doi https://doi.org/10.1075/la.182.toc

Pages vii-xiv of **Key Features and Parameters in Arabic Grammar** Abdelkader Fassi Fehri [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today, 182] 2012. XX, 358 pp.



© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

For further information, please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website at benjamins.com/rights

## Table of contents

For	eword		XV
Pro	venance	of chapters	XIX
PAR	т 1. Tem	nporality, aspect, voice, and event structure	1
CHA	APTER 1		
Ten	se/Aspe	ect interaction and variation	3
1.	Past, Po	erfect, Perfective 5	
	1.1	The Past/Perfect ambiguity 5	
	1.2	Temporal and modal <i>qad</i> 7	
	1.3	One or two projections of T 9	
	1.4	Perfective 9	
2.	Present	t, Imperfect, Imperfective 10	
3.	Imperf	fect and SOT 13	
4.	Perfect	civity 16	
	4.1	ST as Perfective 16	
	4.2	PT as Imperfective? 20	
	4.3	From Tense to Aspect 22	
	4.4	The Tense/Aspect language typology revisited 24	
5.	Conclu	ision 25	
CHA	APTER 2		
Tra	nsitivity	, causativity, and verbal plurality	27
1.	Issues	28	
	1.1	Problem 1: Semitic morpho-syntax 28	
	1.2	Problem 2: Transitivity theory 29	
2.	Numbe	er Theory 31	
	2.1	Ingredients of Num theory 31	
	2.2	Verbal plurality and distributed Num 32	
	2.3	Distributed plurality 33	
	2.4	Causative complexity, verbalization, and distributivity 33	
	2.5	Two sources of transitivity 35	
	2.6	Parallel plural morphology 36	
	2.7	Summary 40	
3.	Cross-	linguistic evidence 41	

	3.1	Causatives, transitives, and event quantification 41
		3.1.1 Causativization and transitivization 42
		3.1.2 Multiple behaviour 43
		3.1.3 Event quantification 44
	3.2	Moravcsik's resistant cases 45
4.	Concep	otual motivations and competing analyses 46
	4.1	Little v: Verbalizer or transitivizer? 46
	4.2	Aspect 47
	4.3	Voice 50
		4.3.1 Anti-transitive reflexives 51
		4.3.2 Reflexive causatives 52
		4.3.3 Agentive and "expositive" causatives 53
		4.3.4 "Requestive" causatives 53
		4.3.5 Ergative Num and intensive forms 54
	4.4	Further empirical motivations 55
		4.4.1 Ergative and unergative Num in event plurality and
		transitivity 55
		4.4.2 Adicity, (in)transitive alternations, and multiple uses 55
5.	Num th	neory and Num heights 57
	5.1	Sg and Pl Merge 57
	5.2	Language variation 57
6.	Summa	ary and conclusion 58
OTT 4	DEED 4	
	PTER 3	nalytic asymmetries in voice and temporal netterns
-		nalytic asymmetries in voice and temporal patterns 61 is, voice, and temporality 65
1.	1.1	The problem 65
	1.1	Nominal auxiliaries 66
		S/O Agr split and auxiliary selection 67
	1.3 1.4	Temp auxiliaries 69
	•	Voice 71
	1.5	
		1.5.2 Latin and split Agr 72
		1.5.3 Modern Greek 74 1.5.4 Albanian 75
		1.5.5 Moroccan Arabic 76
2.	Formal	
∠.	2.1	complexity and categorization 79  Further analytic and synthetic questions 80
	2.1	2.1.1 Pass and additional complexity 80

		<ul><li>2.1.2 Two finite Agrs 80</li><li>2.1.3 Ancient Greek as fully synthetic 81</li></ul>	
	2,2	Reanalysis as the source of analytic pass or perfect 82	
	2.3	A splitting analysis (of Temp and Agr categories) 83	
3.		arities and structural heights 85	
<i>J</i> •	3.1	Imperfective passive 85	
	3.2	Verbal and adjectival voices 86	
	3.3	Multiple functions across heights 89	
4.		ary and conclusion 91	
-	PTER 4	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
		ect and temporal adverbs	93
1.		properties of the Arabic TR system 94	)3
	1.1	Polyfunctionality of T/Asp forms 94	
	1.2	The PresPerf split: Synthesis and analysis 95	
	1.3	The Past split: Simple Past Pfv and complex Past Impfv 96	
2.	-	rfect/Past ambiguity 99	
	2.1	Aspects and Tenses 100	
	2.2	Positional "deictic" adverbs 103	
	2.3	Perf and modal <i>qad</i> 104	
	2.4	Adverbs and simple vs. complex tenses 106	
	2.5	Durational adverbs 107	
3.	Tempo	ral adverbs and kinds of Perfect 110	
	3.1	Positional munđu 110	
		3.1.1 Imperfective tenses 110	
		3.1.2 Perfective tenses 111	
		3.1.3 PresPerf tense 112	
	3.2	Durational munđu 113	
	3.3	Perf of Res and Post-state 113	
4.	Summa	ary and conclusion 115	
	4.1	T/Asp morphology 115	
	4.2	T/Asp adverbs or particles 116	
	4.3	Conclusion 116	
PAR	т II. DP	np, bareness, and count/mass structures	
СНА	PTER 5		
The	gramm	ar of count and mass	121

124

Toward a wider count grammar

Ways of 'numeralizing'

1.

1.1

1.4

1.5

1.6

Numerals 158

Demonstratives 159

Indefinites in Arabic dialects 160

		1.1.1 Partitive numeral 124
		1.1.2 Predicative numeral 125
		1.1.3 Numeral verbs 125
		1.1.4 Numeral adverbs 125
	1.2	Ways of count quantifying 125
		1.2.1 Count quantifier <i>bids</i> in a construct state 125
		1.2.2 Predicative count quantifier 126
		1.2.3 The count/measure ambiguity of <i>kam</i> 126
		1.2.4 More partitives 127
	1.3	Events selecting count nouns 127
2.	Genera	l nouns 128
	2.1	General atomicity 129
	2.2	Singulative atomicity 130
	2.3	General nouns and general Number 130
	2.4	Counting and numeralizing 132
	2.5	The general noun is not plural 132
	2.6	The general noun is not mass 134
	2.7	The general noun is not a group 134
3.	Collect	ive varieties 134
	3.1	What 'counts' in the grammar of collectives 134
	3.2	Syntactic groups 136
4.	Masses	138
	4.1	Mass as atomless 138
	4.2	Mass is cumulative, and non-divisive 140
	4.3	Mass as distinct from plural 141
	4.4	Plural of mass is productive 142
5.	Count/	mass architecture, features, and functional categories 144
	5.1	Count and mass syntax 146
	5.2	Interpreting plural and singular inflections 147
6.	Summa	ry and conclusion 151
СНА	PTER 6	
Syn	thesis in	Arabic DPs
1.	Setting	the stage for synthesis 154
	1.1	Synthetic ingredients 154
	1.2	Synthetic 'articles' 156
	1.3	Quantifiers 158

153

2.	DP arc	hitecture 162	
	2.1	Adjective modification 163	
		<b>2.1.1</b> The NA Order <b>163</b>	
		2.1.2 MIO 164	
		2.1.3 Adjectival classes and non-intersectives 165	
		2.1.4 DA extensions 167	
	2.2	Mirror image alternations 168	
	2.3	Synthetic indefinites 169	
3.	Core p	roperties and types of synthetic possession 171	
	3.1	How real is Definiteness spreading? 172	
	3.2	Possessor placement 174	
	3.3	Two classes of synthetic possessives 175	
4.	Charac	sterizing the variation 176	
СНА	PTER 7		
Bare	e, gener	ic, mass, and referential DPs	179
1.	-	D contrasts and genericity 181	
	1.1	Definite, generic, and mass 181	
	1.2	Predicates and anaphors 183	
		1.2.1 Kind Level Predicates 183	
		1.2.2 Stage Level Predicates 183	
		1.2.3 Individual Level Predicates 184	
		1.2.4 Kind anaphora 185	
	1.3	Plural as 'plural of the singular' 186	
		1.3.1 Scope 186	
		1.3.2 Opacity 186	
		1.3.3 Telicity 187	
2.	Arabic	BNs are indefinites 187	
	2.1	Arabic BNs as indefinites? 188	
	2.2	GenP and N-to-Gen 190	
	2.3	Arabic/Romance distinctions	
		and the Numeral Parameter 191	
		2.3.1 Varieties of bareness 193	
		2.3.2 The Numeral Parameter 196	
3.	Furthe	r discussion 197	
	3.1	Gen contexts 197	
	3.2	Modification and D-binding 198	
	3.3	Modalized contexts 198	
	3.4	Definite and indefinite generics 200	
4	RNe an	d PNs 200	

	3.6	10	
5.		specification 202	
6.	Conci	usion 204	
CHA	APTER 8		
Det	termina	tion parameters in the Arabic and Semitic diglossia	205
1.	Indefi	nites 207	
	1.1	N moves over indefinite quantifier 208	
	1.2	N movement to indefinite D 210	
	1.3	Adjective movement and movement over adjectives 211	
	1.4	Semitic overt indetermination 212	
2.	Defini	tes 213	
3.	Doubl	e (in)determination in Semitic 216	
	3.1	Definites and indefinites are not complementary 218	
	3.2	Searching for minimal (in)definite pairs 220	
	3.3	PNs are not indefinite 221	
4.	Bare d	etermination 223	
	4.1	Individuating and non-individuating vocatives 223	
	4.2	'Unique' superlatives 226	
5.	Accou	nt and summary 228	
	5.1	The computational history of determination 228	
	5.2	Two features in computation 230	
PAF	ет ін. С	clausal structure, silent pronouns, and Agree	
CHA	APTER 9		
Tin	ne/spac	e anchors, logophors, finiteness, and (un)interpretability	
of i	nflectio	n	235
1.	CP an	choring, double access tenses, and logophors 236	
	1.1	Person double access 237	
	1.2	Time double access 238	
	1.3	Arabic as a DAR language 238	
	1.4	Double access and Mood 240	
	1.5	Root and logophoric Cs 242	
2.	Finite	ness 243	
	2.1	Subject properties 244	
		2.1.1 Cases of subjects 245	
		2.1.2 Positions of subjects 246	
		2.1.3 Subject agreement 246	
		2.1.4 Expletive subjects 246	
	2.2	Truncated structures 247	
		2.2.1 Raising 247	

		<ul><li>2.2.2 Auxiliary (complex tense) structures 248</li><li>2.2.3 ECM 249</li><li>2.2.4 Control 249</li></ul>	
3.	The st	ructure of Tense 250	
		Tense on T and Person 250	
	3.2	Synthetic and analytic temporality 251	
		V movement 253	
4.	Summ	nary and conclusion 256	
CHA	APTER 1	0	
Ara	bic sile	nt pronouns, person, and voice	257
1.	The re	ferential/non-referential correlation 258	
2.	Imper	sonals/indefinites 261	
	2.1	Arabic 261	
	2.2	Comparison with French, Finnish, Irish, and Italian 264	
	2.3	The human feature 266	
3.	Refere	ential pro 268	
	3.1	A topic approach 268	
	3.2	A Probe-Goal implementation 271	
4.	'Passiv	ve', 'impersonal', 'indefinite' 273	
5.	Explet	tives and EPP 276	
	5.1	Arabic expletives 277	
	5.2	Pronouns and EPP 281	
	5.3	Finnish 283	
6.	Some	consequences 284	
	6.1	Variation around Person 284	
	6.2	Topicality and Person 286	
	6.3	A new approach to Voice 288	
CHA	APTER 1	1	
Plu	ral verb	os and Agree	291
1.	Introd	luction 291	
2.	Nomi	nal Number 292	
	2.1	Where is number? 295	
	2.2	Non-human plurality 299	
	2.3	Lexical collectives 299	
	2.4	Syntactic collectives 301	
	2.5	Plurals of plurals and similar matters 305	
3.	Verb p	plurality 309	
	3.1	Pluractional morphology 311	
	3.2	Collective and distributive plural 313	

	3.3	Semantic Pl in SVO 314	
	3.4	Kinds of plural agreement: Collective and non-collective	317
1.	Recipr	ocity 318	
	4.1	Lexical reciprocals and symmetric events 318	
	4.2	Morphological reciprocals 320	
	4.3	Syntactic reciprocals 324	
5.	Summ	ary and conclusion 326	

References 329 Index 349