

**ON THE INDIVIDUAL-PROPERTY CONTRAST IN FREE STATE  
POSSESSIVE NOMINALS IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC\***

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1. *Two types of possessives: Introducing the individual-property contrast*

It has often been noted that nominal expressions can be either individual-denoting, in which case they refer to individuals in the discourse, or property-denoting, in which case they refer to properties or kinds, rather than to individuals (Chierchia 1982, 1985). To illustrate this distinction, consider, for example, the semantic denotations of the nominal expressions *Bonds* and *a controversial player* in (1a) and (1b).

- (1a) Bonds/a controversial player hit a homerun.  
(1b) Bill is not Bonds/a controversial player.

In (1a) the proper noun *Bonds* and the NP *a controversial player* are both individual-denoting, since each picks out an individual in the discourse. By contrast, these same two expressions, as used in (1b), do not refer to a particular individual, but rather to a type or a property, i.e., the property of being Bonds-like (e.g., for having an exceptional homerun-hitting ability) or of being a controversial player. This individual-property distinction shows up in possessive nominals as well, where the possessor could be either individual-denoting or property-denoting, as shown by the English data in (2a)-(2c).

- (2a) John's book                                    (individual-denoting only)  
(2b) A children's book                            (property-denoting only)  
(2c) The children's book                        (individual-denoting or property-denoting)

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I will call possessives such as that in (2a) “individual-denoting possessives” (IDPs), and those like (2b) “property-denoting possessives” (PDPs), following Kolliakou (1999) and Strauss (2003). The distinction between IDPs and PDPs typically gives rise to a set of interesting asymmetries regarding several syntactic phenomena, as demonstrated by Kolliakou (1999) in a discussion of *de*-phrases in French and genitive constructions in Modern Greek. In this paper, I show that these asymmetries do obtain in free state possessives in Egyptian Arabic (EA), arguing that an account of the distinct syntactic behavior of IDPs, as opposed to PDPs, is readily available given the general assumptions of the Principles and Parameters framework, coupled with the assumption that the two types of possessive phrases are hierarchically merged in different positions within free state nominals.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces the EA syntactic strategies used to express adnominal possession, i.e., the construct state and free state constructions. Section 3 illustrates the asymmetries in the syntactic behavior of IDPs and PDPs with regard to linear order, definiteness/specificity restrictions, distribution, relativization, possessivization, anaphora, and scope ambiguity. Section 4 provides a syntactic analysis of these asymmetries that follows from general principles of grammar (such as locality, conditions on anaphora and quantifier scope) and a structure of free state nominals, in which semantically distinct possessors occupy structurally distinct positions. Section 5 summarizes the conclusions of the paper.

## 2. *Adnominal possession strategies in EA*

Like several other Arabic dialects, as well as Modern Hebrew, adnominal possession in EA is expressed by two main syntactic strategies: the construct state (CS), as in (3a), and the free state (FS), by means of the morpheme *bitaaʕ* (glossed “Poss” throughout), as in (3b). While the two strategies are interchangeable with regard to alienable possession, only the CS can be used for inalienable possession (e.g., body parts and family members), as in (4)-(5).

(3a) *madras-it ʔahmad*  
school-f. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s school”

(3b) *il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔahmad*  
the-school Poss.-f. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s school”

(4a) *regl ʔahmad*  
leg Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s leg”

(4b) *\*il-regl bitaaʕ-it ʔahmad*  
the-leg Poss.-f. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s leg”

(5a) *ʔaxuu ʔahmad*  
brother Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s brother”

(5b) *\*il-ʔax bitaaʕ ʔahmad*  
the-brother Poss. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s brother”

IDPs and PDPs can be expressed by either the CS, as in (6a)-(6c), or the FS, as in (7a)-(7c).

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (6a) madras-it ʔaħmad<br>school-f. Ahmad<br>“Ahmad’s school”   | (IDP reading only)          |
| (6b) madras-it banaat<br>school-f. girls<br>“a girls’ school/a school for girls”   | (PDP reading only)          |
| (6c) madras-it il-banaat<br>school-f. the-girls<br>“the girls’ school/the school for girls”                                | (both IDP and PDP readings) |
| (7a) (il-)kitaab bitaaʕ ʔaħmad<br>(the-)book Poss. Ahmad<br>“a/the book belonging to Ahmad”                                | (IDP reading only)          |
| (7b) kitaab bitaaʕ ʔatfaal<br>book Poss. children<br>“a children’s book/a book for children”                               | (PDP reading only)          |
| (7c) (il-)kitaab bitaaʕ il-ʔatfaal<br>(the-)book Poss. the-children<br>“a/the children’s book/a/the book for the children” | (both IDP and PDP readings) |

While CS possessive nominals might raise interesting questions regarding the issue at hand, for the purposes of this paper I focus only on the asymmetry in syntactic behavior between IDPs and PDPs in EA FS possessive nominals, hoping to extend the analysis presented here to CS nominals in future research.

### 3. *Syntactic asymmetries between IDPs and PDPs in FS possessives in EA*

As Kolliakou (1999) points out with regard to *de*-phrases in French and genitive phrases in Modern Greek, several syntactic asymmetries arise between IDPs and PDPs. I illustrate these below with data from FS possessives in EA.

#### 3.1 *Linear order*

Within multiple possessor nominals, the PDP typically precedes the IDP in linear order, as in (8a) and (8b); the reverse order degrades the grammaticality of the sentence, as in (9a) and (9b).

- (8a) il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it il-banaat bitaaʕ-it ʔuxt-ak  
 the-school-f. Poss.-f. the-girls Poss.-f. sister-your  
 “your sister’s girls’ school”
- (8b) il-liʕba bitaaʕ-it il-ʔatfaal bitaaʕ-it ʔaxuu-k  
 the-toy-f. Poss.-f. the-children Poss.-f. brother-your  
 “your brother’s children’s toy”
- (9a) ?\*il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔuxt-ak bitaaʕ-it il-banaat  
 the-school-f. Poss.-f. sister-your Poss.-f. the-girls  
 “your sister’s girls’ school”
- (9b) \*il-liʕba bitaaʕ-it ʔaxuu-k bitaaʕ-it il-ʔatfaal  
 the-toy-f. Poss.-f. brother-your Poss.-f. the-children  
 “your brother’s children’s toy”

### 3.2 *Definiteness and specificity*

A second asymmetry between IDPs and PDPs has to do with their ability (or lack thereof) to occur in a FS structure headed by definite head nouns. While IDPs are typically associated with a definiteness requirement, as indicated by the grammaticality contrast between (11a) and (11b), PDPs are compatible with both definite and indefinite contexts, as the data in (10) shows.

- (10a) madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔatfaal  
 school-f.Poss.-f. children  
 “a children’s school”
- (10b) il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it il-ʔatfaal  
 the-school-f. Poss.-f. the-children  
 “the children’s school”
- (11a) \*madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔahmad  
 school-f.Poss.-f. Ahmad  
 “Ahmad’s school”
- (11b) il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔahmad  
 the-school-f. Poss.-f. Ahmad  
 “Ahmad’s school”

Notice, that, as Kolliakou (1999) argues for comparable examples in French, (11a) is grammatical on a specific reading, where specificity involves member-

ship in a presupposed set (e.g., the set of schools owned by Ahmad, built by Ahmad, etc.). It seems, then, that the generalization is that IDPs are possible with possessive nominals whose head noun is either definite or specific<sup>1</sup>.

### 3.3 *Distribution*

According to Kolliakou (1999), the distribution of possessive nominals is governed by the Nominal Denotation Hypothesis (NDH), as stated in (12).

(12) At most one IDP phrase and at most one PDP phrase is allowed per a possessive nominal.

The NDH seems to be supported by the fact that the occurrence of multiple IDPs within the same possessive construction is (presumably universally) prohibited, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (13b). Multiplicity of PDPs, however, seems to be allowed, at least in EA. I come back to discuss this issue with relevant examples in Section 4.3.3.

(13a) il-kitaab bitaaʕ il-ʔatfaal bitaaʕ ʔahmad  
the-book Poss. the-children Poss. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s children’s book”

(13b) \*il-kitaab bitaaʕ ʔahmad bitaaʕ Zeinab  
the-book Poss. Ahmad Poss. Zeinab  
“\*Ahmad’s Zeinab’s book”

### 3.4 *Relativization*

A further asymmetry between the two types of possessives has to do with the relativization possibilities allowed for each when they co-occur within the same nominal. While the relativization of an IDP possessor in the presence of a PDP possessor is possible, as in (14b), the relativization of a PDP possessor in the presence of an IDP possessor leads to ungrammaticality, as in (14c). Notice that the grammaticality of (14d) shows that there is nothing wrong with the relativization of PDP possessors per se.

(14a) il-beet bitaaʕ il-ʕizba bitaaʕ ʔahmad  
the-house Poss. the-farm Poss. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s farm house”

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Mushira Eid for drawing my attention to the grammaticality of (11a) on the specific reading of the head noun.

- (14b) ጎሐማድ ጎዘሊ ስ-ቤተ ትላልፍ ስ-ጎረቤት ትላልፍ-ወ ክብር  
 Ahmad that the-house Poss. the-farm Poss.-him big  
 Literally: “Ahmad, that the house of the farm of him is big”  
 “Ahmad, whose farm house is big”
- (14c) \* ስ-ጎረቤት ጎዘሊ ስ-ቤተ ትላልፍ-ሐ ትላልፍ ጎሐማድ ክብር  
 the-farm that the-house Poss.-its Poss. Ahmad big  
 Literally: “the farm, that the house of it of Ahmad is big”  
 “the farm, whose house of Ahmad, is big”
- (14d) ስ-ጎረቤት ጎዘሊ ስ-ቤተ ትላልፍ-ሐ ክብር  
 the-farm that the-house Poss-its big  
 Literally: “the farm, that the house of it is big”  
 “the farm, whose house is big”

### 3.5 Possessivization

A fifth asymmetry between IDPs and PDPs in syntactic behavior arises with possessivization, i.e., pronominalization of the possessor. As indicated by the grammaticality contrast between (15b) and (15c), a property-denoting THEME can be possessivized only in the absence of the individual-denoting AGENT. By contrast, the possessivization of an individual-denoting AGENT in the presence of a property-denoting THEME is possible (15d).

- (15a) ስ-ድረሰብ ትላልፍ-ስ ማረካዊነት ከአሙሊት ትላልፍ-ስ ካርማ  
 the-study Poss-f. play Hamlet Poss-f. Karma  
 “Karma’s study of Hamlet”
- (15b) ስ-ድረሰብ ትላልፍ-ስ-ሐ  
 the-study Poss-f.-its/her  
 “its/her study” ✓ Agent/Theme  
 possessivization
- (15c) \* ስ-ድረሰብ ትላልፍ-ስ-ሐ ትላልፍ-ስ ካርማ  
 the-study Poss-f.-its Poss-f. Karma  
 Intended reading: “its study of Karma” \*Theme  
 possessivization
- (15d) ስ-ድረሰብ ትላልፍ-ስ-ሐ ትላልፍ-ስ ማረካዊነት ከአሙሊት  
 the-study Poss-f.-her Poss-f. play Hamlet  
 “her study of Hamlet” ✓ Agent  
 possessivization



### 3.7 Scope ambiguity

Negation and quantifiers may take scope over one another, as in (20a), which is ambiguous between the two interpretations in (20b) and (20c), depending on whether *all* takes scope over negation, or negation taking scope over *all*.

- (20a) I didn't read all the books.  
 (20b) "For all the books, it is not the case that I have read them."  
 (20c) "It is not the case that, for all the books, I have read them."

With regard to EA possessive nominals, IDPs can take scope over negation, hence the ambiguity of (21a), whereas PDPs cannot, as shown in (21b), where the occurrence of the cliticized individual-denoting possessive pronominal forces the first *bitaaʕ*-phrase to have a property denotation, given the NDH constraint in (12).

- (21a) ʔana ma-ʂuft-iʂ il-lawhaat bitaaʕ-it kull il-takʕiibiyy-iin  
 I not-saw-not the-paintings Poss.-f. all the-cubists  
 Reading 1: "I have only seen the paintings of some of the cubists."  
 Reading 2: "I have not seen the paintings of any cubist."
- (21b) ʔana ma-ʂuft-iʂ il-lawhaat bitaaʕ-it kull il-takʕiibiyy-iin  
 I not-saw-not the-paintings Poss.-f. all the-cubists  
 bitaaʕ-t-ak  
 Poss.-f.-your  
 One reading: "I have not seen the paintings of any cubist."

### 3.8 Summary

The individual-property distinction gives rise to a number of syntactic asymmetries in free state possessive nominals in EA, in a way similar to what has been observed for comparable structures in other languages. The list of these asymmetries is given in Table 1.

Syntactic property	PDPs	IDPs
Precedence in linear order	Yes	No
Occurrence in definite/specific nominals only	No	Yes
Multiple occurrence	Yes	No
Relativization in the presence of the other type	No	Yes
Possessivization in the presence of the other type	No	Yes
Variable anaphora	No	Yes
Scope over negation	No	Yes

Table 1: *The syntactic asymmetries between IDPs and PDPs*

The challenging question that arises now is whether the current theory of grammar can account for the asymmetrical behavior of IDPs and PDPs regarding the syntactic properties in Table 1. In the following section, I present an analysis of these facts within the Principles and Parameters framework.

#### 4. *The IDP-PDP distinction at the syntax-semantics interface*

##### 4.1 *Semantically distinct possessors occupy syntactically distinct positions*

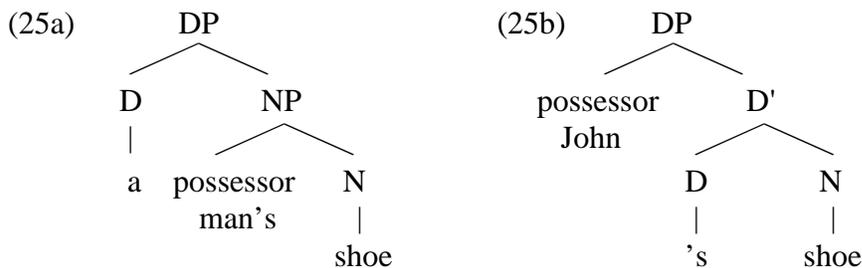
Munn (1995) notes that the IDP-PDP distinction correlates with syntactic differences in English in a fashion similar to that noted in EA in the previous section. For one thing, adjectives precede the possessor in PDPs, but follow it in IDPs, as indicated by the grammaticality contrasts in (22)-(23).

- (22a) Mary's new school  
 (22b) \* new Mary's school  
 (23a) \* men's many shoes  
 (23b) many men's shoes

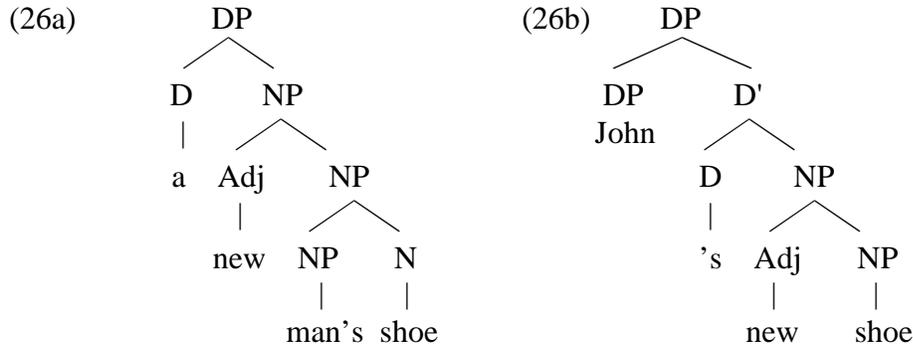
Also, in multiple possessor constructions, the IDP possessor has to precede the PDP possessor, but not vice versa, as shown in (24a) and (24b).

- (24a) John's men's shoes  
 (24b) \* men's John's shoes

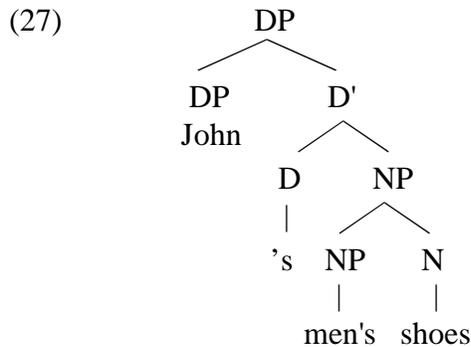
To account for these two facts, Munn (1995) proposes that the possessor occupies a different hierarchical position within the nominal structure in each case. Specifically, PDP possessors are in Spec NP (i.e., in the lexical domain), whereas IDP possessors are in Spec DP (i.e., in the functional domain), as shown in (25a) and (25b), respectively.



Given the structural distinction in (25a) and (25b), the differences between IDPs and PDPs in English regarding the position of the adjective and the order of the possessors follow. Specifically, adjectives, being left-adjoined to the NP projection, will always precede a PDP possessor, and always follow an IDP possessor, as shown by the structures in (26a) and (26b), respectively.



Similarly, in case there is more than one possessor within the possessive nominal, the IDP possessor will always precede the PDP possessor, since SpecDP is higher than SpecNP, as the tree structure in (27) illustrates.

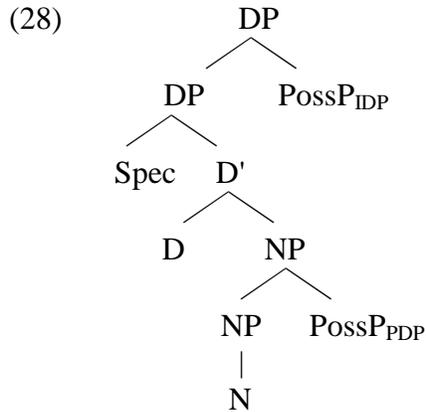


In addition to accounting for the empirical differences between these two types of possessives in English, Munn's analysis implies that interpretational differences are actually associated with (or the result of) structural differences. This is predicted by some version of the Syntax-Semantics Transparency Thesis (See Uriagereka (forthcoming) for a discussion of the mapping between the syntax and semantics). The question now, however, is whether it is possible to extend Munn's analysis to account for the EA facts presented in Section 3. However, we have to first discuss the structure of FS nominals in general.

#### 4.2 *The structure of FS nominals in EA*

Notice that one of the main differences between English nominals and EA FS structures has to do with the position of the possessive phrase (PossP) in each language. In English, possessors typically precede the head noun. In EA FS nominals, on the other hand, possessors follow the head noun. To account for this linear order fact, I will assume here, following Siloni's (1997) analysis of FS structures in Hebrew, that *bitaaʕ*-phrases (like Hebrew *šel*-phrases) are right adjuncts.

Furthermore, in order to account for the IDP-PDP distinction, I will assume, in the spirit of Munn's (1995) analysis for English and following Strauss's (2003, 2005) analysis of comparable Hebrew data, that the two types of possessive phrases occupy two different positions within the syntactic structure of nominals. Given these assumptions, the structure of FS nominals in EA is as in (28). Given the structure in (28), the question is whether it is possible to account for the set of syntactic asymmetries between IDPs and PDPs listed in Table 1. I provide an answer to this question in the next section.



#### 4.3 Deriving the IDP-PDP syntactic asymmetries

4.3.1 *Linear order asymmetry revisited.* Recall from the data in (8)-(9), repeated below as (29)-(30), that PDPs typically precede IDPs within multiple possessor constructions.

(29a) il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it il-banaat bitaaʕ-it ʔuxt-ak  
 the-school-f. Poss.-f. the-girls Poss.-f. sister-your  
 “your sister’s girls’ school”

(29b) il-liʕba bitaaʕ-it il-ʔaʕfaal bitaaʕ-it ʔaxuu-k  
 the-toy-f. Poss.-f. the-children Poss.-f. brother-your  
 “your brother’s children’s toy”

(30a) ?\* il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔuxt-ak bitaaʕ-it il-banaat  
 the-school-f. Poss.-f. sister-your Poss.-f. the-girls  
 “your sister’s girls’ school”

(30b) ?\* il-liʕba bitaaʕ-it ʔaxuu-k bitaaʕ-it il-ʔaʕfaal  
 the-toy-f. Poss.-f. brother-your Poss.-f. the-children  
 “your brother’s children’s toy”

Given the structure in (28), since the IDP phrase is right-adjoined to DP, whereas the PDP phrase is right-adjoined to NP, it follows that the IDP will always be higher than any PDP within the nominal; hence, the former will always follow the latter.

4.3.2 *Definiteness/specificity asymmetry revisited.* The second syntactic asymmetry between IDPs and PDPs in EA is that only the former requires the head of the nominal to be definite/specific, whereas the latter is compatible with both definite and indefinite contexts. The data are repeated below as (31)-(32).

- (31a)    *madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔatʔaal*  
           school-f.Poss.-f. children  
           “a children’s school”
- (31b)    *il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it il-ʔatʔaal*  
           the-school-f. Poss.-f. the-children  
           “the children’s school”
- (32a)    \* *madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔahmad*  
           school-f. Poss.-f. Ahmad  
           “Ahmad’s school”
- (32b)    *il-madrasa bitaaʕ-it ʔahmad*  
           the-school-f. Poss.-f. Ahmad  
           “Ahmad’s school”

To account for this fact, suppose that the difference between definite and indefinite nominals is that only the former contain a DP projection. If this is the case, then the exclusive occurrence of IDPs with definite head nouns follows from the structure in (28). If there is no DP projection, then there is no place for the IDP adjunct in the structure, hence the definiteness restriction. PDPs, by contrast, do not require a DP projection since they are adjuncts to NP, hence their ability to occur within either definite or indefinite nominals.

As it turns out, there are two pieces of supporting empirical evidence for this analysis. First, if specificity, like definiteness, is encoded in the D head, then we have an explanation why such sentences are grammatical on a specific reading, as noted earlier (cf. Section 3.2) with regard to (32a), which is perfect under an interpretation in which the head noun denotes a member of a set.

Second, EA has a third strategy of expressing possession by means of the preposition *li-*, which has the lexical requirement that its selecting head noun be “bare”, i.e., occur without a definite determiner. As predicted by the present

analysis, *li*-possessives should occur only in PDP contexts, but never in IDP contexts, a prediction that is borne out by the examples in (33a) and (33b)<sup>3</sup>.

- |       |  |       |  |
|-------|--|-------|--|
| (33a) | madrasa li-l-ʔaʔfaal<br>school-f.for-the-children<br>“a school for children” | (33b) | *madrasa li-ʔaħmad<br>school-f.for-Aħmad<br>“a school for Ahmad” |
|-------|--|-------|--|

In sum, the definiteness/specificity restriction on the occurrence of IDP possessive phrases follows from the structure in (28), where they are treated as right adjuncts to DP, hence their exclusive dependence on the presence of a D head in the structure of the nominal, which is, by assumption, the locus of definiteness/specificity.

4.3.3 *Distribution asymmetry revisited.* Can we account for the distribution facts, expressed in Kolliakou’s Nominal Denotation Hypothesis (NDH) that at most one of each type of possessive may occur inside the nominal? There is sufficient evidence from EA that, at least with regard to the number of PDPs inside FS nominals, the NDH cannot be maintained, as shown by the grammaticality of (34).

- (34) il-kitaab bitaaʕ il-fizya bitaaʕ talta ʔiʕdaadi bitaaʕ ʔaħmad  
the-book Poss. the-physics Poss. third preparatory Poss. Ahmad  
“Ahmad’s ninth-grade physics book”

By contrast, as noted in Section 3.3, the part of the NDH concerning IDPs seems empirically correct: No more than one IDP is allowed per a possessive nominal, as in (35).

- (35) \*il-kitaab bitaaʕ ʔaħmad bitaaʕ Zeinab  
the-book Poss. Ahmad Poss. Zeinab  
“\*Ahmad’s Zeinab’s book”

An explanation for this fact is possible given general assumptions of feature checking in minimalist syntax (Chomsky 1993, 1995). In particular, following Strauss (2003, 2005), let’s assume that a D head is required to enter into a checking relation with an XP carrying a referential feature in its domain, where domain is any specifier or adjunct within the DP projection. Given this assumption, we can now account for the contrast between (34) and (35) with regard to the NDH. Specifically, if there is at most one referential value per D

<sup>3</sup> The sentence in (33b) is grammatical only on the benefactive reading, which is irrelevant here. (33a) also has an IDP reading on the benefactive interpretation.

head, it follows that D can only support at most one IDP phrase. In other words, the presence of more than one IDP in the domain of D is not allowed at the semantic interface. If D has only one uninterpretable feature to check against the right-adjoined DP, then multiple checking of that feature by more than one such DP is presumably ruled out by considerations of economy. This proposal accounts at the same time for why multiplicity of PDPs is allowed. Since PDPs do not take part in feature checking (due to their non-referential nature), they are allowed to stack, in the same way all adjuncts do.

4.3.4 *Relativization asymmetry revisited.* Consider the asymmetry between IDPs and PDPs with regard to relativization, as illustrated earlier in (14). An explanation for such an asymmetry follows from the structure in (28), coupled with standard assumptions of locality in syntax, expressed informally in (36).

(36) Grammatical operations are strictly local, where *local* is understood as “applying to the closest target for the grammatical operation in the structure,” where *closest* is defined as “hierarchically highest”.

Consider, for example, the so-called “superiority effects” in multiple wh-questions in English, as in *Who did what?* as opposed to *\*What did who do?* Under locality, the second sentence is ruled out since the grammatical operation fronting wh-questions is not applied locally, targeting the structurally lower object wh-phase *what*, rather than the structurally higher subject wh-phrase *who*. When locality is observed, however, the resulting sentence is grammatical. Since IDPs are structurally higher than PDPs, as assumed in (28), it follows that under the economy condition in (36), the grammatical operation responsible for relativization can only apply to the former, but not to the latter, exactly as borne out by the facts in (14).

4.3.5 *Possessivization asymmetry revisited.* The same locality-based analysis of the relativization asymmetry can be extended to the possessivization asymmetry between IDPs and PDPs. The relevant data are those in (15) in Section 3.5. If possessivization, like any other grammatical operation, is subject to the locality condition in (36), and given the structure in (28) for FS nominals in EA, it follows that an IDP AGENT will always be structurally higher than a PDP THEME, hence always the closest target for possessivization, thereby accounting for the grammaticality contrast between (15c) and (15d). THEME-possessivization, however, is rendered possible in case there is no AGENT in the structure, as the ambiguous interpretation of (15b) shows, since the locality condition in (36) is satisfied vacuously in this case, again exactly as desired.

4.3.6 *Anaphora asymmetry revisited*. One way to account for the inability of PDPs to function as antecedents is to assume, along the lines suggested by Kolliakou (1999), that this follows from their “modification” nature, coupled with the independently motivated principles governing anaphora in natural language in general, e.g., Chierchia’s (1985) Functor Anaphora Constraint, which states that modifiers cannot engage in pronominal anaphora, as shown by the ungrammaticality of *\*The Shakespearian<sub>i</sub> tragedy is at its best in his<sub>i</sub> Hamlet* on the intended reading of *his* as co-referential with the modifier *Shakespearian*.

4.3.7 *Scope ambiguity asymmetry revisited*. As with anaphora, the difference in the behavior of IDPs and PDPs with regard to scope ambiguity may be argued to follow from the assumption that IDPs are “quantificational” while PDPs are not, given their “modification” nature. Therefore, only the former can interact with negation, but not the latter. Evidence that this is the case comes again from Carlson’s (1977) contrasts between indefinite singulars and bare plurals, as in (37a) and (37b).

(37a) A cat is in this room and a cat is not in this room.

(37b) \*Cats are in this room and cats are not in this room.

As the contrast in (37) indicates, while individual-denoting singular NPs can take scope over negation, as illustrated by the possibility of a non-contradictory reading in (37a), generic bare plurals cannot, as shown by the impossibility of any other reading than the contradictory reading in (37b). If this is the case, then the asymmetry between IDPs and PDPs in this regard follows from their inherent properties. In syntactic terms, given the structure in (28), one can assume that IDPs, being quantificational, can move via quantifier raising to a position higher in the structure than negation, giving rise to the lower scope reading of negation. PDPs, by contrast, are modification, and therefore are not a potential target for quantifier raising, thereby their exclusive occurrence under the scope of negation.

4.3.8 *Summary*. The syntactic asymmetries between IDPs and PDPs in EA free state nominals receive a natural explanation given (a) the structure in (28), whereby the IDP phrase is merged structurally higher than the PDP phrase, and (b) a set of independently motivated principles of grammar (e.g., the locality condition in (36), Chierchia’s (1985) Functor Anaphora Constraint, conditions on anaphora and quantifier scope, and the syntax-semantics transparency thesis).

## 5. *Conclusions*

I have shown in this paper that the syntactic consequences of the individual-property distinction in FS possessive nominals in EA regarding linear order, definiteness/specificity effects, distribution, relativization, scope ambiguity, anaphora, and possessivization follow from an analysis in which the IDP phrase occupies a higher position (adjunct to DP) than the PDP position (adjunct to NP) within nominal structure, coupled with independently motivated principles of grammar such as locality, feature checking, and constraints on anaphora and quantifier scope. Cross-linguistic variation between English and EA is minimal and reduces to one parametric difference: The adjunct-specifier option for possessive phrases. Finally, if correct, the analysis presented here provides further support for a theory of grammar that assumes transparency of mapping between syntax and semantics.

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