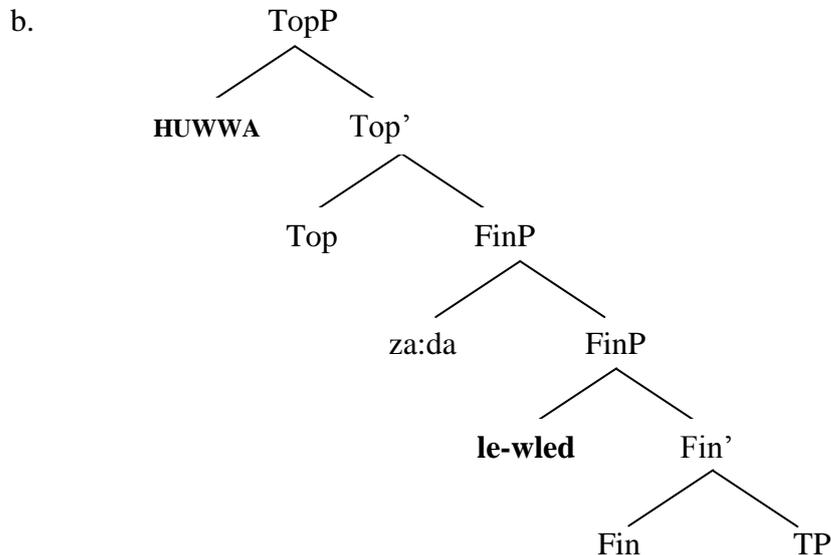
“Look! The boy went to the theatre.”

Visibly, the mood adverbial particle in (4) *ra:hu* ‘look/I see’, known in TA for its free distribution as I pointed-out in chapter three, can split the members of the H-NP doublet. This implies that although the doublet members by hypothesis originate within a small clause in view of (3), they move into distinct positions as is illustrated in (5) representing (4), showing that the small clause subject does not move like a single constituent.



Another argument against the constituent analysis of the H-NP doublets is based on the distribution of the TP-adverb *za:da* ‘also’. Unlike its marginal use internal to the NP-H pair in chapter three, *za:da* ‘also’ can be used internal to the H-NP doublet where it conveys additional information. In other words, compared to (2a), for instance, (6a) informs about the boy’s going to the theatre as additional new information about the boy, in view of the continuation in (6a). The TP-adverb *za:da* ‘also’ is adjoined to FinP as in (6b).

- (6) a. huwwa za:da le-wled mfa: l- el-masrah, ka:n ma: fi: ba:li- k - fi:
 he also the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre if not in knowledge-your-not
 “The boy also went to the theatre, if you do not know.”



The distribution of the TP-adverb *za:da* ‘also’ will also be referred to in the discussion of the H-NP pair as an instance of a MSC in TA. There will be different positions to which this adverb can adjoin, demarcating the VP-external position of the MSC in TA.

Second, I also maintain the same assumptions about the big DP and its internal hierarchy of as the ones I outlined in section 3.3 in chapter three. Remember that the big DP is about one subject argument despite containing two nominals, and is assigned one theta role, one Case. Unlike the big DP in chapter three, we will see that in this chapter the big DP is marked only [+Foc]. The two parts making it will only split when they are probed by the EPP features of [uTop] and [uFoc]. As for its internal structure, I assume, following Uriagereka’s (1995b, 1997, 1998) Big DP hypothesis, that the big DP in (3) has an internal hierarchy with a functional layer, DP, above the lexical one. The lexical layer consists of a small clause comprising a subject and its H-form predicate. The constituents of the subject small clause will be analysed to first adjoin to the edge of the big DP, i.e., SpecDP, then, as the derivation proceeds, move up to the higher possible subject positions: SpecTP, SpecFinP, and SpecTopP.

Note finally, that our definition of the subject here characterises it as the highest argument in the sense it is the only argument and, therefore, it is merged last in the structure. We also keep adhering to the notion of MSC and remind that we remained undecided as to its precise formulation.

4.2.2. The doubling H-NP pair in TA and the feature make-up of the doubling pronoun: an enumeration

This subsection looks at the agreement properties of the doubles in thethetic subject doubling H-NP pair in TA. To begin with, agreement internal to thethetic H-NP doublet is either full agreement or no agreement. Full agreement is displayed inthetic doublets including the doubling H-form and a lexical third person NP. Examining (7) (8) and (9), we notice that agreement in gender and number obtains only if the subject is third person. The contrast between (7a) and (7b) shows that the expletive H-form double agrees with the nominal doubled NP in gender.

(7) a. hiyya e-ṭṭufla mʃa:t l- el-masraḥ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ
 she.3SF the-girl go-PRF.3SF to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
 “I had no idea whether the girl went to the theatre.”

b. *huwwa e-ṭṭufla mʃa:t l- el-masraḥ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ
 he.3SM the-girl go-PRF.3SF to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not

The contrast between (8a) and (8b) and the contrast between (9a) and (9b) display the same fact: the H-form agrees in number with the nominal double. I generalise over agreement in gender, knowing that the plural pronoun in TA is gender-neutral.

(8) a. Ka:n t-ḥebb t-aʃref, huma: e-rja:l ye-da:fʃ- u: ʃa
 If IPFV-want.3SM IPFV-know.3SM they.3PM/F the-men IPFV-defend.3PM/F on
 el-mra: fi: tunis
 the-woman in Tunisia
 “For you to know, men defend women in Tunisia.”

b. * Ka:n t-ħebb t- aʃref, huwwa e-rja:l ye-da:fʃ- u: ʃa
 If IPFV-want.3SM IPFV-know.3SM he.3SM the-men IPFV-defend.3PM/F on
 el-mra: fi: tunis
 the-woman in Tunisia

(9) a. huma: le-bna:t ya-ʃml-u: ʾak Øer men hakka
 they.3PM/F the-girls IPFV-do-3PF/M more than like this
 “Expect the girls to do worse.”

b* huwwa le-bna:t ya-ʃml-u: ʾak Øer men hakka
 he.3SM the-girls IPFV-do-3PF/M more than like this

We saw in chapter three that the H-pronoun in the doubling NP-H construction agrees in number and gender, but not in person with a first or second person subject. The presence of number agreement (and vacuously gender agreement) but lack of person agreement is shown by (10) (= (29a) in chapter three and (11) (= (32a) in chapter three).

(10) ʾa: na: HUWWA el-ġa:leʃ na-ħki: mʃa:-k
 I.1SM he.3SM the-wrong IPFV-talk-1SM with-you
 “I’m wrong in talking to you, I shouldn’t have!”

(11) ʾintuma: HUMA: el- masʾu:li:n !?
 you.2PM/F they.3PM/F the-responsible officers
 “YOU’re the responsible officers!?”

In the H-NP construction, on the other hand, the H-pronoun does not agree at all with first and second person pronouns; the H-form in this case is always *huwwa* ‘he’, the third singular masculine form. This is shown in (12) with a first person subject.

(12) a. huwwa ʾa:na: ʃuf- t- ek !?
 he.3SM I.1SM see-PRF.1SM-you
 “I am not sure whether I saw you.”

b.* huma: ʾaħna: n-fadlk-u:, tashayeb
 they.3PM/F we.1PM/F IPFV-joke-1PM think.1SM

c. huwwa 'ahna: ji:-na: waqt-a: f !?

he.3SM we.1PM/F come-PRF.1PM/F time-Q

“Ah! We are here, since when?”

Compare this with (13) (= (31a) in chapter three), showing number agreement between a first person pronoun and the H-form in the NP-H construction.

(13) 'ahna: HUMA: el-mas'u:li:n !?

we.1PM/F they.3PM/F the-responsible officers

“WE're the responsible officers!?”

Absence of agreement is also observed with the pattern including second person plural/dual subject pronouns as in (14); (14c) (= (36c) in chapter two).

(14) a. huwwa 'inti ji:-t, waqt-a: f !?

he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time- Q

“Ah! You're here, since when?”

b. *huma: 'intuma: ji:-tu: waqt-a: f

they.2DM/F you.2DM/F come-PRF.2DM/F time-Q

c. huwwa 'intuma: ta- ũrf-u: -h rabbi: !

he.3SM you.2D/PM/F IPFV.know-2D/3P/F -he god

“I doubt you believe in God.”

In sum, there is no agreement at all internal to doublets with first and second person subjects.

From the fact that the H-pronoun is always third person, resisting person agreement, we concluded from the discussion of the NP-H construction in chapter three that the H-pronoun is inherently third person. We can draw the same conclusion from the agreement facts in the H-NP construction.

One relevant issue is still in need of clarification regarding the agreement properties ofthetic doubles concerns gender agreement. We saw in chapter two (see 36a) that only third person pronouns are marked for grammatical gender in TA. In chapter three, we established that agreement in the doubling pair in the NP-H construction was sensitive to grammatical gender

only, not semantic gender (see (33) in chapter three). The same generalisation holds in the H-NP construction, as can be illustrated withthetic doublets as in (15).

- (15) huwwa 'inti lella ji:-t, waqt-a: f !?
 he.3SM you.2SF lady come-PRF.2SF time-Q
 “Ah! You are here young lady, since when?”

The second person subject pronoun refers to a female; yet, the doubling pronoun is the invariant third singular masculine pronoun.

After dealing with the agreement properties internal to the doublets, let us now view the agreement behaviour of the whole doublet, as a subject, with the verb, i.e., subject-verb agreement. It will be obvious that, like the observation in chapter three, there is full agreement (number and gender) between the verb and subject doubling H-NP pair as in (16) (= (7a) and (8a), respectively).

- (16) a. hiyya e-ṭṭufla mfa:-t l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f
 she.3SF the-girl go-PRF.3SF to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
 “I had no idea whether the girl went to the theatre.”

- b. Ka:n t-ḥebb t-aṣref, huma: e-tja:l ye-da:fṣ- u: ṣa
 If IPFV-want.3SM IPFV-know.3SM they.3PM/F the-men IPFV-defend.3PM/F on
 el-mra: fi: tunis
 the-women in Tunisia
 “For you to know, men defend women in Tunisia.”

When we compare cases like (16) with cases where the doubled subject is a first or second person pronoun it becomes clear, however, that the verb agrees specifically with the NP-part of the H-NP pair. Consider subject-verb agreement with doublets including the third person singular H-form and first person singular doubled pronouns as in (17a) (= (13)) and (17b).

- (17) a. huwwa 'a: na: fuḥ- t- ek !?
 he.3SM I.1SM see-PRF.1SM-you
 “I am not sure whether I saw you.”
 b.* huwwa 'a:na: fa:- f- ek !?
 he.3SM I.1SM see-PRF.3SM-you

The contrast between (17a) and (17b) shows that the verb agrees with the doubled pronoun NP in person.

The same holds for doublets with first person plural pronouns as in (18a) (= (12c)) and (18b), where we can see that the verb agrees with the first person plural pronoun in person and number.

(18) a. huwwa 'ahna: ji:-na: waqt-a: f !?

he.3SM we.1PM/F come-PRF.1PM/F time-Q

“Ah? We are here, since when?”

b. *huwwa 'ahna: ja:- waqt-a: f !?

he.3SM we.1PM/F come-PRF.3SM time-Q

The contrast between (18a) and (18b) shows that there is number agreement only with the doubled part of the doublet.

Note that the same results were obtained with regard to the NP-H doublet including first person singular doubled pronouns as we showed in chapter three. See for instance (19) (= (31a) and (31c) in chapter three).

(19) a. 'ahna: HUMA: el-mas'u:li:n !?

we.1PM/F they.3PM/F the-responsible officers.1PM

“WE're the responsible officers!?”

b. *'ahna: HUWWA el-mas'u:l!?

we.1PM/F he.3SM the-responsible officer.3SM

Visibly, (19b) is ruled-out because the NP doubled part of the NP-H pair does not agree in number with the predicate adjective, as is the case in (19a).

We can obtain the same results of the H-NP subject-verb agreement with doublets including second person singular and second person dual/plural pronouns. Consider first those including second person singular doubled pronouns as in (20a) (= (2b)) and (20b).

(20) a. huwwa 'inti ji:-t, waqt-a: f !?

he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time- Q

“Ah! You're here, since when?”

b.* huwwa 'inti ja-:, waqt-a: f !?
 he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.3SM time- Q

The contrast between (20a) and (20b) indicates that the verb agrees in number only with the doubled pronoun NP.

The same fact is also noticeable in the contrast between (21a) (= (14c)) and (21b).

(21) a. huwwa 'intuma: ta- ŧrf- u: -h rabbi: !
 he.3SM you.2D/PM/F IPFV.know-2D/3P/F -he god
 "I doubt you believe in God."

b. *huwwa 'intuma: ta- ŧref rabbi: !
 he.3SM you.2D/PM/F IPFV.know-3SM god

The ungrammaticality of (21b), compared to the grammaticality of (21a), is caused by the violation of number agreement between the verb and the doubled pronoun NP.

The same agreement facts were observed in chapter three in the NP-H pair with second person plural doubled pronouns as in (22) (= (32a) and (32c) in chapter three): the verb agrees only with the second person plural doubled pronoun.

(22) a. 'intuma: HUMA: el-mas'u:li:n !?
 you.2PM/F they.3PM/F the-responsible officers.2PM.F
 "YOU're the responsible officers!?"

b.* 'intuma: HUWWA el-mas'u:l !?
 you.2PM/F he.3SF the-responsible officer.3SM

Summing-up, we have dealt with two distinctive agreement properties of thethetic H-NP doubles: full agreement, and entire lack of agreement. It has been shown that, in the full agreement type, the H-form agrees in [Number, Gender] only with doubled third person subject nominals. When the subject nominal is first or second person, there is no agreement: the doubling H-pronoun is invariably third person singular. The lack of agreement is consistent with the expletive character of the H-pronoun in the H-NP pair as compared to the NP-H pair. (where the H-pronoun expresses focus). In the NP-H construction, we saw in chapter three that the NP and H-form make-up a small clause, wherein the H-form agrees with the NP subject of the small clause in number and gender. We would assume that the same is expected to take

place inside the small clause standing for the H-NP construction, which we will discuss in the next section. Yet, as it has been shown above, agreement in the H-NP pair works differently from agreement in the NP-H pair. For this, there is no formal explanation at present to explain this difference.

Consider, next, the case when the NP term of the doubling pair is a third person pronoun. We saw in chapter three that identical pronoun doubling was ruled-out, not only in the case of first and second person pronouns, but also in the case of third person pronouns. Consider identical second person pronoun doubling in (23a) (= (28) in chapter three) and first person pronouns in (23b) (= (30) in chapter three), and third person pronouns in (24) (= (34) in chapter three).

- (23) a. *'inti 'inti ji-t, waqt-a: ʃ !?
 you.2SM/F you 2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time-Q
 b. *'a:na: 'a:na: el-mas'u:l !?
 I.1SM I.1SM the-responsible officer

- (24) a. *huwwa huwwa ja-: !?
 he.3SM he.3SM come-PRF.3SM
 b. *hiyya hiyya ja- : t
 she.3SF she.3SF come-PRF.2SF
 c. *huma: huma: ja-: w !?
 they.2DM/F they.2DM/F go-PRF.3PM/F

We might explain the ungrammaticality of (23) by the generalisation that doubling in Arabic should include H-forms. But this does not account for (24). Instead, there seems to be a more general constraint against identical pronoun doubling. I will keep this as a separate case awaiting explanation in future research.

Let us finally compare with some other languages exhibiting subject pronoun doubling. For instance, Finnish shows, like TA, instances of distinctthetic pronominal doubling such as in (25a) (= (35a) in chapter three) and, differently from TA, identicalthetic pronominal subject doubling as in (25b) (= (35b) in chapter three) (Holmberg and Nikanne 2008: 325).

(25) a. Se ole-n minä-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

SE.3S have-1S I.1S-too quit smoking

“I, too, have quit smoking.”

b. Se on se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

SE.3S has-3S he.3S-too quit smoking

“He/she/it, too, has quit smoking.”

(25a) is a case of distinct pronominal doubling showing agreement in number, but lacks agreement in person. (25b), an impossible case in TA, shows full agreement, i.e. in number and person (Finnish does not have grammatical gender) between two third person pronouns.

It is also possible in Finnish to havethetic identical pronominal doublets including first person plural pronouns, which has been ruled-out in TA as in (23b). This is illustrated in (26) (= (36) in chapter three).

(26) Me ollaan me-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.

we.1P are-1P we.1P-too quit smoking

“We have quit smoking, too.”

Comparing Finnishthetic subject doubling to TA’sthetic subject doubling, we can say that, the doubling pronoun in Finnish resembles that of TA inasmuch as deficiency in person agreement obtains, as seen in (25a). Distinct from TA, however, Finnishthetic pronominal doublets can be identical, whereas that has been shown not to hold for TA’sthetic ones, or, as we saw in chapter three, for the contrastive topic NP-H case.

Notice, finally, that I mentioned in chapter three that distinct and identical pronominal doubling is also attested in other languages. I will restrict myself to the case of doubling of wh-pronoun in Dutch. This choice is motivated by the fact that this introduces novel data here that is not necessarilythetic in nature as is the case of Finnish. Also, it will be relevant to our comparison, in the subsections to come, between the Big DP analysis ofthetic doubling in TA to that of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach which is based on this Dutch data.

Consider therefore, again, the pronominal doubling in (27a) (= (37b) in chapter three) and (27b) (= (37c) in chapter three).

(27) a. Wie denk je die ik gezien heb? [North Holland]

who think you REL.PRON I seen have
“Who do you think I saw?”

b. Wie denk je wie ik gezien heb? [Drenthe]

who think you who I seen have

(27a) is an instance of pronominal doubling including distinct wh-pronouns that are analysed, following Barbiers et al. (2008) as one, namely *wie* ‘who’, to be a less-specified partially copied wh-pronoun of the relative pronoun *die*. (27b) is an instance of identical wh-pronoun doubling where *wie* ‘who’ is the result of full/identical copying of the lower *wie* ‘who’.

Pertinently, these agreement properties of the H-form meet the description in chapter two of the H-form as an empty expletive pronoun. Some crosslinguistic pronominal doubling data have shown that TA is not unique. In particular,thetic subject doubling in Finnish has been discussed to show certain similarities with that of TA, except that TA, unlike Finnish, does not tolerate identical pronominal doubling. Concluding, most of the claims in this subsection will serve as a background for the discussion in the coming sections of the big DP analysis and the derivation ofthetic subject doubling in TA.

4.2.3. The small clause analysis of the NP-H pair: evidence for the predication relation

I will here examine the base-generated nature of the H-NP pair. It will be argued that, like the NP-H pair in chapter three, both doubles observe a predication relation within a small clause. This will be the consequence of viewing the H-NP pairs in independent contexts as root small clauses.

Recall from chapter three that the small clause analysis depends on the root small clause property of some constructions in TA, following Doron’s (1986) and Rapoport’s (1987) original proposal for Semitic. Root small clauses are constructions in Semitic that can stand as independent meaningful semantic units, expressing a predication relation without any copula. (28) (= (56) in chapter three) contains two examples, from Rapoport (1987: 72-81).

(28) a. ha-yeled student [Hebrew]

the-boy student

“The boy is a student.”

b. ha-yalda pikx-it

the-girl smart-F

“The girl is smart.”

We argued in chapter three that a similar phenomenon is attested in TA in the NP-H sequence. Let us see whether the same prediction holds in this chapter for the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair. For instance, the sentences in (29) are all about some sort of focus. They convey either information foci that, for reasons of consistency, I do not mark with small capitals or contrastive foci which are marked, as in chapter three, with small-italicised capitals.

(29) a. huwwa le-wled

he the-boy

“It’s / That’s the boy!”

b. huwwa wLED (muʃ tufla)

he a boy not girl

“It’s a BOY (not a girl).”

c. huwwa E-RRA:JEL

he the-man

“He’s / That’s THE MAN.”

“That’s THE TRUE / BRAVE MAN.”

d. huwwa RAJEL, (...ke:n Ø ʃmal hakka)

he man (... if pro do.PRF.3SM like this)

“He would / That would be THE MAN (...if he did like this).”

“That’s A TRUE/ BRAVE MAN.”

e. huwwa ’inti !

he you

“It’s / That’s you!”

f. huwwa ’inti, sa: ra: !

he you PRT

“Ah! It’s / That’s you!”

Visibly, the sentences in (29) observe the same H-NP sequence we are investigating in this chapter, except that they are uttered in different contexts. Importantly, all these sentences are meaningful nominal independent sentences in TA. They are uttered in situations to inform about a given referent or contrast some information about the referent. For instance, (29a) is informative in nature as long as it merely informs about the referent *lewled* ‘the boy’ who seems to be subject of a search by the speaker. Different from information focus, (29b) and (29c) identify a distinctive property of the referent whether in its gender *wled*, ‘A BOY’ and not *tufla* ‘a girl’, or in bravery *ERRA:JEL* ‘THE BRAVE MAN’ out of other possible men. As such, (29b) and (29c) convey contrastive focus. The construction in (29c) is a type of idiomatic expressions, which ascertains it as an independent unit of meaning. The same holds true for (29d), where the conditional specifies the conditions for the referent to reach the category *RA:JEL* ‘a brave man’. Lastly, (29e) and (29f) are uttered in situations of surprise and unexpectedness, which necessarily imply the lack of presupposing any referent for that utterance, as made more explicit in (29f) with the use of the verbal particle *sa:ra*: I here gloss as ‘Ah’. This further supports an information focus interpretation of (29e) and (29f).

Adding (30) to (29), it becomes noticeable that the agreement properties in (29) and (30) are the same as in the H-NP doublet above where the expletive H-form is inherently third person and agrees only with third person subject NPs as, for instance, in (29c), or (30); otherwise, it does not agree at all as, for example, in (29e).

(30) a. *hiyya LE-MRA: fi-hum*

she the woman in-them

“It’s/That’s THE TRUE/BRAVE WOMAN among them.”

b. *huma: E-RRA:JA:L*

they the men

“They/Those are THE TRUE/BRAVE MEN.”

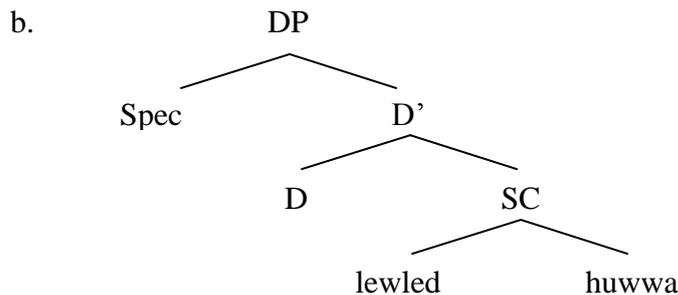
Given this description of (29), it can be concluded that these are nominal sentences in TA with each imparting some meaningful content. It follows that the H-NP constructions in (29) are in keeping with Rapoport’s (1987) notion of root small clauses as in (28). Like the Semitic predicative sentence in (28), the nominal sentences in (29) and (30) illustrate a subject-predicate relation. Building on this observation, we claim that the members of the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair can be contained within a small clause structure. We have, thereby,

shown that the small clause analysis of the NP-H pair in TA is plausible, whether the pair derives into a contrastive NP-H construction, or athetic H-NP construction, as in the case at hand.

4.2.4. The big DP structure of the thetic NP-H pair

After motivating the existence of a small clause internal to the big DP in (3) that accounts for the base-generated structure of the H-NP sequence in (2), we consider in this subsection the distribution of the two members of this sequence internal to the big DP. Consider again, the H-NP construction of (2a), for instance, repeated in (31a) and its representation according to (3) which is repeated below in (31b).

- (31) a. *huwwa le-wled mfa: l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f*
 he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
 “I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”



According to (31b), the H-NP construction in (31a) observes, as we assumed in chapter three, a predication relation between the subject *le-wled* ‘the boy’ and the predicate H-form, *huwwa*, ‘he’, internal to the big DP subject. Based on the agreement properties we have discussed above, the expletive H has inherent third person (or [-Participant], in terms of Harley and Ritter (2002)), and [uGender] and [uNumber]. As such, it agrees fully with a third person subject, but more selectively with a first and second person subject. In the case where the pronoun realises focus (the NP-H case), it agrees in number. In the case where the pronoun has no information-structural feature (the H-NP case) it does not agree at all. Given this description of the H-NP pair, it will be assumed that the big DP including the thetic H-NP doublet is specified as a [+Foc]-marked constituent. The big DP contains an empty expletive H-form which will be shown to satisfy the EPP feature of Top by moving to SpecTop and a nominal/pronominal NP that will be discussed to value [+Foc] of Fin and check the [EPP] of Fin. This will be pertinent to the derivation of the thetic doublet, as we will see in section 4.3.

4.2.5. The big DP analysis of the H-NP doubling pair in TA compared

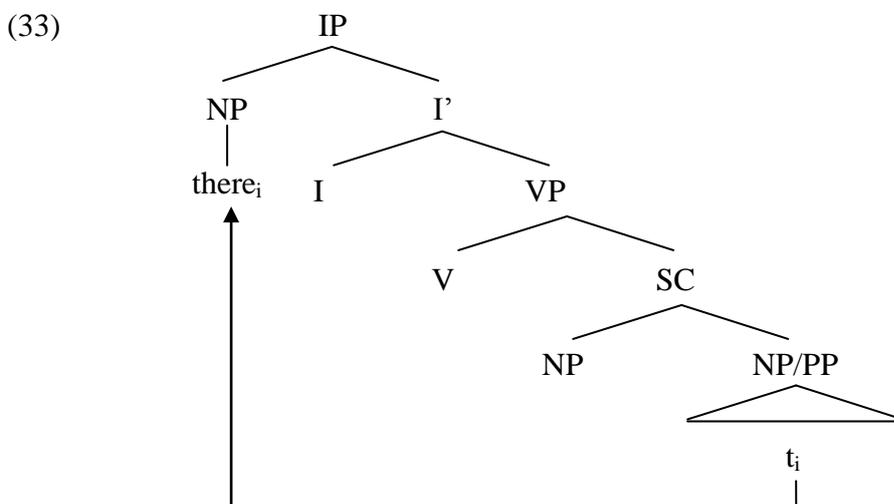
In what follows I compare the big DP analysis I have proposed to account for the thetic H-NP pair in TA to Fassi Fehri's (1993) Inverse Copular Analysis of similar constructions in MSA/CA. I also compare the big DP analysis to the other doubling approach, the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach. I will show that the Big DP approach is, as was argued for the NP-H pair in chapter three, the most suitable approach for the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair in TA.

4.2.5.1. The big DP in TA vs. Fassi Fehri's (1993) Inverse Copular Analysis of expletive H-forms

The postulation of a small clause internal to the big DP of the H-NP doublet in TA is not a novel idea in Arabic grammar. A similar proposal is suggested in Fassi Fehri (1993: 40) to account for the derivational history of the H-form in what Fassi Fehri (1993: 118) calls 'identificational' constructions in MSA/CA as in (32).

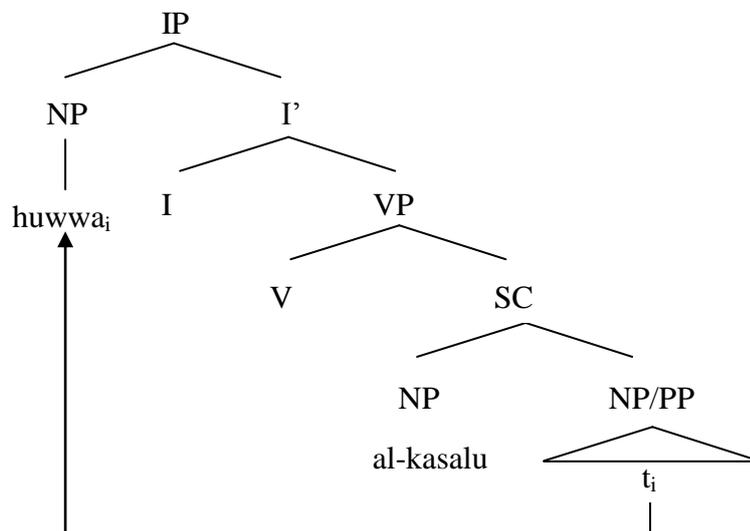
- (32) huwwa al- kasal-u
 he the-laziness-NOM
 "It is laziness."

Fassi Fehri (1993: 40) posits that the H-form in (32) is an expletive subject originating from the predicate position of a small clause. His proposal of the derivation of the subject expletive H-form in (32) originates from Moro's (1991, 1997) Inverse Copular Analysis of English existential constructions which is illustrated in (33) (= (88) in chapter two).



Moro's (1991, 1997) original claim is that the existential *there* in (33) is base-generated as a quasi-argument in a predicate position inside a small clause before moving to a derived subject position. Notice also that Moro's (1991, 1997) analysis of the predicate nature of *there* draws on Stowell's (1978) earlier contention that copular sentences are expanded small clauses encoding a predicate relation between a subject NP and a predicative NP, as well Rothstein (1983). Moro's (1991) additional claim is that, because either the subject or the predicate of the small clause in copular sentences raises to the derived subject position, the predicative *there* in copular sentences including existential *there*, raises likewise to the same derived subject position. This has been known as the Inverse Copular Analysis of existential *there* as in (33). Likewise, Fassi Fehri (1993) derives the expletive H-form in (32) according to the Inverse Copular Analysis in (34).

(34)



Fassi Fehri's (1993) account of the derivational history of expletive H-forms has much to recommend it as an analysis of thethetic H-NP construction in TA. It can be shown that similar claims made on the basis of (32) in MSA/CA will also apply to thethetic H-NP pair in TA. Nevertheless, it will be argued that the H-NP in TA remains different from (32) inasmuch as it is base-generated as a small clause within a big DP.

Let us initially see in what way thethetic H-NP in (35a) (= (31a)) in TA and the identificational constructions in (35b) (= (32)) in MSA/CA are similar before we view the plausibility of the Inverse Copular Analysis on TA's H-NP pair.

(35) a. huwwa le-wled mfa-: l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l-i:-f

“I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

b. huwwa al- kasal-u

“It is laziness.”

First, it is possible to claim that both constructions conveythetic meaning. While that is already established for (35a) in TA, (35b) can be taken to express new information given the presentational aspect ofthetic constructions as it is discussed in chapter two. In fact, similar constructions to (35b) are glossed in Fassi Fehri (1993: 40) as if they are presenting new information; therefore, they express information focus within athetic construction. For instance, consider (36).

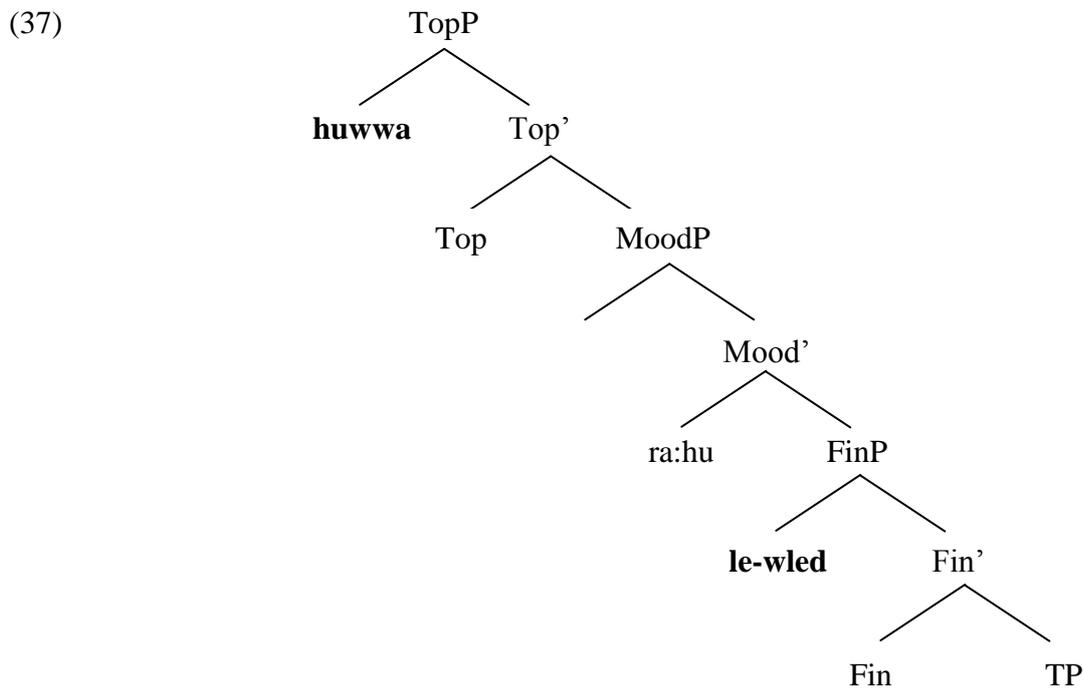
(36) hum al-junu:d-u

they.3PLM the-soldiers-NOM

“That’s soldiers.”

Second, the agreement properties in constructions as in (35b) are similar to those discussed for above for thethetic (35a) in TA. Indeed, Fassi Fehri (1993: 39-41) argues that such expletive H-pronouns in MSA/CA in constructions like (35b) are either third person or ‘non-person’, in addition to showing number and gender agreement. More importantly, Fassi Fehri (1993: 40) claims that the H-pronoun ‘being in a Spec-Head configuration (presumably in Spec of I [as in 34]) carries the same value of [Gender] and [Number] as does the thematic subject.’ These two properties of (35b) mean that the H-form is specified [uGender, uNumber] and gets them assigned by the subject NP. In this respect, the agreement facts of (35b) in MSA/CA are not distinct from those we claimed for (35a) in TA (as long as we consider third person subjects).

Now that we have claimed that thethetic H-NP subject doubling pair in TA as in (35a) displays similarities with (35b) in MSA/CA in terms of information structure and in terms of its agreement properties, let us examine whether they observe the same structural properties. In this respect, we have shown, for instance, in (5) above that the underlying small clause subject in TA moves as a single constituent then splits into two subject doubles in SpecTopP and SpecFinP, respectively. This means that both nominal doubles move to VP-external subject positions. (5) is shown again in (37).



Compared to (37), it is clear that Fassi Fehri's analysis in (34) of (35b) is different from (35a) in view of (37) given that in (34) the predicate NP, unlike in TA, remains in a VP-internal position.

Summing-up, Fassi Fehri's (1993) small clause approach to constructions in MSA/CA that we considered similar in several ways to ourthetic H-NP doublets in TA is an attractive approach. It can be taken for granted to account for the expletive nature of the H-form. It has been shown to reinforce our claim of the existence of a predication relation between the doubling expletive H-form and its doubled NP. It has, above all, consolidated our small clause analysis of thethetic H-NP pair. Yet, we diverge from Fassi Fehri's (1993) approach as it is constrained to constructions that do motivate the movement of two members of the underlying

small clause subject to VP-external subject positions, as is the case for the big DP of the H-NP construction in TA. For this reason, we maintain the big DP analysis of this H-NP doubling pair comprising the H-NP doubles in a predication relation in the form of a small clause the parts of which move to distinct VP-external subject positions.

4.2.5.2. *The big DP doubling H-NP pair vs. the categorical DP of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links*

I will show in what follows that thethetic subject doubling H-NP pair in TA is more suitably derived according to the Big DP approach than according to the Partial copy and multiple-spell out of chain links approach to doubling following Barbiers et al. (2008). Like in chapter three, it will be shown that what argues against the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach is the agreement behaviour of thethetic H-NP pair and especially the absence of identical doubling in TA, which are central to the plausibility of the Partial copy and multiple-spell out of chain links approach to doubling.

Recall that the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach works in conjunction with Déchaine and Wiltshko's (2002: 410) proposal that pronouns are not primitive categories. Instead, pronouns observe a categorical structure: pro-DPs, pro-φPs, and pro-NPs. They are distributed as follows (see (45) in chapter three).

- (38) a. pro-DPs: [DP D [φP φ [NP N]]]
 b. pro-φP: [φP φ [NP N]]
 c. NP: [NP N]]

The three-way categorisation in (38) corresponds to the three types of pronoun categories that are recognised by their feature specification. That is to say, following (38), the least specified (weak) pronoun argument is a bare NP as in (38c) which defines a clitic. A more specified pronoun argument includes φP in addition to NP as in (38b) and defines a weak pronoun. The most specified pronoun argument is (38a) which contains a DP in addition to φP and NP defining as such a strong pronoun.

Connected to such conception of pronouns, the Partial copy and multiple-spell out of chain links approach was argued in chapter three to predict two facts as to the doubling phenomenon. First, the high double should be less specified than the lower double, i.e., the case of distinct

doubling; otherwise, as second fact, both are identical in terms of feature specification, i.e., the case of identical doubling.

This prediction holds true for thethetic subject pronominal doubling constructions in Finnish, for example. Consider again (25) in (39).

(39) a. *Se ole-n minä-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.*

SE. s have-1S I.1S-too quit smoking

“I, too, have quit smoking.”

b. *Se on se-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.*

SE.3S has-3S he.3S-too quit smoking

“He/she/it, too, has quit smoking.”

(39a) is derived by a partial copying of the strong pronoun *minä*, with the partial copy spelled-out as *se*. By partial copy, Holmberg and Nikanne (2008) mean that, granting that *minä*, following (38), is the spell-out of the more specified argument in (40a) and *se* the spell-out of less-specified argument in (40b), what is copied is a sub-constituent of (40a). The idea is that *se*, although it is otherwise used as a third person pronoun meaning ‘he, she, it’, in this case spells-out only number. This means that *se* spells-out just a subset of the features of *minä* (*se* also lacks the D-feature of *minä*).

(40) a. *minä*: [**DP** D [_φP 1S [N]]]

b. *se*: [_φP S [_{NP} N]]

Therefore, (40) is spelled-out in (39a) in the form of two chain links with the higher link less specified than the lower one.

The same copy-based derivational theory of movement (chain formation) in conjunction with (38) derives (39b). In (39b), however, copying extracts the same set of features from the lower constituent spelling-out identical chain links. The two identical pronouns in (39b) are the spell-out of (41a) and (41b).¹

¹ An alternative analysis is that the lower *se* in (39b) is specified for third person and D, but the higher *se* is not. We saw earlier, however, that Finnish accepts identical doubling also in the case of first and second person pronouns.

(41) a. se: [φ P 3S [N]]

b. se: [φ P 3S [N]]

According to the derivation of (39), it is clear that the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links yields the desirable result.

Building on the derivation of (39) in Finnish and given our conclusion in subsection 4.2.2 that thetic pronominal doubling in TA and Finnish are similar, suppose that the thetic H-NP pairs in (42) (= (2)) are derived according to the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links.

(42) a. huwwa le-wled mfa: l- el-masrah ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f
he.3SM the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not

“I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

b. huwwa 'inti ji:-t, waqt-a: f !?
he.3SM you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time- Q

“Ah! You’re here, since when?”

Both doublets in (42) meet the key property of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach: the higher copy is less-specified than the lower one. Indeed, it is possible to posit that in (42a) *huwwa* ‘he’ as in (43a) is the spell-out of the partial copy of φ P out of the more specified *lewled* ‘the boy’ spelled-out as in (43b). However, we will argue that this is still problematic.

(43) a. le-wled: [$\text{DP D } [\varphi\text{P 3SM [N]]}]$

b. huwwa: [$\varphi\text{P 3SM [NP N]}$]

Now consider the doublet in (42b). Earlier we argued that the doubling H-form is inherently third person. An alternative analysis is that the H-form is an inherently personless pronoun, marked only for number and gender. If we adopt that hypothesis, the features of the pronouns will be as in (44).

(44) a. 'inti: [$\text{DP D } [\varphi\text{P 2SMF [N]]}]$

b. huwwa: [$\varphi\text{P SM [NP N]}$]

Now we can describe the doubling in terms of partial copying: the doubling H-pronoun is made-up of a subset of the features of the second person subject. Nonetheless, the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach cannot be the suitable approach in view of two subject doubling types in TA: identical doubling and NP-H doubling as in chapter three. For the identical doubling type, the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links wrongly predicts that (45a,b) (= (23a) and (24a), respectively) will be grammatical, since, in addition to partial copying, it is based on full copying that gives rise to identical doubling, as in (39b) in Finnish, for example. However, this is not the case for (45) in TA.

- (45) a. *’inti ’inti ji-:t, waqt-a: f !?
 you.2SM/F you 2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time-Q
- b. *huwwa huwwa ja-: !?
 he.3SM he.3SM come.PRF.3SM

For the NP-H case, we discussed in chapter three that the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach is not valid for subject NP-H pair doubling as in (46) (= (1a) in chapter three) for the simple reason that it predicts that (46), where a more specified copy is higher than a less specified one, should be ungrammatical.

- (46) le-wled HUWWA mfa- : l- el-masrah, muƒ e-ttufla
 the-boy he.3SM go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

Clearly, then, (45) and (46) argue against the plausibility of the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach. Note that despite the fact that the Partial copy and multiple spell-out of chain links approach can derive some cases ofthetic doubling in TA, it remains descriptively inadequate to account for H-NP identical doubling and, especially, for the NP-H doubling type. It will, instead, be more adequate, as in chapter three, to maintain the Big DP approach to account for the various manifestations of the doubling NP-H pair comprising the two sequences, NP-H and H-NP sequences.

4.2.6. Summary of the section

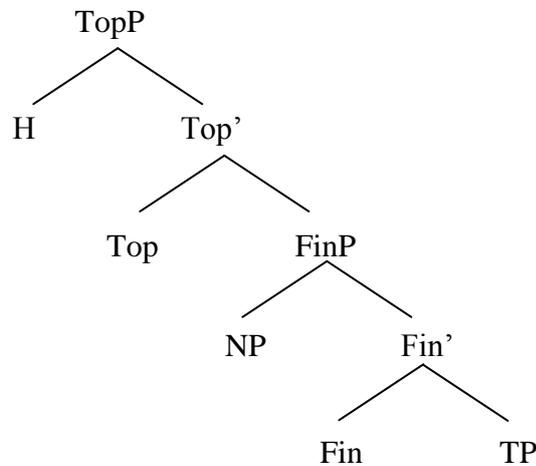
This section has explored the base-generated structure of the thetic H-NP subject doubling pair in TA. The main claim has been that, like the contrastive topic subject NP-H pair in chapter three, the best analysis for the thetic doublet is based on the big DP analysis. The big DP has been argued to contain a small clause in which the H-form double and the subject NP double observe a predication relation. Internal to this underlying subject small clause, the H-form is an inherently third person pronoun (or alternatively, an inherently personless pronoun) that either copies the valued [Number, Gender] features of the third person subject NP in H-nominal subject pairs, or observes no agreement at all in H-pronominal NP pairs. Having explored the big DP base-generated nature of the thetic H-NP subject doubling pair in TA, I will consider in the following section the derived structure of this subject doubling H-NP pair.

4.3. The structural Analysis of the thetic subject NP-H pair: a case of thetic subject doubling

In this section, I address the syntax of the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair in TA. Starting from the base-generated big DP structure developed in the previous section, I show that the derivation of the H-NP construction results in another subject doubling instance of the NP-H pair in TA. It is thetic subject doubling conveying information focus. Our understanding of thetic follows from Marty's (1884) (originally cited in Lambrecht 1994) definition of thetic (see subsection 2.5.3). We here reiterate its central contention: the discourse referent is not presupposed any property, so it is not topical. This will be shown to correspond to the fact that big DP subject bears only a [+Foc] feature. However, deriving the expletive part of the big DP in SpecTopP will only be for EPP satisfaction, given that the expletive H-form of the H-NP pair is personless (and therefore less referential, compared to the tonic doubling H-form in chapter three); hence, non-topical. Then, the thetic subject H-NP doublet will be the result of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top valued by the expletive H-form and a [+Foc]-marked Fin. The derivation of the thetic subject H-NP doubling construction will validate the key proposal of chapter three that the NP-H pair in TA is a MSC with a particular information-structural interpretation, namely contrastive topic. In this section, the H-NP sequence will be analysed along the same lines, as a MSC conveying a thetic meaning. In this respect, we will be postulating that the higher subject position of the MSC, SpecTopP, is filled by an expletive H-pronoun checking the EPP feature of Top; the lower subject position of the MSC, SpecFinP,

is the focus position hosting the lexical doubled subject NP in addition to the EPP. This schematically looks like (47).

(47)



Formalising the various properties of thethetic MSC in TA will, as in chapter three, require comparing the MSC in TA to similar constructions comprising an expletive and a lexical NP in other languages, such as Finnish and Icelandic. The comparison will again claim that this H-NP MSC as TA sets the SpecFinP parameter according to the option that allows MSCs.

The discussion of these issues proceeds by reviewing the information structure description of the H-NP constructions as in chapter two. I, then, transpose this information structure into structural terms by considering the various feature-valuation computations that converge into thethetic information focus subject doubling in TA. A comparative subsection then follows comparing the H-NP MSC to various other MSC types in Icelandic, Finnish and Swedish.

4.3.1. The information structure of thethetic NP-H pair: a reminder

In chapter two, the information structure description of the H-NP construction in TA as in (48) (= (42)), showed that this H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair realises athetic (non-topic) construction in TA.

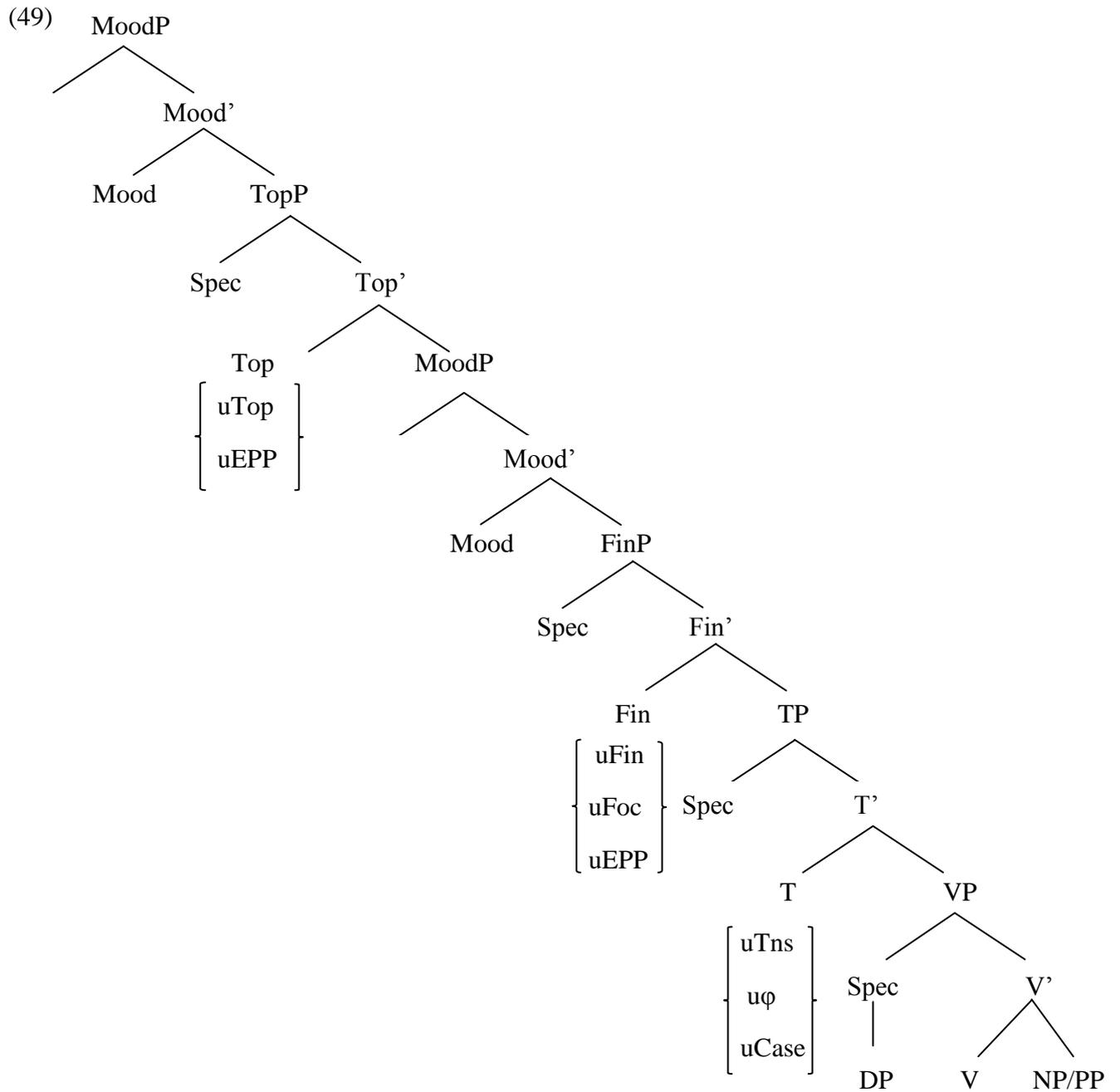
- (48) a. huwwa le-wled mfa: l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f
 he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
 “I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

b. huwwa 'inti ji:-t, waqt-a: f !?
 he you.2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time- Q
 “Ah! You’re here, since when?”

In principle, thethetic nature of such constructions entails the lack of presupposition. They are described in chapter two, following Lambrecht (1994) and Krifka (2007), as instances of assertions void of any presuppositions. In this respect, they convey information focus in the sense that they present new information, especially in situations of surprise. Notice that (48) substantiates the newness of the information in both sentences by the tagged continuation. They also express surprise as the result of experiencing the information for the first time, which reinforces the lack of presupposition of (48). We also concluded in chapter two that we distinguish inside the H-NP sequence as in (48) between an information focus NP and a non-tonic expletive H-form. Accordingly, we have assumed that in its VP-internal position, the big DP, the base-generated structure of the doublet, is marked [+Foc] only. In what follows, we take-up the analysis of its derivation.

4.3.2. The Clause structure in TA

I assume again the paradigm in (49) (= (73) in chapter three), to be the clause structure for TA and the viable one for the structural analysis of thethetic H-NP construction in TA. However, the feature-valuation system deriving thethetic subject doubling H-NP pair will be shown to work differently from that we postulated in chapter three for the derivation of a number of constructions: unmarked constructions (i.e, non-doubling ones) vs. the marked (i.e, doubling) MSC phenomenon illustrated by the contrastive subject doubling NP-H pair. Notice that the feature content of the functional categories in (49) is similar to the one we assumed in chapter three for the derivation of the unmarked and marked structures that we will review as we proceed. Consider (49).



Let us first briefly describe some properties related to (49). To begin with, recall that Mood is a head whose position in the functional sequence is not entirely fixed, as was demonstrated in 3.5.2. In this tree, two of the mood positions are represented by the occurrence in TA of a number of speech acts adverbial particles expressing mood that observe free distribution in the TA sentence. Besides, there has also been the discussion underlying the postulation of the TopP and FinP positions in (49). A reminder of the main ideas is outlined in what follows.

We postulated the existence of TopP on the basis of a number of diagnostics: the definiteness diagnostic, the distribution of interrogatives diagnostic, and the mood adverbial particle distribution diagnostic. I will restrict the recap again to definiteness effect and the behaviour of interrogatives in TA.

Consider, first, the definiteness condition on topics in (= (78) in chapter three).

- (50) a. e-ttufla_i ja: b-et- ha:_i 'umm-ha:
 the-girl bring.PRF.3SF-her (CLI) mother-her
 “The girl, her mother brought her.”
- b. * tuf_i ja:b- et- ha:_i 'umm-ha:
 a girl bring.PRF.3SF-her(CLI) mother-her

The contrast between (50a) and (50b) shows that the only case when fronted object arguments can be resumed by a resumptive clitic pronoun and are therefore topics as in (50a) only if they are definite. They are not topics if they are indefinite as in the ungrammatical (50b).

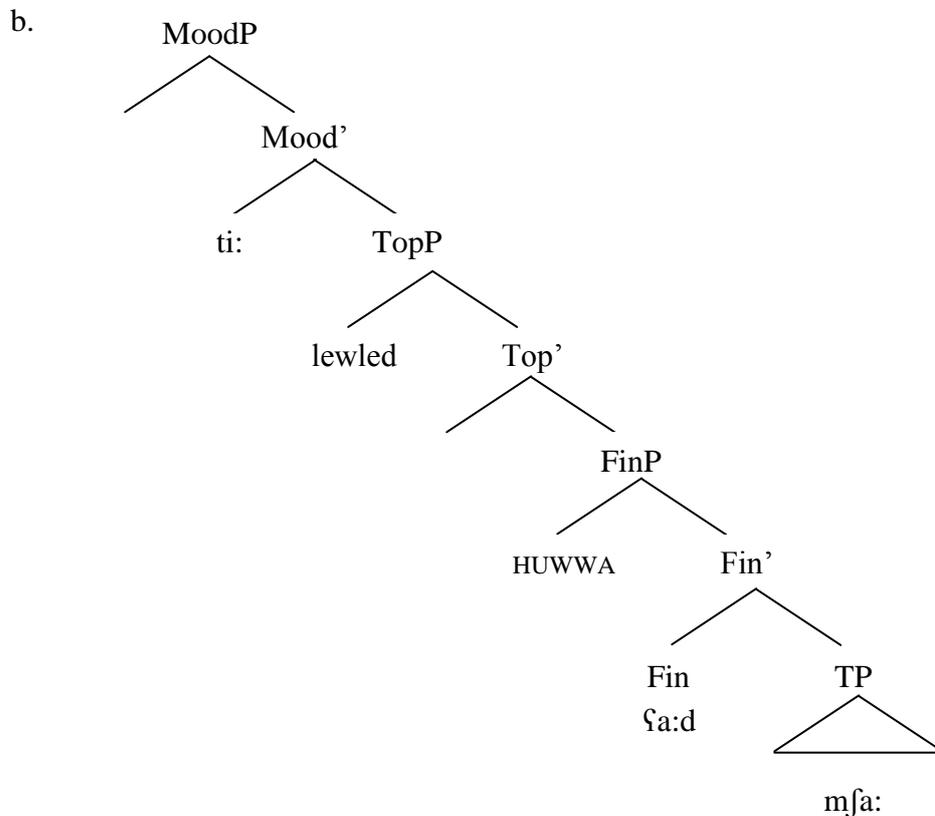
The other diagnostic supporting TopP in TA is the distribution of interrogative operators. We argued that, according to (51) (= (79) in chapter three), there is a higher TopP than the position of the interrogative operator, namely SpecFocP (Rizzi 1997).

- (51) a. le-wled, men waqt-a:f wall-a yet-kallem hakka ?
 the-boy from time-Q become-PRF.3SM IPFV-speak.3SM like this
 “Since when is the boy talking like this?”
- b. * men waqt-a:f, le-wled wall-a yet-kallem hakka ?
 from time-Q the-boy become-PRF.3SM IPFV-speak.3SM like this

Our assumption, to reiterate, is that, following Rizzi’s (1997) cartography of the left-periphery, wh-movement in (51a) will target a higher position than SpecFocP: SpecTopP. Then, the left-dislocated position in (51) is a topic position.

As for the postulation of FinP in (49), it was discussed in chapter three that possibly a higher head position than T exists in view of the distribution of aspectual particles in TA like *ʕa:d* ‘already’ as in (52b) (= (83) in chapter three) representing (52a) (= (80a) in chapter three).

(52) a. *ti: le-wled HUWWA ʕa:d mʕa:-*
 PRT the-boy he PRT go-PRF.3SM
 “Come on, THE BOY already went.”



The postulation of FinP in (52b), as we showed in chapter three, is based on the observation: (a) the H-pronoun in the NP-H construction usually immediately precedes the highest verb, (b) there is a case where it does not, but instead immediately precedes *ʕa:d* ‘already’ which precedes the verb. This can be explained if the H-pronoun is in the spec of a head Fin that is usually the landing site of the verb, except when it hosts *ʕa:d* ‘already’, in which case verb movement is blocked.

After dealing with the description of the functional categories of (49), let us review the feature content of these functional categories and the way the feature-valuation system works then see how that pertains to the derivation of thethetic H-NP subject doubling pair. Starting with the category T, it has a valued [Case] feature and [u ϕ] features. These get valued by the closest DP c-commanded by T, i.e., the subject. As for the feature content of the categories Top and Fin, we showed in chapter three that their valuation results in the spell-out of a number of distinct constructions (see table 8.1 in chapter three). For instance, the unmarked SVO including an aboutness topic as in (53) (= (91a) in chapter three) was discussed to be the

consequence of the spell-out of a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with the EPP and a [-Foc]-marked Fin structure, conveying an aboutness topic in SpecTopP.

- (53) le-wled mfa -: l- el-masrah
 the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
 “The boy went to the theatre.”

Likewise, the same [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and [-Foc]-marked Fin structure can spell-out another unmarked SVO in TA, but, unlike (53), it does not spell-out the subject in SpecTopP, given (49), hence the null-subject construction as in (54) (= (91b) in chapter three).

- (54) Ø mfa -: l- el-masrah
 pro go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre
 “He went to the theatre.”

Another construction was studied in chapter three to be the result of the spell-out of a [-Top]-marked Top, [-Foc]-marked Fin structure without Top and Fin being paired with EPP, in addition to the absence of topics and foci. These were the spell-out properties of the unmarked VSO construction in (55) (= (91c) in chapter three).

- (55) a. mfa -: le-wled l- el-masrah
 go-PRF.3SM the-boy to-the-theatre
 “The boy went to the theatre.”

The fourth unmarked construction we viewed in chapter three was the cleft non-subject doubling NP-H pair in TA as in (56) (= (91e) in chapter three).

- (56) *LE-WLED* huwwa elli: mfa -: l- el-masrah, muʃ e-ʃtufla
 the-boy COP_{3s} that go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “*THE BOY* was the one who went to the theatre, but not the girl.”

(56) was argued to be the consequence of the structure [-Top]-marked Top and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP, yielding a contrastive/exhaustive focus of the non-doubling subject.

The only marked construction we examined in chapter three was the MSC as illustrated by the subject doubling NP-H pair as in (57) (= (91d) in chapter three), conveying contrastive topic.

(57) le-wled HUWWA mfa: l-el-masrah, muʃ e-ʔtufla
 the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

(57) was investigated in chapter three to illustrate how TA conveys contrastive topic by virtue of a marked construction, i.e., the subject doubling NP-H pair. Contrastive topic subject doubling was analysed to be the spell-out of the structure [+Top]-marked Top associated with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin associated, as well, with EPP. As such, the feature-valuation system regarding (49) was studied in chapter three to spell-out several constructions in TA. Now, we will consider the other marked construction in TA, i.e., the MSC illustrated by the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair.

4.3.3. The derivation of the thetic subject NP-H doubling pair

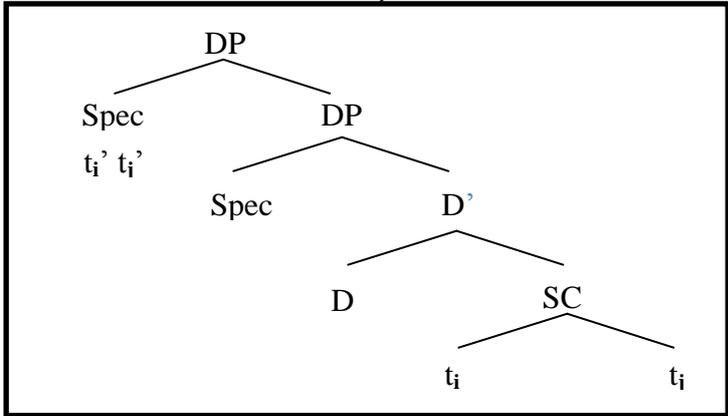
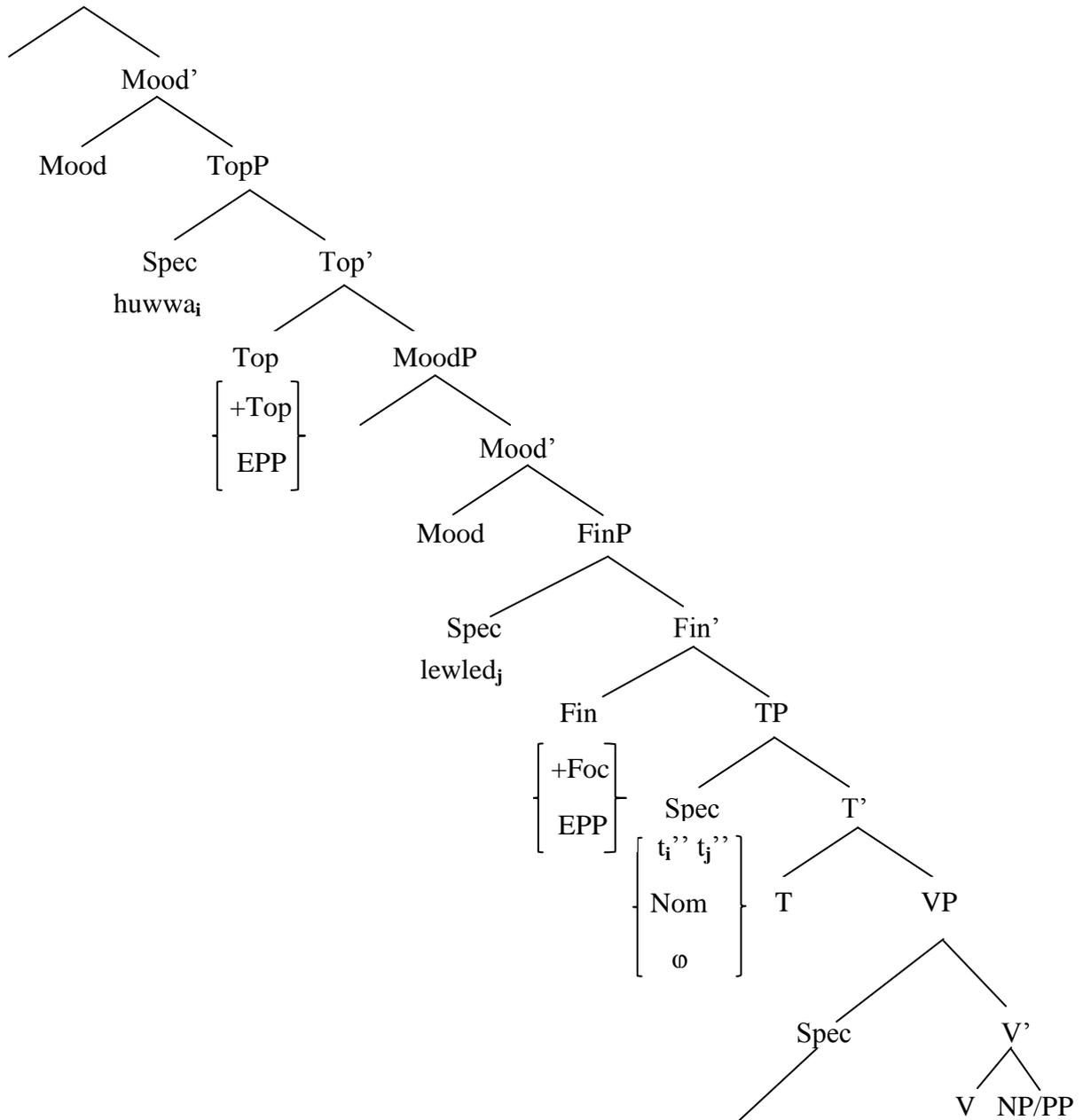
I examine in this section the different computational operations that derive the thetic H-NP construction in (48) on the basis of the clause structure I have outlined in (49). Consider for instance the derivation of (48a), repeated below in (58).

(58) huwwa le-wled mfa: l-el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ
 he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
 “I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

According to (49), Top is probing for valued features to value its unvalued [uTop] and check its [uEPP] feature that is associated with [uTop]. Likewise, Fin is probing for valuation of its [uFoc] the [uEPP] associated with it. As for Case, DPs get their Case feature valued during the derivation from the valued [Case] in T. Also (49) has other functional categories seeking valuation such as T with [u ϕ] features.

(59) represents the various feature-valuation computations that spell-out the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair in (58).

(59) MoodP



The derivation of thethetic subject doubling H-NP pair in (59) occurs in two parts, i.e., internal to the big DP and external to it, similarly with our description of the derivation of the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair in chapter three.

Internal to the big DP, the situation looks as follows. The big DP has a [+Foc] feature entering the structure as an optional accompaniment of D. The DP comprises a lexical subject NP of the DP-internal small clause, which observes a predication relation with an expletive H-form. The H-form in this construction is expletive in the sense that it does not bear any overt or covert interpretive feature, focus and topic in particular, compared to the tonic doubling H-form in the contrastive topic NP-H construction in chapter three. The expletive-H form has been analysed in subsection 4.2.2 as inherently third person (alternatively as inherently personless) and has unvalued ϕ -features, i.e. number and gender features, [uNumber] and [uGender], and [uCase]. When the subject NP is also third person, the H-form will value its [u ϕ]-features by copying those of the third person subject. It has also been seen that, for reasons that are not entirely clear, the [u ϕ]-features of the H-pronoun cannot be valued by a first or second person subject, but instead, the pronoun is spelled-out by default as *huwwa* ‘he’. In this respect, it differs from the H-form in the NP-H construction, where the H-form always agrees in number. This may be related to the fact that the H-form in the H-NP case has ‘less referential content’ than in the NP-H case, where the H-pronoun realises a focus-feature. Internal to the big DP, and on the basis of Uriagereka’s (1995b, 1998) requirement that the SC parts with a big DP should move to the edge of the big DP, each of the doubles in (59) is shown to adjoin to the edge of the big DP, i.e., SpecDP where they share the information focus feature, [+Foc], of the big DP. As said in chapter three, the intermediate structure of the movement of the doubles within the big DP remains stipulative, but it is this very adjunction that renders the doubles visible for probing by EPP of [uTop] and [uFin], respectively.

Out of the big DP, the derivation of (58) according to (59) has T probing for a DP with valued ϕ -features (and unvalued Case). The big DP has valued ϕ -features by virtue of the lexical NP. At this point, the big DP is just a big DP containing a SC. Internal to the big DP, there is adjunction of the NP and the H to the edge of the DP. The big DP moves to SpecTP, but without spelling-out there, given the need to check its interpretable [+Foc] feature that it keeps from its initial merger and pertinently, given the need of Top to value its [uTop] and [EPP] features and Fin to value its [uFoc] and [EPP] features. Let us then consider the valuation of these features. The [uTop] feature and its associated EPP feature probe for a topic-marked DP. The lexical subject DP is [+Foc]-marked, and therefore, cannot value [uTop]

or be attracted by the EPP feature of Top. It probes further and finds the expletive H-pronoun. As an expletive, the H-pronoun cannot have topic interpretation. However, we assume, it does satisfy EPP of Top, and therefore moves to SpecTopP. We also assume that in spite of not being [+Top]-marked in the sense of referring to a topical individual, the H-pronoun does value [uTop] as [+Top]. That is to say, it functions as an expletive topic.² Regarding the doubled lexical subject, it is triggered by the [uEPP] coupled with Fin to move to SpecFinP in order to value the [uFoc]-marked Fin. There, [uFoc] of Fin is valued and EPP of Fin is satisfied. Accordingly, the spell-out of this marked subject construction, i.e. subject doubling H-NP conveying information focus in a thetic construction is the result of a structure including a [+Top]-marked Top (but valued by an expletive topic) and a [+Foc]-marked Fin associated with EPP.

The resulting thetic H-NP structure reflects our finding in chapter three that the higher subject position, SpecTopP, as well as the lower subject position, SpecFinP of the MSC in TA, in the case of contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair hosts the EPP. Indeed, as noted above on the basis of the derivation of the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair in (58), we keep postulating that the EPP is the higher MSC subject position, SpecTopP, despite the fact that having a thetic construction denies in principle the existence of a topic element. It can also be in the lower SpecFinP subject position hosting the information focus constituent of thetic constructions.

Obviously, the spell-out properties of (58) according to (59) are about another marked SVO construction in TA in view of the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair. These properties and those of (53-57) are summarised in table 8.2.

² This analysis is reminiscent of Groat's (1995) analysis of the English expletive *there* that contains only a kind of D-feature (EPP-feature) by virtue of observing Case. Originally, Groat (1995: 364) criticises Chomsky's (1991) 'stipulation that *there* is an LF affix'. Instead, Groat (1995) claims that the expletive *there*, although it does not bear any agreement features, does show Case features that should be checked independently of agreement features (within an early Minimalist theory that splits Case checking and agreement checking, Chomsky (1993) following Pollock (1989)).

Table 7.2.: The Spell-out properties of unmarked and marked subject constructions in TA

	[+Top] [-Foc] EPP	[+Top] [+Foc] EPP EPP	[-Top] [+Foc] EPP	[-Top] [-Foc]
Unmarked SVO (aboutness topic subject)	(53)			
Unmarked SVO (null subject)	(54)			
Unmarked VSO				(55)
Unmarked SVO (non-subject doubling NP-H pair)			(56)	
Marked SVO (contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H pair)		(57)		
Marked SVO (thetic subject doubling H-NP pair)		(58)		

Summing-up the derivation of the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair in TA, we have shown that such a construction is the result of the spell-out of a structure including a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled as well with EPP. The underlying [+Foc]-marked big DP subject contains an empty expletive H-form that has been discussed to check the [uEPP] of Top and a subject NP that has been discussed to value the [uFoc] of Fin and check the EPP of Fin. The resulting thetic subject doubling illustrates another instance of the MSC phenomenon in TA, in addition to the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H instance we studied in chapter three. The higher subject position of this MSC is SpecTopP and the lower subject position is the SpecFinP.

4.3.4. Determining the derived positions of the doubling pair

Another structural property we need to consider especially before setting-out a comparison with MSCs in other languages is the VP-external property of the thetic H-NP MSC. This is based on the adverbial placement diagnostic. In particular, the distributional behaviour of the TP adverbial *za:da* ‘also’ and the CP/speech acts adverbial *birrasmi*: ‘truly’ shows that the thetic subject positions for the thetic doubles are VP-external. Consider the contrast between (60a) and (60b).

(60) a. [CP [TopP huwwa [FinP le-wled [TP **za: da** [TP [VP mʃa:- l-el-masraḥ, ma: fi:
 he the-boy also go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not in
 ba:l -i: -ʃ]]]]]
 knowledge-my-not

“I had no idea whether the boy also went to the theatre.”

b.*[CP **za:da** [CP [TopP huwwa [FinP le-wled [TP [VP mʃa:- l-el-masraḥ, ma: fi:
 also he the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the theatre not in
 ba:l -i: -ʃ]]]]]
 knowledge-my-not

The adverbial *za:da* ‘also’ can only be in a TP-adjoined position, which means it demarcates the left boundary of the TP as in (60a). In (60b), it is adjoined to CP and the result is ungrammatical. Instead, the CP-adjoined position hosts CP/speech acts adverbials like *birrasmi*: ‘truly’. This is illustrated in the contrast between (61a) and (61b).

(61) a.*[CP **za:da** [CP [TopP huwwa [FinP le-wled [TP **birrasmi**: [TP [VP mʃa:- l-el- masraḥ,
 also he the-boy truly go-PRF.3SM to-the theatre
 ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ]]]]]]]
 not in knowledge-my-not

- b. [CP **birrasmi:** [CP [TopP huwwa [FinP le-wled [TP **za:da** [TP [VP mʃa:- l-el-masrah,
truly he the-boy also go-PRF.3SM to-the theatre
ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ]]]]]
not in knowledge-my-not

“Truly, I had no idea whether the boy also went to the theatre.”

A speech acts adverbial has scope over CP, and is therefore expected to be higher than a TP adverb (Jackendoff 1972; Cinque 1999). This is observed in (61b) and breached in (61a) in TA. What follows from the distribution of speech acts adverbials and TP adverbials in TA is that both demarcate the space where the subjects are located outside TP (hence also outside VP) but inside CP. Furthermore, they dispel any doubt that the H-pronoun and the NP are two distinct constituents in their derived position.

4.3.5. A crosslinguistic comparison of MSCs

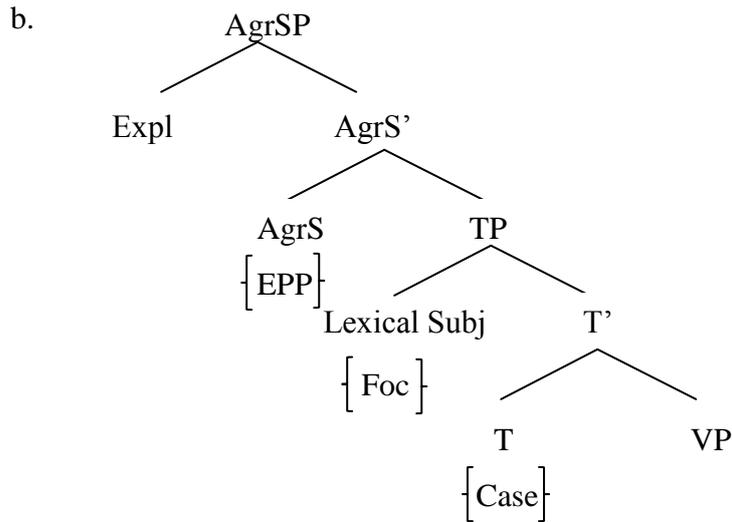
Similarly with chapter three, I examine in this subsection the parametric variation regarding MSCs, but in view of the thetic H-NP MSC, instead of its contrastive topic NP-H MSC counterpart in chapter three. The purpose is to see what is special about the MSC phenomenon in TA and validate the claim that the NP-H pair we depicted in chapter two is a MSC. I will in particular compare the properties of the H-NP MSC in TA to those of the MSCs in Finnish and Icelandic. I will then show that the MSCs in these languages are made possible by virtue of option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter we outlined in chapter three: Fin in these languages is dedicated to [uFoc].

4.3.5.1. *The H-NP MSC in TA vs. the TEC MSC in Icelandic*

The H-NP MSC as realised by the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair in TA has a number of similarities but also differences, if compared to the Icelandic MSC called the Transitive Expletive Construction (TEC), as described in Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) and Vangsnes (2002). I will in what follows outline both similarities and differences and then account for the differences in terms of the positions hosting the two subjects. The parametric variation between TA and Icelandic regarding the MSC will show that the two languages set in the same way the SpecFinP parameter, which allows them to exhibit the MSC.

First, consider the structure of the TEC-MSc (62a) (= (92 in chapter three) shown in (62b) (= (93) in chapter three), following Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: 196).

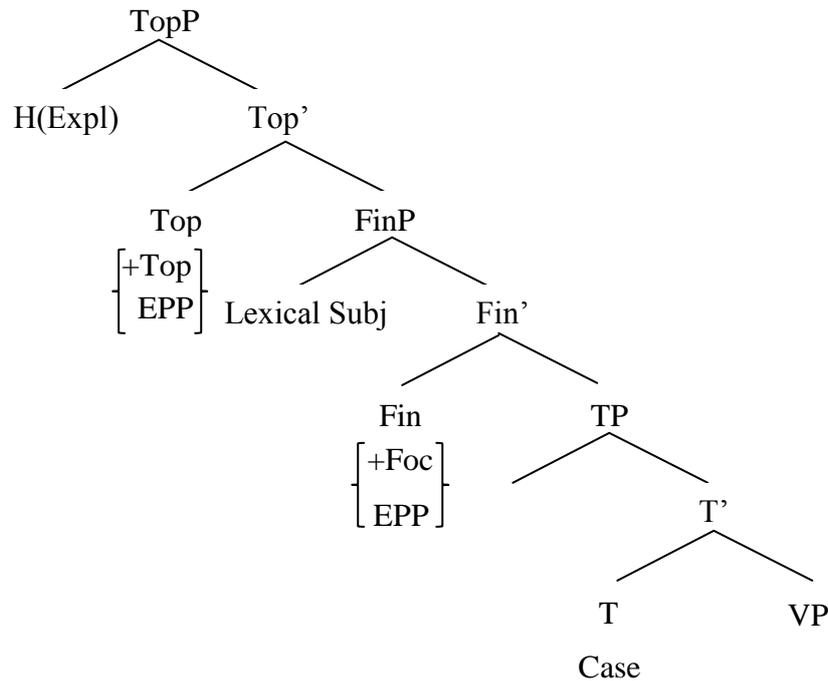
(62) a. Það borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun.
 there (EXPL) ate probably many Christmas.trolls the.sausages
 “Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages.”



A number of features are in common with the H-NP MSC in TA as in (63) (= (58)).

(63) a. huwwa le-wled mʃa:- l-el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ
 “I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”

b.



What (62) in Icelandic has in common with (63) in TA is that both have a lexical subject in a VP-external A-position and an expletive subject pronoun in a higher subject position. Furthermore, both have a means to ‘keep the lexical subject in the lower position’, where it will get focal interpretation (Vangsnes 2002). In TA as well as in Icelandic, in the unmarked case the subject moves first to a lower position where it checks or is assigned Case (typically Nominative), then to the higher position, triggered by the EPP-requirement (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996). In the MSC, the marked case, an expletive fills the higher position, checking the EPP, while the subject remains in the lower position, where it is interpreted as focus. Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) do not discuss the information-structural properties of the TEC, but they note that the lexical subject cannot be a definite DP (which is discussed in more detail in Vangsnes 2002). I take this to mean that it must be information focus. As described by Vangsnes (2002), the effect is similar (though not identical) to that in presentational constructions such as (64), following Holmberg and Platzack (1995: 103), a canonicalthetic construction, where the lexical subject is indefinite and interpreted as new information.

(64) það hafa komið margir málvísindamenn hingað í dag.

EXPL have come many linguists here today

“Many linguists have come here today.”

Despite these similarities, there are differences in terms of the structure and the interpretive effects of the H-NP and TEC-MSCs in Icelandic and TA, respectively. The positions are labelled differently in both cases. In part, this reflects differences in descriptive and theoretical assumptions rather than substantial empirical differences. In Icelandic, in the model Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) assume, following Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1993), there are two positions in the IP-domain for the subject: SpecTP and SpecAgrSP. The higher position, as the label implies, is assumed as the position where subject agreement is checked, by overt or covert movement of the lexical subject DP there. SpecTP is the position where Nominative case is checked. In the model assumed here, subject agreement and Nominative case are checked/assigned by T (by Agree between T and the subject). The question then is, what is the higher subject position in Icelandic, if we drop the idea that there is a special position for subject agreement checking? I propose that it is SpecTopP, very much as in TA. The question then is, what is the position of the lower subject? Given the Fin is a universal category (as I have assumed), the question is whether the lower subject is in SpecFinP, just as in TA, or whether it is in a lower position, SpecTP (note that neither Bobaljik and Jonas nor Vangsnes (2002) assume any category Fin). I propose that it is in the Spec of Fin, assumed to be a head encoding a focus feature.

It is standardly believed that the expletive *það* is ‘an expletive topic’, rather than just an expletive subject (Platzack 1985; Holmberg and Platzack 1995). The strongest evidence for this is the fact that it cannot follow a verb moved to C, as in polar questions, for example. Compare (65a) and (65b) (Platzack 1987).³

(65) a. Það hafa margir stúdentar lesið þessa bók.

there have many students read this book

“Many students have already read this book.”

b. Hafa (*það) margir stúdentar lesið þessa bók?

have there many students read this book

‘Have many students read this book?’

³ Thanks to Anders Holmberg (p.c) who drew my attention to these examples.

This indicates that the expletive is in the C-domain (although possibly a low position in the C-domain, assuming a split CP, as in Rizzi (1997)). I assume it is the position corresponding to SpecTopP in TA. As for the lexical subject in the TEC-MSc, as mentioned above, it is clearly not a topic since it cannot be definite (Vangsnes 2002). Instead, in the TEC-MSc it conveys information focus. This is also what the lower subject does in the H-NP MSc in TA. I therefore propose that Fin has the same property in Icelandic as in TA: it can encode focus (in Icelandic at least information focus), and therefore can host the lexical subject in the TEC, the Icelandic MSc.⁴

Given this analysis it is more convenient to view (62b) representing the TEC-MSc in Icelandic as equivalent to the structure (63b) representing thethetic H-NP MSc in TA. (62b) has now AgrsP as equivalent to TopP displaying Top and EPP in Top and TP equivalent to FinP with Foc and EPP in Fin. This is illustrated in (66).

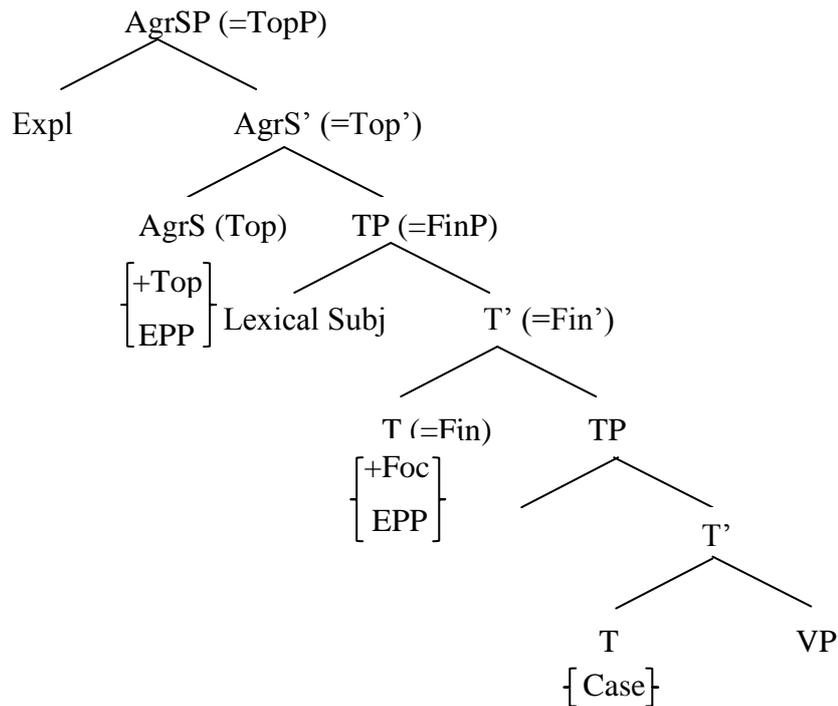
⁴ We may note that the fact that the lexical subject in the TEC-MSc precedes sentential adverbs, including adverbs which are high in Cinque's (1999) adverb hierarchy, can provide an argument that the subject is higher than SpecTP. Consider (i) (thanks to Anders Holmberg (p.c)).

(i) Það hafa margir stúdentar aldrei lesið þessa bók.
 there have many students never read this book

The same claim can be based on the position of the subject between two adverbs, *sennilega* 'probably' which is higher than TP and *aldrei* 'never' which is higher than VP. This is illustrated in (ii), following Vangsnes (2002: 45).

(ii) Það hafa sennilega sumir krakkar aldrei drukkið hana.
 EXPL have probably some kids never drink it.F

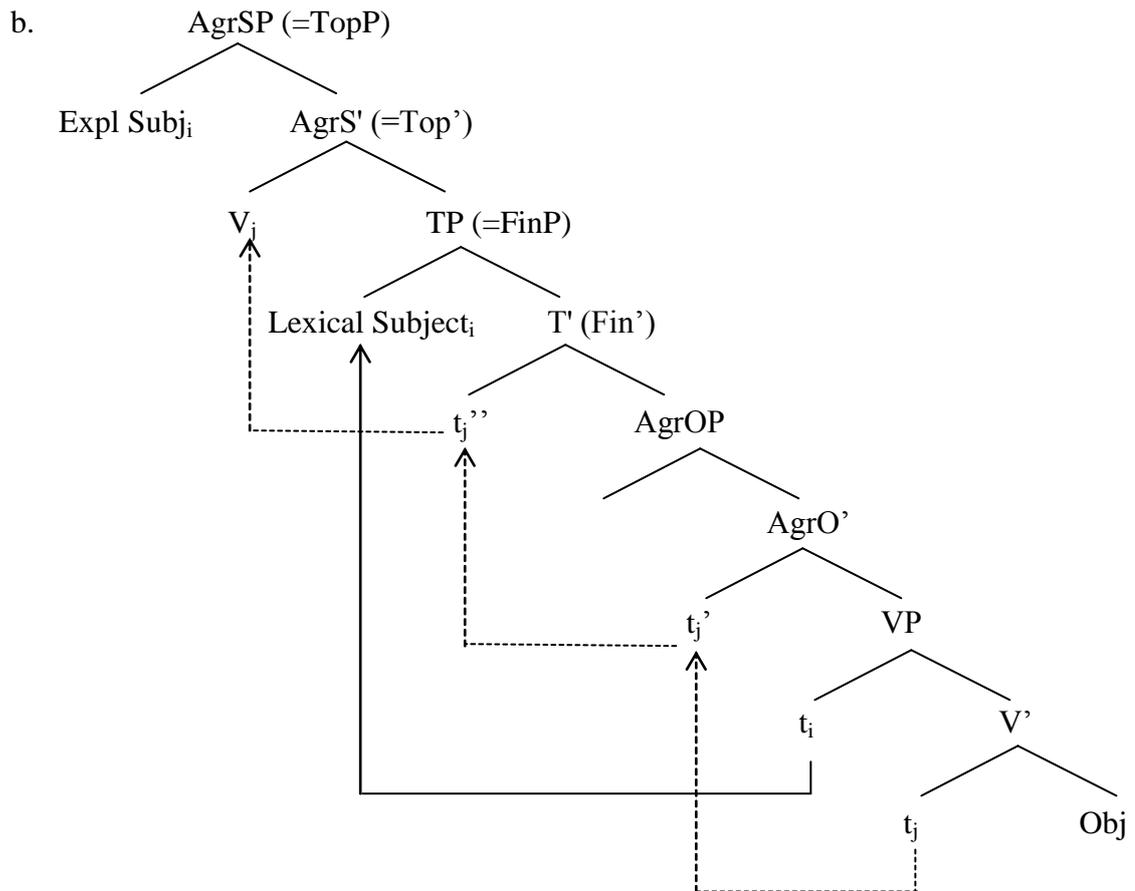
(66)



Another crucial distinctive property of the TEC-MSC in Icelandic is that the verb in Icelandic moves higher than in TA, namely to Top. Following Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), whether in the unmarked or in the marked case, i.e., the TEC, as in (67a) (= (62a)) the finite verb moves by successive head-movement to AgrS, or Top as it is reanalysed above. The finite verb intervenes between the two subjects as is shown in (67b).

(67) a. Það borðuðu margir jólasveinar bjúgun.

“Many Christmas trolls ate the sausages.”



In TA, the verb does not intervene between the two subjects.

- (68) a. * huwwa mfa-: le-wled l- el-masrah, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -f
 he go-PRF.3SM the-boy to-the-theatre not in knowledge-my-not
- b. huwwa mfa-: le-wled l- el-masrah ?
 Q go-PRF.3SM the-boy to-the-theatre
 ‘Did the boy go to the theatre?’

(68b) is actually well-formed. However, it is not a declarativethetic doubling construction, but a polar question, where the H-form functions as a question particle. This is a different use of the H-pronoun in TA, not dealt with in the present work.

Interestingly, the same facts hold for the contrastive topic-MSD discussed in chapter three: the verb intervenes between the two subjects, and the structure conveys a polar question. Consider for instance (69).

- (69) a. * *le-wled mfa:- HUWWA l- el-masrah, muj e-ttufla*
 the-boy go-PRF.3SM he to-the-theatre not the-girl
- b. *le-wled mfa:- huwwa l- el-masrah? muj e-ttufla ?*
 the-boy go-PRF.3SM Q to-the-theatre not the-girl
- “Did the boy go to the theatre? Not the girl?”
- “Did the boy go to the theatre?”

I leave this issue for future research.

In order to account for this comparison between the TEC-MSc in Icelandic and the TA’s H-NP MSc in terms of the parameter that makes both MSc types possible, we first need to view the SpecTP parameter as in (70) that Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: 211) believe to be behind the TEC-MSc in Icelandic. Afterwards, I will be suggesting in view of (66) the alternative parameter: the SpecFinP parameter.

To account for the difference between Icelandic, a language with a TEC, and English, a language without a TEC, Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: 211) postulate a parameter:⁵

(70) The [Spec, TP] parameter

Some languages license [Spec, TP]; others do not.

The idea is that both types of languages (a) have the sentential structure [_{AgrSP} AgrS [_{TP} T...]], (b) SpecAgrSP must be lexically realised (the EPP), (c) the subject moves to SpecAgrSP obligatorily in English, but can stay in SpecTP in Icelandic, because T ‘licenses’ it. In that case, an expletive fills SpecAgrSP.

But given the reanalysis of (62b) into (66) to account for the TEC-MSc in (62a), I suggest that the TEC-MSc in Icelandic follows from option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter as in (71) (= (118) in chapter three).

⁵ Note that we mentioned in chapter three that there are English dialects which exhibit, like Icelandic, TEC following Henry and Siobhan (2007). See footnote (38) in chapter three.

(71) The SpecFinP parameter:

Universal: [uTop] and [uFoc] are head features in the Fin-domain, i.e. the structural domain including Fin and the domain immediately above Fin.

Parameter: (a) [uTop] and [uFoc] are features of the same head Fin, with one EPP, or
(b) Fin is dedicated to [uFoc].

According to (71), Icelandic, like TA, observes as we have shown in (66) [_{TopP} Top [_{FinP} Fin...]] structure where Top is specified as [uTop] coupled with EPP and Fin is specified as [uFoc] coupled with EPP. The two languages opt for option (b) of the parameter in the sense that in both languages Fin can only be [uFoc] with EPP.⁶ Icelandic, as TA, has the option to satisfy the EPP of Top by an expletive, given the H-NP MSC and the TEC-MSC in Icelandic and TA, respectively. They also have the option to satisfy the EPP of the lower head, Fin, with a focused subject NP.

Summarising, this subsection has compared the H-NP subject doubling construction in TA to the TEC subject construction in Icelandic as two instances of the MSC phenomenon. It has been shown that both MSC types follow from option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter: the SpecFinP parameter.

4.3.5.2. The MSC of subject doubling in TA vs. the MSC of the Finnish double subject construction

I compare in this subsection the thetic H-NP type of MSC in TA to the MSC in Finnish as realised by two thetic double subject constructions in Finnish, following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008). There is no parametric variation between the two languages, with respect to subject doubling as both spell-out a subject NP focus in SpecFinP, hence TA and Finnish will be concluded to make use of option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter as in (71) to derive their MSCs.

First, let us recall from chapter three the main properties of the MSC proposal for the thetic double subject constructions as in (72a), following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002: 72)

⁶ There is -though- a slight difference between the SpecTP parameter and the SpecFinP parameter. Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) assume that the higher spec-position is obligatorily filled in all the languages, but there is variation with regard to the lower spec-position. According to the SpecFinP parameter, we (almost) assume the opposite because of the assumption that even SpecFinP can be unfilled, in the VSO case in TA. But, as we noted in chapter three, Fin in English always has EPP, while in TA it does not when Fin is [-Foc].

and in (72b), following Holmberg and Nikanne (2008:324). Consider (72a) (= (95) in chapter three) and (77b) (Holmberg and Nikanne 2008: 324).

(72) a. *Sitä ovat nämä lapset jo oppineet uimaan.*

EXPL have these children already learned to.swim

“These children have already learned to swim.”

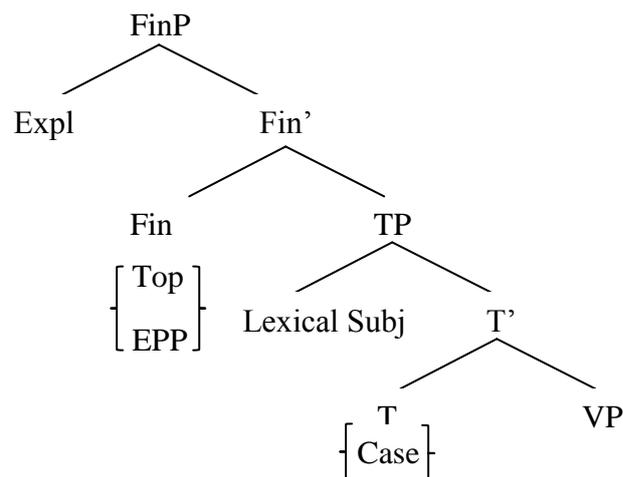
b. *Nyt se on Tarja-kin lopettanut tupakoinnin.*

now SE has Tarja-too quit smoking

“Now, Tarja, too, has quit smoking.”

We distinguish between the *sitä*-MSC type as in (72a) displaying the pure expletive subject, *sitä*, and the *se*-MSC type as in (72b) with its deficient pronoun, *se* (marked only for number) as subject. Both have the structure as in (73).

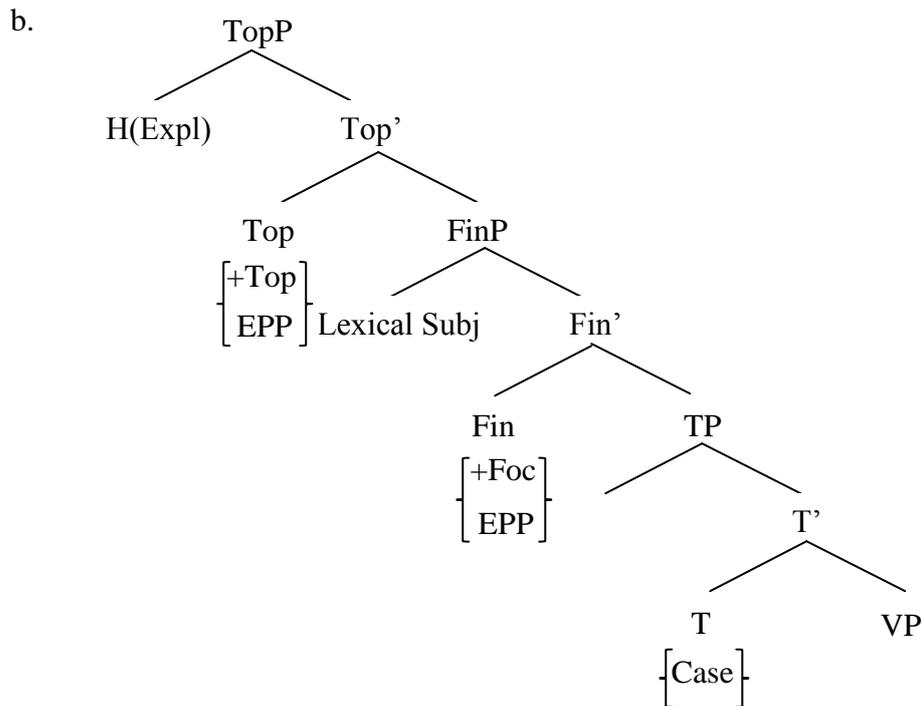
(73)



For a number of reasons, these MSC types in Finnish are not different from the one realised by thethetic H-NP MSC in TA as in (74a) (= (63a)) and its structure in (74b) (= (63b)) and the TEC-MSC in Icelandic as in (66b). We will, however, restrict the comparison to the MSCs in TA and Finnish.

(74) a. *huwwa le-wled mʃa:- l-el-masraħ, ma: fi: ba:l -i: -ʃ*

“I had no idea whether the boy went to the theatre.”



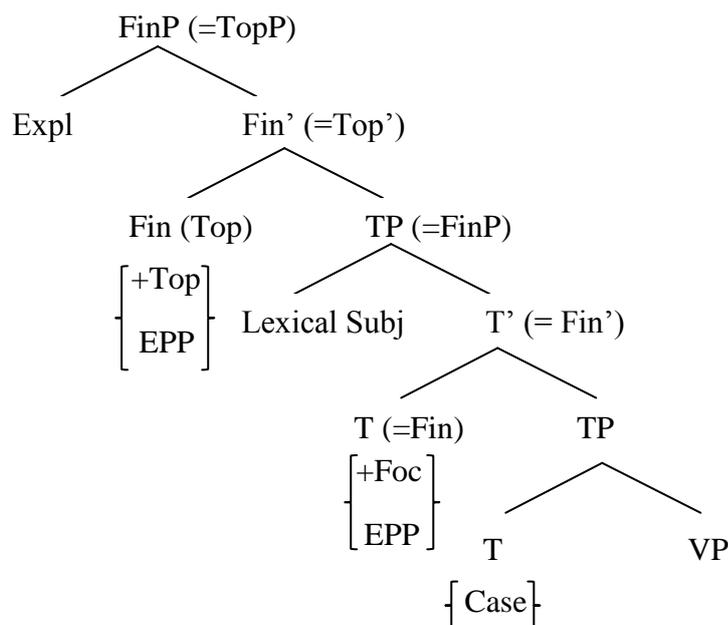
As shown in (73) and (74b), both languages have an expletive subject in the higher MSC subject position and keep the lexical subject NP in the lower MSC subject position. Both positions are associated in TA and Finnish with similar information-structure properties: the higher subject position is reserved for a topic meaning and the lower one for an information focus meaning (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002, 2008). In both languages, in the unmarked case, the subject argument moves first to a VP-external subject position, SpecTP, where it is assigned Nominative case before being triggered by EPP to move to higher positions.

An additional crucial similarity between the MSCs in TA and Finnish is that they share the same spell-out properties. In other words, it has been discussed in subsection 4.3.3 that thethetic H-NP MSC in TA is the consequence of a structure that is specified as a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP. The same spell-out mechanisms are believed by Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008) to account for the MSCs in (72). We have shown in 3.2.4.2 that FinP in (73) hosts [-Foc]-marked arguments which are triggered to move to SpecFinP by EPP where they spell-out as topics. This means that the [-Foc] of Top is paired with EPP. If, however, the argument is marked [+Foc], it should move to, following Holmberg and Nikanne (2002), the focus domain that is delimited in Finnish as the TP. If the argument is marked [-Foc], it should move to the presupposition (topic) domain between C and Fin.

Accordingly, there does not seem any substantial difference between the spell-out mechanisms in TA and Finnish to derive the MSCs in (72) and (74a). The interpretive effects of the MSCs are the same, once we unify the theoretical assumptions and the terminology. In other words, given the particular theoretical and descriptive assumptions in Holmberg and Nikanne's (2002, 2008) model, what in Finnish is [-Foc] is in TA [+Top] and what in Finnish is [+Foc] is exactly the same in TA.

The structures look different in (73) and (74) primarily because there is one more head in (74). What is one head in Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008), namely T, corresponds to two heads in the present model: Fin and T. Then there is a higher head, which in both models hosts the topic. Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008) label this head Fin (for reasons that need not detain us here), while I label it Top. In both languages there is a higher subject position hosting a topic, and a lower subject position hosting a focused subject. Granting this similarity, it is possible to assume that what is FinP in Holmberg and Nikanne's description of Finnish is the equivalent of TopP in TA and what is labelled TP in Finnish is the same as FinP in TA, knowing that that does not result in any empirical differences. We therefore replace the [-Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP in Finnish with the [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP in TA. We also replace the Finnish [+Foc]-marked T with TA's [+Foc]-marked Fin and pair it with EPP, restricting the TP in Finnish to agreement and checking purposes assuming that subject agreement and Nominative case are checked by T. In this respect, as has been argued in the case of the TEC-MS in Icelandic in (66), we propose in the case of Finnish that the structure given in (73) for (72) can be reanalysed as (75).

(75)



Nevertheless, despite these similarities motivating the reanalysis of (73) as (75), there exist some differences between TA and Finnish regarding other properties relating to the focus domain hosting the lower subject position.⁷ As shown by (76), the position of the focused subject in the MSC is free in the domain between VP and SpecTP (i.e. SpecFinP in the reanalysed tree). According to Holmberg and Nikanne (2002: 98), any specifier position of any given head in the subject area between SpecTP (now SpecFinP) down to SpecVP is a potential lower subject position for the lower subject DP.

- (76) a. [**FinP** Sitä eivät [**TP** nämä lapset T olisi [**PtcP** ikinä oppineet [**VP** uimaan.]]]]
EXPL not.3PL these children have.COND ever learn.PTC to.swim
- b. [**FinP** Sitä eivät [**TP** T olisi [**PrtP** nämä lapset Ptc ikinä oppineet [**VP** uimaan.]]]]
EXPL not.3PL have.COND these children ever learn.PTC to.swim
- c. [**FinP** Sitä eivät [**TP** T olisi [**PrtP** Ptc ikinä nämä lapset oppineet [**VP** uimaan.]]]]
EXPL not.3PL have.COND ever these children learn.PTC to.swim

Holmberg and Nikanne (2002: 73) mention other specifier positions such as SpecAuxP and SpecPassP as possible lower subject positions. In TA, on the other hand, the focus position is

⁷ Characterising the VP-external space as free extends as well to the nature of the higher MSC subject position. Indeed, Holmberg and Nikanne (2002: 72) describe it as the ‘non-privileged’ position. This means that the higher MSC position can be both A- and A’-position. In a topic-prominent language like Finnish, the topic position can be filled in by subjects as well as non-subject arguments in addition to non-arguments (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002).

tightly related to the [+Foc]-marked Fin that is associated with EPP triggering movement of the [+Foc]-marked constituent to SpecFinP, the fixed lower MSC subject position in TA.

Another distinction between TA and Finnish is that Finnish, like Icelandic, allows the finite verb to move higher than T, to Fin, in Holmberg and Nikanne's (2002) framework, and Top according to our reanalysis above. Moving to Top, the finite verb or auxiliary intervenes between the subjects of the MSCs as in (72), and also in (76) where the negation is the finite verb/auxiliary, which is inflected for subject agreement and moves to the position between the two subjects, i.e. Top in our reanalysis of the Finnish sentence (see Holmberg and Nikanne 2002). This was shown not to be an option for TA whether in the H-NP MSC as in (68) or in the NP-H MSC as in (69).

After outlining the differences and similarities of the MSCs in TA and Finnish, we can now formalise this parametric variation in terms of the parameters responsible for the MSC types in both languages. We saw in the previous subsection that the Icelandic TEC-MSC was closely related to its TA counterpart, the H-NP construction. It was proposed that this is because they have the same setting of the SpecFinP parameter. I now propose that the same is true for Finnish. That is to say, Finnish sets the SpecFinP parameter in (71), i.e., by opting for option (b) of the parameter: Fin is dedicated to [uFoc].

Like Icelandic and TA, the prediction for Finnish in view of the option (b) of SpecFinP parameter is that it has a $[_{TopP} Top [_{FinP} Fin...]]$ structure with the Top head bearing [uTop] with EPP and the Fin head bearing [uFin] with EPP. [+Foc]-marked subjects are attracted by the lower [uFin] head with EPP independently of the [uTop EPP]-marked Top head that attracts a [+Top]-marked subject NP or an expletive to satisfy the EPP of Top, as it is the case in this chapter in TA, Icelandic, and Finnish.

One remaining issue has now to verify the plausibility of the SpecFinP parameter in Finnish and Icelandic in view of the NP-H MSC in TA as we did in chapter three when comparing TA, MSA/CA and English. The purpose of this endeavour is to validate the proposal that the SpecFinP parameter makes the MSC possible in TA, Icelandic and Finnish regardless of its type, i.e.,thetic or contrastive topic or any other relevant information-structure properties. In other words, if TA, Icelandic and Finnish observe option (b) of the SpecFinP parameter in (71), and knowing that this option gives rise to the H-NP as well as to the NP-H MSCs in TA, do we find a construction corresponding to NP-H in Icelandic and Finnish as

well? Expletive/pronoun-NP and NP-Expletive/Pronoun MSCs for Finnish, and *Það*-NP and NP-*Það* MSCs for Icelandic are all the result of the SpecFinP parameter.

Interestingly, we do find an NP-H type MSC in Finnish as well. Compare (77) (= (57)) and (78).⁸ The MSCs are in bold.

(77) **le-wled HUWWA** mʃa: l-el-masraħ, muʃ e-ttufla
 the-boy he go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre not the-girl
 “THE BOY went to the theatre, not the girl.”

(78) a. **Jussi** on **hän-kin** lopettanut tupakoinnin.

jussi has he-too quit smoking
 “Jussi, too, has quit smoking.”

b. **Lapset** ovat **ne-kin** tulleet kotiin.

children have.P they-too come home
 “The children, too, have come home.”

As discussed, in the NP-H construction in TA, the doubling H-pronoun is stressed and conveys focus, with the effect that NP-H conveys contrastive topic interpretation. In (78a,b) the pronominal double *hän* ‘he’ and *ne* ‘they’ are focused by the focus clitic *-kin* ‘too/even’ (and in fact must be). This is consistent with the hypothesis that TA and Finnish set likewise the SpecFinP parameter.

Icelandic does not appear to exhibit any NP-H construction, though. But, Swedish, as discussed in chapter three, displays a subject construction wherein a nominal subject NP is doubled by a doubling pronoun, similar to the subject doubling NP-H pair in TA, and even more similar to the Finnish NP-H pair in (78). See (79) (= (68) in chapter three).⁹

⁸ Thanks to Anders Holmberg (p.c) for the Finnish data.

⁹ The Icelandic counterpart of (79b) would be (i).

(i) ?Strákarnir gátu, ekki þeir heldur, opnað dyrnar.
 the.boys could not they either open the.door

According to Halldór Sigurðsson (p.c) it is marginally acceptable, but only if the doubling part is set-off by a clear intonational break. This is not the case in Finnish or Swedish, and obviously not in TA. This implies that Icelandic is different in this respect.

(79) a. **Jari** har också **han** slutat röka.

Jari has also he quit smoking

“Jari, too, has quit smoking.”

b. **Pojkarna** kunde inte **dom** heller öppna dörren.

the-boys could not they either open the-door

“The boys couldn’t open the door, either.”

In Swedish, as well, the pronouns *han* ‘he’ and *dom* ‘they’ are focused by the focus particles *också* ‘also’ as in (79a) and *heller* ‘either’ as in (79b) (and just as in Finnish, they must be focused by the particle). In this respect, it is then possible to analyse them along the lines of the Finnish and TA MSCs in (77) and (78), respectively. This in turn means that in Finnish and Swedish, the focused pronoun subject, like the focused doubling H-form in TA, spells-out a [+Foc]-marked Fin in SpecFinP. Thus Finnish and Swedish, along with TA, have an NP-H MSC. Finnish and TA, in addition, have an H-NP MSC. Standard Swedish does not have an H-NP construction, but it does occur in some Swedish dialects (Garbacz 2011). Icelandic, on the other hand, has an H-NP construction but not an NP-H construction. The crosslinguistic distribution of the two MSCs is, thus, somewhat complicated. There is, nevertheless, at least some support for the SpecFinP parameter, even though we have to acknowledge that there are other parameters involved as well.

One fact that should though be acknowledged is TA, unlike Icelandic and Finnish, does not show any evidence it could choose between the multiple specifier analysis, many specs for one head, (see Chomsky 1995: chap.4) and the analysis developed here, say the two head analysis: two heads, each head with one spec. According to Chomsky’s (1995: chap.4) model, T (or Fin) can have several EPP-features which trigger Move/Merge to build as many specifiers as it has EPP-features. This sums up the parameter that Chomsky (1995: chap.4) assumes to distinguish Icelandic from English: One more EPP-feature in T. We saw in chapter three that the multiple SpecTP does not derive the exact word order in view of the verbal head intervening between the multiple specs in Icelandic and Finnish. Then, we can convincingly take this as direct evidence against the plausibility of the multiple-specifier analysis of subject doubling, as long as Icelandic and Finnish MSCs are reanalysed to derive like the NP-H and H-NP-MSCs in TA. In TA, however, we cannot make the choice between the two analyses. The only argument we at present have against the multiple-specifier analysis is the postulation of two heads, like in Icelandic and Finnish, but with the difference that the verb in TA only moves

as far as the lower head (at least in declaratives).¹⁰ I will leave a more elaborate view on these issues to future research.

Summarising, the parametric variation between TA and Finnish regarding the MSC has shown that the two languages take the same option within the SpecFinP parameter giving rise in TA to the theic H-NP MSC and in Finnish to the thetic subject doubling constructions realising thetic MSCs, the *sitä*-MSC and the *se*-MSC. It has also been shown that the SpecFinP parameter is validated given that Finnish displays, like TA, the NP-H MSC.

4.3.6. Summary of the structural analysis section

The derivation of the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair in TA that was described in chapter two to lack any presupposition, but conveys information focus has been shown in this chapter to be the consequence of spelling-out a structure comprising a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP. The EPP of Fin triggers the [+Foc]-marked big DP subject to move to SpecFinP where its lexical part values the [+Foc]-marked Fin and spells-out the SpecFinP as information focus. The EPP of Top forces the empty expletive topic H-form to value the [+Top]-marked Top and spell-out SpecTopP as topic. In this respect, the thetic H-NP doublet has been derived to stand for another instance of the MSC in TA, the H-NP MSC, in addition to the NP-H MSC conveying contrastive topic we studied in chapter three. In deriving both, it has been seen that the subject in TA remains the highest argument. Having a second instance of MSC in TA, namely the H-NP MSC, has been shown to follow from the way TA sets the SpecFinP parameter that was suggested in chapter three to give rise to the NP-H MSC. Similar MSC types from other languages that we have taken to similarly set the SpecFinP parameter have validated this parameter.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has been about the derivation of the H-NP doubling sequence of the NP-H pair that expresses a thetic meaning. It has been found that the thetic doublet originates from a base-generated [+Foc]-marked big DP structure where the lexical subject NP and the expletive are in a predication relation within a small clause. The big DP contains an inherently third person expletive H-form that agrees with the lexical subject NP in number and gender when the subject NP is third person, but does not agree at all when the subject NP is first or second person. The big DP starts out as one single subject constituent with its sole theta role and sole

¹⁰ The yes/no questions including the H-form as in (68) can be analysed as having the verb moved to the higher head. This can be taken as direct evidence of a higher head.

Case moves to SpecTP, performing ϕ and Case checking with T. Then, triggered by the EPP of a [uFoc]-marked Fin to FinP, it splits by discharging its lexical subject NP to spell-out SpecFinP as information focus. The remaining null expletive H-form double is triggered by the EPP of a [uTop]-marked Top to spell-out SpecTopP, in the absence of a [+Top]-marked argument. In this respect, the thetic subject doubling H-NP pair has been shown to result from spelling-out a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP structure.

The thetic H-NP doubling pair has been investigated to realise the H-NP MSC in TA that is added to the NP-H MSC of chapter three. Its plausibility has been tested-out on the basis of comparing its properties to those of the MSCs in Finnish and Icelandic. This comparison has consolidated the key claim that in TA, the MSC phenomenon, both types included, is possible by virtue of setting the SpecFinP parameter in a way that allows in TA two subjects to target two spec-positions of two differently specified separate heads, Top and Fin, in the left-periphery bearing two EPP features.

Chapter 5. Summary of findings and concluding remarks

5.1. Summary of the findings

This thesis has argued that the NP-H and H-NP subject doubling sequences of the NP-H pair in TA are best analysed if they are taken to realise two distinct Multiple Subject Constructions (MSCs). As for the NP-H sequence constructed with *elli*, the relative complementiser, it is a cleft construction where the H-form is not a doubling H-pronoun but a non-doubling H-pronoun. The three constructions have been shown in chapter two to each have a distinct information structure: the subject-doubling NP-H construction conveying contrastive topic, the H-NP construction conveying athetic reading, and the non-doubling NP-H construction conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus. In the analytical chapters three and four, these distinct information structure types have been explained as derived from different syntactic structures. The NP-H and H-NP MSCs have been shown to result from a structure including a [+Top]-marked Top coupled with EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP. The non-doubling NP-H construction has been shown to result from a structure comprising [-Top]-marked Top lacking any EPP and [+Foc]-marked Fin paired with EPP.

The NP-H and H-NP MSCs have been derived as follows. Based on the Big DP hypothesis, following Uriagereka (1995a, b; 1997, 1998), it has been argued that the constituents of these two MSCs share a predication relation under a small clause projection within a big constituent, the big DP subject. The computations of these constituents are built on a number of Minimalist assumptions that go back to early Minimalism, following Chomsky's (1993) 'Lexicalist Hypothesis', as well as to latest Minimalism, following Chomsky (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) and a cartographic model (following Rizzi 1997) of the clause structure. Internal to the big DP of the two MSCs, agreement works as follows: the doubling H-form is inherently third person that either fully or partially agrees with the doubled NP as in the case of the NP-H MSC, or fully agrees or does not agree at all as in the case of the H-NP MSC. Although it is made of the two doubles, the big DP bears one theta role and one Case. The big DP subject enters in an agreement and Case checking relation with T at SpecTP, but does not spell-out there. It spells-out as an NP-H MSC when the EPP of a [uFoc]-marked Fin triggers the [+Foc]-marked H-form to split from the big DP and move to value the [uFoc]-marked Fin and spell-out SpecFinP. The EPP of [uTop]-marked Top triggers the movement of the remaining [+Top]-marked subject double to leave the big DP to SpecTopP in order to value

the [uTop]-marked Top and its EPP, and spell-out SpecTopP. Our use of the notion MSC remains, however, stipulative as long as there is not any principle-based definition in the theory of generative grammar of such notions.

Beingthetic, the H-NP MSC has its higher SpecTopP subject position filled in by the expletive doubling H-form that bears no topic interpretation. Its presence is motivated there to satisfy the EPP of [+Top]-marked Top. Derived as such, the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA have been claimed to be the consequence of setting the SpecFinP parameter so that two heads, Top and Fin, are permitted with Fin obligatorily specified [uFoc uEPP]. Contrary to these MSCs, the single subject, cleft NP-H construction is not derived from a big DP. It is the result of spelling-out a [-Top]-marked Top having no EPP and a [+Foc]-marked Fin coupled with EPP.

The investigation of the different instantiations of the NP-H pair in TA, and comparison with similar phenomena in other languages have been argued in this thesis to shed light on important theoretical issues in the theory of generative grammar. The different instances of the pair are due to different values of topic and focus features and their associated EPP-feature in the left-periphery, in combination with a big DP, where the doubling initially takes place. What distinguishes TA and other languages exhibiting similar subject doubling is a particular setting of the SpecFinP parameter. Another result, which is equally important in this thesis, is that it has shed new light on the syntax of the H-form, so notorious in the literature of Arabic grammar.

Alternatively, these findings can also be summarised as follows in response to the research questions outlined at the outset in the introductory chapter (chapter one).

- The H-form is an inherently third person tonic doubling pronoun in the NP-H sequence, an expletive doubling pronoun in the H-NP sequence and only copular in the non-doubling H-NP sequence.
- The NP-H pair generates a contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H sequence, a non-doubling NP-H sequence conveying contrastive/exhaustive focus and athetic (non-topic) H-NP subject doubling sequence.
- Contrastive topic in TA can be expressed only by means of a subject doubling NP-H sequence of the NP-H pair, whereasthetic meaning is only possible by virtue of the

subject doubling H-NP sequence. Contrastive/exhaustive focus is however possible by a non-doubling subject.

- The doubling H-form is inherently third person and observes either full or partial agreement in the NP-H MSC, and full or no-agreement in the H-NP sequence of the NP-H pair. In subject-verb agreement, the verb always agrees only with the left-most double, i.e., the doubled NP.
- Root small clauses standing as independent meaningful nominal sentences in TA support the small clause analysis as the base-generated structure of the subject doubling NP-H pair.
- The doubles observe a predication relation within the small clause structure that projects as a lexical layer within a functional DP layer supports the big DP proposal. The big DP version to subject doubling in TA is more suitable than other big DP versions proposed for other constructions as in Fassi Fehri (1983, 1993), Uriagereka and Torrego (1995), and Belletti (2005).
- Although the big DP approach does not predict the ungrammaticality of identical doubling in TA, it remains more suitable than the Partial copy and the Multiple spell-out of chain links approach to subject doubling (Barbiers et al. 2008).
- The derivation of the NP-H pair is first triggered by the Case and agreement feature checking relation between the big DP and T. The spell-out and therefore split of the big DP into two doubles is triggered by the feature bundles [uFoc, uEPP] of Fin and [uTop, uEPP] of Top in the case of the subject doubling sequences.
- In the non-doubling NP-H sequence, the features of T and the [uFoc, uEPP] of Fin trigger the derivation of the single subject from a non-big DP structure.
- The NP-H pair derives into two MSCs and one non-MSC.
- The MSC remains a misleading notion, as it is about one subject although it splits in the syntax into two parts, occupying two structural positions, SpecTopP and SpecFinP.
- The higher subject position of the contrastive topic subject doubling NP-H MSC is occupied by the aboutness topic spelling-out [+Top, +EPP]-marked Top structure and the focused pronoun contrasting it spelling out a [+Foc, +EPP]-marked Fin structure. The derivation of thethetic subject doubling NP-H pair is the result of [+Top, +EPP]-marked Top with SpecTopP hosting a default expletive for EPP checking reasons and [+Top, +EPP]-structure.

- Postulating EPP to couple with Top in TA supports the claim that the subject in TA is the highest argument. With the higher MSC subject position hosting a topic, the sentence-initial position in TA is topic in nature.
- The SpecFinP parameter makes the NP-H MSC and H-NP MSC possible in TA.
- TA, Icelandic, Finnish and MSA/CA set the same way the SpecFinP parameter, whereas the non-MSC English negatively sets the SpecFinP parameter.

5.2. The MSC and the SpecFinP parameter: evidence from subject doubling in TA

Chapter three and chapter four have extensively discussed that the subject doubling NP-H pair and the subject doubling H-NP pair realise the NP-H and H-NP types of MSC in TA. Their spell-out properties have shown that both MSCs are the result of setting the SpecFinP parameter to the option that allows separate Top and Fin heads associated with EPP. The EPP is specifically associated with the plus-value of Top and Fin (containing [Foc]), in the sense that when there is no valued matching constituent in the sentence, the EPP-feature of Top or Fin is ignored/deleted. This accounts for the possibility of a single pre-verbal subject, or no preverbal subject in the VSO case. Thethetic H-NP construction is a special case, where Top is valued +, and the EPP is satisfied by an expletive pronoun, thus serving as an expletive topic.

The plausibility of the analysis of the NP-H and the H-NP constructions as MSCs in TA and the validity of the SpecFinP parameter have been verified in chapters three and four by comparing these MSCs in TA to MSCs in other languages such as MSA/CA, Icelandic, Finnish and Swedish. Whether exhibiting a doubling construction or not, these languages have been discussed to set the SpecFin Parameter in the way TA does. This has been the result of reanalysing the MSCs in such languages along the lines of the formalisation of the NP-H and H-NP MSCs in TA. For instance, it has been shown that the TEC-MSC in Icelandic, following Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), can be reanalysed as the result of spelling-out SpecTopP and SpecFinP. Finnish, in particular, has been claimed to display, like TA, H-NP MSCs, the *sitä*-MSC and the *se*-MSC studied in Holmberg and Nikanne (2002, 2008), and also to display a restricted form of NP-H construction. Therefore, their spell-out properties are similar to those of the MSCs in TA. English, on the other hand, has no form of MSC, which follows from the choice English makes with respect to the SpecFinP parameter: The features [uTop] and [uFoc] are both features of Fin, also meaning that there is only one EPP feature in the Fin-domain, hence no MSC.

This discussion has been a serious attempt to respond to Chomsky’s (1995: 343) two questions as to the MSC phenomenon in generative grammar. The structural analysis of the NP-H and H-NP MSCs has tried to answer “[h]ow are such structures permitted by economy principles?” The proposed SpecFinP parameter is an attempt to answer the question “why do languages differ with regard to MSCs, some allowing them, others not?”.

5.3. Concluding remarks and future research

This thesis has focused on a particular set of doubling constructions. There are many issues that have not been addressed including other subject doubling data in TA. For instance, subject doubling that tags the doubling H-form to the end of the sentence as a question tag or as a sort of exclamation, as in (1) (see footnote 16 in chapter two), is a familiar utterance in TA.

- (1) le-wled mja-: l- el-masrah, huwwa?
 the-boy go-PRF.3SM to-the-theatre he
 “The boy went to the theatre, did he?”

A puzzling subject doubling-related phenomenon in TA that remains unresolved in this dissertation is that identical pronoun doubling as in (2) (= (23a) in chapter four) is ruled-out.

- (2) a. *’inti ’inti ji-:t, waqt-a: f !?
 you.2SM/F you 2SM/F come-PRF.2SM/F time-Q

It was suggested in chapter four that the ungrammaticality of (2) is explained by the condition that a subject cannot be doubled by a first and second person pronoun. Yet, this explanation fails to account for (3) (= (24) in chapter four).

- (3) a. *huwwa huwwa ja-: !?
 he.3SM he.3SM come.PRF.3SM
 b. *hiyya hiyya ja- : t
 she.3SF she.3SF come-PRF.2SF
 c. *huma: huma: ja-: w !?
 they.2DM/F they.2DM/F go-PRF.3PM/F

The constructions in (3) are all the more puzzling because they are ruled-out despite displaying full agreement (in number, gender and person). Moreover, comparison with other languages, in particular Finnish, has shown that the ban on identical pronominal doubling is not universal, raising the question what it is that is special about TA in this respect.

Another equally important issue that still begs for clarifications is the relation between subject doubling and negation in TA. The behaviour of negation in (4) (= (86b) in chapter two) shows that subject doubling can occur in cleft constructions, although we have described them in the dissertation as non-doubling NP-H cleft constructions. This indicates that our analysis of these non-subject doubling NP-H clefts might need more elaboration.

(4) a. *LE-WLED* ma:-huwwa-ʃ huwwa elli: mʃa:- l- el-masrah, e-ʃtufla mʃa:-t
 the-boy not- COP_{3s}-not he that go.PRF.3SM to-the-theatre the-girl go-PRF.3SF

“It was not *THE BOY* who went to the theatre, the girl did.”

“Intended: *THE BOY* was not the one who went to the theatre, but the girl.”

There is clearly more to say on the topic of subject doubling in TA. Given their pertinence to the controversial issue of subjecthood in Arabic and more generally in generative grammar, these outstanding issues make a good topic for future research.

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