Verb Movement
and the Interpretation of Indefinites

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نقل الفعل وتأويل أسماءالنكرة

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Abstract:
This paper investigates the specificity of indefinite subjects in Classical/Standard Arabic. It is argued that the specific interpretation of an indefinite NP doesn't correlate with its subject position. Specifically, I contend that an indefinite subject can be specific inside the nuclear scope of a sentence. It is maintained, furthermore, that the proposal that verb movement extends the nuclear scope of a quantificational structure doesn't find support in the Classical/Standard Arabic data. It is shown that verb movement in Classical/Standard Arabic doesn't affect the specificity status of the subject. Therefore, it is proposed that an indefinite subject becomes specific if its referent is referentially anchored to the speaker of the utterance, or if that referent is linked to a previously established discourse item.

ملخص البحث:
تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى استقصاء ظاهرة تخصيص اسم النكرة حين يكون فاعلاً في اللغة العربية الفصحى / المعاصرة . إذ يزعم الباحث في هذه الدراسة بأن اسناد التخصيص للنكرة لا يرتبط بالموضوع التركيبي للفاعل . وعلى الأخص ، يذهب الباحث إلى أن سمة التخصيص فد تسند إلى اسم النكرة حين يكون فاعلاً داخل الحيز النووي لبنية السور. ويزعم الباحث ، فضلاً عن ذلك ،أن المعطيات المستقاة من اللغة العربية الفصحى / المعاصرة لا تدعم الفرضية القائلة أن نقل الفعل يوسع الحيز النووي لبنية السور. ويطرح الباحث فرضية مفادها أن نقل الفعل في اللغة العربية الفصحى / الحديثة لا يؤثر في حالة الفاعل من حيث سمة التخصيص . وعليه يزعم الباحث أن إسناد سمة التخصيص لاسم النكرة حين يكون فاعلاً يتأتي من طريقين : إما أن يكون بين إحالة ذلك الاسم وبين قائل الجملة علاقة إرساء إحالية ، أو ان تربط إحالة ذلك الاسم بمفردة خطابية سبق تأسيسها .

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of specificity has been the focus of an enormous number of studies. The interaction of that phenomenon with other morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic phenomena has been amply investigated in the literature. In this paper I investigate the interaction between the interpretation of indefinites and subject positions in Classical/Standard Arabic.

Indefinite NPs are treated by Russell (1919) as existential quantifiers. The statement in (1a), for instance, becomes the formula in (1b).

(1) a.   A woman is angry.
     b. $\exists x[\text{woman}(x) \,\&\, \text{angry}(x)]$

The formula in (1b) simply states that there is something such that it is both a woman and angry. In other words, there is a d in the domain of individuals such that d is both a woman and angry.

However, Lewis (1975) points out the quantificational variability of indefinite NPs. He contends that depending on the context in which indefinites occur they can vary in quantificational force. That quantificational variability speaks against analyzing indefinite NPs as existential quantifiers.

(2) a.   A truck driver usually drives slowly.
     b.   A truck driver seldom drives fast.

As the two statements in (2) show, the indefinite takes its quantificational force from another element in the sentence, *usually* in (2a), and *seldom* in (2b). Therefore, it is concluded that the indefinite is not simply existentially quantified.

Chastain (1975), Donnellan (1978), Wilson (78) and Fodor and Sag (1982) hold that indefinites are ambiguous between referential and quantificational interpretations. Fodor and Sag (1982), for instance, maintains that indefinites are either specific or referential, or they are non-specific or existential. Consider the contrast between (3) and (4) (Fodor and Sag 1982: 369ff).

(3)   John overheard the rumor that each student of mine had been called before the dean. (*the rumor > each student*; **each student > the rumor*)

(4)   John overheard the rumor that a student of mine had been called before the dean. (*the rumor > a student*; *a student > the rumor*)

The universal phrase *each student* in (3) can only take narrow scope with regard to the definite NP *the rumor*. It cannot take wide scope because of an island constraint. The indefinite NP *a student* in (4), on the other hand, can take both narrow and wide scope with regard to the definite NP *the rumor* highlighting a scope ambiguity. When the indefinite NP takes wide scope, it has a specific reading, while it has a non-specific reading if it has narrow scope. The fact that indefinites behave differently with regard to scope phenomena from quantifiers, as evidenced by the contrast between (3) and (4), leads Fodor and Sag (1982) to conclude that indefinites have another use other than the quantificational use. In particular, they contend that indefinites are referential. They argue that if indefinites are quantificational, then we expect them to behave like quantifiers with regard to scope. Specifically, it is expected that indefinites respect island constraints in the same way that quantifiers do. But indefinites don't obey island constraints. Consequently, Fodor and Sag (1982) conclude that indefinites are existential as well as referential.

Lewis' (1975) observation regarding the quantificational variability of indefinites has given the impetus to Kamp-Heim approach to indefinites (cf. Kamp 1981; Heim 1982). According to Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982), indefinites introduce variables into a representation. Those variables are bound by an operator. In (2a) above, for instance, the indefinite *a truck driver* introduces a variable that is bound by the quantificational adverb *usually*. In a sentence that doesn't contain a quantificational element, such as the adverbs in (2a, b), the variable that is introduced by the indefinite is bound by an implicit existential quantifier.

(5)   A man is at the door.

The necessity of the implicit existential quantifier lies in the ban over unbound variables in a logical representation. Existential closure induced by the implicit existential quantifier binds the variable established in the representation by the indefinite *a man* in (5).

In a statement containing a quantifier, a more complicated structure emerges.

(6)   Every girl brought a flower.

The statement in (6) has a tripartite structure consisting of an operator, a restrictive clause, and the nuclear scope. First we have the universal quantifier *every* and the variable x that the quantifier binds. That variable is introduced by the indefinite *girl*. Second, we have the restrictive clause which simply states that the variable x is *a girl*. Lastly, we have the nuclear scope that states that there exists y such that y is *a flower*, and x brought y. As indicated by Diesing (1992: 7), Kamp's and Heim's approach can be represented as box splitting (cf. 7).

(7)
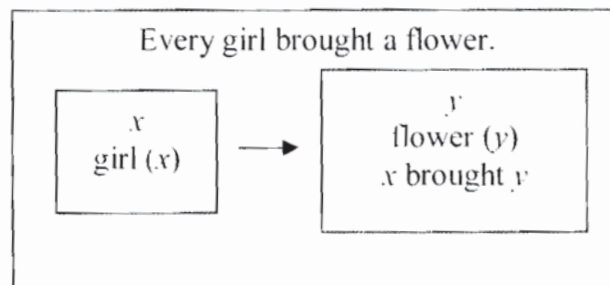
The box to the left of the arrow represents the restrictive clause, that to the right of it represents the nuclear scope.

Diesing (1992) aspires to delineate the mechanism through which in the mapping from S-structure to the logical representation a sentence is divided into a restrictive clause and a nuclear scope. Put differently, she tries to explain the role that is played by the syntactic structure of the sentence in the interpretation of the NPs it

contains. To reach that goal she adopts the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis[1], proposed by Koopman and Sportiche (1985), Fukui and Speas (1986), Kitagawa (1986) and Kuroda (1988), among many others, and the tripartite logical representations of Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982).

The proposal that Diesing (1992) posits is that there is a mapping procedure that splits the syntactic tree into two parts, which are then mapped into the restrictive clause and the nuclear scope. She (1992: 9) depicts the syntactic representation of the Mapping Hypothesis as in (8).

(8)

IP
Spec   I'
        I
                        ← restrictiv clause

                VP
        Spec   V'
nuclear scope →
                V   XP

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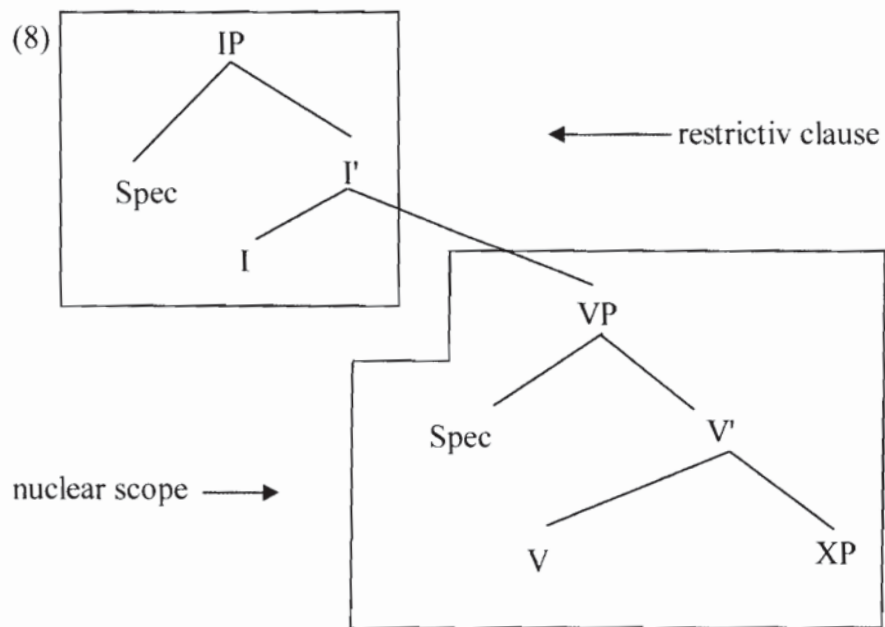
(1) The VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis is the hypothesis that subjects are generated in the specifier of VP.

I discuss the Mapping Hypothesis in light of data from Classical/Standard Arabic in section 3. Prior to that, I present analyses of verb movement in Classical/Standard Arabic.

2. Verb movement and word order in Classical/Standard Arabic

Classical/Standard Arabic[2] demonstrates two alternative word orders: Subject-Verb-Object (henceforth SVO) and Verb-Subject-Object (henceforth VSO) (cf. Aoun *et al* 2010; Pelled 2009; Benmamoun 2000 for a detailed discussion). The VSO and SVO orders are exemplified in (9) and (10) respectively (cf. Plunkett 1993).

(9)   ðahab-a   l-at faal-u
        left-3S   the-children-NOM
        'The children left.'

(10)   l- at faal-u   ðahab-uu
        the-children-NOM   left-3P
        'The children left.'

As can be seen from (9) and (10)[3], the agreement system in Classical/Standard Arabic is determined mainly by the order of the subject in relation to the verb. The subject agrees with the verb in the SV (Cf. 10) order but not in the VS order (Cf. 9). In the VS order, the verb displays the default third person singular features.

In the following two subsections a number of analyses of this agreement phenomenon are discussed.

2.1 V^0-to-I^0 movement

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(2) The transcription system of the Classical/Standard Arabic data that is adopted in this paper is based on the phonemic transcription system of Classical/Standard Arabic that is adopted in the *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association* (1999) (pp. 51-54).

3 The following conventions are used in the glosses: NOM = nominative; ACC = accusative; GEN = genitive; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person; S = singular; P = plural; PASS = passive; F = Feminine; M = Masculine.

Mohammed (1989, 1990, 1999) argues that the VSO order in Classical/Standard Arabic is derived from SVO via verb movement.

(11) nijm-a   taħta   :- adˁˁarat-i
(Ouhalla, 1994: 44)
       slept-PASS-3S   under   the-tree-GEN
   'It has been slept under the tree.'

In (11), the impersonal passive verb *nijma* 'slept' displays the third person singular morpheme *–a*. The fact that this verb, which takes a non-argument subject, displays the default third person singular features leads Mohammed (1989, 1990, 1999) to argue that the subject in (11) is an expletive *pro* which is in Spec-Head agreement with a default AGR$_S$ category. Based on the fact that sentences with postverbal subjects, such as (9), resemble the sentence in (11), Mohammed (1989, 1990, 1999) argues that sentences with postverbal subjects instantiate an expletive *pro* subject in addition to the lexical subject in the postverbal position. Adopting the Subject-Internal Hypothesis (Emonds 1980; Sproat 1985; among others), he argues that in VSO sentences the subject occupies the thematic subject position (Spec, VP) while the grammatical subject position (Spec, IP) is occupied by an expletive element. He argues, furthermore, that the VSO order is derived by moving the verb to I^0. This derivation is represented in (12).

(12)
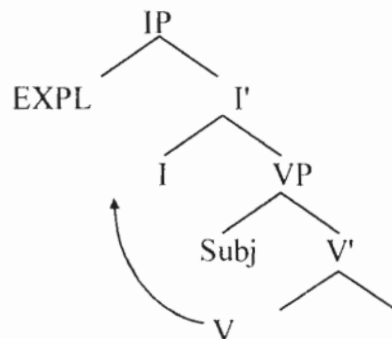
The thematic subject in (12) is not in a Spec-Head agreement relation with I. This gives an explanation for why postverbal subjects do not agree with AGR$_S$. Let us explore the derivation of a VSO sentence such as that in (9).

(13)
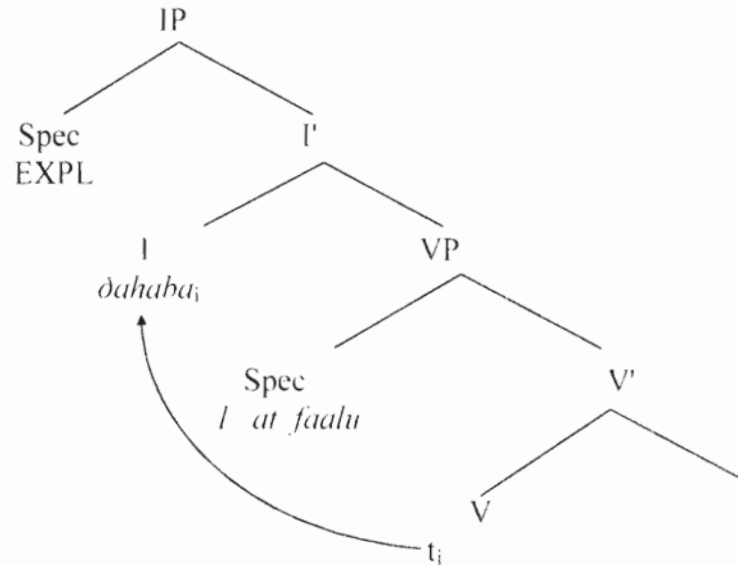
The subject *l̩ at faalu* 'the children' in (13) cannot move to the specifier of the inflectional phrase due to the assumption that that position is already filled with an expletive element. One piece of evidence that supports this conclusion is that the agreement morphology is the default third person singular. Since the overt subject of the sentence is plural, a plausible explanation of the agreement facts on the verb is that it agrees with an expletive *pro* subject. A very strong evidence in that direction is the similarity in agreement morphology between the verb in a regular VSO sentence such as that in (13) and that of the impersonal passive verb in (11).

2.2 V^0-to-Agr^0-to-I^0 movement

Ouhalla (1994) derives VSO order in a similar way as that proposed by Mohammed (1989) via movement of the verb, but he posits a slightly different structure in which a T(ense) P(hrase) is

higher than an Agr(eement) P(hrase) which dominates the VP. Consider (14).

(14)
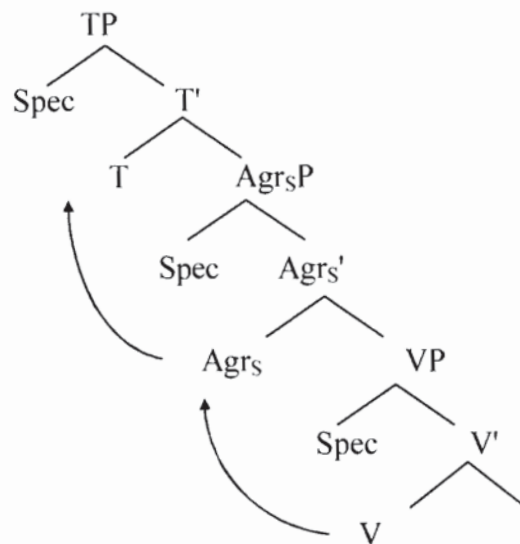
This proposal is based on the order of the AGR_S and T morphemes in verbal complexes in Classical/Standard Arabic as evidenced by the structure in (15).

(15)   sa-ja-zuuru   l- awlaad-u   χaal-a-hum
(Ouhalla 1994: 45)
        will-3S-visit   the-boys-NOM   uncle-ACC-their
        'The boys will visit their uncle.'

The tense future morpheme *sa* 'will' in (15) is higher than the third singular agreement morpheme *ja*. Along the lines of the Mirror Principle (Baker 1988), Ouhalla argues that this morphological hierarchy reflects a structural one that is different from the one proposed for languages in which the agreement morphemes are higher than tense morphemes. An instance of this latter type of structure is proposed by Chomsky (1991) and Belletti (1990; 2009) for English and Romance languages. Assuming the structure in

(14), Ouhalla argues that V-movement to Agr^0 and then to T^0 in Classical/Standard Arabic invariably leaves the subject behind, whether the latter is in Spec of AGR_S or Spec of VP.

2.3 Does Agr project?

Under the influence of a number of studies, particularly that of Pollock (1989)[4], in the late eighties of the last century, a separate projection was proposed for agreement. Nevertheless, a theory was proposed in many studies, including Iatridou (1990), Benmamoun (1992, 1993) and Chomsky (1995), among others, to the effect that agreement does not head an independent syntactic projection. Iatridou (1990), for instance, argues that positing agreement phrases when analyzing adverb ordering in English and French makes an account of word order in them problematic. Furthermore, Chomsky (1995) maintains that Agr is a relational notion. He contends that the properties of the Agr functional category are not manifested at the interface levels. Therefore, that functional category is conceptually unnecessary. Consequently, the new idea that agreement is a relational rather than a functional notion has become predominant.

2.4 Merger of verb and subject

Benmamoun (2000) maintains that the agreement asymmetry in Classical/Standard Arabic, as manifested by the contrast between the examples in (9) and (10), can be explained if we assume that two different operations are responsible for the asymmetry.
He contends that in the full agreement situation (cf. 10 above) the number agreement is spelled out through attaching an affix to the verb. He argues, on the other hand, that the partial agreement configuration is obtained through merger of the verb and the subject. Specifically, he maintains that the reason why the verb in Classical/Standard Arabic displays the default third person singular in VSO order is that the verb merges with the subject, making it unnecessary for the verb to display full agreement with the subject.

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4 Prior to Pollock (1989), one intermediate projection had been proposed between VP and CP, i.e. IP. Pollock (1989) proposes to decompose IP into an Agreement Phrase (AgrP) and Tense Phrase (TP).

The agreement morphology of the verb will be redundant because the subject with which the verb merges carries agreement features. He (2000: 128f) argues that while the subject in Classical/Standard Arabic in the SVO order may be in the Spec of TP, the subject in the VSO order is in the Spec of VP. Benmamoun (2000: 128) proposes the structure in (16) to represent the derivation of the VSO order in Classical/Standard Arabic.

(16)

```
                    TP
                  /    \
               Spec     T'
                       /   \
                     T       VP
                     |      /   \
                 T + V_pi  Spec    V'
                           |       |
                          Subj_p    V
                                    |
                                    t_i
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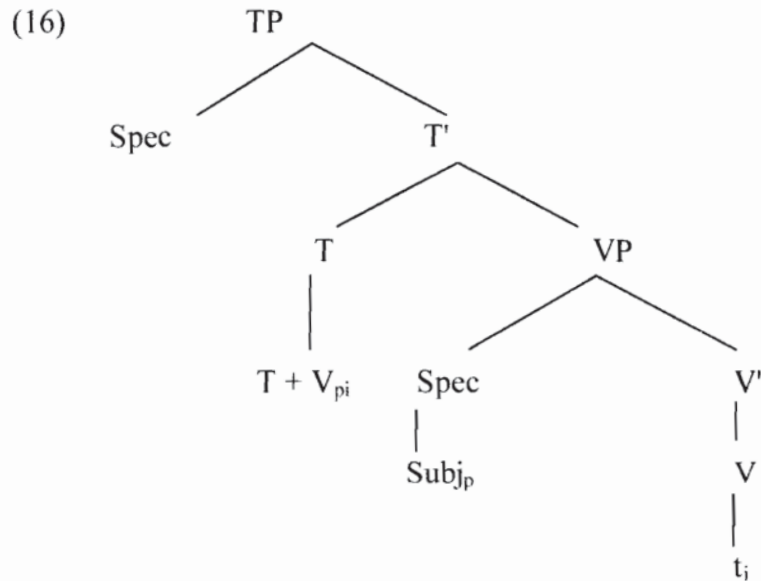
2.5 The government-agreement approach

Harbert and Bahloul (2002) argue that a difference in syntactic conditions is responsible for the agreement asymmetry in Classical/Standard Arabic. Specifically, they contend that in the SVO order, there is a Spec-Head relation between the subject and the verb, while in the VSO order, the agreement relation is a result of a relationship of government between the verb and the subject. They attribute the fact that verb agrees with the subject in the VSO order in gender but not in number to the assumption that number features are not visible for agreement under government. Gender features, on the other hand, are visible for agreement under government because they are inherent features of lexical nouns.

I shall assume from now on that the verb in Classical/Standard Arabic moves to a position higher than the subject. I shall assume, furthermore, that the VSO order is indeed derived from the alternative SVO order. The question whether the subject moves at LF to a position higher than the verb is investigated in section 5 below.

In section 3, I discuss the question whether verb movement in Classical/Standard Arabic has any effect on the interpretation of indefinite subjects in Classical/Standard Arabic. Specifically, the effect of this verb movement on the specificity of the subject is investigated.

3. The interpretation of indefinite subjects

It is observed cross-linguistically that there are two types of indefinite subject interpretations. The first interpretation is quantificational, including specific and generic readings; the other interpretation is non-quantificational, consisting of non-specific non-generic readings. On the other hand, it is observed also that there are two types of subject positions for indefinite NPs: the higher one is associated with specific or generic readings, while the lower one is associated with non-specific non-generic readings. To explain the reason why a specific indefinite subject is higher than a non-specific indefinite subject, Diesing (1992) proposes a Mapping Hypothesis sketched in the following subsection (3.1.).

3.1 The Mapping Hypothesis

As I have previously indicated, Diesing (1992) adopts the tripartite quantificational structure proposed in Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982). To capture the structural generalization of the specific/non-specific dichotomy, she proposes a tree splitting mechanism whereby VP maps into the nuclear scope (the domain of the existential closure) and IP maps into the restriction (of an operator).

(15)   Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992: 10)
        Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.
        Material from IP is mapped into a restrictive clause.

According to Diesing (1992), in order for an indefinite subject to be specific it has to be outside the nuclear scope (VP) at Surface Structure or to undergo movement at LF outside the nuclear scope. The Mapping Hypothesis is supported in Longobardi (2000).

Tsai (1998) extends the formulation in (15) to account for cross-linguistic variations such as the Dutch and Chinese structures in (16) and (17).

(16)   Dutch
   a. ... [zes mannen] arriveerden.
      ... six men   arrived
      '... six specific men arrived.'
   b. *... [een man] arriveerde.
      ... a   man arrived
      '... a person arrived.'

(17)   Chinese
   a. *... [liu-ge ren] dao-le.
      ... six-CL person arrive-Prf
      '... six persons arrived.'
   b. ... [yi-ge ren] dao-le.
      ... one-CL person arrive-Prf
      '... a certain person arrived.'

Tsai (1998) argues that the Mapping Hypothesis doesn't account for the deviance of (16b) and (17a). The NP *een man* 'a man' in (16b) should be able to undergo lowering because its determiner is [-strong]. The same thing holds for the NP *liu-ge ren* 'six persons' in (17a). In (16b) and (17a), the existential closure applying on the upper VP node cannot license a subject indefinite in the lower [Spec, IP]. To account for these problems, Tsai proposes the Extended Mapping Hypothesis.

3.2 The Extended Mapping Hypothesis
The essence of the Extended Mapping Hypothesis is to provide a theory of subject specificity that provides a parametric account of cross-linguistic variations and parallels and accounts for both lexical as well as structural factors.

(18)   Extended Mapping Hypothesis (Tsai, 1998)

(i) Mapping applies cyclically, and vacuous quantification is checked derivationally.

(ii) Material from a syntactic predicate is mapped into the nuclear scope of a mapping cycle.

(iii) Material from XP immediately dominating the subject chain of a syntactic predicate (excluding that predicate) is mapped outside the nuclear scope of a mapping cycle. A subject chain is an A-chain with its tail in a subject position.

(iv) Existential closure applies to the nuclear scope of a mapping cycle.

One immediate consequence of the Extended Mapping Hypothesis is an explanation of the deviance of (16b) and (17a) attributed to vacuous quantification. Thus, (16b) and (17a) are ruled out because the variable introduced by the embedded subject indefinite is unbound within the lowest mapping cycle, i.e., the complement IP.

One of the basic assumptions of the Extended Mapping Hypothesis is that verb movement extends the domain of a syntactic predicate, and hence the nuclear scope. Tsai gives English as an example of such a configuration. In English, V^0 moves to I^0. Thus, Tsai proposes that the primary predicate and corresponding nuclear scope in English extends from V' to I' at LF. The head of the subject chain will be above the nuclear scope, but the tail will be within the local nuclear scope and subject to existential closure.

(19) [Tsai, 17]
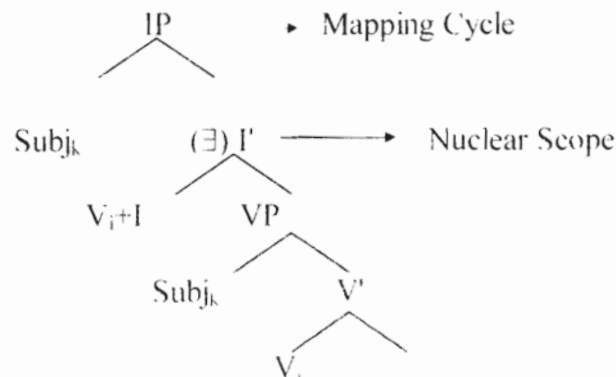
Adopting the Copy Theory of movement (Chomsky, 1993), Tsai proposes that chain-formation leaves a copy rather than a trace. When the lower copy [Spec, VP] is deleted, the upper copy [Spec, IP] is strongly quantified (because there is no existential closure). When the upper copy [Spec, IP] is deleted, the lower copy [Spec, VP] is within the local nuclear scope and subject to existential closure on I' (the non-specific reading is derived).

I argue that neither Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis nor Tsai's (1998) Extended Mapping Hypothesis accounts for the specificity phenomenon in Classical/Standard Arabic, which is presented below.

4.1 Specificity in Classical/Standard Arabic

An indefinite NP in Classical/Standard Arabic can be assigned one of three possible cases: nominative, accusative or genitive. I argue that an indefinite NP in Classical/Standard Arabic can be either specific (in the sense of Enç 1990) or non-specific. I will first present cases where indefinites are interpreted as nonspecific. Consider (21).

(21) a. χarad -at   fataat-un
          went out-3SF-NOM   girl-NOM
          'A girl went out.'
      b. d aa a   t aalib-un
          saw-3S-NOM   student-NOM
          'A student came.'

In (21), the indefinite NPs, *fataat* 'a girl' in (21a) and *t aalib* 'a student' in (21b), are non-specific. The discourse referents of those indefinite NPs are novel, i.e., they are unrelated to previously established referents. In this case the second index of each NP in (21) is indefinite. Thus those indefinite NPs are nonspecific.

There are, nevertheless, cases where an indefinite NP in Classical/Standard Arabic is specific. Consider (22).

(22)　a.　kaan-a　　　hunaak-a　　fatajaat-un　　fī　　l-manzil-i

were-AGR　　there-AGR　　girl-PL-NOM　　in　　the-house-GEN

'There were girls in the club.'

　　　　b.　χaraj-a　　θalaaθ-un　　min　　l-fatajaat-i　　ila l-hadiiqat-i

went-AGR　　three-ACC　　of　　the-girls-GEN　　to the-backyard-GEN

'Three of the girls went out to the backyard.'

The indefinite NP in the partitive *θalaaθun min lfatajaati* 'three of the girls' in (22b) is specific. This is indeed the case since given (22a) this is the only interpretation that is available for that indefinite. Consequently, we assume, following Enç (1991), that in (22b) the second index of the indefinite NP *θalaaθun* 'three' is a subset of the set of possible referents identified by the first index of the definite NP *lfatajaati* contained in the partitive NP. The discourse referent of the indefinite NP is distinct from previously established discourse referents. Thus that indefinite NP obeys the Novelty Condition. The difference between (22b) and (21a, b) is that the discourse referent of the indefinite NP in (21a, b) is unrelated to previously established referents. Notice that even if we replace the indefinite NP *θalaaθun* 'three' in (21b) with a regular indefinite NP, such as *fataatun* 'a girl.'

　　　　In this paper I use such a structure as that in (22b) to investigate the specificity status of the indefinite subject in Classical/Standard Arabic.

5. Specific subjects inside the nuclear scope
To examine the interaction between verb movement and specificity in Classical/Standard Arabic, consider (23) and (24).

(23)　a.　uuhid-at　　numuur-un　　fī　　l- aabat-i
have been seen-3SF　　tigers-NOM　　in　　the-woods-GEN

'Tigers have been seen in the woods.'

b.　　　haadɹam-at　　　xamsat-un　　min　n-numuur-i
l-qarjat-a
　　　　　　　　attacked-3SF　　　five-NOM　　of　　the-tigers-GEN
the-village-ACC
　　　　　　　　'Five of the tigers attacked the village.'
(24)　a.　　da□aa　　l-mudiir-u　　　muwaðð afijn
ila　manzil-i-hi
　　　　　　　　invited-3S　the-manager-NOM　employees-GEN
to　house-GEN-his
　　　　　　　　'The manager invited employees to his house.'
　　　　　b.　　□ataa　　ba□d -un　　min　l-muwaðð afijn
qabl-a　　l-maw□id-i
　　　　　　　　came-3S　　some-NOM　of　the-employees-GEN
before-ACC　the-time-GEN
　　　　　　　　'Some of the employees came before the appointed
time.'

The NP *χamsatun min nnumuuri* 'five of the tigers' in (23b) and the
NP *ba□d un min lmuwaðð afijn* 'some of the employees' in
(24b) can have only specific readings.

　　　　As can be seen in (23b) and (24b), the word order is VSO.
As I have argued earlier (Cf. the end of 2.2), the indefinite subject
in such a configuration will not be able to raise at LF to a position
higher than the verb. Nevertheless, the subject in (23b) and (24b) is
specific. This configuration creates a dilemma that can be
accounted for by neither Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis
(Cf. 7) nor Tsai's (1998) Extended Mapping Hypothesis (Cf. 18).

　　　　Let us explore the representations proposed by Diesing
(1992) and Tsai (1998) in light of the subject position in
Classical/Standard Arabic in the structures that are proposed in
Mohammed (1989) and Ouhalla (1994).

(25)
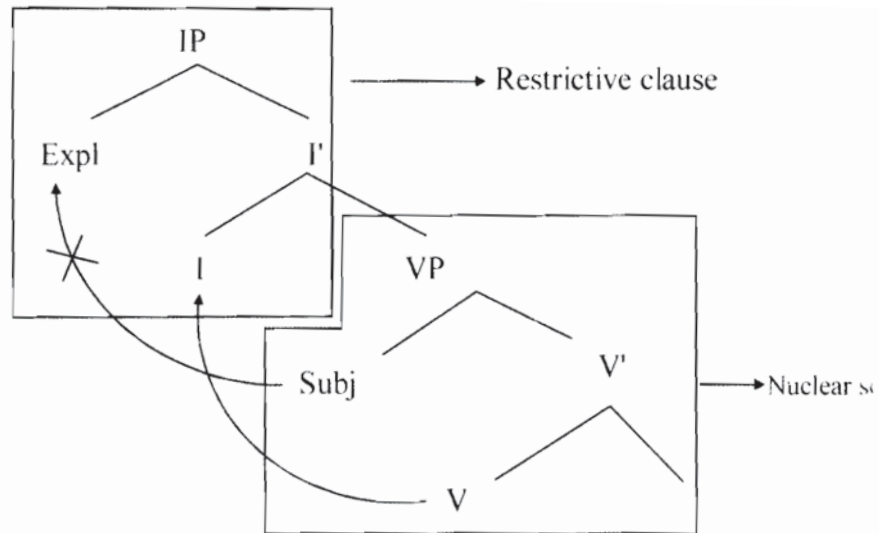
We argue that Diesing's (1992) proposal that in order for an indefinite subject to be specific it has to be outside the nuclear scope (VP) at Surface Structure or to undergo movement at LF outside the nuclear scope is not borne out. Furthermore, Tsai's (1998) prediction that verb movement extends the domain of the nuclear scope of a quantificational structure doesn't find support in the Classical/Standard Arabic data, as evidenced by the structure in (23b) and (24b). As shown in (25), while it is acceptable to move the head of the verb phrase to the head of the inflectional phrase, which is the case in Classical/Standard Arabic, moving the subject from the specifier of the verb phase to the specifier of the inflectional phrase is unacceptable. That unacceptability is due to the well-supported assumption that the target of the movement is already filled with an expletive element.

نقل الفعل وتأويل اسماء النكرة
د. عبدالرحمن بن حمد المنصور

(26)

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          IP ──────► Mapping Cycle
         /  \
     Subjₖ   (∃) I' ──────► Nuclear Scope
            /  \
        Vᵢ+I    VP
               /  \
           Subjₖ   V'
                  /  \
                 tᵢ
```

6. Subject movement

One remaining aspect of the argument so far presented is related to the possibility of subject movement to a position higher than the verb in light of the structure proposed by Ouhalla (1994), as depicted in (14), and the analyses proposed by Benmamoun (2000) and Harbert and Bahloul (2002).

On the one hand, adopting Ouhalla's (1994) structure means that the subject has the ability to move outside the nuclear scope, i.e. to Spec of AgrS. On the other hand, the analyses proposed by Benmamoun (2000) and Harbert and Bahloul (2002) leave open the possibility that subject moves to a position outside the nuclear scope. Nevertheless, I argue that this type of movement is not allowed due to a well-supported assumption that the only position to which the subject can move is already filled with another component.

One piece of evidence against subject movement outside the nuclear scope in Classical/Standard Arabic is, as Mohammed (1989) points out, the situation where an expletive subject is embedded under a complementizer such as *anna* 'that.' The complementizer forces the expletive subject to be lexicalized. This is followed by a cliticization of the expletive subject onto the complementizer.

(27)   zu ima   anna-hu   maata
        l- aalim-u

claimed-PASS   that-it   died-3SM   the-
scholar-NOM
    'It is claimed that the scholar died.'

A further piece of evidence supporting this claim is the contrast between the two structures in (28) and (29).

(28)   zu ima   anna   l- aalim-a
        maata
        claimed-PASS   that   the-scholar-ACC
        died-3SM
        'It is claimed that the scholar died.'
(29) * zu ima   anna-hu   l- aalim-u
        maata
        claimed-PASS   that-it   the-scholar-NOM
        died-3SM
        'It is claimed that the scholar died.'

The structure in (29) shows that the lexicalized expletive -*hu* 'it' and the NP *l aalimu* 'the scholar' are in complementary distribution. This in turn means that the two components are competing for the same syntactic position. We can conclude, consequently, that the expletive -*hu* 'it' in a VSO sentence such as (27) occupies the subject position. Hence, it is impossible for the postverbal subject to move to the position which is already occupied by the expletive subject.

7. Specificity as a semantic/pragmatic notion
A better explanation of the phenomenon of specific indefinite subjects can be obtained if we treat specificity as a semantic/pragmatic phenomenon rather than a syntactic notion. Two prominent accounts of specificity are considered in this regard in this paper. I propose a synthesis of those two accounts to explain subject specificity. Specifically, I maintain that an indefinite subject becomes specific by virtue of being anchored to the speaker of the sentence (von Heusinger 2002) or by virtue of being linked to another discourse item by a contextually salient relation. First I briefly sketch those two accounts.

The first account of specificity that we consider in this paper is presented in Enç (1991). In a seminal work, Enç (1991) proposes an account of the phenomenon of specificity that has been adopted in a myriad of studies (Cecchetto 1994; Campbell 1996; Enç 1999; Karimi 1999; among many others). Enç (1991) argues that although indefinite NPs in some languages are not marked with respect to specificity, in some languages indefinite NPs in certain positions are not ambiguous with respect to specificity. The ambiguity present in the case of English is resolved in some languages by overt case morphology. She argues that every NP carries two indices the first of which represents the referent of the NP. Furthermore, she argues that each index of the two bears a definiteness feature. The definiteness feature on the first index determines the definiteness of the NP. The definiteness feature on the second index determines the specificity of the NP. Hence, she proposes the formula in (30).

(30)   Every $[_{NP} \alpha]$ $<ij>$ is interpreted as α (X_i) and
         $X_i \subseteq X_j$ if NP $<ij>$ is plural
         $\{X_i\} \subseteq X_j$ if NP $<ij>$ is singular.

(30) states that the second index of the NP identifies a set of possible referents of which the first index, which is the referent of the NP, is a subset. If the discourse referent is familiar (previously established in the domain of discourse), the second index is definite. If the discourse referent is novel (not established in the prior context), the second index is definite if the NP is specific, indefinite if the NP is non-specific. While a specific indefinite is only required to obey the Novelty Condition, which states that its discourse referent must be distinct from previously established discourse referents, the discourse referent of a non-specific indefinite is further required to be unrelated to previously established referents.

The other account of specificity that we consider in this paper is proposed in von Heusinger (2002). Von Heusinger (2002: 24) argues that specificity is a referential anchoring relation between an expression and another object in the discourse. He

contends that for an NP to be specific its referent must be functionally dependent on the referent of another expression. He maintains that the referential anchoring relation must be sentence bound. This means that the discourse item to which a specific NP is anchored either is explicit in the same sentence, or is the speaker of the sentence. von Heusinger (2002: 25) formulates the Specificity Condition in (X1) below.

(31) (Specificity Condition
      An NP_i in a sentence ϕ with respect to a file F and the Domain of filenames $Dom(\phi)$ is [+ specific] if there is a contextual salient function f such that $i = f(j)$ and $j \in Dom(\phi)$

(31) states that in an example such (32) the specific NP *a (certain) task* can be anchored to the object of the sentence, *Bill*, to the subject of the sentence, *each student*, or to the speaker of the utterance.

(32) Bill gave each student a (certain) task to work on.

Since the subject is the leftmost nominal constituent in a sentence, I argue that an indefinite subject can be specific in two cases. On the one hand, it becomes specific if it is anchored to the speaker of the utterance, in the sense of von Heusinger (2002). On the other hand, it becomes specific if its referent is linked to another discourse item by a contextually salient relation, in the sense of Enç (1991). To explicate this proposal, consider the sentences in (23), reproduced here in (33).

(33) a.   uuhid-at   numuur-un   fi   l-aabat-i
              have been seen-3SF   tigers-NOM   in   the-woods-GEN
              'Tigers have been seen in the woods.'

b.　haad□am-at　　xamsat-un　　min　n-numuur-i
l-qarjat-a

attacked-3SF　　five-NOM　　of　　the-tigers-GEN
the-village-ACC

'Five of the tigers attacked the village.'

The subject NP *xamsatun min nnumuuri* 'five of the tigers' can be specific if its referent is referentially anchored to the speaker of the utterance, or if that referent is linked to another discourse item that is previously established in the domain of discourse, such as the referent of the NP *numuurun* 'tigers' in (33a).

7. Conclusion

I have argued in this paper that neither Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis nor Tsai's (1998) Extended Mapping Hypothesis captures the specificity phenomenon of indefinite subjects in Classical/Standard Arabic. Based on analyses proposed by Mohammed (1989) and Ouhalla (1994), I have argued that an indefinite subject in Classical/Standard Arabic VSO sentences cannot undergo LF movement because the target position is already filled with an expletive element, and that it can be at the same time specific. I have maintained that the specificity of the indefinite subject in Classical/Standard Arabic is a function of semantic/pragmatic conditions.

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