

# A NEW LOOK AT DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING: EVIDENCE FROM LEVANTINE ARABIC<sup>1</sup>

AYA ZARKA

*Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and McMaster University*

## 1 Introduction

Differential Object Marking (DOM) is a phenomenon, whereby cross-linguistically, the morphological case of the direct object is dependent on one of a number of semantic factors: definiteness, specificity, animacy, topicality, etc (Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1989, Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003, López 2012, Kagan 2020, among others). A typical example of a language with DOM is Turkish (e.g. Enç 1991; De Hoop & De Swart 2009). In Turkish, the morphological marking on the direct object differs based on a semantic factor, in this case specificity, as shown in (1).

(1) a. Ali bir kitab- \*(1) aldi  
Ali one book-ACC bought  
'A book is such that Ali bought it.'

b. Ali bir kitab- (\*1) aldi  
Ali one book-ACC bought  
'Ali bought some book or other.'

(Enç 1991: 5 (4-5))

In (1a), when the object is interpreted as specific, there is obligatory accusative case marking. However, in (1b), the object is interpreted as non-specific, thus the presence of accusative marking results in ungrammaticality.

While DOM is well studied in languages like Turkish, the phenomenon has been less studied in Levantine Arabic (henceforth: LA)<sup>2</sup>. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces

---

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Ivona Kučerová and Tova Rapoport for supervising this graduate work. Many thanks as well to IATL audience. Thank you as well to Idan Landau and Olga Kagan for providing helpful comments. I am also indebted to Nabeh Swaid and Dalia Zarka for judgments on the Druze dialect of Northern Galilee Levantine Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> My informants are Druze from the upper Galilee region of Israel. They speak a dialect that is closely related to and mutually intelligible with those of the Druze in southern Lebanon and southwestern Syria.

DOM in LA. Section 3 builds and expands Brustad's (2000, 2008) generalization about DOM. Section 4 examines this generalization principle specific to LA. In section 5, I propose that the clitic doubling property is responsible for the individuated noun restriction. This restriction is explained through the anaphoric properties of the pronominal clitic which would prevent non-individuated nouns from appearing in DOM structures. I build upon den Dikken's (2019) structure by representing PERSON inside the structure of the noun phrase as a specifier of DIVP. I argue that including this modification accounts for the LA data presented in the paper. Section 6 concludes the paper.

## 2 Properties of DOM in LA

Some Arabic dialects, including Lebanese and Syrian Arabic, have a structure that has been characterized as an instantiation of DOM. However, unlike Turkish, I show that LA has two different forms for definite direct objects, which depend on a different semantic factor explained in Section 2.1.

I will first demonstrate how DOM corresponds to the alternation between accusative (absence of marking) and dative marking:

- (2) a. *šo*f-t-a                                    **la**-s-sabeyy-e  
       saw-1SG.PST-3F.SG.OBJ    DAT-the-young lady-F.SG  
       'I saw the young lady.'
- b. *šo*f-et                                    s-sabeyy-e  
       saw-1SG.PST                            the-young lady-F.SG.ACC  
       'I saw the young lady.'

In (2), the same definite argument *s-sabeyye* 'the young lady' receives two different case markings; In (2a), the definite argument is obligatorily marked with a dative marker *la-*, while in (2b), is accusative (unmarked).

In some languages with DOM, the exponents of DOM and dative case are similar (see Bárány 2018 on Spanish, Hindi and other languages). In LA, we find dative case marking in DPs with directional (3a) or indirect objects (3b):

- (3) a. *ro*H-et                                    **la**-s-sabeyy-e  
       go-1SG.PST                            DAT-the-young lady-F.SG  
       'I went to the young lady.'
- b. *ašt*-et                                    al-ktaab                                    **la**-s-sabeyy-e  
       give-1SG.PST    the-book                                    DAT-the-young lady-F.SG  
       'I gave the book to the young lady.'

Thus, the same case marking found with such dative DPs also appears in the DOM construction.

Another characteristic of DOM in LA is that the DOM structure in LA obligatorily involves clitic doubling: the clitic attaches the verb and its associate (the DP it doubles) must co-refer (Levin 1987, Aoun 1999).<sup>3,4</sup>

- (4) a. dalia šaf-at-\*(a) la-s-sabeyy-e  
 Dalia see-3F.SG.PST-F.SG.OBJ DOM-the-young lady-F.SG  
 'Dalia saw the young lady.'
- b. dalia šaf-at-\*(on) la-s-sabaya/wlaad  
 Dalia see-3F.SG.PST-3PL.OBJ DOM-the-young ladies. BP/ boys.BP  
 'Dalia saw the young ladies/boys.'
- c. dalia šaf-at-\*(ak) la-ʔlak  
 Dalia see-3F.SG.PST-2M.SG.OBJ DOM-2M.SG.DAT  
 'Dalia saw you.'

In (4a), the doubled DP and the clitic agree in gender and in number. Example (4b) shows agreement only in number and (4c) shows agreement in number, gender and person. In the following section, I show that there is an interaction between an information-structural property to DOM in LA.

## 2.1 Topicality and DOM in LA

I propose that the relevant semantic factor for DOM in LA is topicality.<sup>5</sup> I adopt Reinhart's (1981) notion of 'Aboutness topic' wherein a sentence topic is what the sentence is about. Consider the following scenario:

*Two classmates were discussing their favorite world cup teams, one of the classmates disappointedly asked:*

- (5) a. lee b-tšajeʕ-a la-l-brazil  
 why PRS-support.2M.SG-F.SG.OBJ DOM-the-Brazil  
 'Why do you support the Brazil team?'  
 = 'As for the Brazil team, why do you support it?'
- b. \*lee b-tšajeʕ l-brazil  
 why PRS-support.2M.SG the-Brazil  
 'Why do you support the Brazil team?'  
 = 'As for the Brazil team, why do you support it?'

<sup>3</sup> See Hallman and Al-Balushi (to appear).

<sup>4</sup> Animacy does not play a role for DOM in LA.

<sup>5</sup> It was first observed in Cowell (1964) that *la-* marks human inverted topics and he calls this construction topic-comment inversion. However, his generalization does not hold for the data presented in the paper because *la-* also marks non-human nouns and, as noted by Brustad (2000: 355), *la-* generally appears in subject-prominent typology rather than topic-prominent typology.

This scenario demonstrates that when *l-brazil* 'Brazil team' is interpreted as an aboutness topic, DOM is obligatory.<sup>6</sup> However, when the same argument serves as a new information focus<sup>7</sup>, DOM is banned, as shown in (6B'):

*Two classmates were talking about the world cup, A asked B:*

- (6) A: ay fariq b-tšajeŋ?  
 which team PRS-support.2M.SG  
 'Which team are you supporting?'
- B: b-šajeŋ l-brazil  
 PRS-support.2SG the-Brazil  
 '(I) support Brazilian team.'
- B': \* b-šajeŋ-ha la-l-brazil  
 PRS-support.1SG-3F.SG.PST DOM-the-Brazil  
 '(I) support Brazilian team.'

In summary, DOM objects are (a) marked with dative case, (b) obligatorily clitic doubled and (c) sensitive to topicality.

### 3 DOM and Individuation: An Empirical Generalization

I expand on Brustad's (2000, 2008) generalization that the DOM construction in LA is attested only with individuated nouns.<sup>8</sup> My first observation that supports this generalization is that DOM is found with count nouns, specifically when there is a morphological marking of number.

- (7)a. dalia šara-at-a la-t-tawl-e  
 Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST-F.SG.OBJ DOM-the-table-F.SG  
 'Dalia bought the table.'
- b. dalia šara-at-on la-t-tawlt-ein/-āt  
 Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST-3PL.OBJ DOM-the-table-DUAL/-SP  
 'Dalia bought the two tables/the tables.'

Since dual and sound plural (SP)<sup>9</sup> markings are overtly visible as a separate affix added to the stem, DOM is possible with the singular in (7a) that can form the dual and SP as in (7b).

<sup>6</sup> Brustad (2000: 354) describes the marked object as a discourse topic but this generalization requires further investigation (see Zarka to appear for further details).

<sup>7</sup> See Kiss (1998).

<sup>8</sup> Khan (1984) discusses this construction and draws a conclusion that the construction appears only with individuated nouns. He classifies individuated nouns different than what is proposed here. See Khan's (1984: 470) features of individuation.

<sup>9</sup> Sound plural is one type of plural marking in Arabic that is affixal; the stem of the noun remains unchanged and the plural morphemes, *iin* (M.PL)/ *āt* (F.PL), attach to the stem.

In contrast, a type of plural in Arabic that is not overtly marked is the broken plural (henceforth: BP). BPs are morphologically autosegmental; they involve a change in the stem. Following Zabbal (2002) and Ouwayda (2014), BPs allow both kind and unit interpretations:

- (8) *dalia šara-at arbaʕ kraasi*  
 Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST four chairs.BP  
 'Dalia bought four chairs.'  
 → Dalia bought exactly four individual chairs (4 total)  
 → Dalia bought exactly 4 kinds of chairs (e.g. if 2 of each kind, then 8 chairs total)

Interestingly, DOM forces the BP to only have a unit interpretation but not a kind interpretation:

- (9) *dalia šara-at-on la-l-arbaʕ kraasi*  
 Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST-3PL.OBJ DOM-the-four chairs.BP  
 'Dalia bought the four chairs.'  
 → Dalia bought exactly four individual chairs (4 total)  
 → Dalia bought exactly 4 kinds of chairs (e.g. if 2 of each kind, then 8 chairs total)

Third, I offer the observation that mass nouns are incompatible with DOM as in (10b-c):

- (10) a. *dalia šara-at-on la-l-arbaʕ tawl-āt*  
 Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST-3PL.OBJ DOM-the-four table-SP  
 'Dalia bought the four tables.'
- b. \**aHmad baʕ-a la-z-zefte*  
 Ahmad sell.3M.SG.PST-F.SG.OBJ DOM-the-asphalt.MASS  
 'Ahmad sold the asphalt.'
- c. \**dalia šara-at-a la-s-smide*  
 Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST-3F.SG.OBJ DOM-the-bulgur.MASS  
 'Dalia bought the burglar.'

The final observation I offer is based on Brustad (2008). When the noun has two plural forms, a feminine SP marking and a collective form, DOM is compatible only with the sound feminine Plural (individuated) but not with the collective (non-individuated).<sup>10</sup> In Arabic, the collective

<sup>10</sup> Brustad (2008) argues that one type of plurals in Arabic can sometimes appear with the ethical dative *la-*. This type of plural is marked with the individuated plural marker *-āt*. She calls this plural *Halibaat* plural. Brustad shows that the features of this plural are specificity, contextual prominence and plural agreement patterns which all make up features of the individuation paradigm. Although *-āt* is generally associated with small numbers/quantity (i.e., the plural of paucity), the *Halibaat* plural is not by nature a countable substance. As in the following example, although *shaʕr-āt* is highly individuated, it does not refer to quantity of hair. The following is a sentence containing the *Halibaat* plural that is marked with the ethical dative *la-* (Brustad 2008: 5.b, gloss mine):

form can derive a singular form called the SINGULATIVE.<sup>11</sup> To illustrate:

(11) a. Collective	b. Singulative	c. SP <sub>F</sub>
<i>baqar</i>	<i>baqar-a</i>	<i>baqar-a-āt</i>
cows.COLLM	cow-F.SG	cow-F.SG-SP <sub>F</sub>
'group of cows'	'a cow'	'individual cows'

The singulative can have two plural forms: collective and SP. In a non-DOM context, the collective and the SP are both possible:

(12) <i>dalia šara-at</i>	<i>al-baqar/l-baqar-āt</i>
Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST	the-cow.COLLM/ the-cow-SP <sub>F</sub>
'Dalia bought the herd/individual cows.'	

However, under my assumption that the SP is individuated and the collective is not, I predict that DOM is compatible only with the feminine SP as in (13a) and not with the collective (13b):

(13) a. <i>dalia šara-at-on</i>	<i>la-l-baqar-āt</i>	
Dalia buy-3F.SG.PST-3PL.OBJ	DOM-the-cow-SP <sub>F</sub>	
'Dalia bought the cows.'		
= 'Dalia bought particular individual cows.'		
b. * <i>dalia</i>	<i>šara-at-o</i>	<i>la-l-baqar</i>
Dalia	buy-3F.SG.PST-3M.SG.OBJ	DOM-the-cow.COLLM
Intended: 'Dalia bought that kind/herd of cows.'		

To sum up, I have demonstrated four observations that support the empirical generalization, namely that only individuated nouns are subject to DOM in LA. Table 1 summarizes the types of nominals presented in this section and their appearance in DOM contexts.

---

i. <i>leesh a'sseti-hon</i>	<i>la-shaʕr-āt-ik</i>	<i>ya Riim?</i>
why cut-2F.SG-3PL.OBJ	DOM(DAT)-hair-F.PL-2F.SG.POSS	Rime
'Why did you cut your hair, Rime?'		

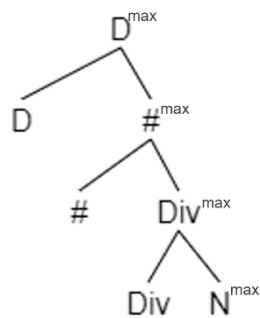
<sup>11</sup> The singulative is derived through gender shift: collective.MASC → singulative.F.SG

	NON-DOM	DOM
Nominals with overt number morphology	✓	✓
Broken plurals	✓ unit ✓ kind	✓ unit * kind
Mass nouns	✓	*
Collectives	✓	*

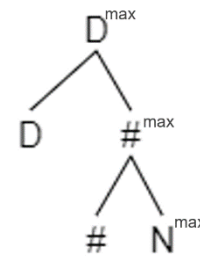
**Table 1.** Types of nominals with DOM in LA

The empirical generalization above can theoretically be reformulated since only nominals that include a divider projection (DIV in Borer 2005a) are subject to DOM. Borer proposes two distinct syntactic structures for count and mass nouns shown in (14a) and (14b). Following Borer (2005), I assume that a divider is associated with count properties, and that mass properties appear in the absence of a divider.

(14) a. Count structure



b. Mass structure



I conclude that mass and collective nouns that lack DIVP<sup>12</sup>, as demonstrated in Bore (2005a) and Ouwayda (2014), resist DOM structure.

## 4 Towards a proposal

Studying the type of DPs that appear in DOM structures highlight the restriction that only individuated structures can be DOM structures. The question that I raise is: can any of the properties we have seen above account for the restriction to individuated nouns? Specifically:

<sup>12</sup> For Fassi Fehri (2020), Borer's DivP is divided into two different projections, AtomP and UnitP (assuming Acquaviva's 2017, 2018 nominal architecture). He argues that the structure for *kind collectives* such as *samak* 'fish.COLL' lacks UnitP. An in-depth review of Fassi Fehri's (2020) investigation of different types of collectives is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (15) a. Is this restriction because of a dative marking?  
 b. Is it because of topicality?  
 c. Is it because of clitic doubling?

## 4.1 Datives

There is cross-linguistic variation in whether clitics are assigned case. In some clitic-doubling languages (e.g. Romanian, Spanish) the clitic is assigned case (e.g. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Hill 2013, Irimia 2020). Other scholars such as Nevins (2011) propose that clitics lack case in languages such as Basque. In LA, I assume that the doubled DP receives dependent Case; the two DPs (the clitic and the doubled DP) are in the same VP local domain, thus they should both get accusative case. Once the clitic receives the accusative marking, we observe a case shift of the doubled DP argument from accusative to dative, thus this switch can be an instantiation of the dative dependent case.<sup>13</sup>

To address the question raised in (15a), it is not obvious that the dative marking is responsible for the individuated noun restriction because mass and collective nouns (which cannot appear with DOM) can appear marked as either accusative or dative:

- (16) aʃt-et            akil    la-l-baqar/la-n-nas  
 give.1SG-PST food    DAT-the-cow.COLL/DAT-the-people.MASS  
 'I gave food to the (herd of) cows/ the people.'

Thus, there is no straightforward syntactic restriction on non-individuated nouns. I turn to the Second property in the next section.

## 4.2 Topicality

Clitic doubling has been identified in DOM for other languages such as Albanian and Greek (Kallulli 2016). Cross linguistically, clitic doubling is restricted to topic structures (Kallulli 2000, 2008; Dočekal and Kallulli 2012). As already argued in Section 2.1, DOM in LA arises in topic constructions; thus, it is not surprising to find clitic doubling in DOM.

It is not clear that topicality should account for the individuated restriction because mass and collective nouns can behave as topics, as illustrated in (17) and (18) for mass and collectives respectively:

- (17) *A and B are talking, A said:*  
 smeʃte...?            ʃmbH-ko    ʔnno    d-dahab            g'eli  
 hear-2F.SG.PST    say-3PL.PRS    that    the-gold.MASS    cost more.PRS  
 'Did you hear? It has been said that gold has gotten more expensive.'

<sup>13</sup> I remain agnostic about whether the ACC-DAT dependent case is due to morphological or syntactic reasons.



- (18) smeʕte...?      ʕmbH-ko      ʔnno al-baqar      merd      axer      fatra  
 hear-2F.SG.PST    say-3PL.PRS    that    the-cows.COLL    sick.3M.SG.PST    last    period  
 'Did you hear? It has been said that the cows (herd) have recently gotten sick.'

The examples in (17-18) show that mass and collective nouns can serve as an aboutness topic. And since the semantic core of a topic is known as aboutness (e.g., Reinhart 1981), I therefore conclude that there is no semantic restriction on non-individuated nouns.

To summarize, I assume that neither dative marking nor topicality properties should be responsible for DOM individuated noun restriction.

### 4.3 Clitic doubling

The remaining property of DOM that might account for the individuated noun restriction is clitic doubling. The question then is whether there something about this particular instantiation of grammatical expression of topicality that might be responsible. Since we are looking at clitic doubling structures, anaphoric properties are also involved. That is, the double DP and the clitic must co-refer. The anaphoric requirement is tied to the presence of the clitic, therefore I ask: can the clitic which anaphorically refers to the DP be responsible for this restriction?

I propose that the individuated restriction is explained through the anaphoric properties of the pronominal clitic. These anaphoric properties prevent non-individuated nouns from appearing in DOM structures.

My starting point is that the availability of an anaphoric reading is restricted with mass nouns (Chierchia 1998, Dayal 2004, Despić 2019). In this section, I demonstrate that pronouns cannot be used anaphorically with mass nouns and collectives in LA. I first show that individuated nouns which are compatible with DOM are acceptable antecedents to referential pronouns:

- (19) al-baqar-āt    brʕ-o                  brra.    bdde                  atʕme-hon  
 the-cow-SP<sub>F</sub>    graze-3PL.PRS    outside.    want.1SG.PRS    feed.1SG.PRS-3PL.OBJ  
 'The cows graze outside. (I) want to feed them.'

However, collective nouns which are incompatible with DOM cannot behave as antecedents to referential pronouns:

- (20) al-baqar      brʕa                  brra.    \*bdde                  atʕme-h  
 the-cow.COLL    graze.3M.SG.PRS    outside.    want.1SG.PRS    feed.1SG.PRS-3M.SG.OBJ  
 'The cows (the herd) graze outside. (I) want to feed them.'

In addition, I have shown that BPs with DOM only have the unit interpretation. When they are used anaphorically, the only possible pronoun is the individuated (plural) but not the collective.

- (21) feš ktiir šbabiik fl-bet. bndaf-on/\*-a b-sorfa  
 neg many windows.BP in-home. clean-1SG.PRS.SUBJ-3PL.OBJ/\*3F.SG.OBJ in-quickness  
 'There are not many windows at home. (I) clean them quickly.'

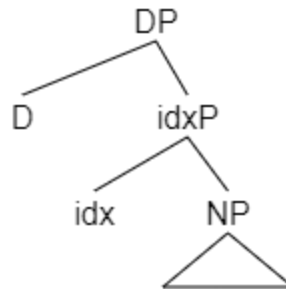
To conclude this section, while dative and topicality are not responsible for the DOM's individuated noun restriction, clitic doubling does play a role in this restriction because it involves anaphoric relations. An anaphoric relation can be established with individuated nouns; however, this anaphoric relation cannot be established between pronouns and collective, kind, and mass nouns.

## 5 Proposal

The proposal consists of two parts. The first part deals with the question of whether anaphoricity is represented in syntax and how. The second part focuses on the connection between anaphoricity and individuation.

Starting with the first question, for definite expressions to be anaphoric, they must contain semantic indices in their syntactic structure (e.g., Schwarz 2009, Hanink 2021). Consider Hanink's (2021: 507(4)) structure:

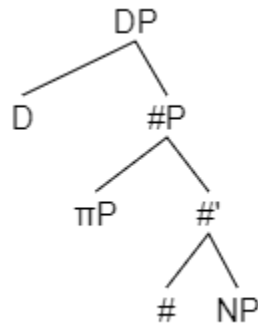
(22)



The idea is that semantic indices are present in the syntactic structure (between D and NP). However, it is not clear from the structure of Hanink (2021) why indexical structure should be tied to individuation. I adopt Kučerová (2018) who argues the necessity of a person feature in order to derive the semantic index.

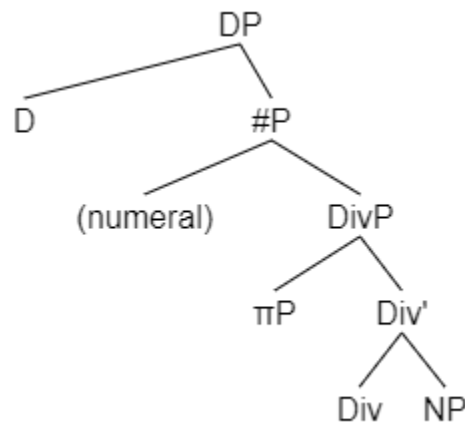
Moving to second part of the proposal, I adapt den Dikken's (2019) structure for the position of person. He proposes that the person feature is closely tied to the presence of the number projection:

(23)



Div and number are collapsed in den Dikken (2019) (recall that DIVP represents individuated nouns). He makes an explicit connection between person and number. In (23), person is represented inside the structure of the noun phrase as a specifier of #P. However, I propose that den Dikken's number projection needs to contain two functional projections:  $\pi$ P and DIVP. Crucially, person is represented inside the structure of the noun phrase as a specifier of DIVP:

(24)



I adopt the *minimal pronouns approach* that  $\pi$ P or a mere index is reminiscent of the structures proposed for pronouns (Kratzer 2009, Hanink 2021, among others). Thus, I analyze the structure in (24) as a structure of clitic doubling since it combines both a pronoun and an individuated NP.

The reasoning of the proposal as follows. I have established that DOM objects must be topics and the way to encode topicality in LA is with a clitic. I assume that clitics are pronouns. I have demonstrated that pronouns are restricted in their anaphoric capacity, specifically, they cannot refer to non-individuated nouns. The way to encode anaphoricity in syntax is with a semantic index (Hanink 2021, a.o) and a person feature is required to derive this semantic index (Kučerová 2018). Given that non-individuated nouns lack DIVP (Borer 2005a), I propose that they cannot have a person feature (partially based on den Dikken's 2019 structure). In this way, non-individuated nouns cannot be used anaphorically, namely they cannot be used in a clitic doubling structure as clitic doubling requires an anaphoric relation between the doubled-DP and the clitic.

This proposal accounts for the DOM facts presented in this paper. Individuated nouns contain a DIVP and consequently person, located in the specifier of DIVP, is successfully merged, thus individuated nouns are allowed in a clitic doubling structure. In contrast, non-individuated (mass

and collective) nouns lack a DIVP, and in turn, person is not projected, thus they resist the clitic doubling structure.

## 6 Conclusion

The paper expands on the scholarly work of Brustad (2000, 2008) by collecting data from Levantine Arabic to provide evidence for the generalization that only the set of individuated nouns can appear in DOM constructions. My proposed analysis links the issue of anaphoricity and individuation in the DOM construction, the latter which has received little attention through the Arabic syntax literature (Aoun 1999, Brustad 2000). I follow Kallulli (2016) in that clitic doubling is considered as a species of DOM. I have also modified den Dikken's (2019) structure and analyzed it as a clitic doubling structure since it requires two components: anaphoricity and individuation. The modified structure accounts for the Levantine Arabic DOM data presented in this paper and shows that once the nominal expression contains a DIVP, the anaphoric relation can be easily established. Future work will focus on how exactly a person feature is valued in the clitic doubling structure.

## References

- Acquaviva, Paolo. 2017. Number in language. In *Oxford research encyclopedia of linguistics*.
- Acquaviva, Paolo. 2018. Categorization as noun construction: gender, number, and entity types. In *Gender and noun classification*. Oxford University Press. 41-64.
- Aissen, Judith. 2003. Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 21(3): 435-483.
- Aoun, Joseph. 1999. Clitic-doubled arguments. In *Beyond principles and parameters*, Kyle Johnson (ed), Springer, Dordrecht. 13-42.
- Bárány, András. 2018. DOM and dative case. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 3(1): 1-40.
- Borer, Hagit. 2005. *Structuring sense: Volume 1: In name only* (Vol. 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bossong, Georg. 1991. Differential object marking in Romance and beyond. In, *New analyses in Romance linguistics*, Dieter Wanner & Douglas A. Kibbee (eds.). 43–171.
- Brustad, Kristen. 2000. *The syntax of spoken Arabic: A comparative study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti dialects*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Brustad, Kristen. 2008. -āt Drink Your Milks! āt as Individuation Marker in Levantine Arabic. In *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms*, Beatrice Gruendler and Michael Cooperson (eds). Leiden: Brill. 1-19.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across language. *Natural language semantics* 6(4): 339-405.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1989. *Language typology and linguistic universals: Syntax and morphology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Cowell, Mark W. 1964. *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic* (based on the dialect of Damascus). Washington: Georgetown University Press [Reprinted in 2005].

Dayal, Veneeta. 2004. Number marking and (in) definiteness in kind terms. *Linguistics and philosophy* 27(4): 393-450.

den Dikken, Marcel. 2019. The attractions of agreement: why person is different. *Frontiers in psychology* 10: 978.

De Hoop, Helen and Peter De Swart. 2009. Cross-linguistic variation in differential subject marking. In *Differential subject marking*. Springer, Dordrecht. 1-16.

Despić, Miloji. 2019. On kinds and anaphoricity in languages without definite articles. *Studies in Diversity Linguistics*, (25).

Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1990. Clitic doubling, wh-movement, and quantification in Romanian. *Linguistic inquiry* 21(3): 351-397.

Dočekal, Mojmír, and Dalina Kallulli. 2012. More on the semantics of clitic doubling: principal filters, minimal witnesses, and other bits of truth. *Empirical issues in syntax and semantics* 9: 113-128.

Enç, Mürvet. 1991. The semantics of specificity. *Linguistic inquiry*, 1-25.  
Fehri, Abedlkader Fassi. 2020. Number and Gender Convergence: The Arabic Plurative. *Catalan journal of linguistics*, 19: 75-126.

Hallman, Peter and Rashid Al-Balushi. To appear. Pronominalization and Clitic Doubling in Syrian and Omani Arabic, *Linguistics*.

Hanink, Emily. A. 2021. DP structure and internally headed relatives in Washo. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 39(2): 505-554.

Irimia, Monica Alexandrina. 2020. Variation in differential object marking: On some difference between Spanish and Romanian. *Open Linguistics* 6(1): 424-462.

Kagan, Olga. 2020. *The Semantics of Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
Kallulli, Dalina. 2000. Direct object clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek. *Clitic phenomena in European languages*. 209-248.

Kallulli, Dalina. 2016. Clitic doubling as Differential Object Marking. In: *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa: Research in Generative Grammar* 38, pp. 161-171.

Khan, Geoffrey A. 1984. Object markers and agreement pronouns in Semitic languages1. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47(3): 468-500.

Kiss, Katalin É. 1998. Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74(2): 245-273.

Kratzer, Angelika. 2009. Making a pronoun: Fake indexicals as windows into the properties of pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40(2): 187-237.

Kučerová, Ivona. 2018.  $\phi$ -features at the syntax-semantics interface: Evidence from nominal inflection. *Linguistic inquiry* 49(4): 813-845.

Levin, Aryeh. 1987. The Particle la as an Object Marker in some Arabic Dialects of the Galilee. *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik*, (17), 31-40.

López, Luis. 2012. *Indefinite objects: scrambling, choice functions and differential marking*. Cambridge, MA & London: MIT Press.

Nevins, Andrew. 2011. Multiple agree with clitics: Person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language & Linguistics Theory* 29(4): 939-971.

Ouwayda, Sarah. 2014. *Where Number Lies: Plural marking, numerals, and the collective distributive distinction*. University of Southern California.

Reinhart, Tanya. 1981. Pragmatics and Linguistics. An Analysis of Sentence Topics. *Philosophica*, 27:53–94. Distributed also by Indiana University Linguistics Club; page references refer to this edition.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. 'Hierarchy of features and ergativity'. In *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, R.M.W. Dixon (ed.). Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. 112-171.

Schwarz, Florian. 2009. *Two types of definiteness in natural language*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Zabbal, Youri. 2003. *The semantics of number in the Arabic noun phrase*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada.