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The Syntax of Multiple Determination in Arabic:
An anti- residual relative clause/close-apposition account

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Abstract
This paper aims to give an account of the multiple determination (determiner spreading) phenomenon in Arabic. Determiner spreading is the syntactic representation and phonological realization of multiple determiners within the same determiner phrase. As a cross-linguistic phenomenon, determiner spreading has been investigated in other languages (e.g., Scandinavian and Greek); different accounts have been proposed. For Scandinavian languages, determiner spreading has been analyzed as a representation of different semantic interpretations. As far as Greek is concerned, some analyses have been proposed; however, two prominent ones have received considerable attention in the literature: (i) a residue of a reduced relative clause and (ii) an instantiation of close appositions. Contrary to those analyses, this paper claims that none of the two analyses is suitable for Arabic; thus, a language-specific analysis is required. To analyze determiner spreading in Arabic, the current paper posits the following research question: *What is the linguistic purpose of the multiple determiners found in Arabic determiner phrases?* Answering the research question, the paper claims that, in addition to its indispensable role in establishing agreement between nouns and adjectives within the Arabic determiner phrase, determiner spreading demarcates syntactic and semantic phrase boundaries. The paper takes Minimalist Program and Distributed Morphology as a theoretical framework to argue that attributive adjectives are projection of an agreement phrase headed by the definite article ʔal or by the indefinite phonological marker `*nunation: -n'*. This proposal requires no syntactic movements in the syntax proper. The ultimate linear order is achieved in the phonological components.

Introduction

This paper intends to investigate Determiner Spreading (DS) in Arabic Determiner Phrases (DP). DS is the realization/appearance of multiple definite/indefinite determiners within the same phrase. DS is very transparent in Semitic languages. Arabic determiners appear with head nouns and with their modifying postnominal adjectives; see examples (1) & (2) for definiteness *'ʔal'* and indefiniteness *'nunation', (NUN)* respectively.

(1)   ʔal-kitaab   ʔal-dʒadeed
        the-book   the-new
        `the new book'
(2)   kitaabu-n   dʒadeedu-n
        book-NUN   new-NUN
        'a new book'

The same phenomenon is found in other languages (e.g., Greek, Hebrew and Swedish). For illustrations, see examples (3), (4) & (5) below.

(3)   to vivlio   to kokino   (Greek)
        the-book   the-new
        `the red book'
(4)   ha smalot   ha yapot   (Hebrew)
        the-dresses   the nice
        'the nice dresses'
(5)   den ny-a   bok-en   (Swedish)
        the new-weak   book-the
        'the new book'   (Alexiadou, 2014, p. 2)

Two different accounts have been proposed to address the DS phenomenon in Greek. These accounts are *a)* a reduced relative clause account and *b)* a close apposition account. There are two problematic aspects of these accounts. Greek DS's analysis is not applicable to DS in Arabic. Second, the Greek attributive adjectives' distribution differs from the distribution of Arabic adjectives.

Arabic DS has not been investigated in the literature; the current study aims to fill this gap. In other words, the study attempts to answer the research question stated below.

Research question

What is the linguistic purpose of the multiple determiners found in Arabic determiner phrases?

Answering this question will significantly contribute to the field of Arabic linguistics and to the field of theoretical linguistics in general.

The paper's organization proceeds as follows: the second section reviews the previous studies and argues that DS in Arabic cannot be a spell out of reduced relative clauses or close appositions; the third section presents the account and analysis of DS in Arabic, and the last section concludes the paper.

Literature review

Alexiadou (2003, 2014), Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou (2007), Kayne (1994) & Stavrou (2012) argue that DS is a residue of a reduced relative clause; this proposal is based on two syntactic issues. Precisely, they claim that non-intersective adjectives are impossible in predicative positions and the unpopularity of Head movement (the head noun moves to a higher position above the adjective) in order to achieve D-N-D-Adj order. The second proposal argues that postnominal adjectives that carry determiners, which in turn show DS, are treated as close appositions (Lekakou & Szendrӧi, 2007, 2010, 2012). These proposals share a general argument that DS, shown by a single DP, is a spell out of two canonically independent phrases. As far as Arabic is concerned, no investigation has been done to analyze DS in Arabic. Previous studies only approach the structure of DPs from a general syntactic point of view (AlQahtani, 2016; Fassi Fehri, 1993, 1999, 2012; Giusti, 2002). These studies argue that the linear order of Arabic DPs is achieved through N-to-D and XP movements. However, with the emergence of the Distributed-Morphology theory (Embick, 2015; Embick & Marantz, 2008; Embick & Noyer, 2001, 2007; Halle & Marantz, 1993), syntactic movements in the syntax proper, specifically Head movement, may not be required; this is because movement operations can take place in the Phonological Components (PF); (see Embick and Noyer (2001) for movement operations at PF). Focusing on DS in Arabic, the current study argues against the two analyses that have been put forth for Greek and shows that they are syntactically and semantically incompatible with DS in Arabic. This study will not adopt the two analyses introduced above (residue of reduced relative clauses and close appositions) to analyze DS in Arabic. Therefore, a language-based account of DS, in Arabic,is required due to the language-specific parameters. Noticeably, there are apparent differences between Arabic and Greek in terms of the distribution of adjectives within the DP; below, some examples show that DS in Arabic is different from DS in Greek.

Definiteness/indefiniteness

DS in Arabic is attested in both definite and indefinite DPs as respectively shown by (6) & (7). By contrast, DS in Greek is only attested in definite DPs; see (8).

(6)   ʔal-kitaab   ʔal-ʤadeed
      the-book   the-new
      `the new book'
(7)   kitaabu-n   ʤadeedu-n
      book-NUN   new-NUN
      'a new book'
(8)   to vivlio   to kokino   (Greek)
      the-book   the-new
      `the red book'   (Alexiadou, 2014, p. 2)

Distribution of adjectives

Adjectives in Greek can appear prenominally/postnominally as shown by examples (9) & (10).

(9)   to kokino   to vivlio
      the-new   the-book
      `the red book'
(10) to vivlio   to kokino   (Greek)

the-book   the-new
`the red book'   (Alexiadou, 2014, p. 2)

However, this option is ruled out for Arabic. In other words, Arabic adjectives can appear postnominally (11) but not prenominally (12).

(11)   ʔal-kitaab   ʔal-dʒadeed
       the-book   the-new
       `the new book'
(12)   *ʔal-dʒadeed   ʔal-kitaab
       the-new   the-book
       'No reading'

Arabic Attributive adjectives cannot precede their modified nouns. The ill-formedness of (12) results from incorrect positioning of the adjective *ʔal-dʒadeed* 'the new'. By contrast, Greek attributive adjectives can precede their modified nouns, as shown by (9) above. It is important to indicate that Fassi Fehri (1999) argues that Arabic adjectives can be placed prenominally. He built his argument on the following example:

(13)   ʔaqrʔa-u   dʒadeed-a   ʔal-kutib-i   (Arabic)
       I-read   new-ACC   the-books-GEN
       `I read the new (of the) books.'   (Fassi Fehri, 1999, p. 115)

It's claimed that the adjective *dʒadeed-a* modifies an elided noun; it does not modify *ʔal-kutibi*. As can be noted, Φ agreement features are lost. Additionally, the adjective and the noun in this example have been assigned different Case, respectively, Accusative (ACC) and Genitive (GEN); see AlQahtani (2016) for a complete discussion.

Non-intersective adjectives
   DS with non-intersective adjectives is permissible in Arabic (14), but not in Greek (16).

(14)   ʔal-qaatil   ʔal-mazʕoum   (Arabic)
       the-killer   the-alleged
       `the alleged killer'   (Fassi Fehri, 1999, p.110)

(15)   i ipotithemenit   romokrates   (Greek)
       the-alleged   terrorist
       'the alleged killer'
(16)   i ipotithemenit   (*i) romokrates
       the-alleged   (*the) terrorist
       Intended to read: 'the alleged killer'   (Kolliakou, 2004, p. 264)

The difference between (15) and (16) resides in the placement of the definite article *i* 'the'; the ill-formedness of (16) is a result of DS, which is not permissible to appear with nouns that are modified by non-intersective adjectives.

Construct State (CS)

CS structures can pose a challenging problem to both analyses (reduced relative clauses and close appositions). The adjective *Ɂal-dʒadeed* 'the new' can, in the absence of Case phonological realization, bind to the head noun *kitaab* or to the genitive noun *Ɂal-mudrris* as shown by the different readings of example (17) below.

(17)   baab   Ɂal-bajit   Ɂal-qadeem   (Arabic)
       door   the-house   the-old
       'the old door of the house' OR 'the door of the old house'   (AlQahtani, 2016, p. 135)

Suppose it is assumed that that adjective *Ɂal-qadeem* `the old' is an instantiation of a residue of a reduced relative clause or an instantiation of a close apposition. In that case, a crucial puzzling question emerges: is it a reduced relative clause that modifies baab or modifies Ɂal-bajit? The same inquiry is problematic for the close apposition argument as well. In other words, is *Ɂal-qadeem* an appositive for baab or for Ɂal-bajit?

The previous discussion shows considerable differences between Greek and Arabic in terms of the adjective distribution with in the same DP. Based on these differences, the two arguments (reduced relative clauses and close appositions) used for DS in Greek cannot account for DS in Arabic. Therefore, this paper aims to propose a novel analysis for DS in Arabic.
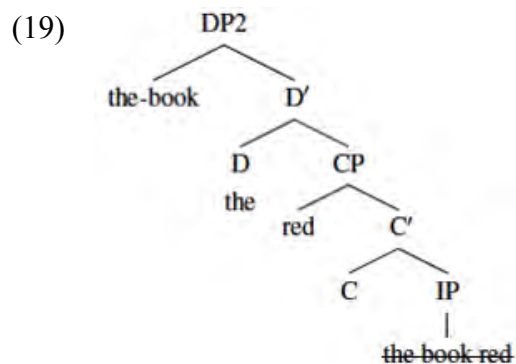
Arabic versus Greek

The proposed analyses (reduced relative clauses and close appositions) have their shortcomings that make them incompatible with Arabic. In this section, the paper claims that both views cannot account for DS in Arabic; i.e., the present data cannot be analyzed within the said analysis framework.

Against reduced relative clauses analysis

Alexiadou (2014), Alexiadou et al. (2007), Cinque (2010) & Kayne (1994) propose that DS is aninstantiation of a reduced relative clause in Greek. They claim that DS is a merge of a DP and a Complementizer Phrase (CP) that has undergone reduction which spells out one DP. They propose the following analysis for the phenomenon in Greek as illustrated by example (18) and tree diagram (19).

(18)   to vivlio   to kokino   (Greek)
       the-book   the-red

(19)

(Alexiadou, 2014, p. 35)

In her analysis, Alexiadou (2014) proposes that the adjective acts as a conjunctive modifier which is similar to restrictive relative clauses. The order D-N-D-Adj is a result of two different raising movements. First, the adjective moves to the Spec CP, which gives the order D-Adj-D-N. Second, the other movement raises the DP[1] 'the book' to the Spec DP[2]. This analysis assumes that the adjective determiner acts like a copula, which takes the noun as a subject and the adjective as a complement, as demonstrated by the tree diagram in (20).

(20)

Alexiadou (2014) points out that DS in Hebrew is merely a copy of the modified noun's definiteness features. Analogously speaking, this generalization can be extended to Arabic as a Semitic language. If so, we expect adjectives that modify CS head nouns to bear no determiner, as shown by the following examples:

(21)   kitaab   ʔal-mudrris   *dʒadeed   (Arabic)
       book   the-teacher   *0-new
       `Intended to read: the new book of the teacher'   (AlQahtani, 2016, p. 135)

If we assume that *dʒadeed* 'new' is modifying *kitaab* `book' then (21) must be grammatical according to Alexiadou's generalization on Hebrew; however, it turns out that the generalization is not accurate. This paper contends that DS in Arabic is not just a copying of features; more explanations to come in the account and analysis section.

Construct State

   The CS structure poses some challenges to the proposal suggested by (Alexiadou, 2014) among others. As a Semitic language, Arabic adjectives that modify CS can have ambiguous referentiality even in the presence of Case and gender markers; see example (22) below.

(22)   kutiba   ʕala   baab-i   ʔal-bajit-i   ʔal-qadeem-i
       written   on   door-MSC-GEN   the-house-MSC-GEN   the-old-MSC-GEN
       `It has been written on the old door of the house; or it has
       been written on the door of the old house.'   (AlQahtani, 2016, p. 135)

Looking at (22), it can be noticed that *ʔal-qadeem-i 'the old'* is referentially ambiguous. It carries genitive Case and masculine (MSC) gender. This makes it very difficult to tell whether it is 'the old door; or the old house'. For the sake of argument, let's agree with the reduced relative clause idea wherein we consider *ʔal-qadeem-i* as a reduced relative clause. Relative clauses referentiality is ambiguous since they can refer to a low or high attachment. Late Closure theory put forth by Frazier and Fodor (1978) predicts that relative clauses tend to select the lower attachment. Experimentally, Bilal (2004) pointed out that Arabic is among the languages that show

a preference to the lower attachment while, on the other hand, Greek shows a high attachment preference. Accordingly, the adjective in (22), *ʔal-qadeem-i*, a reduced relative clause in Alexiadou's view, modifies the lower noun (the closest; *ʔal-bajit-i*) and not the higher one. This is not accurate; *ʔal-qadeem-i* may modify the higher attachment as well. Consequently, it can be summed up that DS in Arabic cannot be explained within the reduced relative clause proposal.

Against close apposition analysis

   The close apposition analysis theorized by Lekakou & Szendröi (2007, 2010, 2012) proposes that DS is akin to close appositives. Their proposal dictates that a DP that shows DS is an appositive phrase, say DP^2 juxtaposed to DP^1 as demonstrated by example (23) and tree diagram (24).

(23)   to spiti   to petrino   (Greek)
       the-house   the-stone

(24)

(Lekakou & Szendröi, 2012, p. 120)

There are two problematic issues with the current proposal. First, it claims that determiner-bearingadjectives are DPs with elided nouns. If this is correct, the immediate question is how can we analyze DPs that have 'true' elided nouns? as illustrated by examples (25), (26) & (27) below.

(25)   ʔeyu   sajjarati-n   ʔiʃtariet
       which   car-NUN   buy-PAST-you
       `Which car did you buy?'
Two answers are available:

(26)   ʔiʃtariet-u   ʔas-saowdaa
       buy-PAST-I   the-black
       'I bought the black one.'
(27)   ʔiʃtariet-u   ʔas-sajjarat   ʔas-saowdaa
       buy-PAST-I   the-car   the-black
       `I bought the black car.'

It can be noticed that example (26) has no phonologically realized noun (i.e., it is elided); however, the clause is still well-formed. This example is a representation of 'true' elision. By contrast, example (27) shows no elision. If Lekakou & Szendröi's (2007, 2010, 2012) argument is extended to (26), two nouns are assumed to be omitted, which may not be the case.

   The second problematic issue with the apposition analysis is that adjectives with elided nouns require referential nouns (presupposition); they cannot be informative without knowing the referent which the adjective modifies. The following sentence is not informative without context.

(28)   *kasart-u   ʔal-ʔazraq
       break-PAST-I   the-blue-MSC
       `Intends to read: I broke the blue one.'

The adjective *ʔal-ʔazraq* `the blue can be a pen, a glass, anything fragile. For (28) to be semantically valid, the hearer must share the same background information with the reporter, the speaker. Adjectives with elided nouns cannot answer questions that require novel information; consider the following:

(29)   maða   kasart
       what   break-PAST-you
       `What did you break?'
       *I broke the blue.

The ill-formedness of the declarative clause `*I broke the blue'* in (29) results from an elided noun that the hearer has no previous information about. This means that elided nouns cannot be deleted until background information is established between the speaker and the hearer.

   On the contrary, appositions are very informative in the absence of the main nouns. In other words, they require no shared background knowledge between the speaker and the hearer; consider the set of examples in (30) for clarifications.

(30)   Mr. Biden, the US new president, will visit Canada
       The US new president will visit Canada
       Mr. Biden will visit Canada

The three clauses listed in (30) are semantically equivalent. There is no much difference among them except for someone who has not heard of Biden before. By contrast, the examples (28), (29) & (30) show that there are substantial differences between close appositions and DPs with elided nouns.

No Prenominal Adjectives in Arabic
   Prenominal adjectives are not productively attested in Arabic. Previous studies cast doubts on the proposals which contend that Arabic prenominal adjectives may exist (AlQahtani, 2016). Fassi Fehri (1999) proposes that Arabic can be classified among the languages that have prenominal adjectives.

(31)   ʔakal-tu   laḏiiḏ-a   ṭ-ṭaʔaam-i
       ate-I   delicious-ACC   the-food-GEN

`I ate the delicious (of the) food.'

(32)   ʔaqrʔa-u   dʒadeed-a   ʔal-kutib-i
       I-read   new-ACC   the-book-GEN
       `I read the new (of the) books.'   (Fassi Fehri, 1999, p. 115)

Looking at (31) & (32), we find that the adjectives *laḏiiḏa* 'delicious' and *dʒadeed-a* 'new' precede the nouns. Fassi Fehri (1999) grounds his argument, that Arabic has prenominal adjectives, on the examples above. The loss of Φ features between the noun and the adjective casts doubts on this argument. Notice that, if we reverse the Adjective-noun order of (31) & (32) to noun-adjective (i.e., from pre to postmodifier), the full agreement is established between the noun and the adjective as shown by (33) & (34); this type of agreement is the norm and a salient property of Arabic.

(33)   ʔakal-tu   ṭ-ṭa'aam-a   ʔal-laḏiiḏ-a
       ate-I   the-food-ACC   the-delicious-ACC
       `I ate the delicious food.'
(34)   ʔaqrʔa-u   ʔal-kutib-a   ʔal-dʒadeed-a
       I-read   the-books-ACC   the-new-ACC
       `I read the new (of the) books.'   (Fassi Fehri, 1999, p. 115)

Fassi Fehri claims that (31)/(32) and (33)/(34) are semantically interchangeable; there is no difference between their interpretations a proposal which may not be accurate since it cannot accommodate the following examples:

(35)   qaabalt-u   kabeer-a   ʔal-ʕaʃirat-i
       met-I   master-ACC   the-tribe-GEN
       `I met the master of the tribe.'
(36)   *qaabalt-u   ʔal-ʕaʃirat-i   ʔal-kabeer-a
       I-read   the-tribe -ACC   the-master-ACC
       `No reading'

Examples (35) and (36) are not semantically equivalent nor syntactically. The adjective, master, is modifying an elided noun assumed to be I met the *person* who is the master of his tribe. Based on this argument, it is assumed that Arabic adjectives are postnominal modifiers.

     To conclude this section, the proposals, namely the reduced relative clauses and the close appositions suggested for analyzing DS in Greek, cannot be used to analyze DS in Arabic. It also has been argued that Arabic adjectives are postmodifiers, and they cannot be premodifiers as claimed by Fassi Fehri (1999). The next section presents the account and analysis for DS in Arabic.

Account and analysis
     The current study proposes that DS in Arabic is a two-fold purpose: (i) it demarcates syntactic and semantic boundaries between DPs and Tense phrases (TP); (ii) it establishes full agreement (Φ features and in/definiteness feature) between the NP and its modifying adjectival phrase (AdjP), which both are encapsulated within the same DP. From a syntactic point of view, the study argues that attributive adjectives are the projection of an agreement phrase headed by the

definite article *ʔal* or by the indefinite phonological marker -*n* in the case of an indefinite determiner phrase. The agreement phrase is base generated as a complement of the noun phrase. From a semantic point of view, it is assumed that the definite determiner *ʔal* acts as a type-shifting operator; this assumption does not apply to the indefinite marker -*n*, however. The discussion of this section is two-fold: first, it discusses the syntactic demarcation of definite and indefinite determiners *ʔal* and -*n* and shows how DS establishes/disestablishes the syntactic relations between adjectives that modify NPs; second, it discusses the semantic demarcation of these two determiners and the role of DS as a type-shifting process.

Syntactic demarcation
This section explains how DS affects the syntactic structure of Arabic DPs and TPs. It also illustrates how DS has different distributions in definite and indefinite DPs.

Definite DPs vs. TPs
The multiple appearances of the Arabic definite determiner within the same DP delimits the boundaries of this DP. The idea is that the DP that shows DS forms one and only one syntactic object; see the examples below.

(36)   ʔal-kitaab   ʔal-dʒadeed
        the-book   the-new
        `the new book'
(37)   qarʔa-tu   ʔal-kitaab   ʔal-dʒadeed
        read-PAST-I   the-book   the-new
        `I read the new book.'
(38)   qarʔa-tu-hu
        read-PAST-I-it
        `I read it.'

It can be noticed that the DP exemplified in (36) is employed in (37) as an object. It occupies one syntactic position, which is the internal argument position. The DP *ʔal-kitaab ʔal-dʒadeed* forms one syntactic object; thus, it can be replaced by the enclitic pronoun *hu* `it' as demonstrated by (38). It can be noticed that the example (36) illustrates that full agreement (Φ features and definiteness) is established between the noun *ʔal-kitaab* and the adjective *ʔal-dʒadeed*.

DPs without DS are TPs
Postnominal adjectives that lack the definite determiner *ʔal* become syntactically independent from their NPs. They are not anymore part of the entire DP. To illustrate the argument, the DP in (36), which shows DS, is repeated in (39); however, the definite article is removed from the adjective.

(39)   ʔal-kitaab   dʒadeed
        the-book   new
        `The book is new.'
Interestingly, the absence of the definite determiner *ʔal* shifts the DP in (36) into a TP in (39). This shift results in two completely different syntactic structures; the tree diagrams in (40) & (41) represent the syntactic structure for (36) and (39) respectively.
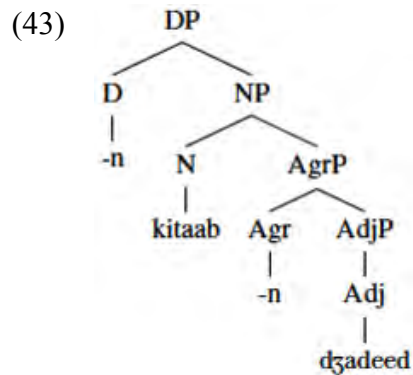
(40)

```
            DP
          /    \
        D        NP
        |       /  \
       ʔal     N    AgrP
               |    /   \
            kitaab Agr  AdjP
                   |     |
                  ʔal   Adj
                         |
                      dʒadeed
```

(41)

```
            TP
          /    \
        DP       T'
        |       /  \
     ʔal-kitaab T    AdjP
                |     |
             present  Adj
                       |
                   dʒadeed
```
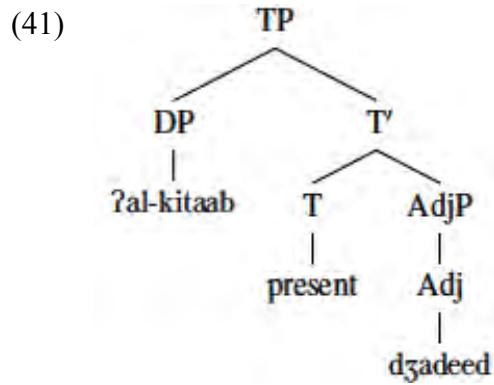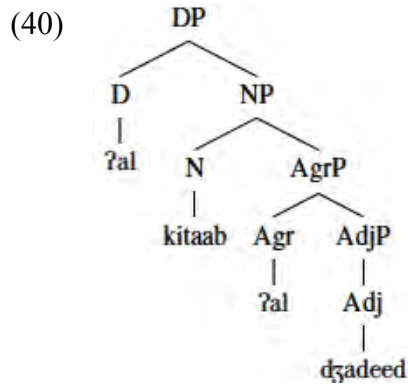
It can be clearly stated that the presence/absence of DS demarcates the DP boundaries from TP boundaries. That is to say, the presence of the definite determiner with the postmodifying adjective delimits the boundaries of the DP as illustrated by (40). By contrast, the absence of the same determiner shifts the DP into a TP in the form of Subject-Predicate construction as schematized in (41). Given the structure in (39) which is the ultimate derivation of (41), it might be well claimed that determiners are type-shift operators.

Indefinite DS

Indefinite DPs are akin to definite DPs in terms of the underlying syntactic distribution. However, they differ from each other at the surface order, the phonological representation. This difference is due to the placement of the determiner itself. In the case of definiteness, the definite determiner is prefixed to the noun (enclitic). In the case of indefiniteness, the indefinite marker is suffixed to the noun (proclitic). The difference in the surface order between definite and indefinite DPs requires a special linguistic operation. To be precise, definite DPs' derivation is straightforward and requires no syntactic movements, as illustrated by (40). As far as the indefinite DPs are concerned, more movements are required to derive the correct word order. These movements do not occur in the syntax proper. Instead, they occur post-syntactically at the phonological components.

(42)   kitaabu-n   dʒadeedu-n
       book-NUN   new-NUN
       'a new book'

(43)

```
            DP
          /    \
        D        NP
        |       /  \
       -n      N    AgrP
               |    /   \
            kitaab Agr  AdjP
                   |     |
                  -n    Adj
                         |
                      dʒadeed
```

It can be seen that the surface structure in (42) is different from the underlying syntactic representation; the idea is that the indefinite marker -*n* precedes the noun in the syntactic tree (43). By contrast, looking at the phonological linear order in (42), the indefinite marker follows the noun. The immediate question is 'how is the order noun-*NUN* adjective-*NUN* is derived? To answer this question, the study adopts AlQahtani's (2016) analysis to derive (42). AlQahtani (2016) contends that movement operations at PF, proposed by Embick & Noyer (2001, 2007) and Marantz (1984, 1988), can account for the mismatches between the syntactic hierarchy and phonological form. In other words, the PF movement operation, namely *Local Dislocation* linearizes the neighboring elements by reversing the adjacent elements' order. Preserving DS in the correct linear order, this movement dislocates nunation to the left of the noun and its spread copy to the left of the postnominal adjective resulting in the order noun-*NUN* adjective-*NUN* as shown by (42).

Semantic demarcation

   This section illustrates how the presence/absence of DS in definite DPs affects the semantic distribution of the postmodifiers. By contrast, DS in indefinite DPs does not affect the semantics of the postmodifiers thus, it will not be discussed.

Attributive vs. predicative adjectives

   Determiners play an essential role in the semantic types of adjectives and their distribution. The following examples show how the presence/absence of determiners, specifically the definite determiners, shifts the adjectives' semantic type.

(44)   ʔal-muʕlim   ʔal-muxliṣ
       the-teacher   the-loyal
       `the loyal teacher'   (Phrase semantic type: non-proposition)
(45)   ʔal-muʕlim   muxliṣ
       the-teacher   loyal
       `The teacher is loyal.'   (Phrase semantic type: proposition)

Example (45) illustrates how the absence of the definite determiner from the adjective radically changes the type of the phrase. That is to say, the phrase in (44) is not propositional (i.e., it contains no theme); it is merely a definite DP. On the contrary, example (45) is a proposition; it has an external argument *ʔal-muʕlim* and a predicate adjective *muxliṣ*. Strikingly, the absence of the definite determiner *ʔal* from the adjective in (44) results in two semantic consequences. First, it shifts the non-propositional phrase (DP) into a propositional phrase (TP). Second, it shifts the attributive adjective *muxliṣ* into a predicate one.

Conclusion

   This paper investigates DS in Arabic. It shows that DS cannot be analyzed within the view of reduced relative clauses or the close apposition view. Answering the research question, *what is the linguistic purpose of the multiple determiners found in Arabic determiner phrases?* it claims that DS has an important role in establishing an agreement between nouns and adjectives within the Arabic determiner phrase. It also demarcates syntactic and semantic phrase boundaries. From a syntactic point of view, it shows that attributive adjectives are the projection of an agreement phrase headed by the definite article *ʔal* or by the indefinite phonological marker *nunation: 'n'* in

the case of the indefinite determiner phrase. The agreement phrase is base generated as a complement of the noun phrase. This proposal is very straightforward and economic (i.e., no syntactic movements are required). The ultimate linear order is achieved in the phonological components. In this analysis, no head/phrasal movement is assumed in the syntax proper.

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