

Hebrew Definite Marking as Post-Syntactic Local Dislocation

The internal structure of the DP in Hebrew has been extensively and thoroughly studied; however, a few empirical challenges remain. I present novel data from scope interactions in structures with coordinated APs and degree terms that prove challenging to all previous accounts. I propose an analysis that is based on insights from previous works, but which introduces certain crucial new elements needed to account for the new data. In order to account for scope ambiguities as well as a requirement that conjoined APs agree in definiteness marking, I propose that the inflectional definite marker *ha-* should be treated as a phrasal proclitic that is a result of the post-syntactic operation Local Dislocation (Distributed Morphology, following Embick & Noyer 2001). In addition, I propose that all degree modifiers in Hebrew should be analyzed as adjuncts to account for their positional distribution and for their ability to take wide scope when following coordinated APs. My analysis is compatible with any syntactic account that takes the definite marker to be a feature on D or *d*, which triggers the movement of NPs and APs to achieve the surface word order in the Hebrew DP.

Hebrew attributive adjectives follow the nouns they modify and must agree with them in definiteness, gender, and number.

- (1) (a) *ha-kova *(ha-)faχov *(ha-)gavoha* (b) *kova *(ha-)faχov *(ha-)gavoha*
the-hat *(the-)black *(the-)tall hat *(the-)black *(the-)tall
‘the tall black hat’ ‘a tall black hat’

In many analyses of the Hebrew DP (e.g., Borer 1988, Ritter 1991, Siloni 1997, Danon 2001), the definite marker is a feature disseminated by the inherently-definite noun. The ordering of adjectives is accounted for by A/AP movement in a nested fashion in order to check agreement features (definiteness included). Sichel (2002), however, shows that such analyses fail to explain why there can be some intervening material, such as pre-AP degree modifiers, between the definite marker and the adjective it marks (2b).

- (2) (a) *ha-kova ha-faχov *(ha-)meʔod* (b) *ha-kova *(ha-)meʔod *(ha-)faχov*
the-hat the-black *(the-)very the-hat *(the-)very *(the-)black
‘the very black hat’ ‘the very black hat’

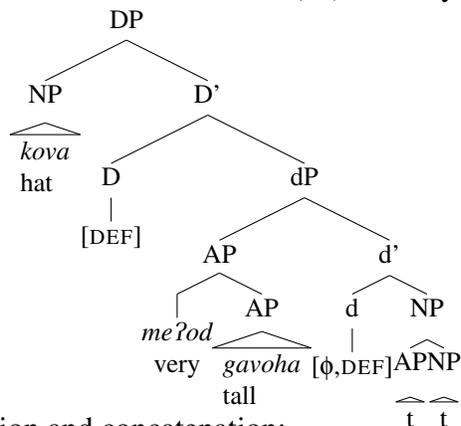
In light of the intervention facts, Sichel (2002) instead analyzes the definite marker as a projected D head selecting for an AP and accounts for the free variation of degree terms (2a vs. 2b) by optional internal movement. However, her analysis doesn’t account for cases in which (i) there is a ban on coordinated structures with only one definiteness-marked conjunct (3a-b), (ii) both APs are in the domain of a definite DP, but neither is definiteness-marked (3c), and (iii) the scope ambiguities in (3a), in contrast with the lack of scope ambiguities in (3c-d).

- (3) (a) *ha-kova ha-faχov ve-*(ha-)gavoha meʔod*
the-hat the-black and-the-tall very
Readings: (i) ‘the (very (black and tall)) hat’; (ii) ‘the black and (very tall) hat’
(b) *ha-kova ha-faχov ve-*(ha-)meʔod gavoha*
the-hat the-black and-the-very tall
Only reading: ‘the black and (very tall) hat’
(c) *ha-kova ha-meʔod faχov ve-gavoha*
the-hat the-very black and-tall
Only reading: ‘the (very (black and tall)) hat’
(d) *ha-kova ha-meʔod faχov ve-ha-gavoha*
the-hat the-very black and-the-tall
Only reading: ‘the (very black) and tall hat’

To account for the new data, I propose that the definite marker is a morpheme that realizes an agreement feature on *d* and which is checked under Spec-Head agreement like other ϕ -features (Fassi-Fehri 1999, Shlonsky 2004; but cf. Pereltsvaig 2006). Its position is the result of the constrained movement operation Local Dislocation (LD), illustrated in (4-5).

Degree modifiers are analyzed as left- or right-adjoined to AP (contra Abney 1987 and Kennedy 1999, and somewhat following Neeleman *et al.* 2004), directly accounting for their positional distribution. The derivations in (4-5) illustrate the LD operations for various constructions. The definite markers always dislocate to the left of the adjacent spelled-out string (NP/AP), resulting in procliticization. Conjuncts in coordinate structures are realized morphologically as sets of elements, following Kramer 2010, over which LD can shift *ha-*; clitic elements adjacent to sets must attach pointwise to each member of the set; and linearization proceeds as usual for conjuncts. When *-ha* LDs over an AP whose first element is not a set—as in (5c)—it only associates with that element.

(4) (a) (=2b)



(b) (=4a) after linearization and concatenation:

kova * ha- * [[me?od * gavoha] * ha-] → ha kova ha me?od gavoha

(5) The linearization of coordinated AP structures:

(a) Wide scope of *me?od* in (3a):

[kova * ha-] * [[_{AP} { $\int a\chi or$ }
gavoha } * me?od] * ha-] → ha-kova ha- $\int a\chi or$ ve-ha-gavoha me?od

(b) Narrow scope of *me?od* in (3a): 2 APs with 2 different occurrences of *ha-*:

kova * ha- * [{ $\int a\chi or$ }
[_{AP} gavoha – me'od] } * ha-] → ha-kova ha- $\int a\chi or$ ve-ha-gavoha me?od

(c) Only wide scope in (3c): leftmost element in AP is *me?od*, so no pointwise attachment:

kova * ha- * [me?od * { $\int a\chi or$ }
gavoha } * ha-] → ha-kova ha-me?od $\int a\chi or$ ve-gavoha

This paper provides a solution to novel data from coordinated APs and degree modification couched in the Minimalist and Distributed Morphology frameworks. Local Dislocation accounts for cases of clitics that seem to require a phrasal, rather than a head, host. Similar cases have been noted for Amharic (Kramer 2010), Welsh (Hannahs & Tallerman 2006), and Scandinavian (Hankamer & Mikkelsen 2005) as well as Balkan languages (Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2006).

SELECTED REFERENCES: **Borer, H.** 1988. On the morphological parallelism between compounds and constructs. *Yearbook of Morph.* **Danon, G.** 2001. Syntactic definiteness in the grammar of Modern Hebrew. *Linguistics*. **Embick, D. & Noyer R.** 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *LI*. **Kramer, R.** 2010. The Amharic definite marker and the syntax-morphology interface. *Syntax*. **Ritter, E.** 1991. Two functional categories in noun phrases: Evidence from Modern Hebrew. *Syntax and Semantics*. **Shlonsky, U.** 2004. The form of Semitic noun phrases. *Lingua*. **Sichel, I.** 2002. Phrasal movement in Hebrew adjectives and possessives. *Dimensions of movement*. **Siloni, T.** 1997. *Noun Phrases and Nominalizations: The Syntax of DPs*.