Clitic Doubling in Hebrew and Arabic Construct States: Overview and Counterarguments

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This article examines clitic doubling in Construct State constructions (CSs), which is found in Semitic languages, among other language families. It provides a comprehensive overview of the previous studies for Hebrew and Arabic doubled CSs and shows that the lexicalist approach argued by Borer (1984) is adopted by other researchers with some minor modifications. The central tenets of this approach assume that clitics as base-generated inflectional elements (i.e., lexical affixes) which absorb the case-assigning properties of the head noun; consequently, the presence of a dummy case marker is obligatory to save the structure from the Case Filter by assigning the genitive case to the doubled NP. The paper claims that this approach is inadequate to account for data from Jordanian Arabic and shows evidence for the argumental status of the clitic as a possessive pronoun, and the meaningful content of the preposition that expresses the possessive relation between the pronoun and the doubled nominal. Moreover, the paper explains why the preposition is utilized only in doubled CSs, as opposed to non-doubled CSs, based on the existence of a systematic consistency/ correlation between D and P regarding morphological realization (i.e., covertness vs., overtness).

1. Introduction

Clitic doubling is "a construction in which a clitic cooccurs with a full DP (Determiner Phrase) in argument position forming a discontinuous constituent with it" (Anagnostopoulou 2006: 520), as exemplified in (1) from Spanish (Jaeggli 1986: 32)[1]:

(1) *Lo vimos a Juan.*
Him we.saw a Juan
'We saw Juan.'

In (1), the direct object *Juan* is preceded by a preposition and doubled by a phonologically bound morpheme (the clitic *-lo*) which, according to Harizanov (2014: 1034), expresses the agreement features φ (person, number, gender) of the direct object *Juan* (the associate), as in (2).

(2) True clitic doubling
. . . clitic[φ]+host . . . associate[φ] . . . (where the associate is in argument position)

Researchers have studied clitic doubling in several languages including Romance, Slavic, Albanian, and Greek from two different approaches, namely, the base-generation/lexicalist approach and the movement/syntactic approach (for an overview, see Anagnostopoulou, 2006). Researchers adopting the lexicalist approach (e.g., Borer 1984; Bouchard 1984; Burzio 1986; Jaeggli 1982; among many others) argue that clitics are directly inserted from the lexicon, functioning as agreement markers in their surface position. On the other hand, researchers pursuing the movement/syntactic approach (e.g., Anagnostopoulou 2003; Nevins 2011; Roberts 2010; Torrego 1998; Uriagereka 1995) analyze clitics as heads undergoing movement to their host from the complement position of the verb. This paper shows that for both Hebrew and Arabic, only the lexicalist approach is adopted, and the hypotheses in Borer (1984) are adopted in subsequent studies which claim that clitics as base-generated inflectional elements (i.e., lexical affixes) which

[1] I use the following abbreviations: ACC: accusative; F: feminine; GEN: genitive; NOM: nominative; PREP: preposition; S: singular; 1: first person.

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absorb the case-assigning properties of the head noun; consequently, the presence of a dummy case marker is obligatory to save the structure from the Case Filter by assigning the genitive case to the doubled NP (Noun Phrase).

The paper argues that this approach, which is not challenged for more than three decades, has some shortcomings based on data from Jordanian Arabic. The data shows that the tenets of this approach are inadequate for accounting for simple facts and leave some questions unanswered. The paper argues for an alternative analysis based on the evidence that the clitic is a possessive pronoun that has an argumental status, and the preposition is not dummy as it has a meaningful content that expresses the relation between the pronoun and the doubled nominal. Moreover, the paper explains why the preposition is utilized only in doubled CSs, as opposed to non-doubled CSs, based on the observed existence of a systematic consistency/correlation between D and P regarding morphological realization (i.e., covertness vs., overtness); both the D and the P can be overt or covert simultaneously, that is, the presence of the overt D requires the P to be morphologically realized, and when the D is covert, the P is morphologically null. This correlation exists only when the D and the P are located within the same DP. This approach, if it is in the right track, may prove that clitic doubling in CSs is a special type of CSs that is limited only to third-person referents and possessive constructions.

The rest of the article is organized as follows: §2 deals with clitic doubled CSs in Hebrew, and it provides extensive overview of Borer's (1984) base-generation/ absorption hypothesis, and of Ritter's (1991) and Siloni's (1997) analyses of CSs as DPs containing functional heads like NumP and AgrP. §3 explores the same phenomenon in Arabic and overviews the main arguments provided by Aoun (1999) and Benmamoun (1999) for the existence of pro that is co-indexed with the clitic. §4 discusses data from Jordanian Arabic, explains the inadequacy of the lexicalist approach, and proposes an alternative analysis. §5 summarises and concludes the paper.

2. Clitic Doubling in Hebrew

Clitic doubling constructions are claimed to exist in Semitic languages, and they are examined in both Hebrew (e.g., Borer 1984; Ritter 1991; Siloni 1997) and Arabic (e.g., Aoun 1999; Benmamoun 1999). To my best knowledge, the analysis of clitic doubled CSs in Semitic languages is limited to the aforementioned studies, which indicates the scarcity of research dedicated to these languages compared to Romance languages such as Spanish or French. A CS is a genitive construction which "consists of a nominal head, which is phonologically reduced and must be immediately followed by an embedded nominal phrase" (Danon 2008: 874). In (3) below, the nominal head *tmuna* 'picture' is a reduced form of *tmunat* and immediately followed by an embedded genitive introduced by *ʃel* 'of.'

(3) *ha-tmuna ʃel ha-nasi*
the-picture of the-president
'the picture of the president'

The clitic doubled CS is distinguished from a simple CS illustrated in (3) by the absence of an initial determiner and the appearance of a pronominal clitic attached to the head noun. The clitic has the same agreement features of the argument (i.e., the associate) in the embedded phrase, as can be seen in the comparison of (4a) and (4b) below:

(4)

a. *beyt -o ʃel dan*
house-his of Dan
'Dan's house'

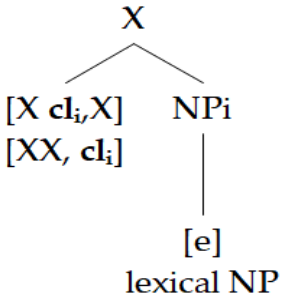
b. *beyt -a* *ʃel* *sara*
house-her of Sara
'Sara's house' (Ritter 1991: 12)

The clitic doubled CSs are analyzed from only one perspective, namely, the lexicalist approach, which assumes that clitics are base-generated in their surface position, rather than being heads undergoing movement to their host from the argument position (as argued in the alternative syntactic approach). The subsections below discuss the main views in studies on Hebrew clitic doubling CSs.

2.1. The Base-Generation Analysis

To my best knowledge, Borer's (1984) book *Parametric Syntax* is the first analysis of clitic doubling in Hebrew. This book explains this phenomenon in the light of the Principles and Parameters theory and represents one of the early in-depth studies adopting Government and Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky 1981; 1982). Borer (1984: 63) adopts a base-generation analysis of clitic doubling in the sense that "clitics are generated as features on the head of their phrase. They do not fill the argument position which is the complement of this head". They are inflectional elements (i.e., lexical affixes) which are attached as subordinate units to the host (i.e., the case assigner), as in the following structure:

(5)



The category X, which stands for V, N, or P, includes [Xcl$_i$, X] which contains two sets of features, namely, 'inherent' features (e.g., θ-role assignment features) and 'non-inherent' features (e.g., the number, gender and person features of the head when X=N). Borer (1984: 38) argues that only 'non-inherent' features are spelled out as an independent phonological representation (i.e., the clitic) which absorbs the case assigning properties of the head. Borer's (1984: 37) inflectional rule of clitic spell-out is given in (6):

(6) Clitic Spell-Out:
[$_X$ ^{X}, α Case] → [$_X$ ^{X} [α Case, β gender, γ number, δ person]
X = [+V] in Romance
X = V, P, N in Semitic

This inflectional rule is based on the assumption that the clitic takes away the case features from the co-indexed NP. In effect, the clitic is a spell-out of the case features (i.e., the clitic is given a specific phonological representation as a result of case absorption). Moreover, Borer (1984) argues that the clitic, being a part of the head X, governs and c-commands the co-indexed NP. The doubled NP is the complement of X and thus receives the thematic role from the head. The NP and the clitic form a 'θ -chain' (i.e., they are co-indexed and share a single θ -role). The case absorbing properties of clitics are fundamental to account for the contrast between the clitic doubled CSs in (7b) and (7c):

(7)

a. *beit* *ha-mora*
house the-teacher
'the teacher's house'

b. **beit-a* *ha-mora*
house-her the-teacher
(Intended: 'the teacher's house')

c. *beit-aʃel* *ha-mora*
house-her the-teacher
'the teacher's house'

Borer (1984: 48-50) proposes that the clitic *a* 'her' in (7b-c) is a spell-out of the genitive case features of the head noun *beit* 'house' which is the case assigner for the complement *ha-mora* 'the teacher' in (7a). In (7b), the clitic attaches to the head noun and absorbs its genitive case that otherwise would be assigned to the complement NP *ha-mora*; therefore, the complement is not case marked and comes into conflict with Rouveret and Vergnaud's (1980, cited in Borer 1984: 13) Case Filter which marks ungrammatical any caseless NP which has a phonetic matrix. In (7c), the genitive preposition *ʃel* has been inserted by the following inflectional rule (Borer 1984: 67):

(8) Ø ⟶ ʃel / [$_{NPi}$ ...———— NPj]

This rule indicates that the genitive preposition *ʃel* is not base-generated in clitic-doubled CSs. Rather, it is inserted in the phonological component. Consequently, the *ʃel* phrase does not affect the binding conditions; the NP *ha mora* in the *ʃel* phrase behaves in all respects as a bare NP and differs from NPs which are objects of base-generated prepositions. The clitic in (7c) absorbs the case-assigning properties of the head noun, but the availability of an inflectional rule inserting the preposition *ʃel* saves the structure from the Case Filter by assigning genitive case to *ha-mora.* Borer (1984: 48) argues that the dummy case marker, *ʃel*, is present whenever the head NP is not in the right configuration to assign a structural case, so it is obligatory in clitic doubled CSs.

The fact that special prepositions precede arguments in clitic doubling constructions is known in the literature as Kayne's Generalization (attributed to Kayne in Jaeggli 1982: 20). The presence of special prepositions is found in other languages like Spanish and Romanian, as shown in the following examples from Borer (1984: 34):

(9) *lo* *vimos* *a* *Juan.*
him saw.we PREP John
'We saw John.'

(10) *l-am* *vazut* *pe* *Popescu.*
him-have.I seen PREP Popescu
'I have seen Popescu.'

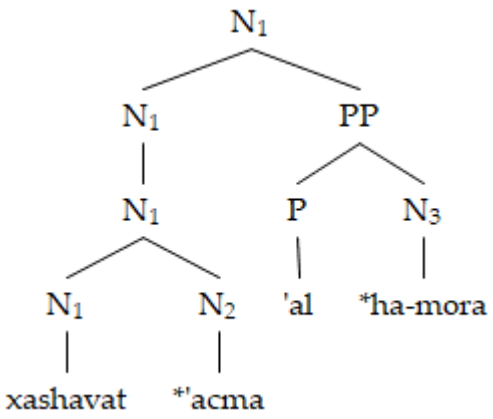
Borer (1984: 56-57) points out that *ʃel* phrases in CSs demonstrate different behavior from base-generated PPs like Spanish *a Juan* and Romanian *pe Popescu* with respect to the binding conditions. *ʃel* does not change the NP-status of the category it is attached to, as in (11) where the object of *ʃel* can serve as an antecedent for a lexical anaphor:

(11) *re'iyat* *'acma* *ʃel* *ha-mora*
view herself of the teacher
'the teacher's view of herself'

If *ʃel*-phrase were a PP, its object could not c-command *'acma* 'herself' since real prepositions block binding as can be seen in (12) and the diagram (13) (Borer 1984: 56):

(12) **xashavat* *'acma* *'al* *ha* *mora*
thinking herself about the teacher
(Intended: 'the teacher's thinking about herself')

(13)



The true PP *'al ha mora* 'about the teacher' prevents its object from c-commanding arguments outside the PP. Borer (1984: 57) concludes that *ʃel* is a contentless, dummy case marker which is not present at the level where binding relations apply, but it is inserted later to assign case and save the structure. Therefore, *ʃel* phrases are NPs rather than PPs.

To sum up, Borer's lexicalist approach of clitic doubled CSs assumes that clitics are base-generated as parts of their host, and they absorb case; accordingly, clitic doubling in CSs is only possible in Hebrew with a preposition-like element which can assign case to the doubled NP. Similarly, Ritter (1991) and Siloni (1997) agree with the given views, as shown in the following subsection.

2.2. The Analysis of CSs as DPs

Following some proposals that noun phrases have one or more functional heads (e.g., Abney 1987; Horrocks and Stavrou 1987; Kornfilt 1984; Reuland 1983), Ritter (1991) argues that CSs in Hebrew have two functional categories, namely, D (determiner) and Num (number). In her view, a CS is a DP headed by D which specifies definiteness, and below DP and above NP, there is another functional projection called NumP headed by Num which bears the number specification (singular or plural) of the noun phrase. The existence of these two functional categories is based on a number of facts. Firstly, Ritter (1991: 4) points out that definite doubled CSs do not have the definite determiner *ha* in initial position while non-CSs do, as the following constructions show:

(14)

a. *beit -o* *ʃel* *dan*
house-his of Dan
'Dan's house'

b. **ha-beit -o ʃel dan*
the-house-his of Dan
(Intended: 'Dan's house')

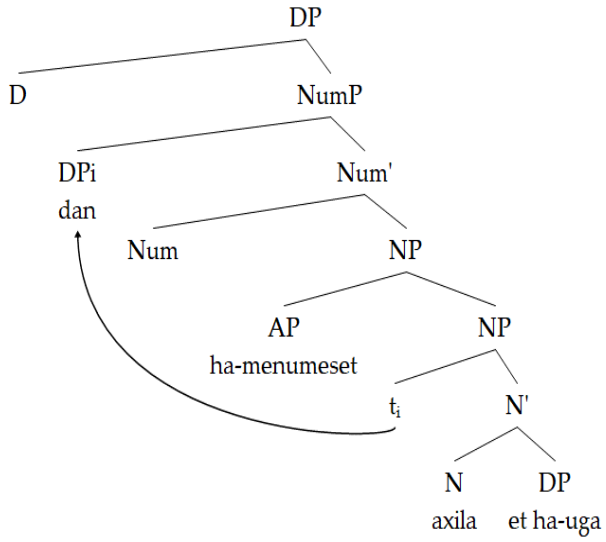
c. *ha- bayit*
the-house
'the house'

The fact that the determiner *ha* never attaches to the noun *beit* in (14b) indicates that definite CSs are DPs headed by the phonetically null determiner assigning genitive case (D_{gen}), so, they cannot be headed by two determiners at the same time. Secondly, adjectives modifying the head noun in simple CSs follow the subject, as in (15).

(15) *axilat* *dan* *ha-menumeset-et* *ha-uga*
eating Dan the-polite-ACC the-cake
'Dan's polite eating of the cake'

Ritter (1991: 9) assumes that adjective *ha-menumeset* 'the-polite' is base generated as NP adjunct, and it always remains in situ throughout the derivation. The subject *dan* raises from [Spec, NP] to [Spec, NumP] in order to receive the genitive case from the D_{gen} as the following diagram shows:

(16)

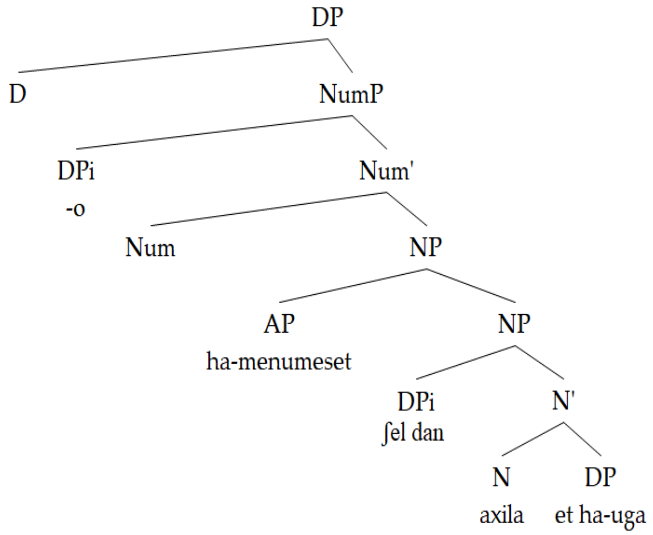


In doubled CSs, the modifying adjective does not follow the subject *dan*; rather, it precedes it, as in (17).

(17) *axilat-o* *ha-menumeset* *ʃel* *dan-et* *ha-uga*
eating-his the-polite of Dan-ACC the-cake
'Dan's polite eating of the cake'

Ritter (1991: 14) argues that the subject cannot rise from [Spec, NP] to [Spec, NumP] simply because the clitic -o 'his' occupies its landing site, as can be seen in (18).

(18)



The subject *dan* receives genitive case in situ from *ʃel*, and the case of D is absorbed by the clitic *-o* which is generated as a pronominal element in [Spec, NumP] in order to acquire its definiteness, number, and gender features from the argument *Dan* in [Spec, NP] that it is co-indexed with.

In a similar vein, Siloni (1997: 59) points out that "Hebrew noun phrases must always involve overt noun raising. The landing site has been identified as the head D." He indicates that the internal structure of CSs contains an additional functional category between DP and NP, namely AgrP (similar to NumP discussed above), where structural genitive case is checked. Therefore, CSs have two kinds of genitive case features: inherent case realized in a *ʃel* phrase and structural case features materialized as nominal clitics.

3. Clitic Doubled CSs in Arabic

In this section, the paper shows that the lexicalist approach is also adopted in studies on Arabic clitic doubled CSs. In both Aoun (1999) and Benmamoun (1999), clitics are assumed to be base-generated in their surface position. Aoun (1999) shows that in Lebanese Arabic the doubled NP is preceded by the preposition *la-* 'to' which seems syntactically equivalent to *ʃel* in Hebrew, and the clitic is co-indexed with the doubled NP, which is the true argument. The same hypothesis is adopted by Benmamoun (1999) for clitic doubling in NP-Q structures. Benmamoun (1999) proposes that the Q is co-indexed with the NP in the projection which has the Q+clitic as an adjunct and the NP as the argument.

3.1. The Presence of pro and Coindexation

Aoun (1999) provides an extensive analysis of argument doubling in Lebanese Arabic (LA). The main focus of his study is how argument structures are syntactically formed to clarify the relation between the clitic and the lexical NP and, more importantly, the syntactic status of the doubled NP. Similar to the previously studies on Hebrew, the lexicalist approach is adopted and clitics are assumed to be base-generated in their surface position. Aoun (1999) proposes that doubling in LA forms a new functional structure in which the doubled NP is generated in the subject position "in a complex predication relation holding between the doubled element and the minimal complete functional complex (CFC) containing the clitic" (Aoun 1999: 13), as illustrated in the following representation:

(19) [$_{CFC}$ [.... clitic-*pro* .....]] doubled element

The position of the doubled nominal to the right of the predicate is in sharp contrast to the typical position of subjects in LA which always appear to the left of the predicate. Aoun (1999: 14) suggests that the reason for this is that "doubling is a means LA uses to create non-standard argument relations, to superimpose new functional structures on conventional ones".

Aoun (1999: 16) highlights that clitics can be doubled in CSNs, as illustrated in (20):

(20) *kteeb-o* *la-saami*
book-his to-Sami
'Sami's book'

As can be seen in this example, the doubled nominal *saami* is preceded by the preposition *la-* 'to' which seems syntactically equivalent to *ʃel* in Hebrew. In this regard, the structure of clitic doubling in both Hebrew and LA CSs conforms to Kayne's generalization, as stated by Aoun (1999:16):

> Kayne's Generalization:
>
> A lexical NP may be doubled by a clitic only if this clitic is preceded by a (prepositional) case assigner. The nominal element following this case assigner is assigned dative case: the pronominal element following it is morphologically dative.

Regarding the position of the doubled nominal to the right of the predicate and the unconventional relation between the clitic and the doubled NP, Aoun (1999: 20) supports this claim by considering the c-command requirement on bound anaphora in doubled vs., non-doubled arguments, as exemplified in the following contrasts:

(21)

a. *mʔalləmt-[o]*$_1$ *ʔaaSaSit-o* *la*-[*kəll walad*]$_1$
teacher-his punished.3SF-him to-every boy
'His teacher punished every boy.'

b. * *mʔalləmt-[o]*$_1$ *ʔaaSaSi*t [*kəll walad*]$_1$
teacher-his punished.3SF every boy
(Intended: 'His teacher punished every boy.')

(22)

a. *xabbart* *mʔalləmt-[o]*$_1$ *ʔann-o* *la*-[*kəll walad*]$_1$
told.1S teacher-his about-his to-every boy
'I told his teacher about every boy.'

b. *xabbart* *mʔalləmt-[o]*$_1$ *ʔann* [*kəll walad*]$_1$
told.1S teacher-his about every boy
(Intended: 'I told his teacher about every boy.')

The contrast between (21a) and (22a) and those in (21b) and (22b) is related to the c-command requirement on anaphora. The (a) sentences are grammatical because the bound reading is available, that is, the doubled QP *kəll walad* 'every boy' can c-command the pronoun *-o* 'his' in the DP *mʔalləmt-o* 'his teacher'. The ungrammaticality of the (b) sentences can be attributed to the failure of c-command to hold between the doubled QP *kəll walad* 'every boy' and the pronoun *-o* 'his'. This contrast suggests that the doubled NP *mʔalləmt-o*

'his teacher' in the (a) sentences is interpreted in a position higher than that of the corresponding non-doubled NP in the (b) sentences.

Based on this contrast, Aoun (1999: 21) proposes that the doubled NP and the non-doubled NP cannot be interpreted in the same way because only in doubled NPs the complement position is already filled by a covert pronominal *pro*, and the clitic is co-indexed with it and is not a true argument, as shown in (23).

(23) X+*clitic*$_1$ *pro*$_1$ la-NP

This assumption is based on three arguments. First, cliticization in LA is strictly local; the clitic always attaches to the syntactic element that selects it. In CSs exemplified in (20-(22) above, the first nominal selects the clitic, and the clitic attaches to it in the form of N+clitic. Second, a clitic may cooccur with non-doubled arguments, as in (24b), and this indicates that clitics are not arguments because two arguments (i.e., the clitic *-un* 'them' and the non-doubled NP *l-wleed* 'the boys') cannot share the same thematic role, as that would violate the Thematic Theory (Chomsky 1991).

(24)

a. *ʃəft* *kəll* *l-wleed.*
saw.1S all the-boys
'I saw all the boys.'

b. *ʃəft* *l-wleed* *kəll-un*
saw.1S the-boys all-them
'I saw all the boys.'

Third, two clitics may correspond to the same argument. Notice in (25) that the clitic *-un* attaching to both the verb and the noun corresponds to a unique argument.

(25) *ʃəft-un* *kəll-un.*
saw.1S-them all-them
'I saw all of them.'

These three arguments support the representation in (23) in which the covert pronominal *pro* is the true argument that fills the complement position, and the clitic is attached to the first nominal in CSs and based-generated in that position, and it is co-indexed with *pro*.

3.2. Clitics Doubling in NP-Q Pattern

In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Moroccan Arabic (MA), Benmamoun (1999) discusses a unique structure of clitic doubling in CSs that includes a quantifier. In the context of the NP-Q pattern, both the noun and the quantifier must carry the same clitic; that is to say, unlike the structures discussed so far for Hebrew and LA, the clitic is obligatory in both the hosting noun and the quantifier. Consider (26) from MA:

(26) *ktub-*(hum)* *kull-hum*
books-them all-them
(Intended: 'the books of all of them') (Benmamoun 1999a: 633)

Notice that the same requirement does not hold for typical CSs that do not include a quantifier, as shown in (27):

(27) *ʔəmm-(*hum)* *bba-hum*
uncle-them father-their
'their father's uncle'

Benmamoun (1999: 633-634) argues that the contrast between (26) and (27) reveals that in the presence of the quantifier, clitic doubling is a unique phenomenon, based on several pieces of evidence. First, both MSA and MA do not allow clitic doubling found in Hebrew or LA. Consider the ungrammaticality of the constructions in (28):

(28)

a. * *ktab-ha* *lə-l-muʔallimma*
book-her to-the-teacher
(Intended: 'the teacher's book') (MA)

b. * *kitaab-haa* *li-l-muʔallimma*
book-her to-the-teacher
(Intended: 'the teacher's book') (MSA)

Second, the clitic on the governing head cannot cooccur with a lexical NP. Compare (26) with (29) below, and notice how the presence of the NP *lə-wlad* 'the boys' leads to ungrammaticality:

(29) **ktub-hum* *lə-wlad* *kull-hum*
books-them the-boys all-them
(Intended: 'the books of all the boys')

Third, while clitic doubling in genitive CSs is optional, as in (30a,b) below, it is obligatory in the context of the NP-Q pattern, as shown in (26) above:

(30)

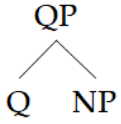
a. *ktab-o* *la-saami*
book-his to-Sami
'Sami's book'

b. *ktab* *saami*
book Sami
'Sami's book'

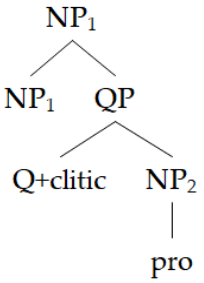
Based on the given arguments, and those related to case and agreement (see Benmamoun, 1999: 634-636, for more details), the analysis of this phenomenon is proposed in the following lines. The NP-Q structure is governed by the pronominal, rather than the quantifier, and the presence the clitic does not affect the status of the Q as an adjunct; consequently, the pattern Q+clitic has an adjunctive status, and the main argument is pronominal, rather than quantificational. These arguments suggest that, in contrast with the canonical Q-NP pattern where the Q is the head of the projection, as represented in (31a), the presence of the clitic attached to the Q leads to a different derivation where the NP is the head of the projection, and the Q+clitic is just an adjunct, as shown in (31b).

(31)

a. Q-NP



b. NP- Q+clitic



(31b) shows that the Q+clitic is an adjunct that modifies the NP; therefore, it is an appositive phrase, and the NP is the main argument. Being an appositive/ adjunctive, the Q+clitic does not affect or violate θ-criterion or binding relations. The doubled clitic is assumed to be an agreement element triggered by the fact that the Q is co-indexed with the NP (similar to the Aoun's (1999) proposal given above), that is to say, the agreement between the NP and the Q is determined by the NP, rather than the Q, and the presence of the clitic is just a reflection of this agreement.

4. Counterarguments from Jordanian Arabic

As can be seen above, the aforementioned studies adopt Borer's (1984) hypothesis, and apart from some minor modifications for Arabic (Benmamoun 1999; Aoun 1999) and the projection of additional functional heads for Hebrew (Ritter 1991; Siloni 1997), the previous studies agree that "clitics are generated as features on the head of their phrase. They do not fill the argument position which is the complement of this head" (Borer 1984: 63). However, data from Jordanian Arabic shows the failure of the discussed approaches to account for simple facts that are overlooked in previous studies. First, the doubled element must be a nominal, but not a pronominal form. Bearing in mind that both the nominal or the pronominal are interchangeable as objects of a preposition, based on the fact that both are DPs. Consider the ungrammaticality of (32b).

(32)

a. *ktab-o* *la-saami*
book-his to-Sami
'Sami's book'

b. **ktab-o* *il-o*
book-his to-his
(Intended: 'his book')

This simple fact casts doubt on the assumption that the pronoun *-o* is just a clitic in an adjunct position that absorbs the case features, and the doubled nominal is the true argument. This counterevidence is based on the fact that what is called a clitic is actually a possessive pronoun that occupies the argument position, as can be seen in (33a) compared with (33b):

(33)

a. *ktab-o*
book-his
'his book'

b. *ktab saami*
book Sami
'Sami's book'

Second, the assumption that the so-called clitic is base-generated and attached to the case assigner leads to the wrong prediction that it can attach to the preposition *la-* instead, and the doubled nominal occupies its typical position following the head noun. Notice how switching the positions of the clitic and the NP yields ungrammaticality below:

(34)

a. **ktab-saami il-o*
book-Sami to-his
(Intended: 'Sami's book')

b. *ktab-o la-saami*
book-his to-Sami
'Sami's book'

Third, previous studies overlook the fact that in doubled CSs, the doubled complement nominal must be third person singular, a requirement that does not exist in non-doubled CSs. Compare (35a) with (35b).

(35)

a. *kutub aT-Tullab*
books the-students
'the students' books'

b. **kutub-hum la-T-Tullab*
books-their the-students
(Intended: 'the students' books')

Fourth, in sharp contrast with non-doubled CSs which allow a relation of origin or formation to denote 'made of/from' between the two nominals, as in (36a), the doubled CSs do not allow such a relation, as exemplified in (36b) (Al-Bataineh and Branigan 2020):

(36)

a. *khatam Hadiid*
ring iron
'an iron ring= a ring made of iron'

b. **khatam-o la-Hadiid*
ring-his to-iron
(Intended: 'an iron ring')

Relatedly, the doubled CSs do not allow the complement noun to be a numerated noun headed by a cardinal number, assuming the correctness of previous studies (Shlonsky 2004; Danon 2012; Borer 2005) that numeral-noun constructions are CSs.

(37)

a. *thalaath SuHuf*
three newspapers
'three newspapers'

b. **thalaath-thum la-SuHuf*
three-their to-newspapers
(Intended: 'three newspapers')

The inadequacy of Borer's (1984) analysis and those of subsequent studies may be argued in light of the existence of two nouns in *tamyiiz* 'restrictive accusative' constructions in which

the complement noun is assigned the accusative, rather than the genitive, case, consider (38a,b) below. The *tamyiiz* 'restrictive accusative' constructions cast doubt on the general conception that CSs are headed by an abstract Dgen head that assigns the genitive case to the complement noun simply because if this abstract head does really exist, it would assign the genitive case to the complement noun *zayd* in (38b), contrary to fact (see Al-Bataineh and Branigan 2020 for more details).

(38)

a. *Daarib-u* *zayd-in*
beater-NOM Zayd-GEN
'Zayd's beater'

b. *Daarib*-un *zayd-an*
beater-NOM Zayd-ACC
'Zayd's beater' (MSA)

Assuming the correctness of the given arguments, I propose that what is considered to be clitic doubling CSs are actually possessive CSs that have the possessive pronoun (i.e., the so-called clitic) and a modifying PP that has an adjunctive status. The preposition *la-* (or *ʃel* in Hebrew), which appears before the complement noun, is not dummy as suggested by previous studies, simply because it has a semantic content that reflects the possessive relation between the head noun and the complement noun. The presence of the preposition is not related only to case assignment reasons but also semantic ones because in the so-called clitic doubled CSs have one possessive relation and only one, whereas other CSs may have arithmetic or formation/origin relation. This argument can be further supported by the fact the doubled CS is a mirror image of the paraphrase that shows the possessive relation between the two nominals. Consider (39a,b):

(39)

a. *ktab-o* *la-saami*
book-his to-Sami
'Sami's book'

b. *saami* *il-o* *ktab*
Sami to-his book
'Sami has a book.'

Very briefly, I argue here that the so-called clitic is the true argument (i.e., a possessive pronoun), and the doubled NP is the object of a meaningful preposition. However, the discussion raises two questions. First, why does a preposition, but not another syntactic element, act as a case assigner in this construction? To briefly answer this question, I suggest that prepositions are better candidates for non-standard constructions involving nominals as complements. I notice that prepositions in Arabic, as opposed to other case assigners, are frequently utilized in non-standard grammatical forms not only in CSs, but also in other structures as well, such as exceptives (Al-Bataineh 2020a) and exclamatives (Al-Bataineh 2020b). The second question is related to the lexicalization of the preposition. As noted above, the preposition is spelled out as *la-* (or *ʃel* in Hebrew) only when the complement NP is doubled by the possessive pronoun. The question here is why in non-doubled CSs, the preposition is not lexicalized. Following Al-Bataineh and Branigan (2020), I assume that a systematic consistency/ correlation exists between D and P regarding morphological realization (i.e., covertness vs., overtness); both the D and the P can be overt or covert simultaneously, that is, the presence of the overt D requires the P to be morphologically

realized, and when the D is covert, the P is morphologically null. This correlation exists only when the D and the P are located within the same DP (for examples and discussion for numeral-noun constructions, see Al-Bataineh and Branigan 2020: 8-11). To illustrate, consider the non-doubled CS and the doubled CS in (40a-b):

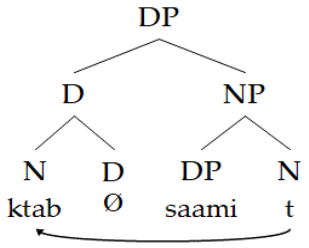
(40)

a. *ktab* *saami*
book Sami
'Sami's book'

b. *ktab-o* *la-saami*
book-his to-Sami
'Sami's book'

Both constructions start the derivation as a DP, represented as (41) (see Al-Bataineh 2020c for discussion):

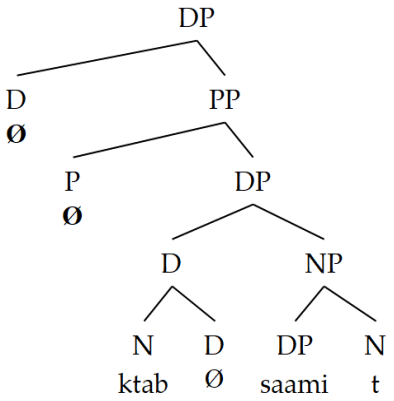
(41)



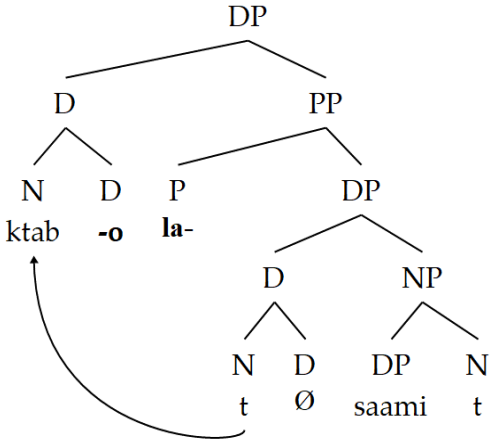
Based on the assumption that the preposition exists in both doubled and non-doubled CSs for semantic reasons related to the denotation of possessive relation between the two nominals, (40a,b) are represented as (42a,b), respectively:

(42)

a. Non-doubled CS



b. Doubled CS



These representations show the correlation between D and P regarding morphological realization (i.e., covertness vs., overtness). In (42a), when the D is null, the P is not morphologically realized. In (42b), the D is realized as a possessive pronoun *-o*, and that requires the P to be overt as *la-*.

5. Summary and Conclusion

This paper discusses the lexicalist approach utilized in the analysis of clitic doubling constructions in Hebrew and Arabic CSs. From the lexicalist perspective adopted by Borer (1984), clitics are considered to be base-generated as inflectional elements (i.e., lexical affixes) that absorb the case-assigning properties of the head noun. Therefore, the head word is not in the right configuration to assign a structural case, and the presence of the dummy case marker, *ʃel*, is obligatory to save the structure from the Case Filter by assigning the case to the doubled NP. Ritter (1991) and Siloni (1997) argue that Hebrew CSs are DPs headed by D which specifies definiteness, and below DP and above NP, there is another functional projection called NumP or AgrP. In clitic doubling CSs, the case of D is absorbed by the clitic which is generated as a pronominal element in [Spec, NumP], and the doubled NP receives genitive case in situ from *ʃel*. Ritter (1991) and Siloni (1997) do not propose radical changes to the basic understanding of the phenomenon; both researchers agree with Borer (1984) in her absorption hypothesis of base-generated clitics and the role of *ʃel* as a dummy case marker. With regard to Arabic, the lexicalist approach is adopted by both Aoun (1999) and Benmamoun (1999), and clitics are assumed to be base-generated in their surface position. Aoun (1999) shows that in Lebanese Arabic, the doubled nominal is preceded by the preposition *la-* 'to' which seems syntactically equivalent to *ʃel* in Hebrew, and in doubled CSNs, the complement position is already filled by a covert pronominal *pro*, and the clitic is co-indexed with it, thus, is not a true argument. The covert pronominal *pro* is the true argument that fills the complement position, and the clitic is attached to the head nominal in CSs and based-generated in that position, and it is co-indexed with *pro*. The same hypothesis is adopted by Benmamoun (1999) for clitic doubling in NP-Q structures. Benmamoun (1999) proposes that the Q is co-indexed with the NP in the projection which has the Q+clitic as an adjunct and the NP as the argument. Therefore, the different proposals discussed so far go hand in hand in providing similar analyses of clitic doubling in CSs, that is, clitics are base-generated affixes rather than free morphemes (i.e., heads) undergoing movement to their host from an argument position.

This paper claims that this approach does not provide convincing arguments and cannot explain simple facts about doubled CSs in Jordanian Arabic. Based on the deep similarities between JA, on the one hand, and both LA and Hebrew, on the other, with regard to the structure under discussion, I claim that the main shortcomings of the lexicalist approach lie in

the assumptions that the clitic is an affix occupying an adjunct position, and the true argument is the doubled nominal which headed by a dummy preposition. The alternative analysis pursued in this paper provides evidence for the argumental status of the so-called clitic as a possessive pronoun, and the meaningful content of the preposition that expresses the possessive relation between the pronoun and the doubled nominal. Moreover, the paper explains why the preposition is utilized only in doubled CSs, as opposed to non-doubled CSs, based on the observed existence of a systematic consistency/ correlation between D and P regarding morphological realization (i.e., covertness vs., overtness); both the D and the P can be overt or covert simultaneously, that is, the presence of the overt D requires the P to be morphologically realized, and when the D is covert, the P is morphologically null. This correlation exists only when the D and the P are located within the same DP. Needless to say, this paper is just a preliminary attempt to explain some facts which are overlooked in previous studies, and further investigations are needed to test, modify, and develop the argued approach in the light of data from other Semitic languages.

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