

Count Plural vs. Cardinal Plural in Arabic

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Our starting point is the DP structure in Borer (2005 et seq.), where plural inflection marks count structure (henceforth CTP for Count Phrase, CIP in Borer, op. cit.):

1. a. Mass structure: [_{DP}D [_{#P} # [_{NP} ...]]]
- b. Count structure: [_{DP}D [_{#P}# [_{CTP} Classifier/'plural' [_{N_{max}} ...]]]]

This model predicts complementarity between plural inflection and classifier morphology in any given nominal, a correlation otherwise noted (e.g. T'sou, 1976; Doetjes, 1996; Haspelmath, 2001). Some prima facie counterexamples do exist, but at least for some cases, they have been shown in actuality not to be so (cf. Park 2006; De Belder 2007). Another such apparent counterexample is found in Lebanese and Standard Arabic. We examine it and show that what appears to be plural marking in Arabic has two distinct identities: one, indeed, syntactically and semantically count; the other, a semantically bleached agreement marker. The contrast between the two plurals helps bolster the existence of CTP and further supports a distinct syntax for cardinals and quantifiers.

The Puzzle:

A well-defined subclass of Arabic nouns exhibits a three-way morphological distinction between KIND (or BATCH), a UNIT of that kind, derived from the KIND form with the affix *-ah* (henceforth *-AH*), and a plural of that unit (henceforth *UNIT PLURAL*). As illustrated in (2), *-AH* is clearly a *COUNT* marker. But if so, the plural marking added to it clearly *cannot* be a *COUNT* marker as well:¹

2. a. KIND <i>ba'ar</i> cow — 'cattle' <i>teffeeH</i> apple — 'apple' <i>wara'</i> paper — 'paper'	b. UNIT <i>ba'r-ah</i> COW-AH — 'cow' <i>teffeeH-ah</i> apple-AH — 'an apple' <i>wara'-ah</i> paper-AH — 'sheet of paper'	c. UNIT PLURAL <i>ba'r-aat</i> COW-AH-pl — 'cows' <i>teffeeH-aat</i> apple-AH-pl — 'apples' <i>war'aat</i> paper-AH-pl — 'sheets of paper'
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Gender marking shows that plural *-aat* in (2c) is affixed to the *UNIT* form and not directly to the *KIND* form: As adjective agreement indicates, *KIND* forms are masculine and *UNIT* forms are feminine:

3. a. KIND (masculine) <i>ba'ar kbiir</i> COW big _{Masc} 'big cattle'	b. UNIT (feminine) <i>ba'r-ah kbiir-eh</i> COW-AH big _{Fem} 'big cow'	a. KIND (masculine) <i>teffeeH axdar</i> apple green _{Masc} 'green apple'	b. UNIT (feminine) <i>teffeeH-ah xadr-ah</i> apple-AH green _{Fem} 'a green apple'
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UNIT PLURALS, in turn, are feminine. As adjectives modifying non-human plurals in Arabic do not always agree in gender and number, we use the gender of the cardinal 'one' in partitives to show this (cf. 4a). Crucially, the *-aat* ending in itself does not suffice to render nouns feminine, as shown by (4b); partitives of derived nominals which end in *-aat* but nonetheless require a *masculine* 'one':

4. a. waHdeh/*weHed men t-teffeeH-aat/l-ba'r-aat / l-war'-aat
 one-fem/*one-masc of the-apple-'pl'/ the-cow-'pl'/ the-paper-'pl'
 'one of the apples/cows/papers'
- b. weHed/*waHdeh men l-?ileej-eet / l-Siraa?-aat
 one-masc/*one-fem of the-treatment-'pl'/the-struggle-'pl'
 'one of the treatments/struggles'

¹For reasons of space, all examples are from Lebanese. All relevant diagnostics apply to Standard Arabic, as well.

Distinguishing COUNT PLURALS from UNIT PLURALS:

We now show that UNIT PLURALS differ sufficiently from 'regular' COUNT PLURALS to warrant a different syntax for the two. Once this distinction is established, the apparent challenge to the analysis of 'standard' plural marking as COUNT is eliminated.

A. Bare Plurals:

While Arabic allows Bare Plurals in weak contexts (5a), it does not for UNIT PLURALS (5b).

5. a. COUNT PLURALS: sheft suuriy-iin/mhands-eet/ketob honik
saw.1s Syrian-'pl'/engineer-'pl'/book-'pl' there
'I saw Syrians/engineers/men over there'
- b. UNIT PLURALS: *sheft teffeeH-aat/samk-eet honik
saw.1s apple-AH-'pl'/fish-AH-'pl' there
'I saw apples/fishes over there'

B. Cardinals and Quantifiers:

COUNT PLURALS, with or without -aat, occur with both cardinals and quantifiers (cf.6a). UNIT PLURALS, always with -aat, can only occur with cardinals, never quantifiers (cf.6b).

6. a. COUNT PLURALS: fi tlat /ktiir suuriy-iin/mhands-eet/rjeel hon;
exist three/many Syrian-'pl'/engineer-'pl'/man-'pl' here
'There are three/many Syrians/engineers/men here'
- b. UNIT PLURALS: fi tlat/*ktiir teffeH-aat/samk-eet hon
exist three/*many apple-pl/fish-'pl' here
'There are three/*many apples/fishes here'

C. Interpretation of Genitive Quantifiers:

Plural-taking quantifiers that take a syntactically-definite restriction, e.g. *kell* 'all' occur pre-nominally in genitive constructions where they are interpreted either as partitive, taking reference from a known set (7a-i), or as typical quantifiers (7a-ii). While such ambiguity holds for all morphological plural forms, UNIT PLURALS allow only the partitive reading (7b-i), in which the referent is mutually recognizable (contextually salient), and bar the quantifier reading (7b-ii).

7. a. COUNT PLURALS: kell T-Taawl-eet;
all the-table-'pl'
interpretation: i. All of the tables (specific)
ii. All tables
- b. UNIT PLURALS: kell l-teffeeH-aat
all the-apple-AH-'pl'
interpretation: i. All of the apples (specific)
ii. **All apples

D. Pluralizing KINDS:

Finally, most KIND forms such as those in (2a) also pluralize directly. The meaning resulting is a plurality of *batches* (or kinds), and not the plurality of units always associated with plural makred Batch+AH nouns (hence the name UNIT PLURAL), as those in (2c). These can occur as bare plurals or with quantifiers.

8. jibn → ajbeen; raml → rimeel; šajar → ašjaar
cheese cheese-pl sand sand-pl tree tree-pl
cheese cheeses (types) sand heaps of sand tree trees (batches/kinds)

In sum, unlike COUNT PLURALS, UNIT PLURALS must occur with cardinals or cardinal-like items. Crucially, their distribution also suggests a structural difference between quantifiers and cardinals.

Positioning Quantifiers and Cardinals:

There are, in addition, good independent reasons to assume that quantifiers merge higher than cardinals. For example, while quantifiers always scope over adjectives (cf. 9), cardinals may scope both above and below adjectives (cf. 10).

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| 9. a. <i>Hmelt šwayt ?elab t'aal</i>
carried few box-pl heavy-pl | i. 'I carried many heavy boxes'
ii.*'I carried a heavy bunch of many boxes' |
| b. <i>t?arraft ?alaa ktiir maSriy-iin waduudiin</i>
acquainted with many Egyptian-plfriendly | i. 'I met many friendly Egyptians'
ii.*'I met a friendly group of many Egyptians' |
| 10. a. <i>Hmelt xams teffeeH-aat t'aal</i>
carried five apple-AH-pl _{SF} heavy-pl | i. 'I carried five heavy apples (each heavy)'
ii. 'I carried a heavy five apples (collectively)' |
| b. <i>t?arraft ?alaa tlat maSriy-iin waduudiin</i>
acquainted with three Egyptian-pl friendly | i. 'I met many friendly Egyptians'
ii. 'I met a friendly group of three Egyptians' |

Solution:

To accommodate the contrasts between COUNT PLURALS and UNIT PLURALS, as well as the availability of two distinct plural forms with different properties for the same stem, suppose we assume that while COUNT PLURALS head CtP, UNIT PLURALS do not. Rather, UNIT PLURALS are non-singular agreement on nominals in the context of cardinals. That such agreement only occurs with cardinals serves, in turn, to motivate a distinct merger site for cardinals (henceforth #), which is lower than that of quantifiers (henceforth Q). We propose that cardinals merge in Spec,#P where they scope below adjectives. In turn, they may move to Spec,QP where they acquire quantificational properties and wide scope. 'True' quantifiers, in contrast, merge directly in Spec,QP (cf. 11). (Evidence for a #P/QP distinction is also available from Bulgarian, Hebrew, English, and Chinese):

11. [DP D [QP (quantifier/cardinal) Q [#P (cardinal)# [CtP CT [NP N]]]]]
UNIT PL COUNT PLURAL; AH

The relevant portions of the derivation of UNIT PLURALS are in (12a). The derivation of COUNT PLURALS remains as in Borer (op. cit.), in (12b).

12. a. [#P cardinal N-AH-agr#[-sg] [CtP ~~N-AH~~ [NP ~~N~~]]]
b. [#P cardinal N-pl [CtP ~~N- \emptyset~~ [NP ~~N~~]]]

For the sake of completeness, note that singular forms, AH and others, do not show further agreement marking. As for COUNT PLURAL, we assume they are already marked as non-singular compatible, hence require no further marking after moving to #. The relevant derivations are in (13):

13. a. [#P N-AH [CtP ~~N-AH~~ [NP ~~N~~]]] (singular UNIT)²
b. [#P N [CtP ~~N~~ [NP ~~N~~]]] (non-UNIT singular)
c. [#P (cardinal) N+[-sg] [CtP ~~N+[-sg]~~ [NP ~~N~~]]] (COUNT PLURALS)

Selected References:

Borer, H. 2005. Structuring Sense I. In Name Only. London: Oxford University Press.
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² Borer's (2005) account of singulars, requiring identifying the count head and the quantifier head, will now require identifying the count head and the cardinal head.