Focus position below TP in Standard Arabic

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Abstract

Purpose – Adopting the split complementizer phrase (CP) hypothesis, the paper aims at providing an account for object cliticization in Standard Arabic (SA) as an instance of object displacement. Kayne's proposal on cliticization is adopted here to account for the type of displacement in SA that objects clitics in SA, like full determiner phrases (DPs), obligatorily move from their base position as independent complements of the verb to the specifier of Foc first before attaching to the verb under the tense node.

Design/methodology/approach – This research adopts a qualitative interpretive research design (Creswell, 2007, 2010). The majority of the samples chosen for the study involve dependent pronominal objects obligatorily attached to the verb. The samples were judged to be grammatical based on the author's judgment as an native speaker of Arabic. Moreover, all the examples were checked for grammaticality by two full professors of Arabic grammar who are native speakers.

Findings – The analysis proposed that, like lexical DP's, pronominal objects originate as separate maximal projection (XP) constituents and move from their base position as verbal complements to the focus position [Spec, Foc]. In other words, both are able to move out of VP, targeting the same specifier position of a functional projection. This movement is focus-driven, that is, triggered by the edge feature on Foc. Pronominal objects at a later phase crucially higher than V0 (possibly in phonetic form (PF)) get cliticized to the verb which has adjoined to T.

Originality/value – Unlike displaced lexical DP objects in SA syntax, displaced pronominal objects, however, have received less critical attention especially within Rizzi's (1997, 2004) left periphery theory and, therefore, some areas of these constructions remain poorly understood.

Keywords Cliticization, Split CP, Displacement, Binding, Conjunction, Passivization

Paper type Research paper

1. Introduction

There have been several recent studies on various aspects of Standard Arabic (SA) syntax which have adopted the split complementizer phrase (CP) hypothesis (Alsager, 2017; Alazzawie, 2018, 2019, 2020; Alnajadat, 2020). However, previous studies have not dealt with displaced pronominal objects of SA in much detail, particularly within the split CP hypothesis. This study aims to investigate the topic of dependent pronominal objects within Rizzi's split CP hypothesis.

The term displacement used in this paper refers to a syntactic process where a category, specifically a full determiner phrase (DP) object or a pronominal object moves to either clause-initial or clause-internal position. The typical object position in SA is the sentence-final position:

1. ya-sqi   al-malik-u   al-ʔarḍ-a
    3imp-water   the-owner-NOM   the-land-ACC
    "The owner is watering the land."

The object *al-ʔarḍ-a* follows both the verb and the subject in the sentence above. SA also allows for another variant in which the object is placed in a position structurally above the subject as (2) illustrates:

2. ya-sqi   al-ʔarḍ-a   al-malik-u
    3imp-water   the-land-ACC   the-owner-NOM
    "The owner is watering the land."

The optional displacement of the object is associated with the rhetorical effect of attracting attention and prominence to the object DP [1]. While the displacement above is optional, it is obligatory when the subject DP is a host for a pronominal clitic in co-reference relation with the object:

3. ya-sqi   al-ʔarḍ-a   malik-u-**haa**
    3imp-water   the-land-ACC   the-owner-NOM-its
    "The owner's land is watering it."

4. *ya-sqi   malik-u-**haa**   al-ʔarḍ-a
    3imp-water   the-owner-NOM-its the-land-ACC
    "Its owner is watering the land."

In contrast with the sentence (3), sentence (4) where the object is not displaced leads to an ungrammatical sentence. The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (4) could be attributed to binding theory – the object DP that is the antecedent of the pronoun –**haa** must be fronted to bind the co-referential pronoun. As it stands, the pronoun included within the subject DP is not c-commanded by its antecedent *al-ʔarḍ-a* "the land".

It should be noted at the outset that the term clitic is used here to refer to a maximal projection (XP) pronominal object, not X° head along the lines of cliticization in Romance. As a syntactically independent XP, it does not cliticize to the verb inside verb phrase (VP) but remains a separate argument and undergoes movement one step higher to the specifier position of Foc. In other words, the clitic does not merge with the verb during sentence derivation. Cliticization occurs in T after verb raising. As such, the clitic is not an affix marking agreement. This will be justified later in section (3).

The following example also involves re-ordering of the object DP *al-ḥariiq-a* "the fire" to a position to the left of its canonical position under the "heaviness" of the subject DP in the sense of Ross' (1967) heavy noun phrase (NP) shift:

5. ʔatfa-ʔa   al-hariiq-a   dʒamɕ-u-n   ɣafiir-u-n   min tullaab-i
    put out-3sg   the-fire-ACC   group-NOM-indef   large-NOM-indef   of students-gen
    al-madaaris-i
    the-schools-gen
    "A large group of school students put out the fire."

In this example, the grammatical complexity of the subject triggered the re-ordering of the constituents.

In addition to the optional displacement of a fully referential object DP (3), SA also allows for another context (which is the primary focus of this paper) where object displacement

obligatorily applies. This context is seen in examples where the complement is reduced to a non-nominative pronominal clitic. Thus, while the displacement of the full DP *al-ʔarḍ-a* in (3) above is optional, it is obligatory in the context of a pronominal object clitic:

6. ya-sqi[2]-**ha**   al-malik-u
    3imp-water-it   the-owner-NOM
    "Its owner is watering it."

7. *ya-sqi   al-malik-u   **ha**
    3imp-water   the-owner-NOM   its

As shown in (6) the non-nominative clitic must be bound to the lexical verb *ya-sqi* [3].

Of relevance to the present analysis is the treatment of clitics in Romance. Hence, a brief discussion of this construction is in order (cf. also Sections 3.3 and 3.4) In Romance languages, Kayne (1975, 1989, 2000) observed that pronominal objects may surface in a position between the subject and the object [4]:

8. *Jean les veut voir.   French

9. Jean li vuole vedere.   Italian
    Jean them -wants to-see

Working within the *Barriers* framework (Chomsky, 1986), Kayne explains the correlation between clitic climbing and null subjects, proposing the following cross-linguistic generalization on clitic climbing:

10. Clitic climbing: Clitic climbing is permitted only in a Romance language that licenses null subjects.

According to Kayne, clitic climbing is linked to the null-subject parameter operative in the language. Thus, the phenomenon is permitted in Italian but blocked in French since the former licenses null subjects, an option unavailable in the latter.

The phenomenon is referred to as cliticization, meaning that clitics undergo syntactic movement at the same level as full lexical noun phrases from their base-generated complement position under VP to a higher position, specifically [Spec, Foc] (cf. 3.1). For example, in (11), it can be said that the pronominal object *–hum* "them" is the reduced form of the complement of the verb *sarra* "pleased". It appears attached to *sarra*, giving rise to the verbal complex *sarra-hum*. Note that the form *–hum* appears following the verb, yielding the verb-clitic-subject order. (11b) shows that the clitic cannot stand alone and be used as an independent complement:

11. (a) sarra-hum   quduum-u-ka   (from Alazzawie, 2020, pp. 1–2)
         pleased.3ms-them-ACC   arrival-NOM-your
         "Your arrival pleased them."

    (b) *sarra quduum-u-ka   -hum
         Pleased.3ms   arrival-NOM-your   -them-ACC
         "Your arrival pleased them"

Note that in contrast with lexical DP displacement which is optional, pronominal clitic movement is obligatory.

Regarding the status of object affixes in SA, Teeple (2011) argues they are indeed pronouns and not agreement markers. The arguments are reviewed below as it is important to the present analysis.

The first argument is based on the fact that the accusative pronouns of SA are in complementary distribution with lexical DPs:

12.   (a)   qaabal-tu(*-**hu**)   al-muᵴallim(-a)
            met.1sg(*-3ms.ACC) the-teacher(-ACC-INDEF)
     "I met the teacher."

    (b)   qaabal-tu **-hu**   (*al-muallim-a)
            met.1sg-3ms.ACC   (*al-muallim -ACC)
     "I met him."

The accusative pronoun cannot occur together with the full accusative DP. Teeple (2011) argues that this is a "principal criterion for differentiating pronominal affixes from the verbal agreement, which can occur alongside co-referential full DPs" (p. 144).

The second argument for the pronominal status and against verbal agreement status is the fact that they are found suffixed to other Case-assigning categories as well, such as complementizes (13), and active participles which are verbal derivative nominals (14): The abbreviation ACT. PRT stands for active participle.

13.   ʔinna**(-hu)**   ʔamr-u-n   muhimm-u-n   dʒiddan
     C*(-3ms.ACC)   matter-NOM-INDEF important-NOM-INDEF   very
    "It is a very important matter."

14.   qaatil   -u-   **ni**
     kill.ACT.PRT   –NOM   -1s.ACC
    "killing me."

A third argument for treating the SA accusative affixes as pronouns is based on their weak and stressed or strong forms. The stressed form is suffixed to a dummy stressable unit, ʔiyya-:

15. (a)   qaaba   l-muᵴallim-u   **ʔiyya-ha**
        met.3ms   the-teacher-NOM ʔiyya-3fs.ACC
     "The teacher met [her]$_{FOC}$"

    (b)   qaaba-ha   l-muᵴallim-u
        met.3ms-3fs.ACC   the-teacher-NOM
     "The teacher met her."

The pronoun is contrastively focused, foregrounding the referent as new information in contrast to the prosodically weak pronoun signaling old information. As Teeple (2011) observes, "[a]greement affixes are not generally subject to this sort of strong-weak

alternation; even under contrastive focus, it would be unusual to find a strong form of an agreement affix that differs in any way other than stress" (p. 145).

The conclusion is that SA accusative affixes are pronouns and not markers of agreement. The present study adopts this position.

Working within Phase Theory (Chomsky, 2001, 2005) where CP and vP are considered phases whose heads initiate the Agree operation, Musabhien (2009) proposed an analysis of the Case feature of the pre-verbal VP in SA. Of relevance to the present study is his analysis of the verb-object-subject (VOS) word order allowed under certain conditions, where the object DP is fronted to a position preceding the subject. According to this analysis, the VOS order is derived through object movement which is, as he convincingly argued, distinct from object shift found in Scandinavian languages, and from scrambling in German. As indicated, Musabhien's analysis utilizes the notion of edge feature associated with the head of the vP phase as in Chomsky (2001, 2005) work. That is, the trigger of object movement to the pre-subject position is the edge feature of v, the head of the vP phase. Accordingly, the object DP moves to an additional vP specifier position.

Regarding the status of the moved object, he argues that this pre-subject position is a focus position serving as the landing site for the moved object DP. The relevant portion of the structure is diagrammed below:

(16)
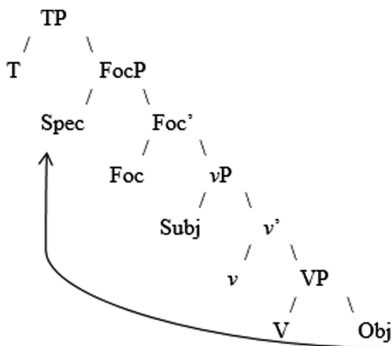
As indicated, object movement targets the additional specifier position of the light v made available at the phase head v.

Adopting and building on Chomsky (2005), Soltan (2007) proposes that the moved object DP targets an additional specifier of v*P, which means the DP remains within the projection of v. Soltan argues, based on data from SA, that the periphery is not limited to the Phase heads, C and v as in Chomsky (2005) but may include the periphery of other functional heads like T, Neg(ation), or Mod(ality). He further posits that the periphery is not a position but a "syntactically salient" zone, a concept attributed to Uriagereka (2006).

Alazzawie (2020) treatment of focus and object displacement in SA is also relevant to the present study. The author argues that "the clause in SA has two designated focus positions – one projected in the upper layer of the clause (clause-initial) and the other in the lower part above vP" (p. 2). It is proposed that focus projection replaces the extra layer of v*P, and can fulfill the focus-feature-raised function of object movement in SA.

The present study builds on the above proposal and extends it to accusative pronouns referred to as clitics, using Rizzi's framework instead of Chomsky's Phase theory with its edge feature, and outer specifier. In particular, the present analysis posits the existence of a focus

position above the *v*P layer as the landing site for moved accusative pronouns on a par with the full accusative DPs. The present account, thus, diverges from Musabhien's (2009) account as it assumes, following Rizzi, the existence of a focus position below TP as an independent category. Thus, in the case of VOS word order, the object lands in the specifier of Foc, the head of FocP located immediately above *v*P. The current proposal unifies both processes applying to full accusative DPs and accusative pronouns as instances of movements to the same specifier of FocP.

1.1 Objectives and research questions
Adopting the split CP hypothesis, the paper aims at providing an account for object cliticization in SA as an instance of object displacement. The proposed analysis builds on and extends the object displacement analysis (Alazzawie, 2020) of lexical DP's to object cliticization. Kayne's (1975) proposal on cliticization argues that clitics are base-generated, syntactically-independent arguments in French, and this is the proposal we use here to account for the type of object displacement in SA.

The study attempts to answer the following questions:

(1)   What is the landing site of the moved object pronouns in SA?

(2)   What triggers the movement of object pronouns in SA?

We claim that object clitics in SA, like full DPs, obligatorily move from their base position as independent complements of the verb to the specifier of Foc first before attaching to the verb under the tense node [5].

2. Methodology
This section states the research design, followed by a description of the data collected and analyzed. The last section discusses the relevant aspects of the syntactic model adopted for the analysis of the data.

This research adopts a qualitative interpretive research design (Creswell, 2007; Creswell and Plano, 2010). It does not attempt to test or measure interventions, but rather produces a rich description of the reality it observes. Strauss and Corbin (1990) define qualitative research findings as the selection of themes occurring in real-world settings where the interest area is pronounced naturally (Patton, 2002). Altheide (1987) and Morgan (1993) state that qualitative content analysis is a strategy of choice, which is a dynamic form of analysis of verbal and visual data oriented toward summarizing the informational content suggested by the data. Qualitative content analysis is therefore data-driven, that is, codes are not only systemically applied, but also generated from the data themselves in the course of analysis (Sandelowski, 2000).

The majority of the samples chosen for the study involve dependent pronominal objects obligatorily attached to the verb. The grammaticality judgment on the examples provided and analyzed in this study is based on the authors' judgments as native speakers of Arabic. The examples were also presented in the form of a questionnaire to other native speakers of Arabic from Jordan, Iraq, and Algeria, who concurred the judgment on the data.

2.1 The model – the internal structure of the CP domain
The model adopted for the analysis of SA data is Rizzi's split CP hypothesis (1997, 2004) which suggests that the CP category should be split into a number of distinct functional projections. For example, C is analyzed as a Force marker heading a ForceP (Force Phrase) because C indicates clause type such as declarative, interrogative, comparative, imperative. Rizzi also maintains that "Focalization" – fronting of focused constituents – should be

positioned in FocP (Focus Phrase) headed by Foc. He argues for another projection positioned between FocP and TP, namely FinP (Finiteness Phrase) headed by Fin which serves to specify the clause as ±finite (finite or non-finite). For example, *for* serves as a nonfinite Fin head in English. Topic Phrases, on the other hand, are positioned within TopP whose head is Top, and they host topicalized phrases.

The overall structure of the CP domain in this model consists of a Force-Finiteness system interacting with a Topic-Focus system with ForceP being at the top for selectional reasons, and a Topic-Focus system sandwiched between ForceP and FinP. The split CP then consists of the following layers [6]:

12. ForceP (TopicP) FocusP (TopicP) FinP IP/TP VP

Of crucial relevance to the analysis of pronominal objects in SA is the Focus position as the scope of the paper is restricted to this set of pronouns [7]. The proposal put forward is that pronominal objects undergo displacement as independent syntactic complements from their base position inside VP into the focus position in the same manner as fully specified DP [8]. It is proposed that the pronouns do not cliticize into the verb in the V^0 position but higher in the tree structure, specifically in T(ense) as they are able to move out as full syntactic XP complements into the specifier position of Foc without attaching to V^0 under VP. This is followed by a morphological process of cliticization onto the verb which has raised into the T(ense) positon.

3. Results and discussion
Adopting the model outlined above, this section addresses the objectives of the study to propose a minimalist analysis for object cliticization in SA in relation to the derivation of the process, particularly, the surface position occupied by the moved pronominal object and the motivation triggering the movement.

Below are sentences illustrating various pronouns which function as objects. The pronouns are boldfaced and must appear attached to the verb, resulting in VOS word order:

17.   a)   zaara-**ni**   al-muҁallim-u
              visited.3sgmas-me   the-teacher-NOM
              "The teacher visited me."

         b)   *zaar   al-muҁallim-u   –**ni/ʔanaa**
              visited.3sgmas   the-teacher-NOM   –me/I

18.   a)   daraba-**ka**   Zajd-un
              hit.3sgmas-you. sgmas   Zajd-NOM
              "Zajd hit you."

         b)   *daraba   Zajd-un   –**ka/ʔanta**
              hit.3sgmas   Zajd-NOM   you. 2sgmas

19.   a)   qaabala-**haa**   al-mudiir-u
              met.3sgmas-her   the manager-NOM
              "The manager met her."

b) *qaabala   al-mudiir-u   **–haa/hiya**
   met.3sgmas   the manager-NOM   her/she

20.   a)   qatala-**hu** [9]   Zajd-un
          killed.3sgmas-it/him   Zajd-NOM
          "Zajd killed it/him"

       b)   *qatala   Zajd-un   **–hu/huwa**
           killed.3sgmas Zajd-NOM   it/him

21.   a)   raʔaa-**ku**-m   Zajd-un
          saw.3sgmas-you- 2plmas   Zaajd-NOM
          "Zajyd saw you."

       b)   *raʔaa Zajd-un   -**ku**-m/ʔantum
           saw.3sgmas   Zaajd-NOM   you- 2plmas

The verb in each of the sentences hosts a pronominal object clitic. The cliticized object surfaces to the right of the verb preceding the subject DP. However, the base position of the object is inside the VP to the right of the verb in the assumed VSO order of SA and has moved out of its base position along the verb, resulting in a VOS surface order. The pronominal object necessarily undergoes displacement, resulting in an OS order. This is supported by the fact that the pronominal object intervenes between the verb and the subject. The verb originates within the VP, and then raises to T (Ouhalla, 1994; Benmamoun, 2000), thus ending up in front of the object and the subject, rendering the VOS order. The subject of the clause remains in the specifier of *v*P, assuming the internal subject hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche, 1991), and the notion that T in SA does not attract subject raising (Soltan, 2007). The object pronoun movement, the verb movement and the positions targeted by movement are discussed in the next section.

3.1 Clitic displacement targets [Spec, Foc]
A reasonable hypothesis is that the displacement operation targets the specifier of Foc situated above *v*P as diagrammed (22) [10]:

22.
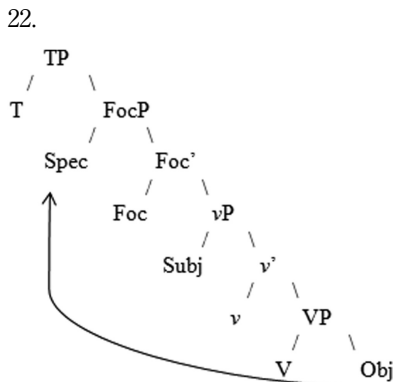
This structure claims that the object clitic originates (is merged) as a complement of V. It moves out of VP to the specifier of Foc across the subject DP. The clitic movement is triggered by the edge feature of Foc which assigns to it a functional status of foucs. The focus-raised clitic undergoes a merger with T hosting the lexical verb given that SA is a verb raising language (Ouhalla, 1994; Benmamoun, 2000). The derivation is assumed to proceed as sketched in (23):

23.
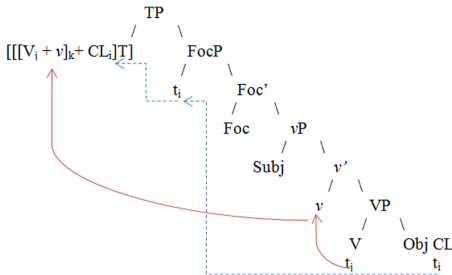
As depicted, the structure involves two operations: the first one involves the movement of the verb from the head V (assumed to comprise the consonantal root) into the next head position, namely the v node; and then the movement from the v position into the next higher head position, namely the head T (assumed to include the vocalic inflection) of TP. The direct object is a pronoun, which must undergo movement. Hence, the second operation involves the movement of the pronominal object clitic from the complement position of V into the specifier of FocP as indicated by the broken arrow followed by its merger with the verb under T. As clitics in general "require a host to attach to" (Spencer and Lu, 2012, p. 18), the clitic in SA, obviously by its nature, having the intrinsic property to attach itself to a host (in this case, a verbal host), is attached to the right as an enclitic [11]. The view adopted here is the internal subject hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche, 1991) whereby the subject remains inside the vP. T in SA lacks an extended projection principle (EPP) feature, and thus does not yield a specifier position.

The claim that object clitics originate internally as full arguments inside the VP, and from there move into the specifier of Foc can be supported by the following data. The data in (24–25) demonstrate that SA has displacement of full DPs. The sentences in (a) reflect the unmarked VSO word order in SA whereas the (b) sentences reflect the marked VOS order:

24. a) qaabala   al-mudiir-u   faatimat-a
         met.3sgmas   the manager-NOM   Faatimat-ACC
         "The manager met Faatimat."

     b) qaabala   faatimat-a   al-mudiir-u
         met.3sgmas   Faatimat-ACC   the manager-NOM
         "The manager met Faatimat."

25. a) qatala   Zajd-un   al-ʔasad-a
         killed.3sgmas Zajd-NOM   the-lion-ACC
         "Zajd killed the lion"

b) qatala   al-ʔasad-a   Zajd-un
    killed.3sgmas   the-lion-ACC   Zajd-NOM
    "Zajd killed the lion"

The unmarked word order, generally assumed for Arabic, contains the object DP inside the VP thus eliminating the possibility of a focus interpretation apart from an *in situ* focus, which is excluded from the present discussion. The object DP which originates as a complement inside VP in (24b and 25b) has been focused, i.e. moved outside VP to a position between the verb and the subject in order to receive special emphasis.

One way of describing and motivating the process is to suppose that the functional head Foc carries an edge feature which attracts the object DP to move to the specifier of Foc (Ouhalla, 1997; Alazzawie, 2018, 2020) [12]. The advantages of this view is that the landing site of pronominal objects and full DPs can now be understood as the same specifier position. An analysis which conceives of pronominal objects as head-movement has to treat object displacement of lexical DPs in the language differently, that is, they do not result from the same process although they share common properties. There are good reasons (to be discussed further in section 3) not to consider pronoun object displacement as X^0 head movement along the lines of cliticization in Romance languages. In the proposed account, the pronoun does not cliticize to the head verb inside the VP but rather moves out of the VP as an argument (XP) targeting the specifier position of Foc [13].

The focus function of the repositioned DP can be strengthen further by the exclusive restrictive focus style consisting of the focus particles [the negative element *maa* . . . exclusive element *ɕilla*]:

26. maa   qaabala   ɕillaa   faaṭimat-a   al-mudiir-u
     not   met.3sgmas   except   Faaṭimat-ACC   the manager-NOM
     "The manager did not meet anyone other than Faaṭimat."

Introducing the [maa . . . ɕilla] strategy, the meeting activity is solely confined to the repositioned focused object DP, thus excluding any possibility that the manager might have met someone else.

A test for focus that has been commonly used is the question answer pair (Kasimir, 2005, p. 12) [14]. The *wh*-question in (27a) triggers the two congruent answers in (27b and c) with DP preposing:

27. a) man   qaabala   al-mudiir-u
         who   met.3sgmas   the manager-NOM
         "Who did the manager meet?"

     b) qaabala   faaṭimat-a   al-mudiir-u
         met.3sgmas   Faaṭimat-ACC   the-manager-NOM
         "The manage met Faatima."

     c) faaṭimat-a   qaabala   al-mudiir-u
         Faaṭimat-ACC   met.3sgmas   the-manager-NOM
         "The manage met Faatima."

If focus is defined as new information, the DP *faaṭimat-a*, used to replace the *wh*-word "man" is focused. It is also possible to answer the question with the canonical VSO order with a pitch accent (capitalized) on the direct object:

28.   qaabala   al-mudiir-u   FAATIMAT-A
        met.3sgmas   the-manager-NOM   Faaṭimat-ACC
        "The manage met FAATIMATA."

The sought-after knowledge required to fill in the gap of our understanding of the event is in focus [15].

3.2. çiyyaa-support

SA allows for the use of strong, stress-bearing, independent accusative pronouns suffixed onto apparently dummy form **çiyyaa-**. Using this **çiyyaa**-as a base produces **çiyyaa-ya** *"me"*, **çiyyaa-ka** *"you"*, **çiyyaa-hu** *"him"*, **çiyyaa-hum** *"them"*, etc. which assigns the accusative pronoun a contrastive focus. The focused pronominal counterpart of the sentence in (26) above requires expletive *çiyyaa*-support, so that the pronoun has the form *çiyyaa-ha* as illustrated (EXPL stands for expletive):

29.   maa   qaabala   çillaa   çiyyaa-ha   al-mudiir-u
        not   met.3sgmas   except   EXPL-her   the manager-NOM
        "The manager did not meet anyone other than her."

But how does *çiyyaa* come to appear in this example and why? Before being repositioned, the pronominal clitic *-ha* is generated in its canonical object position in the VSO order as we have already seen. Since it is unattached and thus requiring a host, and since it is being focused, i.e. attracted by the edge feature of Foc, it moves to the specifier of Foc. The result is that the pronominal remains stranded which triggers the insertion of the dummy form *çiyyaa* to attach to. The insertion process can be conceived of as simply the spellout of a stranded pronominal, occurring in the phonological component rather than in the syntax. The phonetic form (PF) attachment and lexical support operation applies spelling out the unattached pronominal as a fully formed item, viz., *çiyyaa-ha*.

As expected, other dependent pronominals, such as *–hum*, *-hunna*, *-kum* and *–kunna*, may undergo preposing as XPs from the verbal complement position to the specifier of Foc in order to highlight these pronouns, and thereby surface in front of the subject. Once again, these dependent pronominals cannot remain stranded and accordingly *çiyyaa*-support applies to provide a host with the result that the pronominals are spelled out appropriately as *çiyyaa-hum*, *çiyyaa-hunna*, *çiyyaa-kum* and *çiyyaa-kunna*, respectively, as exemplified below:

30. a)   maa   daraba   çillaa   çiyyaa-hum   Zajd-un
          not   hit.3sgmas   except   EXPL-them.masc.pl   Zajd-NOM
          "Zajd did not hit anyone other than them (masculine)"

     b)   maa   daraba   çillaa   çiyyaa-hunna   Zajd-un
          not   hit.3sgmas   except   EXPL-them.fem.pl   Zajd-NOM
          "Zajd did not hit anyone other than them (feminine)"

     c)   maa   daraba   çillaa   çiyyaa-kum   Zajd-un
          not   hit.3sgmas   except   EXPL-you.masc.pl   Zajd-NOM
          "Zajd did not hit anyone other than you (masculine)"

d) maa   daraba   ḍillaa   ḍiyyaa-kunna   Zajd-un
    not   hit.3sgmas except   EXPL-you.fem.pl Zajd-NOM
    "Zajd did not hit anyone other than you (feminine)"

The dummy/meaningless *ḍiyyaa* appears left-adjoined to the pronouns, an operation which has to apply, as indicated, spelling out the unattached pronouns as an appropriately formed unit.

According to the grammarians, in contexts where it is possible to use a dependent pronoun, the independent form should be disallowed. Thus, since it is possible to have the sentence in (31a), where –*ka* is directly attached to the verb, the sentence in (31b) where *ḍiyyaa* is the host should not be allowed or rather considered marginally acceptable [16]:
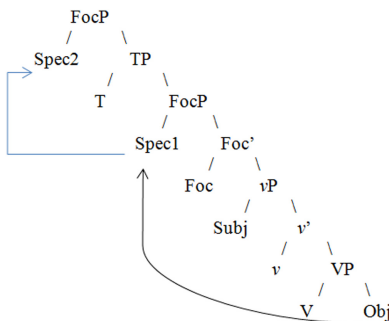
31. a) daraba-ka   Zajd-un
         hit.3sgmas-you   Zajd-NOM
         "Zajd hit you."

     b) daraba   ḍiyyaa-ka   Zajd-un
         hit.3sgmas EXPL-you   Zajd-NOM
         "Zajd hit you."

However, preposing *ḍiyyaa-ka* to sentence initial position is perfectly acceptable:

32. ḍiyyaa-ka   daraba   Zajd-un
     EXPL-you   hit.3sgmas-you   Zajd-NOM
     "Zajd hit you."

In keeping with the focus-driven displacement analysis for object pronouns proposed and schematized in the structure above, it is reasonable to postulate that the same focus-triggered syntactic operation takes *ḍiyyaa-ka* from a lower [Spec1, Foc] to a higher focus position [Spec2, Foc] to obtain a higher degree of attention and prominence. This operation appears to serve the same function of ensuring a strong focus interpretation for full DP's ending up at the beginning of the sentence, i.e. in the upper [Spec2, Foc].

33.

As already supposed, Foc has an edge feature enabling it to attract the object pronoun to move to its specifier [Spec1]. The question is why is the sentence in (31b) *daraba ḍiyyaa-ka*

Zajd-un considered unacceptable as an instance of focus? There is a possible explanation for this. Suppose that, being a clitic, dependent and prosodically weak, the pronoun cannot be marked for focus in this position unlike lexical DPs, even when strengthened in some sense through hosting by the dummy formative *c̣iyyaa*. Suppose further that the higher Foc is associated with a stronger edge feature so that the lower Foc hence attracts the pronoun in the lower Foc, thus deriving the marked emphatic sentence and assigning it the focus function with more weight and emphasis. The utterance is used to exclude all alternatives, that is to deny any suggestion or possibility and to remove any doubt that *Zajd* did not hit anyone other than the addressee. It is possible to argue, on the basis of this case, that focus comes in degrees and that sentence initial focus of the left periphery is stronger than focus in lower positions.

It is instructive to draw a parallel between the focused pronominal objects discussed above and contexts where the focused DP is lexical (non-pronominal):

34. a) daraba   l-muʔallim-a   Zajd-un
      hit.3sgmas   the-teacher.mas-ACC   Zajd-NOM
      "Zayd hit the teacher."

    b) l-muʔallim-a   daraba   Zajd-un
      the-teacher.mas-ACC   hit.3sgmas   Zajd-NOM
      "Zayd hit the teacher."

Both full DP objects and pronominal objects may undergo object displacement out of VP without incorporating into the head V as discussed earlier. The following sentence is parallel with (34b). The pronoun takes initial position, it is now strong in the sense that it is stressed and can be modified and coordinated (Holmberg, 1986, p. 209):

35. c̣iyyaa-hu   daraba   Zajd-un
    EXPL-him   hit.3sgmas   Zajd-un
    "Zajd hit him."

While both DPs in (36) below are focused, the sentence initial DP receives more emphasis, i.e. it is more prominently stressed than the sentence internal DP. When contextualized, what is considered new information and what is being contrasted and focused depends on the preceding and succeeding discourse. It is evident that the second example encodes more focus and more exclusivity:

36. a) daraba   l-muʔallim-a   (laa ṭ-taalib-a)   Zajd-un
      hit.3sgmas   the-teacher.mas-ACC   (not the-student-ACC)   Zajd-NOM
      "Zayd hit the teacher, not the student."

    b) l-muʔallim-a   (laa ṭ-taalib-a)   daraba   Zajd-un
      the-teacher.mas-ACC   (not the-student-ACC)   hit.3sgmas   Zajd-NOM
      "Zayd hit the teacher, not the student."

The *c̣iyyaa* meaningless dummy is used to aid focus marking in sentences which would otherwise be unfocused as the pronoun would be stranded without a host. The *c̣iyyaa*

strategy strengthens the pronoun in its morph-phonological nature and thus enabling to function as an independent focused pronominal object.

To sum up, the analysis takes object pronominals as clitics having independent syntactic status and function in SA, and the clitics invariably move in "audible syntax", like fully specified DP complements, to the specifier position of Foc. Both pronominal objects and full DP objects may undergo object displacement in SA. The movement is triggered by the edge feature on Foc attracting the pronoun to its specifier with the difference having to do with the obligatory nature of object movement of pronouns vs the optional object displacement of full DPs.

Arguments supporting the claim that cliticized pronominals are initially merged (i.e. enter the derivation) as independent arguments and therefore act as lexical DPs can be based on the Binding Theory, conjunction, passivization, substitution and clitic clustering. The arguments are presented in the following Sections (3.3–3.7).

3.3 Binding theory
To illustrate the argument status of the dependent object pronouns, examples (20a) and (25b) are repeated as (37a) and (37b), respectively:

37. a) qatala-**hu**   Zajd-un
    killed.3sgmas-it/him Zajd-NOM
    "Zajd killed it/him"

  b) qatala   al-ʔasad-a Zajd-un
    killed.3sgmas the-lion-ACC Zajd-NOM
    "Zajd killed the lion"

Note that –*hu* cannot have the DP *Zajd-un* as a binder inside the TP domain, a piece of evidence for its pronominal status. As per principle B of the binding theory, it is not allowed for a pronominal to co-refer with a DP in its minimal binding domain:

38. *qatala-**hu**$_i$ Zajd-un$_i$

The minimal binding domain here is the TP containing the pronoun the verb and the subject. The sentence is unacceptable with the intended reading since the pronoun is in fact bound, not free as required. Moreover, the pronoun fulfills the internal argument role of the predicate *qatala* much the same way as the fully specified DP in (37b). These examples are minimal pairs. The omission of the pronoun renders the sentence ungrammatical. The inclusion of the pronoun along with the lexical DP creates two slots for the one-place predicate:

39. a) *qatala   Zajd-un
    killed.3sgmas Zajd-NOM
    *"Zajd killed"

  b) *qatala-hu   Zajd-un al-ʔasad-a
    killed.3sgmas-it/him Zajd-NOM the-lion-ACC

  c) *qatala-**hu**   al-ʔasad-a Zajd-un
    killed.3sgmas-it/him the-lion-ACC Zajd-NOM

This, however, poses an important question of implementation about what mechanism ensures that the clitic does not merge with the V inside the VP. In this connection, we follow Kayne (1991, 2000) who argues that cliticization is not VP-internal but rather it is an "IP-internal cliticization". Under this view, cliticization unto the verb in SA does not take place inside the VP, but rather outside of the VP. In other words, the dependent pronominal object would have to be able to move one step as an XP to [Spec, Foc] without merging with V°. The order verb-object clitic-subject results from the verbal consonants' having moved from V to T via *v* and the subsequent merger of the clitic with the verb.

3.4 Conjunction
The argument status of the clitics can also be supported on the basis of conjunction such as,

40. a) ḍarab-tu-**haa**   wa   l-muɕalim-a
         hit.1sg-her   and   the-teacher.mas-ACC
         "I hit her and the teacher."

     b) l-muɕalim-u   ɕuhibu-hu   wa   l-mudiir-a
         the-teacher-NOM   like.1sg-him   and   the-principal.mas-ACC
         "I like the teacher and the principal"

     c) ɕakal-tu-**haa**   wa   al-samakat-a
         ate-1sg-it   and   the fish-ACC
         "I ate it and the fish."

The cliticized object pronoun *–haa* "her" is conjoined with a non-pronominal lexical NP *l-muɕalim-a* "the teacher" by the conjunction element *wa* "and". The object pronoun *–hu* "him" is conjoined with a full NP *l-mudiir-a* "the principal". There are two DPs in each sentence, one pronominal and the other is non-pronominal, which appear to fulfill the same syntactic and semantic functions, namely patient and theme, respectively. This coexistence supports the idea of treating object pronominal clitics as syntactically-independent elements. The two DPs provide answers to the questions that follow:

41. a) man ḍarab-ta
         Who did you hit?

     b) man tuḥibu
         "who do you like?"

     c) maaða   ɕakal-ta
         what   ate-2sgmas
         "what did you eat?"

It is worth noting that an accusative pronominal clitic and a nominative DP (-*u* marks nominative) are unconjoinable, as in the following which is a minimal pair with (40a) above.

42. *darab-tu-**haa**   wa   l-muɕalim-u
     hit.1sg-her   and   the-teacher.mas-NOM

Like a full DP conjunction, the clitic and the full DP must match in grammatical function, suggesting their shared syntactic behavior as arguments. In particular, the data suggest attached accusative pronominals are clitics occupying a complement position, and are not agreement-marking affixes.

It is not possible to conjoin two clitics (Kayne, 1975, 1989). Two attached pronominal objects cannot be conjoined, neither can two attached subjects, thus exhibiting clitic properties:

43. *qaabal-tu-**haa**   wa   kum
     met-1sg-her   and   you-ACC
     "I met her and you."

It is also possible to conjoin a cliticized object pronoun with a free standing object pronoun:

44. a)   qaabal-tu-**haa**   wa   ɕiyyaakum
          met-1sg-her   and   you.plmas-ACC
          "I met you and her."

     b)   ḍarab-tu-**hu**   wa   ɕiyyaaka
          hit.1sg-him   and   you.sgmas-ACC
          "I hit him and her."

The two pronominals have the same syntactic function – both are direct objects. Pronominal objects and non-pronominal DPs behave alike with respect to conjunction. Conjunction, a standard constituency test, provides some evidence since only alike constituents can be conjoined [17].

3.5 Passivization
Sentence (45a) is active and (45b) is the passive version:

45. a)   ɕaṭ-ṭullaab-u   ḍaraba   al-mudiir-u   muʔallimat-a-hum
          the-students-NOM   hit.3sgmas   the-principle   teacher.fem-ACC-their
          "The students, the principle hit their teacher."

     b)   ɕaṭ-ṭullaab-u   ḍuribat   muʔallimat-u-**hum**
          the-students-NOM   was.hit3sgfem   teacher-NOM-their
          "The students, their teacher was hit."

The initial DP [18] ɕat-ṭullaab-u "the teacher" is linked with the pronoun –hum "their" inside a construct state (genitive) DP complement with a patient theta-role. The verb ḍaraba "hit" agrees in person and gender with the lexical subject al-mudiir-u "the principal", not with the sentence-initial DP. When the sentence is passivized, the verb agrees with the patient theta-role which is now turned into subject marked for the nominative Case. This is further enhanced by the following active and passive contrast:

46. a) ɕaṭ-ṭullaab-u   daraba-**hum**   al-mudiir-u
        the-students-NOM   hit.3sgmas-them   the-principle
        "The students, the principal hit them."

    b) ɕaṭ-ṭullaab-u   ḍurib-**uu**
        the-students-NOM   was.hit.3sgmas-they
        "The students, they were hit."

The accusative pronoun -**hum** in the active sentence which is the direct object thematic complement (patient) of the verb has become the structural nominative subject -**uu** of the same clause in the passive version. This suggests that clitics are part of the argument structure of the verbal predicate denoting the activity, i.e. -**hum** and -**uu** represent the real participants in the relevant event.

Facts gleaned from coordination and passivization processes suggest that attached object pronouns in SA are less likely to be mere inflection markers. Rather, the examples strongly support the hypothesis that clitics have an independent status as genuine arguments generated in the base, following the reasoning of Kayne (1989).

3.6 Substitution
Dependent object pronouns can substitute for a full DP complement of a verb:

47. kasara   al-šubaak-a
    broke.3sgmas   the-window-ACC
    "He broke the window."

The above sentence can be rephrases using the pronoun –*hu* "it":

48. kasara-hu
    broke.3sgm-it
    "He broke it."

Dependent object pronouns may also substitute for the genitive DP in a construct state:

49. a) kitaab-u   t–taalib-i
        book-NOM   the-student-GEN
        "the student's book"

    b) kitaab-u-hu
        book-NOM-his
        "his book"

Like full DP's, they may also substitute for a genitive complement of a preposition:

50. a) fi d-daar-i
        in-the-house-gen
        "in the house"

b) fii-hi [19]
in-it
"in it"

3.7 Clitic clusters
Spencer and Lu (2012) give a number of diagnostics for clitics, chief among them are:

Clitics must attach to a host, may basically attach to any host "show low selectivity towards their host" (p. 37), show a rigid order in the way they cluster and attach to their host, and pronominal clitics often function as arguments. It has also been observed (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983) that only clitics may be integrated consecutively to a host in the manner shown below [20]:

51. ɕarsal-**tu-ka-ha**
sent-1sg-2sgmas-3sgfem
"I sent it to you."

Three pronouns are integrated to the same head verb *ɕarsal* "send" in this double object construction: 1st person pronoun *–tu*, second person singular masculine pronoun *–ka* and third person singular feminine pronoun [21] *–ha*, suggesting their status as clitics. The following clustering is also possible with the verbs *ɕahdaa* "to present as a gift" and *ɕaʔṭaa* "to give":

52. a) ɕahdaa-**nii-himu** [22]   l-mudiir-u
presented.3sgmas-me-them   the manager-NOM
"The manager presented them to me as a gift."

b) ɕaʔṭaa-**nii-himu** [23]   l-mudiir-u
Gave.3sgmas-me-them   the manager-NOM
"The manager gave them to me."

In the following case, two other pronouns *–uu* and *-nii* exist cliticized to the same host *ḍarab* "hit"

53. ḍarab-uu-nii
hit-3plmas-me
"They hit me."

We take *–uu* and *–nii* to be pronominal clitics functioning as subject and object respectively.

The pronouns may also lean to some complementizers, among them *ɕinna* glossed as C:

54. a) ɕinna-nii
"C-me"

b) ɕinna-kum
C-you.ACC
ɕinna-hu
C-him

c) ɕinna-hum
C-they.ACC

The clitic nature of the dependent pronouns is supported by their conjoinability with fully-specified DPs, passivization, clustering, integration into a variety of hosts: verbs, nouns, prepositions, and complementizers. As illustrated, they "attach promiscuously . . . they do not select words of a particular class" (Spencer and Lu, 2012, p. 18).

4. Implications for further research
This article provided an account of pronominal objects in SA, using the FocP projection of (Rizzi, 1997, 2004). It is proposed that such objects move out of VP and target a structural position in a FocP projection whose head is Foc.

As indicated, in line with Rizzi (1997, 2004), this article proposed that the left periphery feature of Foc attracts the accusative pronouns of SA from their base position as complements of V to the specifier of Foc. However, In Rizzi's system the Focus Phrase is projected above TP by virtue of belonging to the CP system. We extended Rizzi's idea of FocP projection, which is standardly higher than TP, and assumed that object pronouns in SA target an intermediate specifier position available between TP and vP in the clausal structure of the language. Thus, a new FocP projection is introduced and placed lower than TP. In other words, the proposal put forth is that there are two projections of FocP in SA mediated by TP, one higher and one lower than TP. The periphery feature associated with Foc in this intermediate projection triggers the accusative pronoun displacement, resulting in the object – subject word order.

The V-clitic complex appears under T below the split-CP layer as an instance of head movement. Regarding this subject, We have adopted the internal-subject hypothesis with the view that the subject does not raise from within vP to the specifier of TP, given that T in SA lacks the raising edge features responsible for subject raising in languages like English (Soltan, 2007).

An opportunity for further research is extending the proposal of the additional intermediate FocP projection to the analysis of double object structures in SA. One possibility is to position the indirect object in the specifier position below TP in structures where the indirect object precedes the direct object.

5. Conclusion
The analysis proposed that, like lexical DPs, pronominal objects originate as separate XP constituents and move from their base position as verbal complements to the focus position [Spec, Foc], positioned immediately above vP within TP. In other words, both are able to move out of VP, targeting the same specifier position of a functional projection. This movement is focus-driven, that is, triggered by the edge feature of Foc. This proposal allows for object movement of full accusative DPs and of accusative pronouns if the notion of FocP is adopted, following Rizzi (1997, 2004). The motivation for this movement to the landing site follows from the edge feature of Foc.

Pronominal objects at a later phase, crucially higher than V^0 (possibly in PF), get cliticized to the verb which has adjoined to T. Alternatively, ɕiyyaa-support has to apply to save the unattached pronoun which may also take sentence initial position for the same pragmatic function of prominence in the specifier of Foc. Their clitic nature and argument status has been justified on the basis of conjunction, passivization, binding and clustering.

Notes
1. In Minimalist syntax, however, movement is feature-driven, and so it cannot be optional. Lexical DPs are not the focus of this article.

2. Subject agreement attached to the verb has been conceived of as a number marker (cf. Mohammad, 2000; Soltan, 2006) in connection with the pro-drop parameter of SA, or as incorporated pronouns (Fassi Fehri, 1993). Shlonsky (1997) argues that subject agreement is attached to the verb, not through incorporation in the syntax "but rather, is associated with the verb in the Lexicon, prior to syntactic projection" (p. 183). However, unlike subject agreement, non-subject suffixes are treated as clitics which signal "the presence of an AgrP" (p. 175), i.e. they are instances of Agr^0 functional heads "to which a lower head adjoins" (p. 187).

A piece of evidence for the clitic nature of attached subject pronouns is that it is possible to conjoin them with a lexical DP, like independent pronouns:

1.

  a)   jiɕ-tu   wa   Zajd-un
       came-1sg   and   Zajd-NOM
       "Zajd and I came."

  b)   katab-tu   wa   Nabiil-un   haaðihi   ar-risaalat-a
       wrote-1sg   and   Nabiil-NOM   this   the-letter-ACC
       "Nabiil and I wrote this letter."

  c)   wasal-uu   wa   ɕat-ṭaalibaat-u   ɕila   al-maṭaar-i
       arrived-3plmas and   the-students-NOM   to   the-airport-gen
       "They and the female students arrived at the airport."

As the focus of the study is on dependent object pronouns, We will not pursue subject pronouns any further beyond noting that examples of conjunction (cf. also footnote 11) provide evidence against the agreement-affix analysis because affixes are resistant to conjunction.

3. The pronouns illustrated above may be attached to all lexical heads in SA (cf. section 3.6).

4. It should be noted that it is difficult to establish a reasonable connection between clitics in Standard Arabic and clitics in Romance. The clitics referred to in Romance are free morphemes.

5. This raises the question whether French clitics and Arabic clitics are similar. If this is the case, the similarity has to be shown, not simply assumed

6. Rizzi (2001) added two more layers to the structure: IntP (Interrogative Phrase) and WhP.

7. The status of the initial nominative DP in SA will not be covered here, i.e. whether it is a subject or a topic, whether it is derived through movement or base-generated and whether resumptive pronouns are clitics or not. Hence, the TopicP positions will not be of direct relevance to the study.

8. The independent syntactic status of clitics has to be substantiated, not simply assumed. First, the status of the object clitic as a minimal or XP is controversial; therefore, the categorial status of object clitic as an XP has to be justified. Second, in the literature on clitics, clitics have been analyzed as arguments of the verb or as agreement markers. However, arguments will not be presented in this article to show that such clitics in Arabic are indeed selected by the verb beyond noting that object clitics and full DPs are typically in complementary distribution while agreement affixes mark grammatical dependency in person, number and gender between the affix and the subject in SA. Pronoun clitics have generally been treated in Generative Grammar as full forms except for their morpho-phonological composition. Another long-standing debate concerns the differences between agreement markers and so-called pronominal affixes, a controversy tied to the presence or absence of the pro-drop parameter. For an extensive and illuminating discussion, see Corbett (2003) and Evans (2003).

9. The 3rd masculine pronoun –hu can have a human and a non-human referent features in SA, a point reflected in the translation of the clause. All 3rd person pronouns in the language invariably encode [+human] and [−human] features.

10. In Rizzi's (1997) system, the Focus Phrase is projected above TP below C. In his account of wh-questions in Malayalam and cleft structures in English, Jayaseelan (2001) also postulates a FocP between TP and vP.

11. The derivation of the SA pronouns which show up attached to the verb as clitics are similar to Romance cliticization discussed in Kayne (1975, 1989) in that it involves syntactic movement of a full DP and head movement. In this regard, Chomsky (2001) and Holmberg (1999) both consider pronominal object displacement (object shift in their terms) in Scandinavian as movement of an XP. Chomsky suggests that object shift is movement to the outer specifier position of vP.

12. One issue left unresolved is the syntactic and pragmatic status of the displaced full DP objects, but it is not totally excluded from this study as this construction proves useful in the comparison between full DP objects pronominal objects. For details, the reader is referred to Alazzawie (2018, 2020).

13. It will however merge with the verb (at some point presumably in the PF phase) higher than VP, namely, in the T position after V-raising to T as shown in the structure above. A problem arises, however. If the V-clitic merger is PF operation, then clitic displacement cannot be a syntactic operation, and the status of the clitic as a XP becomes dubious.

14. The Question-answer test is stated as follows: "If a question asks for some X (X being a syntactic category), in a direct answer to this question, the constituent which corresponds to X is focused" (Kasimir, 2005, p. 12.)

15. A fragment answer to the *wh*-word is also possible to show focus: *Faaṭimat-ACC*

16. Double object constructions like the following cases are apparently problematic for the account presented here:

1. Ҫahdaa-**nii** ҫiyyaa-**humu** l-mudiir-u
    presented.3sgmas-me-them   the manager-NOM
    "The manager presented them to me as a gift."

2. Ҫahdaa-**nii-himu** l-mudiir-u
    presented.3sgmas-me-them   the manager-NOM
    "The manager presented them to me as a gift."

    Properties of this construction, however, are too complex to get into here but it can be handled along lines suggested by Baker (1988) and Marantz (1993) for applicatives where they suggest an Applicative Phrase between vP and VP. We will not pursue this account here though.

17. Subject pronouns are not covered in this paper. It is worth noting, however, that two subject pronouns can also be conjoined in (1):

(1)   taḥadaϴa   wa   ҫiyyaa-ha   maҫa al-mudiir-u
        spoke.3sgmas   and   EXPL-her   with the-principal
        "He and she talked to the principal."
        "They talked to the principal."

In the example above, there are two conjoined subjects, the implicit pronoun of *taḥadaϴa* (the masculine third person singular subject pronoun is not overt in SA) and *ҫiyyaa-ha* with the sense that they both talked to the principal at the same time. Compare the minimal pair in (2):

(2)   taḥadaϴa   maҫa-ha   maҫa   al-mudiir-u
        spoke.3sgmas   with-her   with   the-principal-NOM
        "He talked to the principal in her presence."

This sentence is structurally different and expresses a different meaning. In this case only one (him) is the actor, the one who did the talking to the principal and she happened to be there. Facts of conjunction suggest that the zero affix is not only a subject marker but also a pronoun functioning as an argument much like object pronouns.

18. Excluded from the current discussion is the controversial status of this DP being a topic or a subject, for which I refer the reader to Soltan (2007) for a topic analysis and to Ouhalla (1997) for a topic and foci analysis. The term refers to information that have been previously introduced explicitly into the shared background in the discourse. For a subject view point, the reader is referred to Fassi Fehri (1993) and Benmamoun (2000). The topic nature of this DP can be accommodated for in the split CP system as being base-generated within the specifier position of TopP. Using Rizzi's Topic-Criteria, it can be said that the topic DP is compelled to merge in this position to be interpreted as a topic (see Alazzawie, 2020 for further details). On a list of tests to distinguish between Topic and Focus, see Alazzawie (2019).

19. The ending *i* on the pronoun *-hi* in example (49b) is not a marker for genitive Case but acquires this shape to harmonize with the front high vowel closing the preposition *fii* (also *fii-him*, *fii-hi-ma*, *fii-hi-nna*, *bi-hi-m*, *bi-hi-ma*). However, if the preposition ends in a consonant, the pronoun surfaces as *–hu* (*min-hu*, *min-hum*, *min-hu-nna*, *min-hu-maa*). These dependent pronouns do not inflect for Case as would the lexical DPs being replaced. Technically, however, they are considered to be genitive in Standard Arabic grammatical treaties.

20. In English the auxiliary verb may be adjoined to the subject pronoun: *He's there*. Likewise, the negative element *not* may also be adjoined to the auxiliary: *He isn't there*. However, the auxiliary plus the negative may not adjoin to the subject. Hence this cluster is not allowed: **He'sn't there*. It is possible that the merger of the negative with the auxiliary strengthened the former in some sense, making a further merger to the pronoun unwarranted.

21. In this context, the pronoun *–ha* is impersonal, marking a non-human referent.

22. The final vowel *u* on the pronoun *-hum* is epenthetic, operating to break up a consonant cluster disallowed in SA syllable structure.

23. It also possible to have the impersonal pronoun carried by the dummy *ɕiyyaa*, as in the following examples where EXPL is expletive:

ɕahdaa-**nii**   ɕiyyaa-**humu**   l-mudiir-u
presented.3sgmas-me   EXPL-them   the manager-NOM
"The manager presented them to me as a gift."

ɕaʔṭaa-**nii**   ɕiyyaa-**humu**   l-mudiir-u
Gave.3sgmas-me   EXPL-them   the manager-NOM
"The manager gave them to me."

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