



## Interaction of Demonstratives With Nominal Spine in Haili Arabic

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### Abstract

This research addresses the syntactic behaviour and distribution of demonstratives in Haili Arabic, less-investigated Arabic variety. It precisely looks at how demonstratives interact with other DP components. To this end, the recent advancements of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent work) are adopted. Following the cross-linguistic assumption that demonstratives are heads of a dedicated projection, DemP, the study argues that demonstratives in Haili Arabic are endowed with a set of uninterpretable  $\Phi$ -features. Demonstratives function as a probe, and the head noun is the goal valuing their  $\Phi$ -features. A by-product of this value is the morphological form of the given demonstrative. As for base-generation of demonstratives, I proposed two accounts. The first one maintains that there is only one projection hosting demonstratives. Thus, when demonstratives appear at the end of the DP, the head noun, lower  $D^0$ , and any accompanying nominal modifiers move to the spec of DemP. The second account is that there are two DemP's per a single DP, where only one can host the demonstrative at a time.

**Key words:** Demonstratives; Phrasal movement; Uninterpretable features; Valuation

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### INTRODUCTION

Although DP has been heavily investigated in cross-linguistic syntax, many aspects therein still obscure (Coene, 2003; Laenzlinger, 2005; Guardiano, 2012, among many others). One of these aspects is interaction of demonstratives with other components of DP (i.e., head nouns, nominal modifiers, etc.), which I call, nominal spine. Although demonstratives' role within the accompanying DP is more or less not that deep, their position, scope, and even semantic contribution are still rich destinations for scholars working on different languages within the modern syntactic theory (cf. Bernstein, 1997; Johnson & Lepore, 2002; Kayne, 2008). Motivated by this veritable observation, the current research looks into some aspects of interaction between demonstratives and the nominal spine, namely their morphological form and base-generation. What even makes the current research of immense importance is that it explores an Arabic dialect, Haili Arabic (hereafter, HA). Depending on the related literature, HA has been barely investigated in different modules of grammar. There are some recent studies tackling this dialect in areas rather than syntax (cf. Alrasheedi 2015; Alshamari 2015). Further, it should be noted that this dialect exhibits many syntactic differences as compared to Modern Standard Arabic as far as DP is concerned.

The following discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the relevant descriptive facts of demonstratives in HA. It shows their several morphological forms as well as their position vis-à-vis other DP-internal material, including the head noun. Section 3 includes the analysis of these facts in light of the recent generative syntactic theory, the Minimalist Program. It argues that demonstratives are heads, endowed with a set of uninterpretable  $\Phi$ -features, which are valued by the head noun through Agree relation (Chomsky, 2001). Additionally, this section develops two accounts of

base-generation of demonstratives. Conclusion is included in Section 4.

## 1. DESCRIPTIVE FACTS

In HA, there are eight demonstratives summarized in Table 1 with the semantic specification. These demonstratives are subdivided into two categories, namely: Proximal and distal, exactly like those of English.

**Table 1**  
**Demonstratives in HA**

Demonstrative	Semantic import	Meaning	Specification
haaḏa		this	this.M.S
haaḏi	Proximal	this	this.F.S
haḏoola		these	these.M.P
haḏooli		these	these.F.P
haḏaak		that	that.M.S
haḏiik	Distal	that	that.F.S
haḏulaak		those	those.M.P
haḏuliik		those	those.F.P

Given that differences between demonstratives in terms of their meanings are semantic proper, we leave the discussion related to their semantic import aside and focus only on the syntactic behaviour they exhibit. What is important then is the observation that demonstratives in HA must agree in gender, number, and person (the  $\Phi$ -features in the sense of Chomsky 1995) with those of the head noun.

- (1) a. haaḏa                    ʔar-radʒal  
       this.M.S                DEF-man  
       “This man”  
    b. \*haaḏi                 ʔar-radʒal  
       this.F.S                DEF-man  
       Intended: “This man”  
    c. \*haḏooli               ʔar-radʒal  
       These.F.P             DEF-man  
       Intended: “This man”  
    d. \*haḏoola               ʔar-radʒal  
       this.F.P                DEF-man  
       Intended: “This man”

Demonstratives in HA typically initiate the DP they are contained in. However, they sometimes appear at the very end of the DP, preceded by the head noun. Consider the contrast in (2):

- (2) a. haaḏa                    ʔar-radʒal  
       this                     DEF-man  
       “This man”  
    b. ʔar-radʒal                haaḏa  
       DEF-man                 this  
       “This man”

In (2a), the demonstrative *haaḏa* “this”: initiates the DP, whilst it shows up after the head noun in (2b). As a first approximation, there are two positions in DP

allocated for demonstratives (an issue to be discussed in the following section). In case of nominal modifiers, the same observation is held true of demonstratives in the sense that they initiate or end the DP they are base-generated within.

- (3) a. haaḏa ar-radʒal   ʔal-ḥilo  
       this DEF-man DEF-wonderful  
       “This wonderful man”  
    b. ar-radʒal            al-ḥilo                 haaḏa  
       DEF-man            DEF-wonderful    this  
       “This wonderful man”

Interestingly enough, demonstratives can intervene between the head noun and the nominal modifiers of the head noun.

- (4) ar-radʒal                 haaḏa   ʔal-ḥilo  
       DEF-man                this     DEF-wonderful  
       “This wonderful man”

What should be mentioned at this point is that this intervention is only licensed (i.e., accepted) to the first postnominal modifier. Put differently, demonstratives in HA cannot intervene between any two postnominal modifiers themselves but only between the head noun and the directly following nominal modifier.

- (5) a. haaḏa ar-radʒal   ʔal-ḥilo                 ʔal-qasiir  
       This DEF-man DEF-wonderful DEF-short  
       “This wonderful short man”  
    b. ar-radʒal            ʔal-ḥilo                 ʔal-qasiir   haaḏa  
       DEF-man            DEF-wonderful DEF-short this  
       “This wonderful short man”  
    c. ar-radʒal   haaḏa   ʔal-ḥilo                 ʔal-qasiir  
       DEF-man this     DEF-wonderful DEF-short  
       “This wonderful short man”  
    d. \*ar-radʒal   ʔal-ḥilo                 haaḏa   ʔal-qasiir  
       DEF-man DEF-wonderful this DEF-short  
       Intended: “This wonderful short man”

As far as the head noun is concerned, it must be definite if the DP has a demonstrative, a stipulation which is not tolerated if demonstratives show up at the end of the DP, either.<sup>1</sup>

- (6) a. haaḏa                    \*(ʔar)-radʒal  
       this                     DEF-man  
       “This man”  
    b. \*(ʔar)-radʒal            haaḏa

<sup>1</sup> The head noun can appear indefinite and a demonstrative might appear following or preceding it. However, under such cases, a predication reading is obligatorily generated and hence the demonstrative is not part of the DP.

- i. a. haaḏa                    radʒal  
       this                     man  
       “This is a man”  
    b. radʒal haaḏa  
       man                     this  
       “This is a man”

DEF-man            this  
 “This man”

If there is a quantifying nominal modifier (cardinal or ordinal number), demonstratives are welcome and exhibit the same syntactic behaviour (i.e., distributional properties). Consider the following examples in (7) with quantifying cardinals:

- (7) a. haḏoola            ar-radʒaal            ʔaθ-θalaθ  
       these.M.P        DEF-men            DEF-three  
       “Those three men”  
       b. ar-radʒaal            ʔaθ-θalaθ            haḏoola  
       DEF-men        DEF-three            these.M.P  
       “Those three men”  
       b. ar-radʒaal            haḏoola            ʔaθ-θalaθ  
       DEF-men        these.M.P            DEF-three  
       “Those three men”

Consider now the following examples in (8) with quantifying ordinals:

- (8) a. haaḏa            atʕ-tʕaalib            al-ʔawaal  
       This            DEF-student        DEF-first  
       “This first student”  
       b. atʕ-tʕaalib            al-ʔawaal            haaḏa  
       DEF-student        DEF-first            this  
       “This first student”  
       c. atʕ-tʕaalib            haaḏa            al-ʔawaal  
       DEF-student        this            DEF-first  
       “This first student”

What comes relevant at this point is the treatment of the word *hal* “this”. At first glance, this element appears to be a demonstrative. An assumption put forth by some researchers (e.g., Shlonsky, 2004). What casts doubt on this treatment is though the observation that *hal* does not exhibit the same (identical) behaviour of demonstratives in HA. Consider the following examples:

- (9) a. hal            radʒal  
       hal            man  
       “A specific man”  
       b. hal            radʒal    ʔal-ḥilo  
       hal            man    DEF-wonderful  
       “A specific wonderful man”  
       c. \*ar-radʒal            hal    ʔal-ḥilo  
       DEF-man            this    DEF-wonderful  
       Intended: “A specific wonderful man”  
       d. \* ar-radʒal            ʔal-ḥilo hal  
       DEF-man            DEF-wonderful this  
       Intended: “A specific wonderful man”

Whereas demonstratives might intervene between the DP and the accompanying nominal modifiers (as in (4) above), *hal* cannot intervene between the DP and the nominal modifier as shown clearly in (9c) or appear at the end of the DP as in (9d). *hal* must show up at the

beginning of DP. In addition, the reading of the DP is definite with the presence of *hal*, an issue corroborated by the obligatory use of the definite article on the nominal modifiers (if predicate reading is not maintained, though). As evident from the translation, *hal* is treated as a specificity marker whose existence renders the whole DP specific.

Against this background on some descriptive facts of demonstratives in HA, the following questions arise:

- Why can demonstratives appear either at the beginning or at the end of the DP in HA?
- Why do demonstratives intervene between the head noun and the first accompanying nominal modifier?
- Is *hal* a prototypical demonstrative?

It is the aim of the current research to provide answers to these three questions, which, once answered, the exact nature of interaction of demonstratives with the nominal spine in HA becomes clear. It should be emphasised that the current research makes use of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993, 1995) and its the latest developments (Chomsky, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007) in addition to other prominent approaches having addressed the inner structure of DP in natural languages (cf. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky, 2004; Cinque, 2002, 2003, 2005; Shlonsky, 2004, 2012).

## 2. ANALYSIS

Let us first tackle the idea of agreement between a demonstrative and the head noun. A demonstrative appearing either at the beginning or the end of the DP must show full agreement with the head noun. Consider examples in (2) above reproduced below for convenience:

- (10) a. haaḏa    ʔar-radʒal  
       this            DEF-man  
       “This man”  
       b. ʔar-radʒal            haaḏa  
       DEF-man            this  
       “This man”

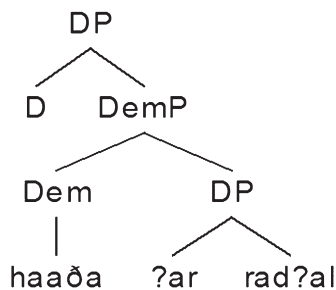
In HA, there is no invariant form of demonstratives. But rather different forms agreeing with the head noun in all the  $\Phi$ -features. Keep aside the cases where a demonstrative appears at the end of the DP (we will return to them below), I argue that when a demonstrative starts the DP, the former occupies a position dedicated particularly to house demonstratives. This assumption has been articulated by several works cross-linguistically (e.g., Brugè, 2002; Roberts, 2002; Shlonsky, 2004; Roehrs, 2009, among many others). This initial position of the projection housing demonstratives has been supported by the semantic scope demonstratives maintain over

the remaining components of the DP, the nominal spine (Heck, 2002; Elbourne, 2008). In addition, this conclusion follows the universal base order suggested for DP (cf. Shlonsky, 2004; Cinque, 2005).

$$(11) [_{XP} \text{Dem}] [_{YP} \text{Num}] [_{ZP} \text{Adj}] [_{NP} \text{N}]$$

What this basically means is that the demonstrative *haaða* ‘this’ in (10a) occupies the head position of Demonstrative Phrase (DemP) having scope over the head noun *radʒal* ‘man’.<sup>2</sup> See the following schematic representation of (10a).<sup>3</sup>

(12)



As seen from the schematic representation in (12), it is postulated that the DP with a demonstrative has an inner shell of DP. Such a postulation is advanced due to the fact that the head noun following demonstratives must be definite (if predicate reading is not maintained).

- (13) \**haaða*            *radʒal*  
       this             man  
       Intended to say: ‘This man’

It seems less promising to assume that there is only one DP shell in such cases. First and foremost, the whole structure is a DP, an issue demands the upmost head to be a DP. Second, the assumption that there is only one D° which goes downwards to the head noun *radʒal* ‘man’, resulting in the linear order Dem>>Det>>Noun is not tenable due to its violation to derivation constraints and second merge principles maintained in the Minimalist program (cf. Chomsky, 2007).<sup>4</sup>

Back to our main point on  $\Phi$ -agreement between the demonstrative used in the DP and the head noun following (or even preceding) it, (see (10) above). Following the recent assumptions of the Minimalist Program, I argue that  $\Phi$ -agreement between the demonstrative and the head noun indicates that the former has uninterpretable

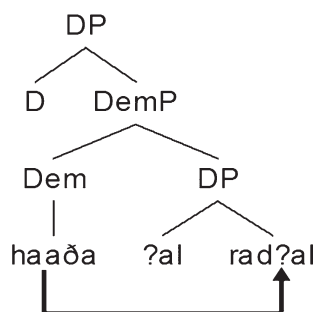
$\Phi$ -features, which must be valued and deleted before LF. Put it a different way, a demonstrative comes from the lexicon endowed with a set of  $\Phi$ -features which are not determined. These  $\Phi$ -features must be determined by reference to the context where the accompanying sentence is uttered (Chomsky, 2007). In addition, these  $\Phi$ -features are valued by what Chomsky labeled ‘Agree’ operation. This operation is in turn carried out in a ‘probe-goal configuration’. The Agree operation is formulated as follows (Chomsky, 2001, p.122).

(14) The probe  $\alpha$  agrees with the goal  $\beta$  providing that:

- a.  $\alpha$  has uninterpretable  $\Phi$ -features.
- b.  $\beta$  has matching interpretable  $\Phi$ -features.
- c.  $\beta$  is active by virtue of having an unvalued Case feature.
- d.  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$ .
- e. There is no potential goal  $\gamma$  intervening between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

Following Agree operation (as in (14)), I argue that since the demonstrative head (Dem°) comes from the lexicon with unvalued  $\Phi$ -features, it functions as a probe, while the head noun is the goal in the following fashion. The demonstrative enters the derivation with unvalued  $\Phi$ -features, the state of affairs makes it actively searching for a proper goal within its c-commanding domain. This search is mainly motivated by the morphological need of Dem° to have its  $\Phi$ -features valued and deleted before LF; otherwise, the structure is doomed to failure. As a result of this search, Dem° finds the head noun within its c-commanding domain. The  $\Phi$ -features of the head noun are valued and hence possible target for the Agree operation established by Dem°. Consequently, a probe-goal configuration is erected between the head noun and the probe Dem°, resulting in value (and hence deletion) of the uninterpretable  $\Phi$ -features of Dem°.

(15)



It should be noted the probe-goal configuration is made between Dem° and the head noun not between Dem° and D°, since the latter has no interpretable  $\Phi$ -features. This so being,  $\Phi$ -agreement between Dem° and the head noun is accounted for.

Now let us work out the second case where a demonstrative appears at the very end of the DP in which

<sup>2</sup> See Lyons (1999) for the relation between demonstratives and definiteness.

<sup>3</sup> Irrelevant details are skipped in the tree diagrams used throughout this research.

<sup>4</sup> One might entertain the possibility that the DemP might be in the Spec position of DP headed by D°. This possibility is, arguably, off the mark, given that if we accept this idea, we are at a loss to explain why normal DPs (without a demonstrative) do not have Spec position filled as compared to those having DemP.

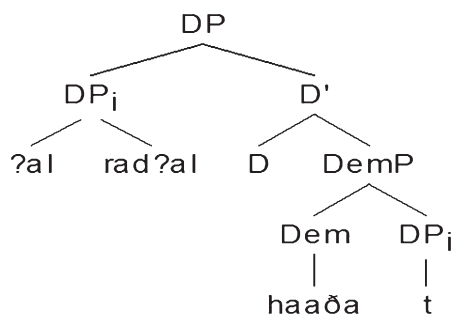
it shows up. Consider the following examples from the descriptive part repeated below for convenience.

- (16) a. *a.ʔar-radʒal haaða*  
 DEF-man this  
 “This man”  
 b. *ar-radʒal ʔal-ħilo ʔal-qasiir haaða*  
 DEF-man DEF-wonderful DEF-short this  
 “This wonderful short man”  
 c. *ar-radʒaal ʔaθ-θalaθ haðoola*  
 DEF-men DEF-three these.M.P  
 “These three men”  
 d. *at<sup>ʕ</sup>-tʔaalib al-ʔawaal haaða*  
 DEF-student DEF-first this  
 “This first student”

As far these examples are concerned, it should be ascertained that they represent the marked case, as hinted at above. The normal (unmarked) way is that demonstratives precede the DP material, as confirmed by universal basic order suggested for DP (cf. Cinque, 2005). However, in some cases, demonstratives appear at the end of the DP preceded by all the DP material, as clearly in (16 a, b, c, and d) where the demonstrative is by the head noun alone, the head noun and the accompanying nominal modifiers, cardinals and ordinals, respectively.<sup>5</sup>

Following Cinque’s (2003, 2005) and Shlonsky’s (2004) approaches on phrasal movement within DP, it can be neatly assumed that in cases where the demonstrative follows the DP material, the latter gets moved in a phrasal-movement fashion to the Spec of the upper DP headed by the null D. Indeed, this issue can be taken on its own as mounting evidence for our contention for a presence of a null DP dominating DemP. Consider the syntactic derivation of example (16a):

(17)

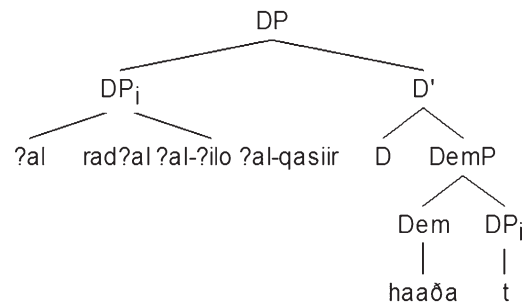


The lower DP vacates its position as a complement of

<sup>5</sup> In this regard, the DP terminated by a demonstrative needs, borrowing Relevance Theory assumptions of effort-effect trade-off (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1987, 1998, and 2002), more effort to process on the part of the hearer and, following our assumptions more effort to produce on the part of the speaker (cf. Taha *et al* 2014, Al-Jarrah *et al* 2015). In addition, when a demonstrative shows up at the end of DP, the given DP has a reading with higher evidentiality in the sense of Aikhenvald (2004) (cf. Alhaisoni *et al* 2012).

the Dem° to the Spec position of the upper DP. In the same fashion, the complement of DemP in (16b) *ar-radʒal ʔal-ħilo ʔal-qasiir* moves to the Spec position of upper DP. See the following schematic representation of example (16b).

(18)



The same derivation can be extended to structures (16c and d) above. Following this derivation, the linear order between the DP material and Dem° follows. The immediate question to beg is what is the motivation for the upward movement of the whole lower DP to the Spec of upper DP? For this, I assume that some feature carried by the upper head D° is the source for this phrasal movement to the Spec of upper DP. Let this feature be EDGE feature which can be sometimes part of the feature bundle of the upper DP. In case the upper DP enters the derivation endowed with this feature, some element within its c-commanding domain must vacate its position for the Spec position of upper DP, and hence satisfying EDGE feature. In addition, I assume the phrasal movement of the whole lower DP is triggered by EDGE feature. One of the main properties of EDGE feature is that it cannot be fulfilled only by merge, i.e., Agree operation is not used to meet the demands of EDGE feature (cf. Adger & Svenonius, 2011). Following this, it can be advanced that when the upper head D° is endowed with EDGE feature, the head noun leaves its position to Spec of the upper DP, pied-piping all of the material to its right.<sup>6</sup>

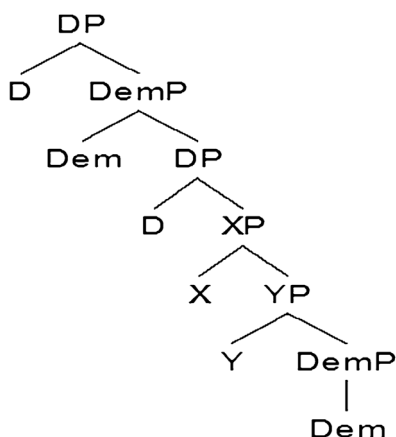
The question arising promptly is why DemP is not part of the moved DP to the Spec position of the upper DP. There are in fact two assumptions for this. Firstly, it might be the case that DemP is immobile, hence the impossibility to move it all along the moved DP. The second assumption is that EDGE feature demands a phrase whose main feature is nominal, hence the lower DP is the better candidate. So there is no need to move extra phrases (i.e., Dem Phrase) if one (i.e., lower DP) can meet the demands of EDGE feature.

<sup>6</sup> See Shlonsky (2004) and Cinque (2003) for independent motivation of phrasal movement vs. head movement inside Semitic DP.



However, although the above analysis of demonstratives' position at the end of DP and the concomitant possibilities are of content, I assume that this analysis may not be on the right track. The main motivation for this assumption is that it renders the syntactic explanation more complicated, put aside the underlying conceptual necessity for EDGE feature on the upper null D°. According to the distributional properties of demonstratives in HA, a different account of the position of the demonstratives at the end of the DP can be made. This account is that there are two positions dedicated for demonstratives in HA. These two positions are different in scope and thus semantic reading of the accompanying DP. See the following schematic representation (XP and YP are potential projections housing the head noun as well as nominal modifiers).<sup>7</sup>

(19)



As seen from (19), there are two projections dedicated to demonstratives in HA, one dominated directly by the upper D, and one by the first projection housing the head noun. If demonstratives appear at the beginning of the DP, they head the DemP dominated directly by the upper D. Let us call this DemP as the upper DemP. Furthermore, if demonstratives appear at the end of the DP, they head the lower DemP. It should be noted that both DemP's are only projected in the nominal spine of the DP if there is a need for them. For instance, if the demonstrative appears at the beginning of the DP, there is no need for the lower DemP. The reverse holds, given that only one demonstrative can appear per single DP. Consider the ungrammatical examples in (20):

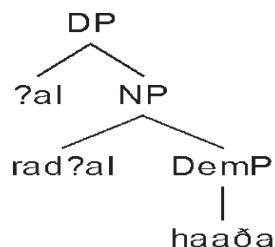
- (20) a. \*haaða    ʔar-radʒal    haaða  
           this    Def-man    this  
           Intended: "This man"  
       b. \*haaða    ar-radʒal    ʔal-ħילו    ʔal-qasiir    haaða

<sup>7</sup> I follow Sichel (2000), in assuming that nominal modifiers are externally merged as heads (Adj) in dedicated adjectival projections above the projection that include the head noun, as will be seen in derivation (28) and (29) below.

- this DEF-man DEF-wonderful DEF-short this  
 Intended: "This wonderful short man"  
 c. \*haðoola    ar-radʒaal    ʔaθ-θalaθ    haðoola  
           these    DEF-men    DEF-three    these.M.P  
           Intended: "These three men"  
 d. \*haaða    at-tʕaalib    al-ʔawaal    haaða  
           this    DEF-student    DEF-first    this  
           Intended: "This first student"

Following this line of analysis, the DP in (16a) is schematically presented as follows:

(21)



This so being, there is no phrasal movement to the Spec of the upper D. In addition, according to this analysis, the upper D° is only projected when it dominates directly DemP as clear in (19). There is neither syntactic nor conceptual ground for postulation that an upper D° is always projected. The immediate question to raise is related to whether there is some independent evidence (or motivation) for an upper DemP and lower DemP in HA. Indeed, some independent evidence can be furnished with reference to the behaviour of the so-called demonstrative *hal*. Consider examples in (9) repeated below in (22):

- (22) a. hal                    radʒal  
           hal                    man  
           "A specific man"  
       b. hal                    radʒal    ʔal-ħילו  
           hal                    man    DEF-wonderful  
           "A specific wonderful man"  
       c. \*ar-radʒal    hal    ʔal-ħילו  
           DEF-man this    DEF-wonderful  
           Intended: "A specific wonderful man"  
       d. \* ar-radʒal    ʔal-ħילו    hal  
           DEF-man    DEF-wonderful    this  
           Intended: "A specific wonderful man"

According to my intuition, *hal* is not a demonstrative as such. It is a specificity marker. First of all, as can be seen from examples in (20), no more than one demonstrative can appear DP. If we follow the assumption that *hal* is a demonstrative, we must end up with the same conclusion, namely *hal* cannot occur with another Dem, contrary to fact. Consider the following examples (SPEC=specificity):

- (23) a. hal    ʔar-radʒal    haaða  
           SPEC    DEF-man    this  
           "This specific man"

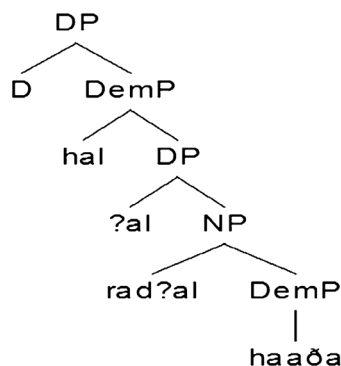
- b. hal ar-radʒal ʔal-ħilo ʔal-qasiir haaða  
 SPEC DEF-man DEF-wonderful DEF-short this  
 “This wonderful short man”
- c. hal ar-radʒaal ʔaθ-θalaθ haðoola  
 SPEC DEF-man DEF-three these.M.P  
 “These specific three men”
- d. hal atʕ-tʕaalib al-ʔawaal haaða  
 SPEC DEF-student DEF-first this  
 “This specific first student”

It is evident that *hal* can co-occur with another demonstrative, given the latter shows up at the end of the DP. What this implies is that *hal* cannot occur with a demonstrative showing up at the beginning of the DP:

- (24) a. \*haaða hal ʔar-radʒal  
 this SPEC DEF-man  
 Intended: “This specific man”
- b. \*hal haaða ʔar-radʒal  
 SPEC this DEF-man  
 Intended: “This specific man”
- c. \*haaða hal ar-radʒal ʔal-ħilo ʔal-qasiir  
 this SPEC DEF-man DEF-wonderful DEF-short  
 Intended: “This specific wonderful short man”
- d. \*haðoola hal ar-radʒaal ʔaθ-θalaθ  
 these.M.P SPEC DEF-men DEF-three  
 Intended: “These specific three men”
- e. \*haaða hal atʕ-tʕaalib al-ʔawaal  
 this SPEC DEF-student DEF-first  
 Intended: “This specific first student”

Hinging on the complementarity between *hal* and a demonstrative at the beginning of DP, I assume that both of them occupy the same position, the upper DemP. The main difference between them is that the former has an additional feature within its grid, namely [SPEC]. For some reason, *hal* cannot occupy the lower DemP. It might be the case that the lower DemP does not allow heads endowed with [SPEC]. However, I leave this issue open for further research. What is relevant here is the notion that since *hal* can co-occur with a demonstrative, given that the latter shows up at the end of DP, there are, logically speaking, two positions for demonstratives in HA. See the following schematic representation for the example in (23a):

(25)



Anyway, I leave the final decision between the first analysis (phrasal movement) and the second analysis (multi-position) for further research to make.

The last issue to tackle in this research is the cases where a demonstrative can intervene between the head noun and the first nominal modifier. See example (5c) repeated below for convenience:

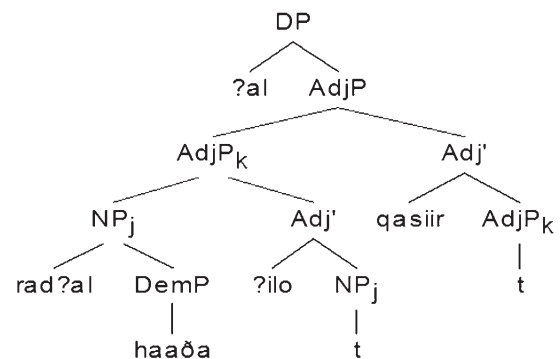
- (26) ar-radʒal haaða ʔal-ħilo ʔal-qasiir  
 DEF-man this DEF-wonderful DEF-short  
 “This wonderful short man”

As can be seen in (26), the demonstrative can appear between the head noun and the first nominal modifier. No way is possible for the demonstrative to appear between two nominal modifiers, hence the ungrammaticality of the example in (5d), repeated below in (27):

- (27) \*ar-radʒal ʔal-ħilo haaða ʔal-qasiir  
 Def-man DEF-wonderful this DEF-short  
 “This wonderful short man”

As for (26), it can be put forward that the demonstrative in such cases is pied-piped along the head noun in the sense of Shlonsky (2004). What moves to the Spec positions of projections housing nominal modifiers is not the head noun alone but the head noun + the demonstrative base-generated in the lower DemP. See the following schematic representation of the example in (26):

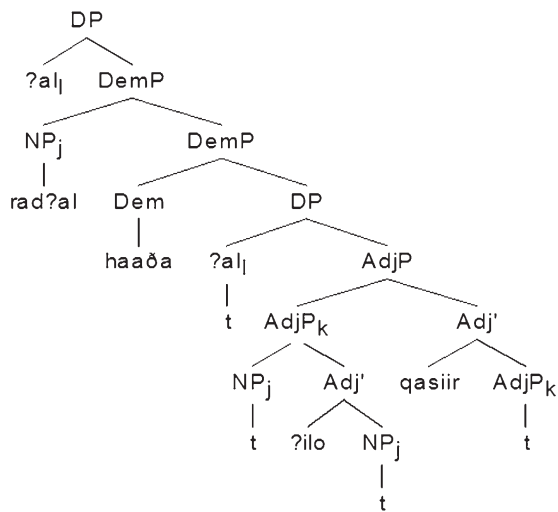
(28)



Hence, the observation that the demonstrative can intervene between the head noun and the first nominal modifier (which is the last nominal modifier the head noun and Dem° dwell in the Spec position of the projection containing it, see Shlonsky, 2004 for further details).

On the other hand, it can be postulated that the head noun leaves its position (once reached the position dominating all nominal modifiers) to the Spec position of the upper DemP, headed by the overt Dem°.

(29)



Crucial for the purpose of this analysis is that the lower  $D^0$  moves upwards to higher  $D^0$ , yielding the head noun suffixed with the definite article.<sup>8</sup> However, if this analysis is adopted, several questions must be answered. Firstly, why do nominal modifiers not move to Spec of DemP, if phrasal movement is maintained? Secondly, why does the lower  $D^0$  move to the higher  $D^0$ , as well? I leave these questions open for future research.

## CONCLUSION

In this research, I addressed some aspects of the interaction of demonstratives with other components of the DP, which I labelled as the nominal spine. In addition to provide a descriptive sketch of the main behaviour of the demonstratives in HA, I introduced a syntactic analysis for the issues raised in the description section. First, I argued that demonstratives are heads endowed with a set of  $\Phi$ -features which are uninterpretable. They head DemP. Therefore, demonstratives in HA function as a probe establishing an Agree relation with the head noun, serving as a goal. Once this relation is established, the  $\Phi$ -features of demonstratives are valued and eliminated before LF. The result of this valuation is the morphological form of the given demonstrative being with the same number, gender, and person features of those of the head noun. Additionally, I proposed two accounts for the position of the demonstratives within the DP. The first approach is that there is only one projection hosting demonstratives. In case demonstratives appear at the end of the DP, it is postulated that the head noun, lower D, and any accompanying nominal modifiers move to the spec of DemP. The second analysis is that there are two potential

<sup>8</sup> My postgraduate fellow, Marwan Jarrah, pointed out that example (26) might be a case of PF scrambling where both the head noun and  $D^0$  move to the Spec of higher DemP in the PF components.

DemPs. Observations on *hal*, a specificity marker, are taken as evidence for the latter analysis. However, both analyses were set in a rather tentative way, waiting for the future research to decide on or even decline.

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