

Syntactic Ordering and Semantic Aspects of Adjective and adjectival phrases in Arabic

التركيب النحوي والسمات الدلالية للصفات وجمل الوصف في العربية

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses adjective and adjectival phrases in Standard (SA), Hijazi (HA) and Palestinian (PA) Arabic and their hierarchical ordering both pre- and post-nominally within their NPs. As one of the main aims of this paper, syntactic ordering and alternations are discussed within the broad lines of the minimalist theoretical framework in which an adjective is considered both a head (X^0) and a phrase (X^{max}). Another objective of this paper is to elaborate upon semantic interpretations in order to distinguish the minimal characteristics of adjectives and the adjectivals in Arabic. Despite the fact that this topic has received very little attention in Arabic Linguistics, conclusions on cross-linguistic data are found to a large extent applicable to Arabic within its basic typological description.

الخلاصة

يناقش هذا البحث التراكيب والسمات اللغوية للصفات وجمل الوصف في العربية ، وهي اللغة المكتوبة واللهجتين الحجازية والفلستينية كما يناقش تركيبها وترتيبها النحوي كما تقع سابقة او لاحقة للإسم الذي تصفة في داخل الفقرة الإسمية (NP). حيث أن تبادل المواقع النحوية وتغيرها بالنسبة للصفات يتم مناقشتها في الإطار العام للهيكل النظري (مبني ماليتي) الذي يعتبر أن الصفات هي الكلمة الرئيسية (X^0) وهي في نفس الوقت الفقرة وهي (X^{max}) في داخل الفقرة الإسمية (NP). ولقد تم التوصل في هذا البحث كهدف أساسي الى ضرورة إدراج دراسة السمات الدلالية مع التركيب النحوي مما يساعد على التمييز الأفضل لتراكيب وسمات الصفات المنطبقة عليها قواعد اللغة من تلك التي لا تنطبق عليها هذه القواعد الوظيفية. وبالرغم من أنه لم يحظى هذا الموضوع بالحظ الوفير من التحليل والدراسة اللغوية مسبقا في نفس الإطار النظري السابق ذكره، إلا أن نتائج بعض الدراسات اللغوية المتعلقة بموضوعنا نجدها مرتبطة ومفيدة

لموضوع هذا البحث وخاصة فيما يتعلق بالإلتقاء اللغوي بين اللغات. ونجد أن جميع نتائج هذه الدراسات
منطبقة الى حد كبير على علم قواعد اللغة العربية.

Introduction

Adjective Phrases (APs) function as specifiers of head nouns (HNs) within their NPs,^{(1),(2),(3)} and⁽⁴⁾. In structural terms, APs are extensions of the HN they modify. The N' is extended to include the AP which is both the sister and the daughter of N',⁽⁵⁾. APs overlap with adverbs,⁽⁶⁾ and ⁽⁷⁾, when the former enjoy some aspectual freedom in changing their position, and hence are called "adjuncts". Adjuncts according to Freidin⁽⁸⁾ have one basic criterion for judging them, whether adjectives (APs), or adverbs, and that is when they appear to be free in their ordering.

APs in Arabic (standard and dialects) are productive and occur mostly in post- nominal order; the term 'Arabic' may sometimes be used loosely to refer to the standard and dialects when syntactic/semantic features are found to be similar. APs' 'serialization' observe a 'mirror image' ordering,⁽⁹⁾ in that found in Adj>Noun languages, such as English. Arabic typology involves both pre-nominal and post-nominal APs. Syntactically, APs that occur pre-nominally are mostly found in SA formal style, or in focused marked usages, less frequently than the post-nominal APs. When used pre-nominally, they structurally bear the grammatical case of DP-head while the genitive is assigned to HN. APs used pre-nominally carry no article or possessive marker in SA, as in:

1. *Hulw-u l- Hadii0 - I* (SA)

sweet – Nom the – talk - Genitive

"sweet talking ..."

The ordering of Adj>Noun, as in 1 above, resembles that of English adjectives, where the structure manifests left-branching analysis. However, AP ordering in Arabic is post-nominal most frequently. Post-

nominal APs carry the definite article and inflect for case, number and gender following their HN, as in:

- 2a.** *2al – Hadii0 – u* *l- Hulw – u* (SA)
 the – talking-(Nom.Masc.Sing) the –sweet–Nom(Masc.Sing)
 " sweet talking..."
- 2b.** *2as – sawwaag* *iz-zaki* (HA)
 The – driver (Masc.Sing) the–clever (Masc.Sing)
 "The clever driver"
- 2c.** *I- 9ulb – a* *l – maftuuH-a* (PA)
 the–tin –(Fem.Sing) the – opened –(Fem.Sing)
 "The opened tin"

Morphologically, the definite article *2al*– "the" in **2a** above assimilated when it is followed by any of the consonants: /s.S.sh.t.T.d.dh.D.z/. *al*–, in **2c** above, is assimilated to *2as*- and *iz*-. Case inflection is explicit in SA as in the Nom. *-u* in 2a above, and disappears in most Arabic dialects.

APs in this paper are those which typically occur as attributes of their HNs, as in the following illustration from English:

3. The tall man ...

APs can also be adjoined (or stacked) both in English and in Arabic so that more than one adjective can be found in a single NP. Classic examples of 'Adjective Stacking' in English,⁽¹⁰⁾ are:

4a. A fine old English garden chair

4b. The big old man

Where both 'chair' and 'man' are HNs within the NP. Arabic APs stack post-nominally and adjoined to their HN, as in the following NP:

5. *Sha9ra-ha (l- 2aswad) l-Hilu T- Tawiil n-naa9im*

hair -her (the black) the nice the -long the-soft

"Her soft long nice (black) hair"

The order freely varies to a certain limit in Arabic. In this paper, we try to define the unmarked against the marked order of APs following Fassi-Fehri's conclusions on this point. Within this frame, our hypothesis is that restrictions and freedom in APs word order are bound to their combinational semantic interpretation as well as to their hierarchical syntactic structure in their NP.

II. Theoretical Framework

AP and adjectival Ph ordering in Arabic is determined structurally by meaning and function within their NP,⁽¹¹⁾. Arabic typology as an analytic language, has a right branching analysis of APs and Adj-al Phs against their HNs and accordingly observe certain hierarchical restrictions on ordering. The morphological features are rich both for the modifier and the modified and are carried by both. In this case, the feature sharing is checked in-situ and the APs and Adjectival Phs do not move. 'Feature Checking' according to the Minimalist Program, is when the lexical element has the appropriate features before it checked off (in our case, the adjective has the fi-features of its head-noun). This is a basic relation between the adjective and its head-noun to make it associated with it, and allows the head-noun to 'licence' its adjective modifier,^{(12), (13)} and⁽¹⁴⁾.

The broad lines of the minimalist theory that forms the basis of our study and analysis, where heads (X^0) and phrase maximal projections (X), are all in the same category,⁽¹⁵⁾ and⁽¹⁶⁾. The phrasal categories are not distinguished by their level, and the category that does not project

any further is an AP in the specifier of semantically related function phrase; it is both an X^0 (head) and X^{\max} (Phrase).

Following minimality, APs are treated as adjectives lexical elements and therefore have lexical meaning. They are accordingly associated with the semantic interpretation that sometimes give them the freedom of order flexibility at times in Arabic. This framework of minimality is found to determine both adjectives hierarchical syntactic ordering and their combinational semantic interpretation.

The hierarchically order of attributed adjectives is to a large extent the same across languages, a conclusion accepted by a number of linguistics in this area^{(17), (18), (19), (20)} and⁽²¹⁾. This view is adopted as a basic point and is developed further to include the functional aspects and structural ordering of APs and Adj-al Phs in Arabic.

III. Previous Studies

Although there is much literature on traditional grammar on Arabic adjectives^{(22),(23), (24),(25)} and⁽²⁶⁾, analysis within the latest framework theory of the Minimalist Program is almost nil except for Fassi-Fehri,⁽²⁷⁾ and⁽²⁸⁾. His latest work studies 'layers' in adjective distribution and is mainly within 'Feature Checking' theory where adjectives are treated as functional projection (FP) specifiers. Adjectives distributional alternations of the pre- and post-nominal ordering is described within the leftness view of specifiers. However, a "double" DP structure is essential as a transformational operation and builds the structure to deal with "mirror image" and "mixed order". As for the right surface order, it requires AP or NP raising,⁽²⁹⁾.

The above work is in line with Chinque's views on functional projection specifiers,⁽³⁰⁾ and⁽³¹⁾, and Kayne's leftness view of specifiers,⁽³²⁾ and⁽³³⁾. Kayne's theory on ordering restrictions finds more support in Arabic. However, Sproat and Shih's claim,⁽³⁴⁾ that Arabic post-nominal adjectives are indirect modifiers has been proved to be "incorrect" by Fassi-Fehri⁽³⁵⁾ and⁽³⁶⁾.

Our paper highlights the semantic aspects that correlate with syntactic ordering to formulate yet on related evidence that post nominal Arabic APs and Adj-al Phs directly specify their HN, which is already supported cross-linguistically.

IV. Data/Analysis

IV.1. Data

HA and PA data were collected from informants in natural settings of various social informal contexts. SA data were collected from the Arabic references mentioned in this study.

SA and its dialects (or at least most of them) are to a large extent related in the post-nominal order of APs. But concerning the pre-nominal APs, SA contains some varying usages at the formal level. Dialects use double (or triple) head adjective intensifiers both pre and post-adjectival, whereas they are only post-adjectival in SA.

However, my own findings suggest that they share most APs ordering features within their NP. Views expressed in the following discussion are to a large extent applicable to the Arabic dialects. Nevertheless, the paper restricts itself to the two variants of HA and PA compared with SA. Occasionally, the term "Arabic" is used loosely for the Arabic varieties under scrutiny whenever syntactic and semantic aspects are shared.

IV.2. Analysis and Discussion

The ordering of APs and Adjectival Phrases in Arabic and their distributional alternations with respect to their NP are discussed below. The analysis involves the determiners, demonstrative, intensifier-Adj ordering, ordinals and cardinals, and pre-nominal adjectives. Finally, APs and focus structure casts more light on the interrelation of the syntax and the semantic aspects of APs and Adj-al Phs, which restricts their freedom of ordering, and hence prevents adjectives from being adjunct-like.

IV.2.1. Syntactic Ordering and Semantic Implications for Adjoined APs.

The following is found in both SA and the dialects under discussion in the same order as post nominal adjoined (or stacked) APs. Different classes of APs are found with respect to object-denoting nominals:

6. [NP[HN*l-fustaan*] [AP1*l-yabaani*] [AP2*l-beej*] [AP3*l-Hilu*] [AP4*l-Hariir*]]
 the-dress the-Japanese the-beige the-nice the-silk
 "The nice silk beige Japanese dress".

There are four post-nominal APs in 6 above within their NP and all of which modify their HN: *l-fustaan* "the dress". The above order is the most commonly used and so can be considered as unmarked. All APs inflect for determination (*a*)*l*- "the", following their HN inflection for Det. Each AP belongs to a different class of adjectives, and their relative ordering is by and large the same across languages. These APs in Arabic observe a hierarchical restriction on a serialized ordering as those expressed by Sproat & Shih⁽³⁷⁾ and⁽³⁸⁾:

7. Object Denoting: Quality >size >shape > color > province

But, as was mentioned earlier, Arabic exhibits a 'mirror image' order as explained by Fassi-Fehri,⁽³⁹⁾ of that found in German and Roman language typology.

Restrictions on the 'free' ordering makes the following rearrangement marked in Arabic as:

8. *l-Fustan l-Hilu l-yabaani l-beej l-Hariir* (marked)

The ordering in the above example 8 occurs in a marked Arabic context. Other shiftings of the ordering in the above example may also take place in Arabic, but it will be related to the context which is marked. Similar unmarked/marked AP ordering are found in the following usages:

9a. *sha9ra-ha l- 2aswad l- Hilu T- Tawiil n- naa9im* (unmarked)

hair -her the-black the-nice the- long the-soft

"Her soft long black hair"

9b. *Sha9ra-ha I-Hilu n- naa 9im T-Tawiil l-2aswad* (marked)

Hair -her the-nice the- soft the-long the-black

?* "Her black long soft nice hair"

Though the English order in **9b** is questionable, where the Arabic is marked, AP of the English order is accepted in **9a** above, where the Arabic is unmarked. It has been found,⁽⁴⁰⁾ that semantically more "transparent" adjectives are ordered closer to their head than less transparent ones. The number of adjoined adjectives is limited by the semantic possibilities of modification.

Adjoined adjectives are specifiers of a particular semantic class and so predict ordering restrictions. The following are good examples:

10a. *haadi l- kutub z-zar2a l- ghaam2a li- jdiida* (unmarked)

these the-books the-blue the-dark the-new

"These new dark blue books"

10b. **? haadi l-kutub li-jdiid l-ghaami2 l-2azra2* (marked? or unacceptable)

these the-books the-new the-dark the-blue

*"These blue dark new books"

Neither the Arabic nor the English in **10b** above is acceptable. It is because the specifier-Head relationship is more minimalist and leads to a closer correspondence between the semantic properties and the syntactic ordering of such APs. APs for colors are semantically closer to the HN than quality elements (see **7** above). The order of adjoined (or stacked) APs in Arabic (both standard and dialects) observe the 'mirror image' order,⁽⁴¹⁾ and occur in the unmarked usages, as in **10a** above.

IV.2.2. The order of Adjoined APs with the post-position Adj-al Phs

It has been observed in our Arabic data that if APs and Adj-al Phs occur together and modify one HN, the Adj-al Phs occur in post-position after the APs. It is "minimalist" in its spirit that the APs appear in the inner layer and the Adj-al Phs in the outer layer of their NP. They are still associated with their HN semantic class, as in the following HA and PA usages:

11. [NP[HN *l-kutub*][AP1 *li-jdiida*] [AP2*li-kbiira*]w[S'/Adj-al Ph *bitfiid l-jamee9*]]

the-books the-new the-big and
benefits the-all

"The big new books and (which) benefit everyone"

12. [NP[HN*l-kutub*][AP1 *li-jdiida*][AP2*l-mumti9a*][S'/Adj-al Ph *illi wiSlat ams*]]

the-books the-new the-enjoyable which
arrived yesterday

"The enjoyable new books which arrived yesterday"

13. [NP[HN*l-kutub*][AP1*li-jdiida*][AP2*l-ghaalya*]w[PP/Adj-al Ph*fi l-maktaba l-markaziyya*]]

the-books the-new the-expensive and
in the-library the-central

"The expensive new books in the central library"

Adj-al Phs occur in the three main syntactic structures in the above examples: S' embedded, S' relative clause and PP in **11**, **12** and **13** respectively.

Adjoined APs display case, gender, number and determination inflectional features following their HNs. Thus, within a minimalist view of syntax, ⁽⁴²⁾, they are in specifier positions, close to their HN. The Spec-H relationship is the only structural configuration in which they can have their inflectional features.

However, if APs are postponed after Adj-al Phs, an ill-formed NP is produced in Arabic, as follows:

14. *[NP[HNI-*kutub*][S'/Adj-Ph *illi bitfiid l-jamii9*][AP1*li-jdeeda*][NP2*li-kbiira*]]

the-books which benefit the-everyone
the-new the-big

"The new big books which are beneficial for everybody..."

Similarly, ill-formed NPs are constructed (as in example 14) if 12 and 13 above undergo alternations of the Adj-al Phs with the APs.

We may conclude that Adj-al Phs in an Arabic NP tolerate being more distant from their HN than the adjoined APs when they are

both juxtaposed after an HN. Moreover, Adj-al Phs have closer semantic property association to their HN than the adjoined APs which makes the order important to the position of these adjoined APs in order to make them appear close to their HN.

IV.2.3: The Internal Structure of the Pre and Post double intensifiers

The double intensifiers that intensify H-Adjs in Arabic (SA, HA and PA), are frequently used. They occur in an unmarked context in SA, as follows:

15. *sha9r-u-haa*[AP[H-Adj *jamiil-un*][Int.Ph[Int1 *jidda-an*][Int2 *jidd-an*]]] (SA)

hair-Nom-her nice -Nom very-Acc.
 very-Acc.

"Her hair is very very nice".

The intensifier *jidd-an* is uninflected, and always appears in the accusative form *-an*. Both the inner and outer hierarchical sequence *jidd-an* belong to the H-Adj. They both carry similar semantic intensity to their head and are anchored to it. It seems that both these intensifiers are generated in some kind of manner phrase.

Because SA is formal, it has been found that double intensifiers always follow their H-Adj. and so they are post H-Adj intensifiers. However, in dialect, they enjoy more flexibility than in SA in terms of pre- and post-ordering as H-Adj intensifiers. They can also occur as triple intensifiers in more intensified contexts both in the standard and the dialects examined.

Different intensifier dictions from SA appear in the two Arabic varieties: *marra* is used in HA and *ktiir* in PA. The intensifiers are in pre- H-Adj positioning and occur in unmarked context, as in:

16a. *l-kitaab* [AP[IntPh[Int1*marra*][Int2*marra*]][H-Adj *Sa9b*] (HA)

the-book (is) very very hard

"The book is very very hard"

16b. *l-yoom* [AP[Int.Ph[Int1*ktiir*][Int2 *ktiir*]][H-Adj *Harr*] (PA)

the-today (is) very very hot

"Today is very very hot."

The intensifiers exhibit a non-inflectional form in the dialects, just as in SA, but with no explicit case marker, as the accusative *-an* in SA. They can also be tripled in the H-Adj pre-intensifiers above.

The double intensifiers occur in marked contexts as post H-Adj Ints., but only in PA, whereas HA seems to allow only one post H-Adj intensifier as in:

17a. *l- kitaab* [[Sa9b] [marra]] (HA)
the-book hard very
"The book is very hard."

17b. *l- yoom* [[Harr] [ktiir] [ktiir]] (PA)
the-today hot very very
"Today is very very hot."

The above contexts in HA and PA are marked. More flexibility is exhibited in PA, where the double (and even triple at times) intensifier is possible. The double (single, or triple in more intensified contexts) intensifiers, whether pre- or post-positioned, are anchored to the H-Adj within their AP.

Another related form which alternates with the H-Adj intensifier *marrah* is its transformed PP form *bil-marra* in HA and means the same as *marrah*. It is always found in pre-H-Adj position as in:

18a. *l-mooya* [[bilmarra] [baarda]] (HA)
the-water very cold
"The water is very cold"

18b. *l- harja* [[bilmarra] [Tawiila]] (HA)
the-chatting very long
"The chat is very long."

18c. *shuroog* [[bilmarra] [Hassaasa]] (HA)
Shuroog very sensitive
"Shoroug is very sensitive."

18d. *beeta-ha* [[*bilmarra*] [*magluub*]] (HA)

house-her very untidy

"Her house is very untidy."

The above are selected data where the PP/Int. *bil-marra* pre-modifies its H-Adj. in the equative sentences. Semantically, the closer interaction with syntax becomes more significant, in that *bil-marra* replaces the intensity of the double-intensifier *marra* where they all occur in pre-positioning.

IV.2.4. The order of double intensifiers within the NP

Double intensifiers occur with other APs that modify their HN. In SA, the order of intensifiers is restricted after the H-Adj, and away from the HN, as in the following:

19. *2al-kitaabu l-jadiidu wa S- Sa9bu jiddan jiddan* (SA)

the-book the-new and the-hard very very

"The new and very very hard book"

20. *2al-kitaabu S-Sa9bu wa l-jadiidu jiddan jiddan* (SA)

the-book the-new and the-hard very very

"The hard and the very very new book."

Double intensifiers occur at the outer layer of the NP, and within its H-Adj post-positioning. Their function only extends to the one H-Adj adjacent to it, and does not extend to the higher level of the adjoined AP(s). Accordingly, the above data **19** and **20** have two different meanings when the APs *l-jadiidu* and *S-Sa9bu* alternate recursively.

The syntactic ordering of double intensifiers in the concerned dialectal varieties is in pre-positioning, and it carries similar semantic and syntactic implications as they do in the SA (see data **19** and **20**

above). The following are two usages of HA and PA that exhibit this syntactic ordering:

21. *l-2imtiHaan Tawiil w marra marra sahl* (HA)

the-exam long and very very easy

"The exam is long and very very easy."

22. *beet-hum Hilu w ktiir ktiir mrattab* (PA)

house-their nice and very very tidy

"Their house is nice and very very tidy."

The stacked or adjoined adjectives in the above examples **19**, **20**, **21** and **22** belong to the same categorical and semantic class. One can conclude that if the NP consists of two or more adjoined adjectives that are capable of being recursively stacked, then they belong to the same category and semantic class.

IV. 2.5. Restricted ordering of APs and Adj-al Phs within the same NP

As was concluded at the end of the last section, recursively adjoined APs may occur if they belong to the same category and semantic class. However, the order becomes significant when the categories of the adjoined APs differ. An example of a restricted structure that is focused where both APs and Adj-al Phs occur is the following :

23. [NPhaathi-hil-kutub-u[AP1l-jadiid-at-u]wa[AP2l-mufiid-at-u]

these-Fem the-books-nom the-new-Fem-Nom andthe-useful-Fem.Nom

[S'/R-C 2al-latii ishtaray-t-u-haa]wa[S'/R-CI-latii 2a9jaba-t-nii]

the-which(Fem)bought-I-Nom-these and the-which liked-(Fem)-me.

"These useful new books which I bought and which I liked"

The two S's Post-nominal Adj-al (embedded) sentences are bracketed together with the two APs. They follow the two APs and do not have interchangeable hierarchical ordering with them. Within minimalist syntax view, the APs as Spec-Head are the structural configuration where they can get and display their fi-features of case, gender, number and determination from their HNs (see section II above). These specifier APs have their features 'checked' within the checking domain of the Head',⁽⁴³⁾. The APs do not tolerate being located away from their HN and the S' Adj-al Phs must precede them.

The following arrangement is to summarize the linear order of the single, double or even triple intensifiers which occur against their H-Adj, together with APs and Adj-al Phs within a given NP.

- 24. NP → HN >(Int1 (Int2) (Int3))> H-Adj >(Int1 (Int2) (Int3))> coord > AP2 > coord > S' 1 > coord > S' 2.**

The above arranged linear ordering summarizes the discussion of the last three sections: **IV.2.3,4** and **5**. In fact, the usage **24** above can be seen reflected in the following usage:

- 25. [HN *l-2imtiHaan*] *marra* (*marra*) [H-Adj *sahl*] ((*marra*) (*marra*))] w [H-Adj *Tawiil*] w [S'1 *illi 9irifna niHillu*] w [S'2 *kaan raa2i9*]**

"[H-Adj long]and(very)(very)[H-Adj easy][HN exam][S1 which we expected]and[S2 (which)was magnificent]"

In sum, the various ordering restrictions are found on the intensifiers(s) that can pre- or post-intensify their H-Adj in the dialects, but can only post-modify the H-Adj in SA **15** above. Also, the post-modifying sentences functioning as Adj-al Phs do not precede the APs if they both modify one HN within a given NP. This is because APs do not tolerate being away from their HN whose inflectional features they carry within the checking domain of the head that they modify.

IV.2.6. Numerals, Quantifiers, Demonstratives and APs.

In order to complete the picture of AP and the Adj-al phrase ordering against its HN, it will be useful to include numerals as cardinals (card) and ordinals (Ords), quantifiers (Q) and demonstratives (Dem). There is a strict hierarchical prominence of numerals against their HN. Ords occur next to their HN, either pre- or post-nominally, as in:

26. *2awwal 2arba9banaat*
first four girls

27. *l-banaa t l-2arba9 1-2uula*
the-girls the-four the first
"The first four girls"

When the numerals occur pre-nominally as in **26** above, Ords must precede Cards. But when the numerals are post-nominal as in **27** above, Ords occur normally after cards. In other words, cards are juxtaposed next to the HN on both sides.

If APs are involved, they follow numerals, as in:

28. *l-banaat l-2arba9a l-2uula iT-Twaal*
The girls the – four the – first the – tall
"The first four tall girls"

In Arabic, generally, it is possible to vary the above order of numerals with APs involved, but this results in different focusing and marked contexts are created.

When Qs, Dems and Numerals (Cards & Ords.) are all involved, we find that they manifest the following order:

29. [[kull] [haadol] [l-2awwal] [2arba9] [banaat]]

all these the – first four girls

"All these first four girls"

Qs show more noun-like behavior and do not carry the definite article *l-* "the". The Dem follows the numerals (Ords before Cards), and all occur pre-nominally.

Qs and Dems are pre-nominals, and the Dems are followed by the determiner (D). The definite article attaches to one numeral, and if no numerals are involved, D attaches to HN,⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The following hierarchical order summarizes the pre-nominal ordering and is considered as basic:

30. Q > Dem > (D) > Ord > Card > HN > AP

APs always occur post-nominally in unmarked contexts, except in some formal contexts in SA where the style becomes more focused and marked as in usage **1** above. The linear ordering of the pre-nominal APs against their HN is a "mirror image" of the post-nominal modifiers, leaving the Qs and the Dems as pre-nominal modifiers and strictly hierarchical. The following describes this conclusion in the following order:

31. Q > Dem > (D)HN > (D) Card > (D) Ord > AP > (Ints)

Post-modifiers and APs are the spec-heads, and they must display their HN checking features as structural configuration.

The following example exhibits the hierarchical linear order as expressed in 31 above:

32. Kull haadi l-banaat l-2uula l-2arba9a iT-Tuwaal (jiddan)

all these the-girls the-first the-four the-tall (very)

"All these first four (very) tall girls"

It can be said that the hierarchical orderings in examples **24**, **30** and **31** above, are basic in Arabic, and other orderings may be considered to violate the unmarked mechanism of the Arabic NP.

V. Conclusion:

We conclude that though there may be no limit to the number of adjectives within the DP or APs within the NP, the number of adjectives and adjectivals is in practice limited by the semantic possibilities of modification between the D and the NP.

The paper also confirms that non-complex and complex event nominal ordering has a hierarchically articulated functional structure similar to that achieved by Chinque,⁽⁴⁵⁾ for the clause. The paper discussed the APs and the Adj-al Phs in Arabic as pre- and post-specifiers of their HN that are semantically associated with them. Many pre- and post-nominal restrictions have been found in both SA and the dialects discussed.

Three linear ordering hierarchies have been proposed as basic to Arabic and as found in the data depending on the mirror-image basic structural analysis proposed by Fassi-Fehri,⁽⁴⁶⁾. In the ordering shown in example **24** above, the linear hierarchy suggests the ordering of the double (or even triple) intensifiers against their H-Adj which post-modifies their HN. It also includes other APs and Adj-al Phs that occur at the same time within a given NP. The second ordering hierarchy seen in example **30** above, summarizes the pre-nominal ordering, and the third seen in example **31** above is the basic linear ordering of the post-nominal hierarchy when all of the Qs, Dems, numerals (Card and Ords), APs and Adj-al Phs cluster around their HN as specifiers. Any other ordering can be considered as violating the unmarked mechanism of Arabic.

End Notes:

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