

THE CATEGORY OF SPACE IN ARABIC DP STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON DP WORD ORDER

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Space in Language

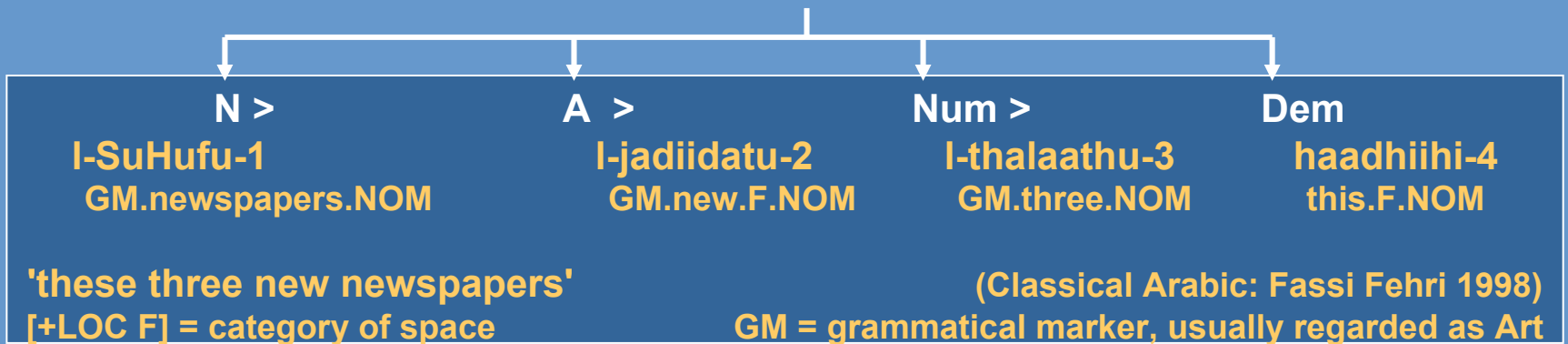
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0. Aim

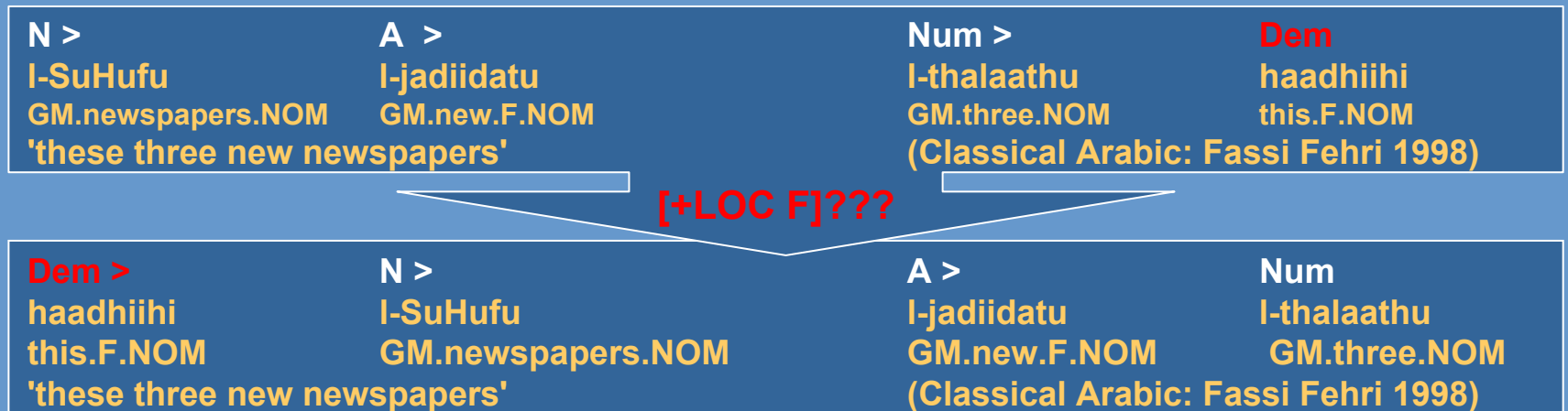
Investigating the category of space in the domain of Arabic DP

Is this category found in the items that make up the DP-structure, i.e. N and its modifiers (Dem, Num, A)?

[+LOC F] ???



If the case, how does it impact on their word orders?



1. Proposal and framework

CURRENT PROPOSAL

Arabic N, Dem, Num carry [+LOC F], A does not

[+LOC F]

[+LOC F]

[+LOC F]

N >

A >

Num >

Dem

I-SuHufu

I-jadiidatu

I-thalaathu

haadhihi

GM.newspapers.NOM

GM.new.F.NOM

GM.three.NOM

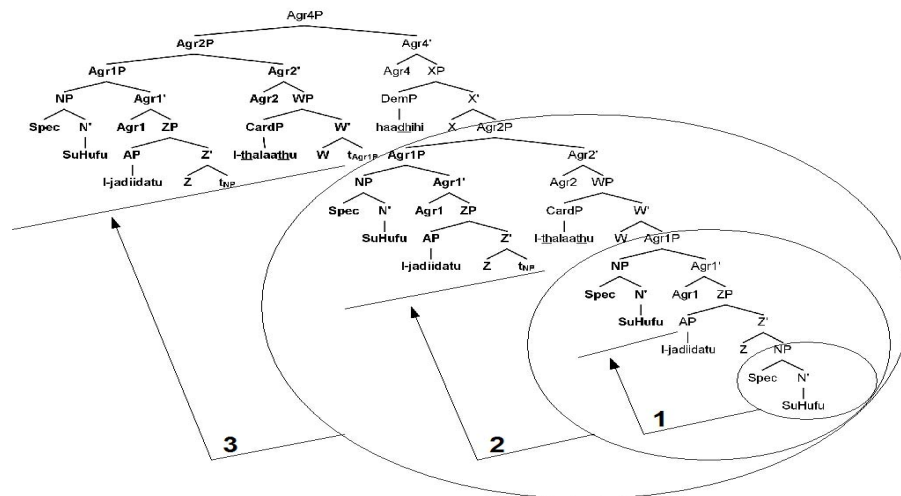
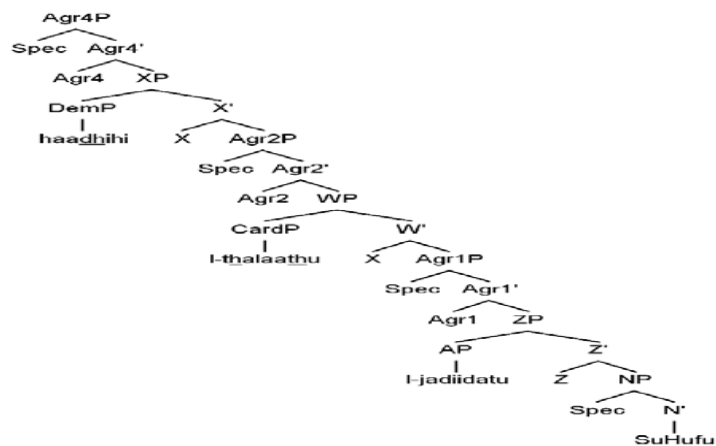
this.F.NOM

'these three new newspapers'

(Classical Arabic: Fassi Fehri 1998)

THE FRAMEWORK

Cinque's (2003) \Shlonsky's (2004) minimalist/ antisymmetric account of the Semitic DP



Universal word order
Dem > Num > A > N

these-1 three-2 new-3 newspapers-4

PHRASAL
MOV.

Mirror image

N > A > Num > Dem

I-SuHufu-1 I-jadiidatu-2 I-thalaathu-3 haadhihi-4

Problem #1: why phrasal movement?

Problem #2: why exceptions to it?

2. Revising syntax of Modification

Arabic Modification = Predicate Inversion

Arab grammarians' (800-1400 d.C.) view (Sh. K. II, 283ff.; Wright 1896, II: 284):



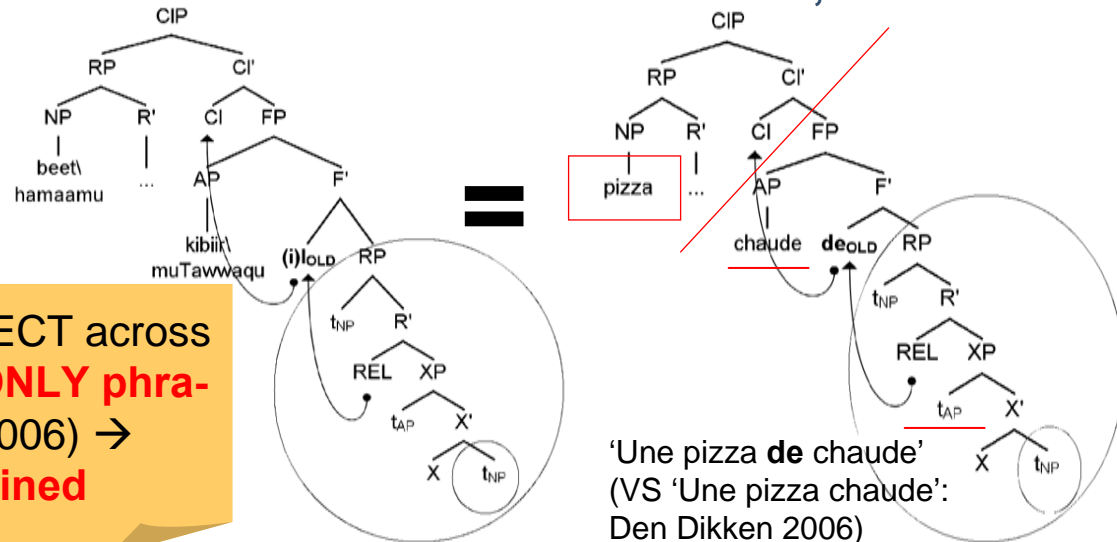
(I-)Hamaamu I-muTawwaqu = (I-)Hamaamu_j [I-muTawwaqu_{OLD INFO} 0PRN_j]
 GM.doves GM.ring-necked 'the ring-necked doves'

Brockelmann\Fleisch\Greenberg (see Drodzic 1998 and refs. therein):



Den Dikken (2006): Predicate Inversion = FP above Modification-structure, where:

- F hosts a (kind of) copula ('LINKER')
- Modifier raises to Spec, FP
- If occurring in L's with a CI-system:
- a CIP above FP attracts the Modified NP



NO Spec-to-Spec movement of SUBJECT across its Inverted Predicate (Moro 1997) → **ONLY phrasal movement allowed** (Den Dikken 2006) → phrasal movement in Semitic DP **explained**

3. Deriving the exceptions

Exceptional word orders < Minimal Link Condition

Lyons (1977):

Items classified by CI's: perceived as located in a 3D space → Arabic N's carry [+LOC F]

Deixis = location → Brugè's (2002) [+/-DEICTIC F] on Dem \ CP hosting Dem = [+/- LOC F]

Arab grammarians' (800-1400 d.C.) view on LI's (Sh.K. II, III, Wright 1896,I:255,II:247):

Dem = N → [+LOC F]

Card Num = N → [+LOC F]

A = V → no LOC F

(pre-N) Ord Num = N → [+LOC F]

Den Dikken and Singhapreecha (2004), Kayne (1998):

→ [-F] on CIP attracting NP is **unknown. BUT:**

→ CIP is a phase like CP, which carries [-LOC F], and is

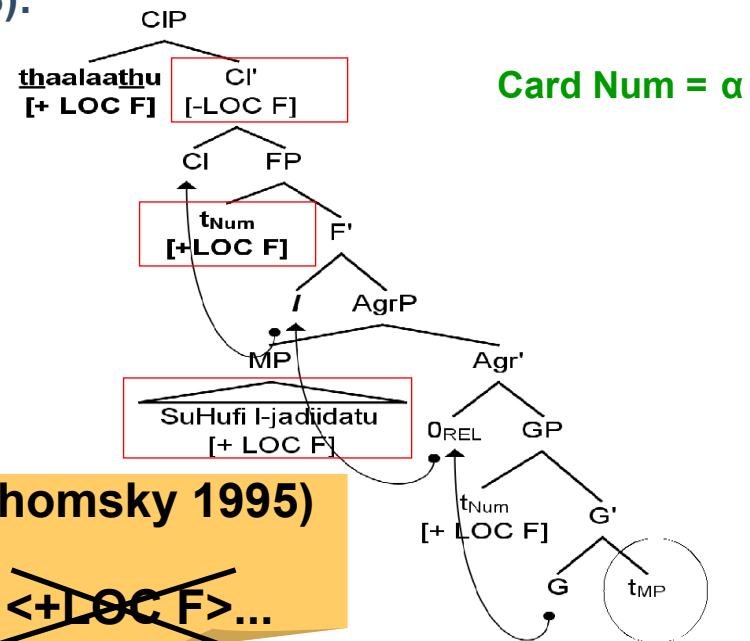
→ in a checking relation with NP, which carries [+LOC F].

→ This plausibly proves that CIP carries [-LOC F]

→ "Exceptional" word orders are regular instances of

Minimal Link Condition (aka Attract Closest) (Chomsky 1995)

[_{CIP} e [_{CI'} CI <-LOC F> ... [_{FP} α <+LOC F> ... [_{LP} NP <+LOC F> ...



4. Conclusions

RESULTS → Arabic N's carry [+LOC F] and Art is a LINKER

Implications: this account of Arabic DP-structure contributes, among others, to:

- solve the problem of “double definiteness” in Arabic (Adjectival Art being a recursive LINKER)
- clarify the nature of the nominal *n*-suffix (*tanwiin*): it signals [+LOC F] and hence is to be identified with the locative particle *n* found in Semitic Dem (cp. Ar. *ay-na* ‘where?’, *hu-naa* ‘here’: Hasselbach 2007)
- explain phrasal movement in terms of constraints on SUBJECT-raising (Moro 1997, Den Dikken 2006)
- economize the theory of the Semitic DP, in compliance with minimalist guidelines:
 - Brugè's (2002)\Cinque's (2003) optional movement of Dem\Num dispensed with (cp. Chomsky 1995)
 - Bruge's (2002) strong \ weak features and LF movement in Dem no longer needed (cp. Kayne 1998)
 - Shlonsky's (2004) separate mechanism accounting for pre-N Num\Dem (i.e. 'freezing' in their base-generation position) replaced by Minimal Link Condition
- account for recursion of AgrP in Semitic (Shlonsky 2004) as a deceiving effect of head-movement of Agr-features to CI', descriptively recursive (Den Dikken 2006). More generally this study corroborates Greenberg's idea that Arabic is a classifier-language

5. References

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