

Indefinite and Not-So-Indefinite DPs in Jordanian Arabic

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*In this paper, I discuss the syntax of indefinite DPs in Jordanian Arabic (JA). I argue that in addition to the traditional definite vs indefinite DP split, there exists a third type of DPs headed by the cardinal numeral *waahad* (one), which functions as an indefinite specific marker when it occurs in prenominal position. I provide several arguments to show that *waahad* behaves similarly to other indefinite specific markers found in other languages such as English and Modern Hebrew. I put forward an analysis of *waahad*, where I show that *waahad* enters the derivation as the head of a classifier phrase, and that it ultimately raises to D. The data and analysis put forward in this paper further support the three-way split between definite, indefinite, and indefinite specific DPs.*

Keywords: *Jordanian Arabic DPs, indefiniteness, specificity, classifiers, articles*

1. Introduction

Beyond the traditional definite/indefinite dichotomy of noun phrases, several researchers note that there are noun phrases that are neither wholly definite nor indefinite (e.g. Brustad, 2000; Givón, 2001; Borer, 2005; Ionin, 2006). For instance, in her study on the syntax of the spoken dialects of Arabic, Brustad (2000) shows that there are nouns that fall in between the definite/indefinite continuum. In (1), for instance, the inclusion of the cardinal numeral *waahad* (one) makes the reference of the noun *badwi* (bedouin) specific.¹

- (1) fi waahad badwi faat ʕal-matʕam (Kuwaiti Arabic)
there-is one.MS bedouin.MS entered.3MS to-the-restaurant.MS
‘There was a [certain] bedouin who went into the restaurant’ (Brustad 2000:20)

Similar facts are also found in Jordanian Arabic (JA henceforth). Nouns in JA could be definite or indefinite. Definite nouns in JA are marked via the prefix *l-* (the) (2), which corresponds to English *the*. Indefinite nouns, on the other hand, are not morphologically marked at all. In other words, there is no equivalent to the English indefinite article *a* in JA (3).²

- (2) l-ktaab
the-book.MS
‘the book’

¹ Brustad’s (2000) study is purely pragmatic in nature. She does not provide a formal account of specificity markers in Arabic.

² The data used in this paper are from JA, unless otherwise stated to the right of each example.

- (3) ktaab
 book.MS
 ‘a book’

Despite the fact the indefiniteness is not morphologically expressed in JA, the cardinal numeral *waahad* (one), which is otherwise exclusively postnominal (4), is optionally used to mark specificity and indefiniteness when it occurs in prenominal position, as seen in (5).³

- (4) duktuur waahad
 doctor.MS one.MS
 ‘One doctor’

- (5) a. rayih ajuuf duktuur la-yifhasni
 going.1MS see.1MS doctor.MS to-examine-me.3MS
 ‘I’m going to see a doctor to examine me’

- b. rayih ajuuf **waahad** duktuur la-yifhasni
 going.1MS see.1MS one.MS doctor.MS to-examine-me.3MS
 ‘I’m going to see a doctor to examine me (specific)’

There is a contrast in interpretation between the two examples in (5). On the one hand, the speaker in (5a) is going to look for any doctor without having a particular doctor in mind. On the other hand, the speaker in (5b) is going to see a specific doctor. That is, the reference of the noun *duktoor* (doctor) is specific in (5b) but not in (5a). The above examples show that use of *waahad* before an indefinite noun signals that the reference of the noun is specific.

In this paper, I discuss the syntax of prenominal *waahad* in JA. Applying the criteria proposed by Ionin (2006) to distinguish between indefinite and indefinite-specific noun phrases, I show that *waahad* exhibits all properties associated with the indefinite specific markers found in other languages such as English and Modern Hebrew. Regarding the syntax of *waahad*, I argue that DPs headed by *waahad* have the same structure as regular indefinite DPs. The difference between the two types of DPs lies in the movement operations involved in their derivation.

The organization of this paper is as follows. In the next section, I discuss the main properties of *waahad*. In section 3, I show that *waahad* exhibits all properties associated with indefinite specific makers drawing on evidence from English and Modern Hebrew. In section 4, I present my assumptions regarding the syntax of the DP to be adopted to account for the behavior of *waahad*. In section 5, I present my analysis of *waahad*, where I argue that *waahad*

³ In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), indefinite nouns are marked with the suffix *n* (this process is called *nunation*)

(i).
 (i) *kitaabun* (MSA)
 book-MS.NOM
 ‘a book’

See Kremers (2003) for a detailed discussion of *nunation*. Also see Fassi-Fehri (1993) for an alternative analysis.

enters the derivation as the head of a classifier phrase, which then undergoes head movement to D. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Main properties of *waahad*

waahad inflects for gender: *waahad* is used with masculine nouns (6), whereas *waahdih* is used with feminine nouns (7).

(6) rayih ajuuf waahad duktuur la-yifhasni
going.1MS see.1MS one.MS doctor.MS to-examine-me.3MS
'I'm going to see a doctor to examine me (specific)'

(7) rayih ajuuf **waahdih** duktuura la-tifhasni
going.1MS see.1MS one.FS doctor.FS to-examine-me.3FS
'I'm going to see a female doctor to examine me (specific)'

In JA, the use of *waahad* is limited to singular indefinite nouns (both masculine and feminine). *waahad* is incompatible with plural nouns, as the ungrammaticality of (8) shows.⁴

(8) *rayih ajuuf waahad dakaatra la-yifhasuni
going.1MS see.1MS one.MS doctor.MS to-examine-me.3MPL
'I'm going to see doctors to examine me (specific)'

Also, *waahad* occurs only with human nouns, as evident from the ungrammaticality of (9).

(9) *iftariit waahad galam
bought.1MS one.MS pen.MS
'I bought a pen'

Finally, *waahad* is in complementary distribution with the definite article *l-*, as seen in (10).⁵

(10) *l-waahad duktuur
the-one.MS doctor.MS
'he one doctor'

The following table summarizes the main properties of *waahad*:

⁴ There are two main types of plurals in Arabic: (i) sound plurals; and (ii) broken plurals. Sound plurals are of two types: sound masculine plurals and sound feminine plurals. The former is derived via the suffix *iin* and is only compatible with human nouns, whereas the latter is derived via the feminine suffix *aat* and is compatible with both human and nonhuman nouns. Broken plurals are derived via changing the vocalic melody of the root (*ktaab* 'book' → *kutub* 'books'). See Acquaviva (2008) for a detailed discussion of Arabic plurals.

⁵ Although see Turner (2013) for a discussion of definiteness marking in Moroccan Arabic, where *waahad* co-occurs with the definite article.

Table 1: Main properties of *waahad*

Criterion	<i>waahad</i>
Number Morphology	✗
Gender Morphology	✓
Human nouns	✓
Non-human nouns	✗
Definite	✗

3. *Waahad* as an indefinite specific marker

In her cross-linguistic study of specificity markers, Ionin (2006) shows that referential *this* (*this_{ref}* henceforth) in English functions as an indefinite specific marker. According to Ionin, DPs headed by *this_{ref}* has the following properties:

Properties of DPs headed by *this_{ref}*:

1. They are indefinite.
2. They do not take narrow scope with respect to intensional/modal operators or negation.
(Modified from Ionin 2006:181)

Building on the original insights of Prince (1981), Ionin (2006) notes that DPs containing *this_{ref}* are indefinite. This is based on the fact that *this_{ref}* cannot be replaced by the definite article *the*, but can be replaced by the indefinite article *a* (11).

- (11) a. I work in electronic and auto shows. Companies hire me to stay in their booth and talk about products. I have this speech to tell.
 b. * . . I have the speech to tell.
 c. . . I have a speech to tell. (Prince 1981:233)

Moreover, DPs headed by *this_{ref}* can occur in existential *there* sentences; a classical test for indefiniteness (12).

- (12) “...A few years ago, there was this hippie, longhaired, slovenly. He confronted me. . .”
 (Prince 1981:233)

In JA, *waahad* behaves in a similar fashion to *this_{ref}* in English. First, as mentioned above, *waahad* cannot occur with the definite article (10). Second, *waahad* occurs in existential sentences with the use of expletive *fii*, as in (13).⁶

- (13) fii waahad duktur fi-l-maktab
 there-is one.MS doctor.MS in-the-office.MS
 ‘There is a doctor in the office (specific)’

⁶ See Abdel-Ghafer & Jarbou (2015) for a discussion of expletive *fii* in JA.

Ionin (2006) notes that despite the fact that *this_{ref}* appears in indefinite contexts, its behavior is not identical to that of indefinite *a*. According to Ionin, indefinites with *this_{ref}* cannot appear in the scope of an intentional/ modal operator (14) and (15), or in the scope of negation (16).

- (14) a. Sarah wants to read ✓*a*/✓ this book about butterflies, but she can't find it.
 b. Sarah wants to read ✓*a*/# this book about butterflies, but she can't find it.
- (15) a. Jeff must read ✓*a*/✓ this book about butterflies for his class, but he can't find it.
 b. Jeff must read ✓*a*/# this book about butterflies for his class, but he can't find it.
- (16) a. Lorraine didn't read ✓*a*/✓ this book about butterflies because she couldn't find it.
 b. Lorraine didn't read ✓*a*/# this book about butterflies because she couldn't find it.

(Ionin 2006:180)

Ionin (2006) notes that in the (14a), (15a), and (16a), the indefinite DP is not in the scope of intensional/ modal operator or in the scope of negation, and both *a* and *this_{ref}* are allowed. In (14b), (15b), and (16b), on the other hand, the indefinite DP is in the scope of the operator and *this_{ref}* is disallowed.

Since *waahad* is only compatible with human nouns, I'm going to modify the above examples to show that the behavior of *waahad* is similar to *this_{ref}* in English. Consider the following examples:

- (17) a. sam biddu yifuuf duktur/**waahad**-duktuur ffaan mujkiltuh
 sam wants.3MS see.3MS doctor.MS/one.MS-doctor.MS for problem-his
 bas mijf mlaagi
 . but NEG find.3MS
 'Sam wants to see a doctor to check his problem, but he can't find (a doctor)'
- b. sam biddu yifuuf duktur/***waahad**-duktuur ffaan mujkiltuh
 sam wants.3MS see.3MS doctor.MS/one.MS-doctor.MS for problem-his
 bas mijf mlaagi waahad
 . but NEG find.3MS one.MS
 'Sam wants to see a doctor to check his problem, but he can't find one'
- (18) a. sam laazim yifuuf duktur/**waahad**-duktuur ffaan mujkiltuh
 sam must.3MS see.3MS doctor.MS/one.MS-doctor.MS for problem-his
 bas mijf mlaagi
 . but NEG find.3MS
 'Sam must to see a doctor to check his problem, but he can't find (a doctor)'
- b. sam laazim yifuuf duktur/***waahad**-duktuur ffaan mujkiltuh
 sam must.3MS see.3MS doctor.MS/one.MS-doctor.MS for problem-his
 bas mijf mlaagi waahad

- . but NEG find.3MS one.MS
 ‘Sam must to see a doctor to check his problem, but he can’t find one’
- (19) a. sam ma faaf duktuur/**waahad**-duktuur ʕfaan muʃkiltuh
 sam NEG saw.3MS doctor.MS/one.MS-doctor.MS for problem-his
 liʔnu ma laga
 . because NEG find.3MS
 ‘Sam didn’t see a doctor to check his problem, because he couldn’t find (a doctor)’
- b. sam ma faaf duktuur/***waahad**-duktuur ʕfaan muʃkiltuh
 sam NEG saw.3MS doctor.MS/one.MS-doctor.MS for problem-his
 liʔnu ma laga
 . because NEG find.3MS
 ‘Sam didn’t see a doctor to check his problem, because he couldn’t find one’

As is the case with *this_{ref}*, the (a) examples above show that *waahad* is allowed when the indefinite DP *duktuur* (doctor) is not in the scope of the operator. In the (b) examples, however, the indefinite DP is in the scope of the operator and *waahad* is disallowed.

Further evidence for the view of *waahad* as an indefinite specific marker comes from Modern Hebrew. Following Borer (2005), Ionin (2006) argues that Modern Hebrew is a three-article Language with the following distribution of articles: one definite article *ha*, one specific article *exad* (one), and one underspecified article (20).⁷

- (20) a. baxura’ axa’t (Modern Hebrew)
 young-woman one.MS
 ‘one young woman’
- b. baxura’.xət
 ‘a certain young woman’ (Borer 2005:150)

Ionin (2006) notes that Modern Hebrew has a specificity marker with indefinite singular nouns derived from the numeral *exad* (one). She argues that *exad* has similar properties to that of *this_{ref}* in English. Based on Borer’s (2005) original study on *exad*, Ionin (2006) shows that indefinites with *exad* must take scope over a higher quantifier (21a), while underspecified indefinites must take narrow scope (21b).

- (21) a. kol geber raqad cim baxura’.xət (*ve- hi niʕga rag ‘oto)
 every man danced with woman.xit (*and she kissed only him)

⁷ There is a difference in the stress placed on *exad* when used as a specificity marker as observed by Borer (2005). Borer (2005:150) points out that “In contrast with the usual use of *exad*, ‘one’, on which it takes primary stress and occurs as a modifier of a noun which itself receives a secondary stress (cf. (20a)), when ‘one’ occurs as a specificity marker, it is unstressed and phonologically reduced, essentially a clitic on the head N, which in this case bears the primary stress, as illustrated by (20b)”.

‘Every man danced with one specific woman (*and she kissed only him).’
 (*narrowest;✓widest)

- b. kol geber raqad cim baxura (ve- hi nišga rag ‘oto/*=Rina)
 every man danced with woman (and she kissed only him /*=Rina)
 ‘Every man danced with a woman (and she kissed only him).’
 (✓narrowest;*widest) (Borer 2005:154)

As is the case in Modern Hebrew, indefinites with *waahad* always take wide scope over quantifiers (22a), as opposed to underspecified indefinites which always take narrow scope (22b).

- (22) a. kull zalamih ragas maʕ **waahdiḥ** mara
 every man.MS danced.3MS with one.FS woman.FS
 (*u hi bas basatuh)
 . (*and she only kissed.3MS-him)
 ‘Every man danced with one specific woman (*and she kissed only him).’
 (*narrowest;✓widest)
- b. kull zalamih ragas maʕ mara
 every Man.MS danced.3MS with woman.FS
 (*u hi bas basatuh/*=Zaina)
 . (*and she only kissed.3MS-him/*=Zaina)
 ‘Every man danced with a woman (and she kissed only him).’
 (✓narrowest;*widest)

The above examples show that the behavior of *waahad* in JA and *exad* is similar to some extent. However, one difference between *waahad* and *exad* is that, unlike *exad*, *waahad* can only occur prenominally (23). Only cardinal *waahad* is allowed postnominally, as the example in (4) repeated here as (24) shows.

- (23) waahad duktuur
 one.MS doctor.MS
 ‘a doctor (specific)’

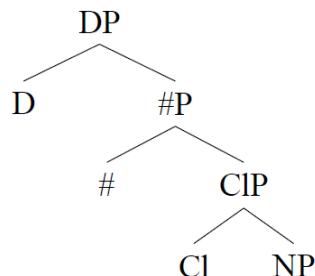
- (24) duktuur waahad
 doctor.MS one.MS
 ‘one doctor’

Summing up, the above observations show that the properties of *waahad* are very similar to the indefinite specific markers found in English and Modern Hebrew. As such, I argue that JA is a three-article language with the definite article *l-*, a null indefinite article, and *waahad* the indefinite specific marker. In the next section, I make specific assumptions regarding the architecture of the DP.

4. Theoretical assumptions

In this paper, I adopt Borer's (2005) structure of the DP seen in (25).

(25)



Following Abney (1987) and Szabolcsi (1994), I assume that DP is the maximal projection of the noun phrase, where reference is encoded. In JA, this projection is occupied by the definite article *l-* with definite nouns, whereas with indefinite nouns, I assume that D projects but is phonologically null. #P hosts weak quantifiers such as *some* and *few* (Borer, 2005). This projection quantifies over mass or count nouns depending on the value of the CI head, which could be mass or count.

I assume that the Classifier Phrase (CIP) hosts classifiers and an interpretable number feature.⁸ Borer (2005) argues that the count vs mass distinction is not lexically specified, but is grammatically built. For Borer, the presence of classifiers, in languages that have them, brings about the projection of CIP and the DP is specified as count as opposed to mass. In Chinese, for instance, when classifiers are present, a count reading is available (26), whereas in the absence of a classifier, the reading is mass (27).

- (26) yi ge ren (Chinese)
 one CL person
 ‘One person’ (Borer 2005:86)

- (27) shenme qian (Chinese)
 what money
 ‘Much money (shenme: literally ‘what’)’ (Borer 2005:86)

The function of classifiers is to divide mass nouns into units, which then can be counted by numerals. In languages that lack classifiers (e.g. English), Borer (2005) argues that plural marking has a dividing function. In other words, plural marking in English has the same function of classifiers found in languages that have classifiers. This view is further supported by the fact that plural marking and classifiers seem to be in complementary distribution cross-linguistically (e.g. T'sou, 1976; Chierchia, 1998). Borer (2005) argues that the complementary distribution between plural marking and classifiers is accounted for under the assumption that plurals and classifiers compete for the same position: CI.

⁸ Note that CIP is the equivalent of Ritter's (1991) NumP.

Borer (2005) argues that functional heads come with an open value <e> (i.e. unvalued feature in the sense of (Chomsky, 2001)), which must be assigned range (i.e. valued) by an appropriate range assigner (i.e. valuer). For instance, Borer (2005) argues that D has an open value <e>_d, and that articles (e.g. *the, a, that* etc.) can assign range to D's value, as seen in (28).⁹

(28) [DP *a/the* <e>_d [NP *cat*]]

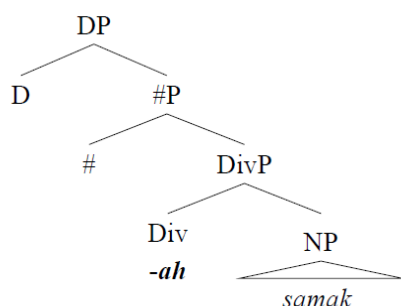
Under Borer's (2005) system every open value must be assigned range to yield a legitimate derivation. Take the CI head, for instance, according to Borer (2005), CI comes with an open value <e>_{CI} which needs to be assigned range via an appropriate range assigner. Borer (2005) shows that the possible range assigners to CI include: classifiers, plural marking, the indefinite article, and the noun itself in DPs lacking articles (e.g. indefinite DPs in Modern Hebrew). In what follows, I discuss the nature of the CI head in JA DPs and the possible ranger assigners to its open value.

Ouwayda (2014) argues that in Lebanese Arabic (LA) the suffix *-ah* acts as a classifier when added to certain types of mass nouns (e.g. food, animals, liquids, grains, materials etc.), giving rise to a count reading (29b).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|-------|
| (29) | a. | akalt samak / tuffah
ate.1MS fish / apple
'I ate fish/apples' | Mass |
| | b. | akalt samak- ah / tuffah- ah
ate.1MS Fish-CLS.FS / apple-CLS.FS
'I ate a fish/an apple' | Count |

Ouwayda (2014) proposes the structure in (30), where the classifier *-ah* merges as Div (CI in the present analysis) with NP. The noun *samak* (fish) start as mass in Borer's (2005) sense, and then it undergoes head movement to Div/CI, where it combines with the classifier *ah* yielding *samak-ah* 'fish'.

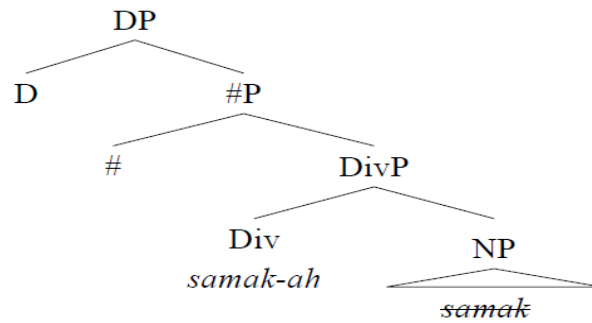
(30)



(Modified from Ouwayda, 2014 :51)

⁹ For simplicity, I ignore the intermediate projections between DP and NP.

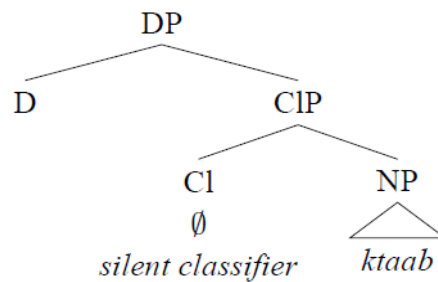
(31)



I extend this analysis to JA, and assume that *-ah* merges as Cl with NP. I assume following Ouwayda (2014) that in the absence of the overt classifier *-ah*, the classifier is instantiated by a null morpheme. In other words, the head Cl is instantiated by a silent classifier, as seen in (32).

- (32) a. ktaab
book.MS
'A book'

b.

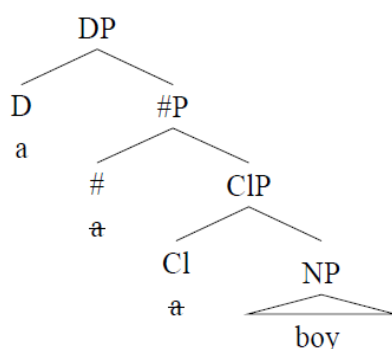


A number of researchers have argued for the existence of null classifiers in non-classifier Languages (Cinque, 2006; Zhang, 2011; Dékány, 2012). Dékány (2012) argues that Hungarian has both overt and null classifiers. She assumes that the classifier phrase is found in all languages, and that it is the (c)overtness of classifiers that distinguishes classifier languages from non-classifier languages. JA is a language with both overt classifiers (*-ah*) and null classifiers. All in all, the projection of CIP is obligatory in all count DPs. I assume that in (31) and (32) both the null and overt classifier combine with the noun in the narrow syntax via head movement.

5. The syntax of *waahad*

In this section, I discuss the syntax of *waahad*. I argue that *waahad* merges as Cl with NP. My analysis is based on Borer's (2005) analysis of the English indefinite determiner *a*. Borer (2005) argues that *a* is base generated in Cl/Div and that it subsequently moves to #P.¹⁰ Under this analysis, the absence of plural marking with the indefinite determiner (e.g. **a cats*) follows from the complementary distribution between the determiner *a* and the plural feature in Cl/Div. The structure of a DP headed by the indefinite article *a* is given in (33).

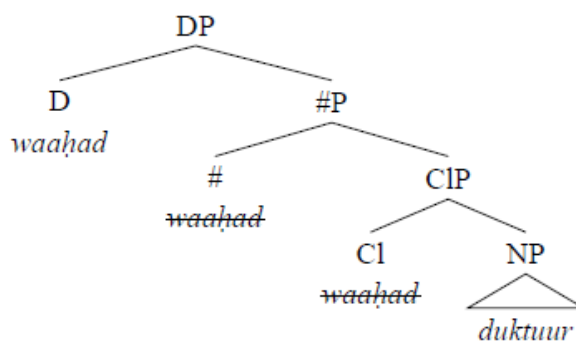
(33)



Building on Borer's (2005) analysis, I argue that *waahad* enters the derivation as Cl. *waahad* then moves to # and subsequently to D leaving copies behind. Thus, the structure of an indefinite DP containing *waahad* would be as in (35).

- (34) *waahad* *duktuur*
 one.MS doctor.MS
 'A doctor (specific)'

(35)



¹⁰ See Borer (2005) for a detailed discussion of division and quantification in the DP.

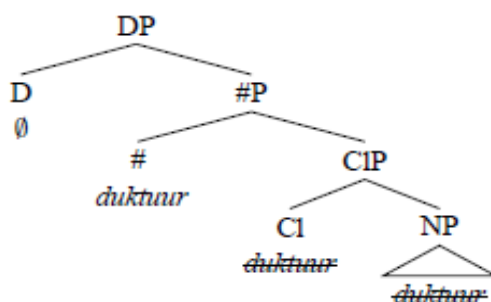
In what follows, I will show how the structure in (35) derives the properties of *waahad* highlighted in Table 1 above.

To begin with, the fact that *waahad* is incompatible with the definite article is due to the fact that both *l-* (the) and *waahad* compete for the same slot: D. As for the lack of plural morphology following *waahad*, I argue that this has to do with the fact that *waahad* enters the derivation as CI. Thus, the presence of a plural feature in CI is blocked due to the presence of *waahad*.

Now turning to gender morphology, it was mentioned above that *waahad* inflects for gender: *waahad* with masculine and *waahdih* with feminine nouns. To account for this behavior, I adopt the idea in Picallo (2008) that gender is a feature of CI. Thus, the fact that *waahad* inflects for gender receives a straightforward explanation.

As concerns the animate versus inanimate distinction, it was shown above that *waahad* is only compatible with human nouns in JA, and is blocked with nonhuman nouns. I assume that this has to do with the presence of classifiers with nonhuman nouns and their absence with human nouns. In particular, I assume that the CI head inside a DP containing a human noun does not contain a classifier be it overt or covert since such nouns require no division. As noted above, the classifier *-ah* is limited to certain classes of nouns (food, grains, liquids etc.). Moreover, the null classifier is attested with other nonhuman nouns. In both cases, the CI head is instantiated (assigned range) via a classifier, which could be null or overt. By contrast, the open value of the CI head with human nouns is assigned range via the noun through head movement, which subsequently assigns range to #.¹¹ The following structures illustrate the difference between human and nonhuman DPs with respect to range assignment to CI.¹²

- (36) *Human noun*
 a. *duktuur*
 doctor.MS
 ‘A doctor’
 b.



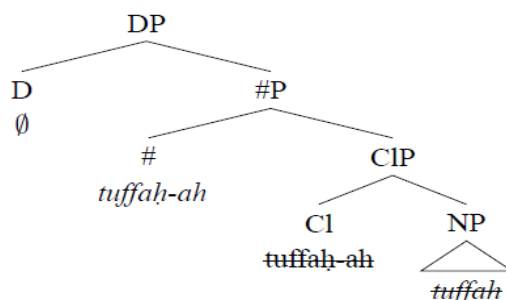
¹¹ Under Borer’s (2005) analysis, a range assigner to CI is also a range assigner to #.

¹² I assume that movement of the noun in (37) is due to the affixal nature of the classifier *-ah*.

(37) *Non-human nouns*

- a. *tuffaḥ*
 apple-CIS.FS
 ‘An apple’

b.



As alluded to above, I assume following Borer (2005) that the head of every functional projection contains an open value $\langle e \rangle$, which needs to be assigned range. The question that arises here is what assigns range to the open value of D in (36) and (37). To answer this question, I adopt Borer’s (2005) analysis of underspecified indefinite in Modern Hebrew, where she argues that D with underspecified indefinites is assigned range via existential closure. This view is further supported by the fact that underspecified indefinites are always existential in JA, and are never generic, as seen in (38).¹³

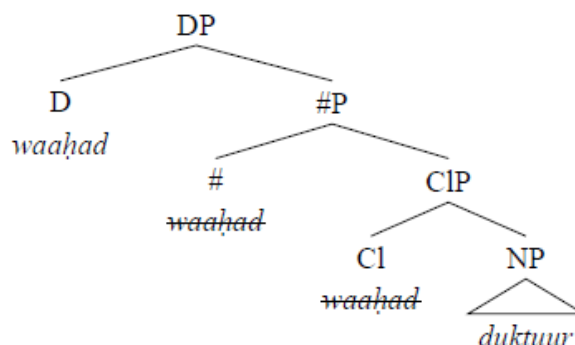
- (38) *baḥib nimir*
 like.1MS tiger.MS
 ‘I like a tiger’
 = existential
 ≠ generic

As for DPs containing *waḥad*, I argue that D is assigned range by *waḥad* through movement, as seen in (35) repeated here as (40).

- (39) *waḥad duktuur*
 one.MS doctor.MS
 ‘A doctor (specific)’

¹³ In order to obtain a generic reading in (38), the definite article *l-* must be present. See Fassi-Fehri (2007) for a discussion of generics and existentials in Arabic.

(40)



One piece of evidence that *waahad* raises as high as D comes from scopal asymmetries between underspecified indefinites and indefinites with *waahad*. Recall from section 3 that *waahad* indefinites always take wide scope over quantifiers as opposed to underspecified indefinites which can only take narrow scope. If quantifiers are taken to be merged DP internally (in Spec-#P), as argued for by Borer (2005), then the fact that *waahad* takes wide scope over quantifiers follows automatically. In particular, since *waahad* occupies the D position via movement, then *waahad* will always take wide scope over quantifiers, and it is predicted that it can never take narrow scope. On the other hand, if D remains null with underspecified indefinites, as alluded to above, then it is predicted that underspecified indefinites can never take wide scope over quantifiers. Both predictions are borne in (22) repeated here as (41).

- (41) a. kull zalamih ragas maʕ **waahdih** mara
 every man.MS danced.3MS with one.FS woman.FS
 (*u hi bas basatuh)
 . (*and she only kissed.3MS-him)
 ‘Every man danced with one specific woman (*and she kissed only him).’
 (*narrowest; ✓widest)
- b. kull zalamih ragas maʕ mara
 every Man.MS danced.3MS with woman.FS
 (*u hi bas basatuh/*=Zaina)
 . (*and she only kissed.3MS-him/*=Zaina)
 ‘Every man danced with a woman (and she kissed only him).’
 (✓narrowest; *widest)

In this section, I discussed the syntax of *waahad*. I argued that *waahad* enters the derivation as CI and ultimately ends up in D. I showed that the difference between underspecified indefinites and indefinites with *waahad* relates to the movement operations involved in the derivation of both DPs.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I argued that JA has an indefinite specific marker derived from the cardinal numeral *waahad*, which occurs in prenominal position. I showed that *waahad* exhibit all properties associated with indefinite specific markers found in other languages such as English and Modern Hebrew. I put forward an account of *waahad* where *waahad* enters the derivation as Cl, which subsequently raises to # and ends up in D. I argued that the difference between underspecified indefinites and indefinites with *waahad* lies in movement steps involved in the derivation of both types of DPs. The generalization emerges that, by analogy to English and Modern Hebrew, JA DPs are divided into definite, indefinite, and indefinite specific DPs. The three-way split advanced in this paper further supports the proposal put forward in Ionin (2006), where she argues that in addition to the traditional definite/indefinite dichotomy, there exists a class of articles which function as specificity markers.

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In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 4[cit. 2019-12-20]. Available on web page http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL42/pdf_doc/03.pdf. ISSN 1336-782X