Hebrew and Arabic Definiteness Marking as Post-Syntactic Local Dislocation[*]

Yaron McNabb

University of Chicago

1.   Introduction

Hebrew and Arabic[1] attributive adjectives agree in definiteness with the nouns they modify in addition to their agreement in gender and number. Previous studies consist of two competing accounts for the definiteness agreement. Under the first account, the definite marker *ha-* is a D head selecting the adjective it marks for definiteness (similarly to nouns) (e.g. Sichel 2002); under the second account, the definite marker is a syntactic definiteness feature inherent to the noun or determiner, which spreads to other elements in the DP (e.g. Borer 1996).

In this paper, I present novel data from degree modification of coordinated adjectives in Hebrew and Arabic. I show that the scope ambiguities and definiteness marking patterns in various structures provide evidence for an analysis whereby definiteness is a syntactic feature that surfaces as the phrasal clitic *ha-* 'the'. In addition, I show that the structure-sensitive, though post-syntactic, morphological operation of LOCAL DISLOCATION generates the correct distribution of the Hebrew and Arabic definite marker, namely it being a phrasal proclitic occurring at the left-edge of phrases, as well as the intricate pattern of definiteness agreement in Hebrew and Arabic attributive adjectives.

The structure of this paper is as follows. In Section 2 I present the data from degree modification of coordinated APs. Next, in Section 3, I very briefly review previous analyses of definiteness, highlighting their difficulties in accounting for the novel data. I then propose in Section 4 an analysis that is based on insights from previous work, but which

[1]The Arabic data I report here are from Levantine Arabic, spoken in Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and parts of Jordan. The phonology transcribed in this paper is of Lebanese Arabic (Beirut dialect), but the morphosyntax is true to the Palestinian dialects too (though my investigation only includes the Ramallah dialect).

introduces certain crucial new elements needed to account for the new data, specifically utilizing the PF operation Local Dislocation to account for the distribution of the definite marker. I conclude in Section 5 that my analysis may be useful in accounting for patterns of procliticization of definiteness marking in other languages.

2.   Degree Modification of Coordinated APs

Hebrew and Arabic attributive adjectives follow the nouns they modify and must agree with them in definiteness, gender, and number. For example, the Hebrew adjective *ktana* 'small' in (1) and the Arabic adjective *ẓɣira* 'small' in (2) both agree with the singular, feminine noun there (*dira* 'apartment' and *šaʔa* 'apartment', respectively) in these features. Definiteness marking patterns in a different way: When the degree modifier (*meʔod* 'very' in Hebrew or *ktiir* 'very' in Arabic) follows the adjective it modifies, the adjective is the element marked for definiteness (1a,2a); when the degree modifier precedes the adjective, the definite marker is affixed to the the degree modifier and not the adjective (1b,2b).

(1) a. ha-dira   ha-ktana   (*ha-)meʔod
         the-apartment.FS the-small.FS (*the-)very
         'the very small apartment'

     b. ha-dira   ha-meʔod (*ha-)ktana
         the-apartment.FS the-very   (*the-)small.FS
         'the very small apartment'   HEBREW

(2) a. ɪš-šaʔa   ɪẓ-ẓɣira   ktiir
         the-apartment.FS the-small.FS very
         'the very small apartment'

     b. ɪš-šaʔa   ɪl-ktiir ẓɣira
         the-apartment.FS the-very small.FS
         'the very small apartment'   LEVANTINE ARABIC

   Coordinated APs in Hebrew and Arabic exhibit interactions between definiteness and degree modification. When the degree modifier follows both conjoined adjectives (3), both conjuncts must be marked for definiteness. In addition, the structure receives two readings: a narrow scope reading, in which the degree modifier only modifies the adjective it immediately follows, and a wide scope reading, in which the degree modifier modifies both conjuncts.

(3) a. ha-dira   ha-ktana   ve-*(ha-)yekara   meʔod
         the-apartment.FS the-small.FS and-the-expensive.FS very
         'the very small and expensive apartment'   HEBREW

     b. ɪš-šaʔa   ɪẓ-ẓɣira   w-*(ɪl)-ɣaalja   ktiir
         the-apartment.FS the-small.FS and-the-expensive.FS very
         'the very small and expensive apartment'   LEVANTINE ARABIC

     c. Readings:

    (i) 'the (very (small and expensive)) apartment'

    (ii) 'the small and (very expensive) apartment'

When the degree modifier precedes the second conjunct (4), again both conjuncts must be marked for definiteness, but in this configuration only the narrow scope interpretation, in which the degree modifiers modifies the second conjunct only, is possible.

(4) a. ha-dira   ha-ktana   ve-*(ha)-meʔod yekara
           the-apartment.FS the-small.FS and-the-very   expensive.FS
           Only reading: 'the small and (very expensive) apartment'   HEBREW

     b. ɪš-šaʔa   ɪẓ-ẓɣiraa   w-*(ɪl)-ktiir ɣaalja
           the-apartment.FS the-small.FS and-the-very expensive.FS
           Only reading: 'the small and (very expensive) apartment'   LA

When the degree modifier precedes both conjuncts, the possible interpretations depend on the definiteness marking. When only the degree modifier is marked for definiteness and neither adjective is (5), only the wide scope reading is available. When the second conjunct is marked for definiteness (6), the narrow scope, in which the degree modifier modifies the first conjunct only, is the only one available.

(5) a. ha-dira   ha-meʔod ktana   ve-yekara
           the-apartment.FS the-very   small.FS and-expensive.FS
           Only reading: 'the (very (small and expensive)) apartment'   HEBREW

     b. ɪš-šaʔa   ɪl-ktiir zɣira   w-ɣaalja
           the-apartment.FS the-very small.FS and-expensive.FS
           Only reading: 'the (very (small and expensive)) apartment'   LA

(6) a. ha-dira   ha-meʔod ktana   ve-ha-yekara
           the-apartment.FS the-very   small.FS and-the-expensive.FS
           Only reading: 'the (very small) and expensive apartment'   HEBREW

     b. ɪš-šaʔa   ɪl-ktiir zɣira   w-ɪl-ɣaalja
           the-apartment.FS the-very small.FS and-the-expensive.FS
           Only reading: 'the (very small) and expensive apartment'   LA

The scope ambiguities in the data in (3-6) can be accounted for structurally, mapping different interpretations to different structural relationships between the adjectives and degree modifier. Recall also that the pattern of definiteness illustrated in (1-2) suggests that the definite prefix marks phrases in such a way that may affect the scope of degree modification. While the degree modifier takes scope over both adjectives in (5), the definite marker on the second conjunct in (6) prevents the degree modifier from taking scope over the second conjunct, which results in a narrow scope reading. An analysis of the data discussed here, therefore, requires two components: First, the structural relations of degree modifiers and other projections in the DP must derive the correct scope interactions. Second, the analysis of definiteness marking must account for the phrasal proclitic status of the definite affix *ha-* 'the'.

3.   Standard Analyses of Definiteness in Hebrew and Arabic

Previous studies on definiteness marking mainly focus on definiteness marking on nouns rather than on inflectional marking on adjectives and other noun modifiers. Most of these studies involve a D head as the trigger for definiteness on the noun (Siloni 1997, Fehri 1999, Danon 2002, Shlonsky 2004, Pereltsvaig 2006), and a few others discuss an alternative whereby the source of definiteness marking is the noun (Borer 1996, Wintner 2000). Only few of these studies explicitly discuss the morphosyntactic operations that result in definiteness marking on modifiers, and the only analysis that works out the details of definiteness marking on adjectives and its interaction with pre- and post-adjectival modifiers is Sichel 2002.[2]

4.   Analysis

In this section I propose an account that draws upon existing analyses that treat definiteness marking of adjectives as a result of an agreement operation, and argue that scope ambiguities can be accounted for by analyzing degree modifiers as adjuncts of APs rather than Deg heads that functionally select them (Abney 1987 et seq.). The distribution of the definite marker on adjectives, I propose, is the morphological realization of a [+DEF] feature, which surfaces as a marker of phrases rather than heads as a result of a post-syntactic operation of Local Dislocation, whereby the definite marker *ha* 'the' dislocated to the left edge of a linearized phrase, and affixes to coordinated elements by pointwise application.

The analysis I propose is couched in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000) and Distributed Morphology (Embick and Noyer 2001). The relevant background assumptions for my analysis are that structures are a result of the successive application of syntactic operations (namely MOVE and MERGE, and possibly ADJOIN) to a collection of lexical items. Each lexical item consists of phonological, semantic and syntactic features. Selectional (subcategorization) features drive the merging of lexical items. The syntactic feature this paper is concerned with is [+DEF]. I argue that this feature is generated in D^0 and is checked by the operation AGREE that is established between syntactic objects under a c-command relation.
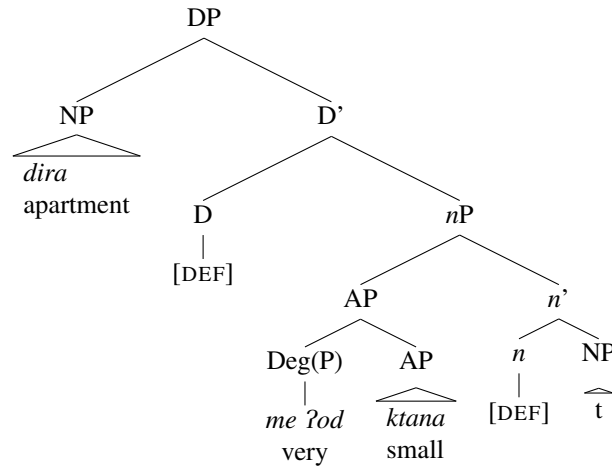
The structural assumptions I am making are illustrated in (7)[3]. Unlike analyses in the spirit of Abney (1987), I treat APs and Deg(P)s as adjuncts. The NP moves to Spec,DP, following previous analyses of the Semitic DP (Ritter 1988 et seq.) Following Fehri (1999), APs are generated in dedicated positions in the functional layer nP, in which φ and DEF features are checked via Agree.

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[2]Space limitations prevent me from presenting previous approaches to definiteness in Hebrew in any detail; none of them considered data from conjunctions, and none of them extend to such data.

[3]All of the examples I use in this section are from Hebrew, but the analysis accounts for the Levantine Arabic data as well, as they pattern in the same way.

(7)

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                                    DP
                          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                         NP                    D'
                        ╱──╲            ┌───────┴───────┐
                       dira             D               nP
                    apartment          │         ┌──────┴──────┐
                                     [DEF]       AP            n'
                                            ┌─────┴────┐    ┌───┴───┐
                                          Deg(P)      AP   n      NP
                                            │        ╱──╲   │      ╱╲
                                         me ʔod    ktana [DEF]     t
                                          very     small
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For clarity of presentation, I spell out the lexical entries in each projection, but the actual phonological forms of words are inserted at a later stage, namely Phonological Form (PF), once all syntactic operations are completed. I present in Section 4.1 the set of assumptions relevant for the PF operations responsible for the pattern of definiteness marking.

4.1 Distributed morphology

The premise behind Distributed Morphology is that there is no centralized lexicon; phonological and semantic information, category, and syntactic features are 'distributed' throughout the grammar. That is, the eventual surface form and ordering of elements in a sentence is a result of interface interactions between the different syntactic, phonological and semantic features, some of which are inherent to the lexical items themselves and some are acquired by them as a result of syntactic and PF operations (Halle and Marantz 1993).

The procedure is as follows. Syntactic operations manipulate bundles of morphosyntactic features, which lack any morphophonological realization in the syntax. Category, φ, and DEF features are the relevant features for this account. Once the syntactic derivation is complete, the feature bundles are sent to PF where they are given morphophonological content, a process called VOCABULARY INSERTION. To illustrate, a structure like the one in (7) is submitted to PF, and the nodes are filled with morphological information (the lexical items at the terminal nodes). The nodes n^0 and D^0 are each filled with the definite marker *ha*. Then, the structure is linearized, but the hierarchical structure of constituents is still visible to subsequent operations (LINEARIZATION).

After Linearization, LOCAL DISLOCATION may apply. Local Dislocation involves switches in linear order between two nodes, conditioned by precedence relations (Embick and Noyer 2001, Embick 2003). The operation is defined in (8). Following Local Dislocation and other operations that may apply in this step, PF derivation finishes with a complete phonological linear representation and prosodic domains are built.

(8) *Local Dislocation:*
X ∗ Y → Y-X
The linear order of X and Y can be potentially reversed just in case X is left-adjacent to Y.

Now that the structural and morphological have been outlined, I will detail how the analysis I propose accounts for the data presented in Section 2.

4.2 Proposed analysis

The interaction between definiteness marking and possible interpretations of degree modification in coordinated APs I described in Section 2 follows from the internal DP structure I proposed earlier in this section and the morphological operation of Local Dislocation that results in the definite marker dislocating to the left-edge of a linearized constituent (in this case, the AP). I will go over the derivation of single and multiple APs and then turn to coordinated APs to show how the analysis derives the various structures.
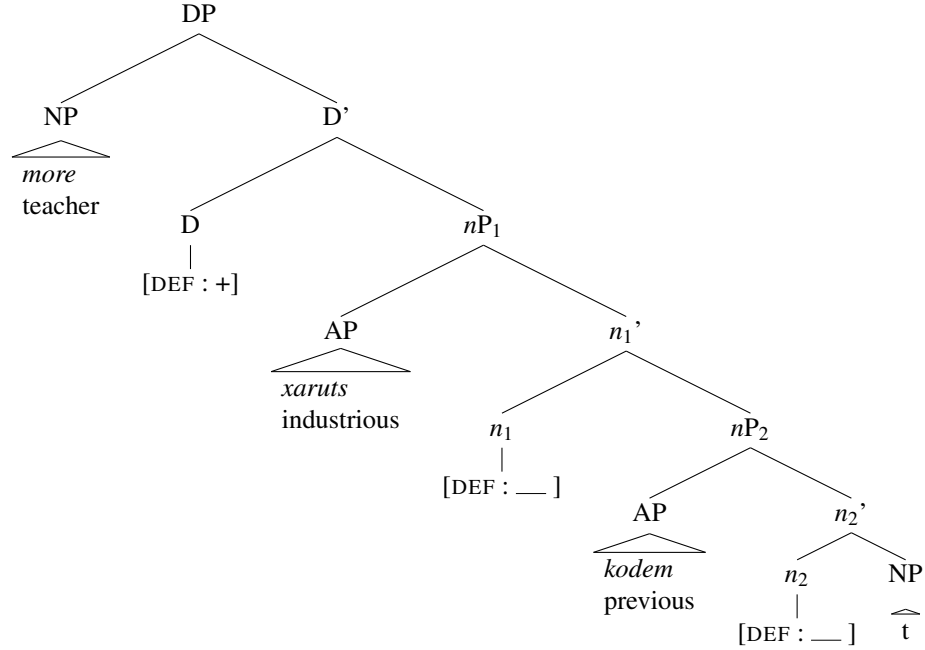
Single and multiple APs

In DPs with one adjective modified by a pre-adjectival degree modifier, such as the one in (7), the structure is submitted to PF. Following Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization, the structure is as given in (9a). This linearized structure is the input of Local Dislocation, which results in both definite markers dislocating to the left of the Spec of the phrase they are in (i.e. if they are in n^0 they dislocated to left of Spec,nP and if they are D^0 they dislocate to left of Spec,DP), as shown in (9b). The final phonological linear representation is given in (9c).

(9) a. (7) after Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization:
         [$_{DP}$ *dira* ∗ *ha* [$_{nP}$ [$_{AP}$ *meʔod yekara*] ∗ *ha*]]
    b. Local Dislocation:
         [$_{DP}$ *ha-dira* [$_{nP}$ *ha-*[$_{AP}$ *meʔod yekara*]]]
    c. Final phonological representation:

        ha-dira   ha-yekara
        the-apartment the-expensive

        'the expensive apartment'

The main difference between the structure of a DP with a single AP and one with multiple APs is that a structure with multiple APs generates as many nPs (i.e. as many dedicated functional projections) as there are APs, as in (10). The structure is submitted to PF, and after Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization, it looks like the structure in (10a). Subsequently, the three definite markers locally dislocate to the left edges of the respective linearized constituents they are in, resulting in the structure in (10b). The final phonological linear representation is given in (10c).

(10) Syntactic structure of *ha-more ha-xaruts ha-kodem* 'the previous industrious teacher'

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                          DP
             ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
            NP                            D'
          ┌──┴──┐              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         more                  D                     nP₁
        teacher                │            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                           [DEF : +]       AP                   n₁'
                                         ┌──┴──┐        ┌────────┴────────┐
                                       xaruts           n₁              nP₂
                                    industrious          │        ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                     [DEF : __]   AP            n₂'
                                                               ┌──┴──┐      ┌────┴────┐
                                                             kodem         n₂        NP
                                                            previous        │         ⌢
                                                                       [DEF : __]     t
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a. After Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization:
    [$_{DP}$ *more* ∗ *ha* [$_{nP_1}$ *xaruts* ∗ *ha*] [$_{nP_2}$ *kodem* ∗ *ha*]]

b. Local dislocation:
    [$_{DP}$ *ha-more* [$_{nP_1}$ *ha-xaruts*] [$_{nP_2}$ *ha-kodem*]]

c. Final phonological representation:

    ha-more   ha-xaruts   ha-kodem
    the-teacher the-industrious the-previous

    'the previous industrious teacher'

4.3 Coordinated adjectives

Having discussed the structures with single and multiple APs, degree-modified or not, I now turn to coordinated adjectives. First, I assume a simple ternary branching structure of coordination for ease of illustration, but a binary structure along the lines of Munn (1993) would be compatible with my analysis. Second, I propose that coordinated structure are linearized as an ordered set; that is, their linearized order mirrors their hierarchical structure, but they are still visible to post-syntactic operations as individual structures, as is depicted in (11).

(11) *Coordination Structure Linearization*: [X] & [Y] → $\begin{Bmatrix} X \\ Y \end{Bmatrix}$

The idea that linearized coordinated structures are an ordered set is important to the analysis of definiteness-marking of coordinated adjectives in Hebrew and Arabic. Recall that all coordinated adjectives in a definite DP must be marked for definiteness. Once the

coordinated APs are linearized, they are all adjacent to a n^0 with a [+DEF] feature, whose exponent is *ha* 'the' in Hebrew or *ıl* 'the' in Arabic. Following Linearization, just in case the definite marker is left-adjacent to a linearized coordinated structure, it affixes pointwise to each conjunct, as illustrated in (12). (See Hankamer 2008 and Kramer 2010 for similar analyses.)

(12)   *Definite Pointwise Attachment*: DEF $* \begin{Bmatrix} X \\ Y \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{DEF} - X \\ \text{DEF} - Y \end{Bmatrix}$

Following Linearization, Local Dislocation of the definite marker, and its pointwise application to each conjunct, Hebrew *ve* or Arabic *w* 'and' can affix to the last conjunct (or all non-initial conjuncts, in special cases). I leave to future research the question of whether *ve/w* 'and' (or multiple instances thereof) are initially projected in the syntax or whether the affixation of *ve/w* 'and' to the different conjuncts occurs at PF, following a dedicated pointwise application similar to—but crucially, following—the affixation of *ha/ıl* 'the'.
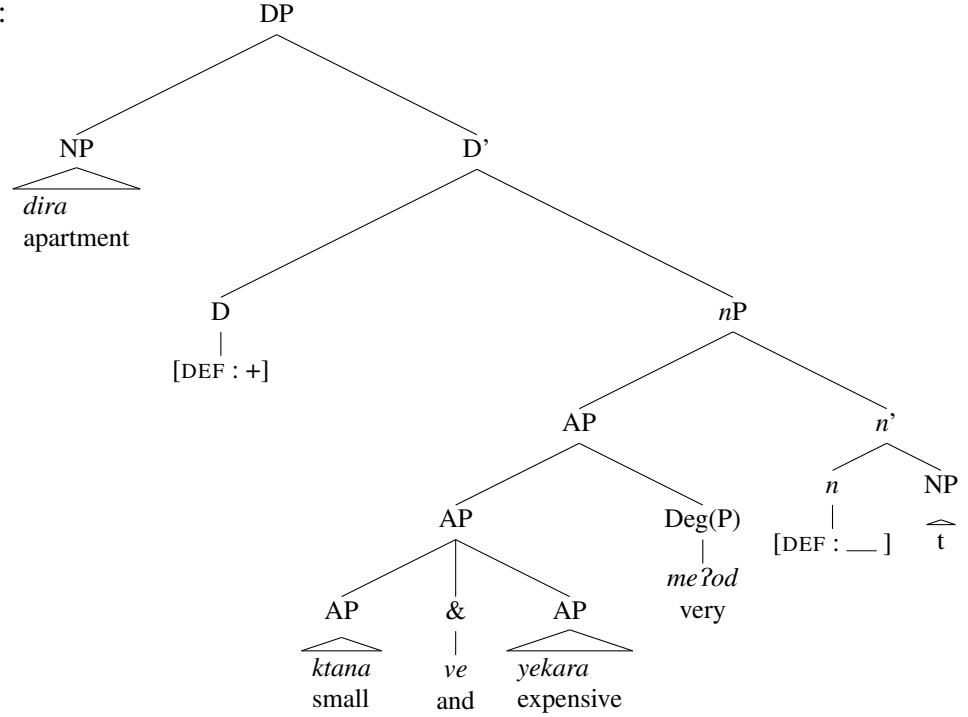
Now that the PF operations relevant to definiteness marking in coordinated APs have been made explicit, we are now in the position to discuss the derivation of the various structures presented in Section 2. First, the structure in (3), in which *meʔod* 'very' takes scope over both conjuncts: The wide scope reading is derived from the structure in (13), in which Deg(P) c-commands both conjuncts[4]. This structure is submitted to PF and looks like the structure in (13a) after Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization. Subsequently, Local Dislocation of the definite marker applies, resulting in the structure in (13b). After Local Dislocation, the coordinated APs are adjacent to the definite marker, and so it attaches pointwise to each conjunct, as illustrated in (13c). And finally, after *ve* is affixed to the final conjunct, the final structure is as given in (13d)

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[4]In order for this account to be complete, the definition of c-command must be adapted to allow adjuncts to c-command other structures contained in the same maximal projection, in this case an AP. Since DegP in the structure in (13) is adjoined to AP, it is not dominated by it, and therefore could not c-command the coordinate APs contained in this same structure. I follow Barbiers (1995) and Svenonius (2002), who redefine c-command so that segments should count as categories (cf. Kayne 1994) for the calculation of c-command relations.

(13) Syntactic structure of *ha-dira ha-ktana ve-ha-yekara me?od* 'the very small and expensive apartment':

```
                                    DP
                         ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                        NP                        D'
                      ╱────╲              ┌────────┴────────┐
                     dira                 D                 nP
                  apartment              │         ┌────────┴────────┐
                                      [DEF : +]    AP                n'
                                               ┌────┴────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                              AP       Deg(P)   n          NP
                                        ┌──────┼──────┐  │      │          ‿
                                       AP      &     AP me?od [DEF : __]   t
                                       ╱╲      │     ╱╲  very
                                     ktana     ve  yekara
                                     small    and expensive
```

a. After Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization:

$$[\, dira * ha \,] * [_{nP} \left\{ \begin{matrix} ktana \\ yekara \end{matrix} \right\}_{ve} * me?od * ha \,]$$

b. After Local Dislocation:

$$[\, ha\text{-}dira \,] \, [_{nP} \, ha * \left\{ \begin{matrix} ktana \\ yekara \end{matrix} \right\}_{ve} * me?od \,]$$

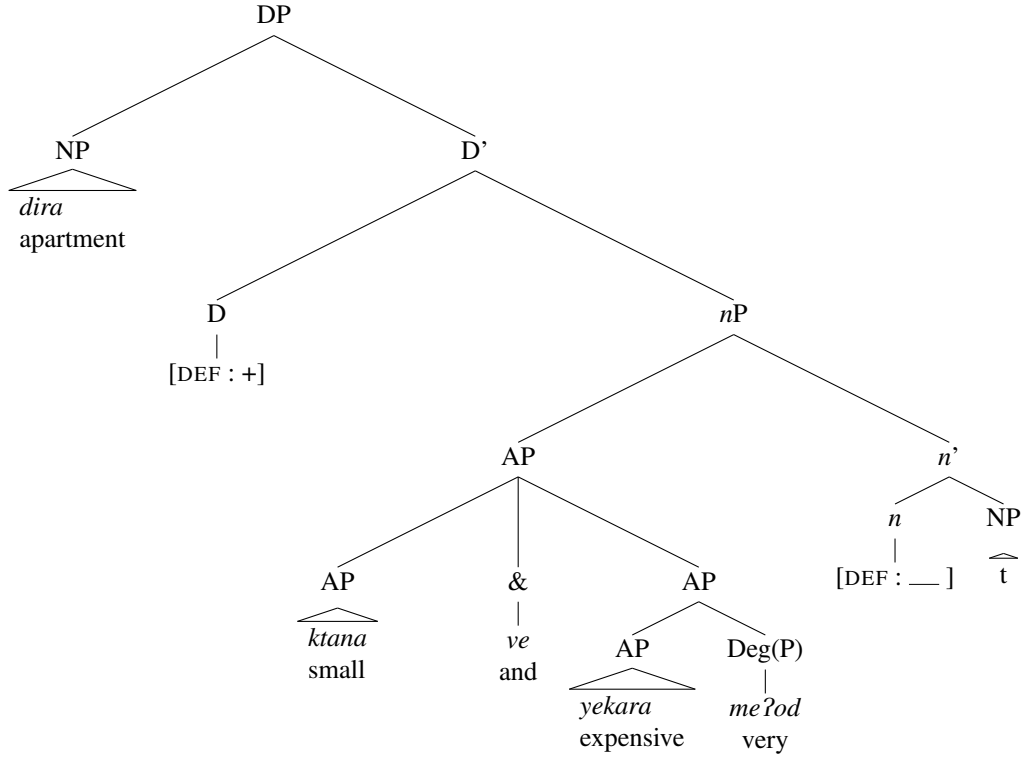c. After pointwise application of the the definite marker *ha* to the adjacent coordinated APs:

$$[\, ha\text{-}dira \,] \, [_{nP} \left\{ \begin{matrix} ha-ktana \\ ha-yekara \end{matrix} \right\}_{ve} me?od \,]$$

d. After *ve* 'and' is affixed to the final conjunct:

ha-dira	ha-ktana ve-ha-yekara	me?od
the-apartment	the-small and-the-expensive	very

'The very small and expensive apartment'

Recall that the structure in (3) has another reading in which *me?od* 'very' takes scope over the second conjunct only. This reading is straightforwardly derived from a structure in which DegP is adjoined lower, to the second conjunct, as in (14). The PF operations applied to this structure, however, yield the same linear surface structure as in (13), as shown in (14a-14d)

(14) Syntactic structure of *ha-dira ha-ktana ve-ha-yekara meʔod* 'the very small and expensive apartment', the narrow scope reading:

a. After Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization:

$$[\, \textit{dira} * \textit{ha}\,] * [_{nP} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textit{ktana} \\ \textit{yekara*meod} \end{array} \right\}_{ve} * \text{ha}\,]$$

b. After Local Dislocation:

$$[\, \textit{ha-dira}\,]\,[_{nP}\text{ha}* \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textit{ktana} \\ \textit{yekara*meod} \end{array} \right\}_{ve}\,]$$

c. After pointwise application of the the definite marker *ha* to the adjacent coordinated APs:

$$[\, \textit{ha-dira}\,]\,[_{nP} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textit{ha} - \textit{ktana} \\ \textit{ha} - \textit{yekara} - \textit{meod} \end{array} \right\}_{ve}\,]$$

d. After *ve* 'and' is affixed to the final conjunct:

ha-dira   ha-ktana ve-ha-yekara   meʔod
the-apartment the-small and-the-expensive very

'The very small and expensive apartment'

I postpone the discussion of the structure in (4) until after I detail the derivation of the (6) due to their structural similarity. I turn now to (5), in which *meʔod* 'very' precedes both conjuncts, is the only element marked for definiteness among the modifiers, and takes wide scope. The wide scope reading is, again, straightforwardly derived from a configuration in which DegP is adjoined higher up in the structure and thus c-commands both AP conjuncts,

as in (15). After Linearization (15a), Local Dislocation of the definite marker applies, resulting in it dislocating to the left-edge of the *n*P (15b). At this point, the definite marker affixes to the adjacent *meʔod* (15c). Note that since no coordinated structure is adjacent to the definite marker, there is no pointwise attachment to the adjectives, resulting in no definiteness marking on them and definiteness marking on the degree modifier only (15d).

(15) Syntactic structure of *ha-dira ha-meʔod ktana ve-yekara* 'the very small and expensive apartment':
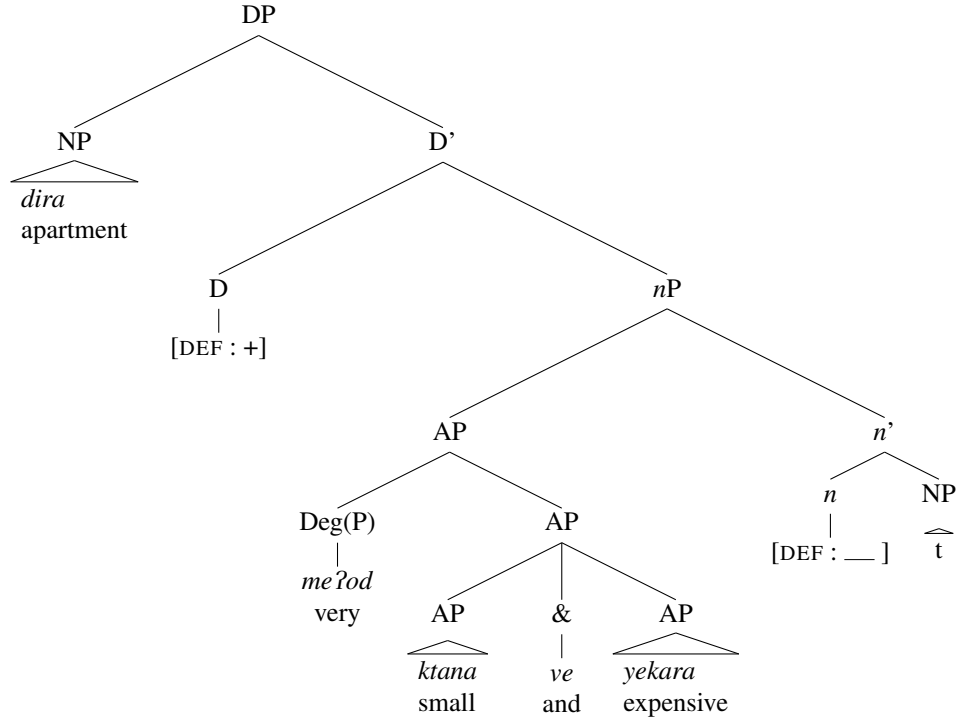
a. After Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization:

$[\ dira * ha\ ] * [_{nP}\ me\text{ʔ}od * \begin{Bmatrix} ktana \\ yekara \end{Bmatrix} ve * ha\ ]$

b. After Local Dislocation:

$[\ ha\text{-}dira\ ]\ [_{nP}\ ha * me\text{ʔ}od \begin{Bmatrix} ktana \\ yekara \end{Bmatrix} ve\ ]$

c. Definite Affixation (NB: No pointwise attachment):

$[\ ha\text{-}dira\ ]\ [_{nP}\ \text{ha-}me\text{ʔ}od \begin{Bmatrix} ktana \\ yekara \end{Bmatrix} ve\ ]$

d. After *ve* 'and' is affixed to the final conjunct:

ha-dira	ha-ktana	ve-*(ha)-meʔod	yekara
the-apartment	the-small	and-the-very	expensive

Only reading: 'the small and (very expensive) apartment'

The next structure in question is the one in (6), in which *meʔod* 'very' precedes both conjuncts as well (like in 5). In contrast with (5), however, both the degree modifier *meʔod* 'very' and the second adjective conjunct are marked for definiteness. The resulting reading

is one in which only the adjective that immediately follows the degree modifier is modified by it. Similarly to the other structures discussed, the narrow scope reading can be derived from the structure: The degree modifier adjoins lower in the structure, to the first AP conjunct, as shown in (16). Linearization will lead to a conjunction in which the degree modifier and the first adjective are linearized as one unit, and this unit is the first member of an ordered set, as illustrated in (16a). After Local Dislocation, the definite marker is left-adjacent to the coordinated structure, as in (16b), and subsequently applies pointwise to both conjuncts (16c), yielding the structure in (16d), in which both conjuncts are marked for definiteness.

(16)   Syntactic structure of *ha-dira ha-meʔod ktana ve-ha-yekara* 'the very small and expensive apartment':
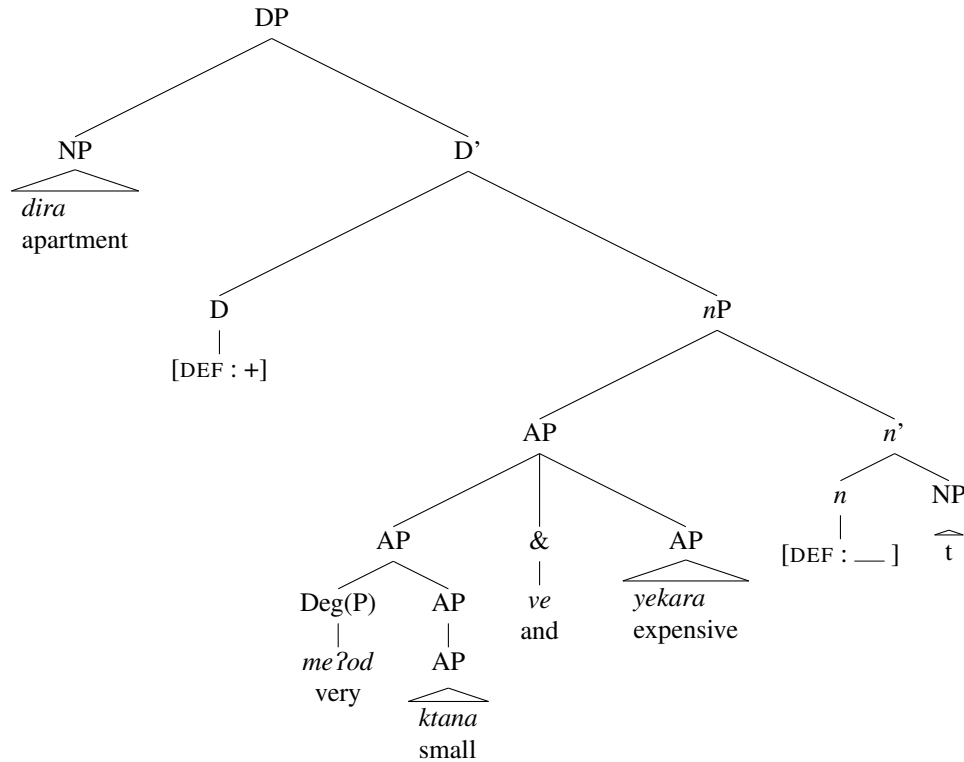
   a.   After Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization:
        $[\ dira * ha\ ] * [_{nP} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} meod * ktana \\ yekara \end{array} \right\}_{ve} * ha\ ]$

   b.   After Local dislocation:
        $[\ ha\text{-}dira\ ] [_{nP} ha * \left\{ \begin{array}{c} meod * ktana \\ yekara \end{array} \right\}_{ve}\ ]$

   c.   After pointwise application of the the definite marker *ha* to the adjacent coordinated APs:
        $[\ ha\text{-}dira\ ] [_{nP} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} ha-meod-ktana \\ ha-yekara \end{array} \right\}_{ve}\ ]$

   d.   After *ve* 'and' is affixed to the final conjunct:

    ha-dira   ha-meʔod ktana ve-ha-yekara
    the-apartment the-very   small and-the-expensive

    Only reading: 'the (very small) and expensive apartment'

Finally, the structure in (4) is similar to the one in (6) in that in both structures the degree modifier modify only the adjective the directly follows it. The degree modifier adjoins to the left of the second conjunct, and when the two AP are linearized, they are both adjacent to the definite marker, which subsequently applied pointwise to both both of them.

In conclusion, the puzzling data presented in Section 2 is a product of classical structural scope ambiguities (in degree modification) and post-syntactic dislocation of the definite marker.

5. Conclusion

This paper promotes an analysis whereby definiteness marking stems from by a definite feature projected on D^0. Multiple cases of definiteness marking is accounted for by the syntactic operation Agree whereby D^0 values other projections for the definiteness feature if certain structural relations hold, namely c-command. The observation that the Hebrew and Arabic definite marker is a phrasal proclitic is derived from PF operations, Local Dislocation in particular. Local Dislocation leads to the dislocation of the definite marker to the left of the Spec in the phrase it is in.

Cross-linguistic accounts featuring c-command relations between triggers and licensors of definiteness have been proposed for other languages (see Katzir 2011 for Danish, Icelandic, and Greek). Likewise, the role of post-syntactic operations in the distribution of the definite marker (Kramer 2010 in Amharic) and other elements that have the surface form of an affix (Hankamer 2008) have been explored. This paper is an adaptation of many of the insights enumerated in these studies to the data in Hebrew and Arabic. An account along the lines of the analysis proposed here, which considers the syntax and morphology in tandem, may prove useful in a cross-linguistic account of definiteness marking and the behaviour of other proclitics as well as their interaction with the syntax-semantics interface.

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