1.	Record Nr.	UNINA9910967532803321
	Titolo	Determiners : universals and variation / / edited by Jila Ghomeshi, Ileana Paul, Martina Wiltschko
	Pubbl/distr/stampa	Philadelphia, Pa. ; ; Amsterdam, : John Benjamins Pub. Company, c2009
	ISBN	9786612395451 9781282395459 1282395459 9789027288950 902728895X
	Edizione	[1st ed.]
	Descrizione fisica	247 p
	Collana	Linguistik aktuell/Linguistics today, , 0166-0829 ; ; v. 147
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	Disciplina	415
	Soggetti	Grammar, Comparative and general - Determiners Definiteness (Linguistics)
	Lingua di pubblicazione	Inglese
	Formato	Materiale a stampa
	Livello bibliografico	Monografia
	Note generali	Bibliographic Level Mode of Issuance: Monograph
	Nota di bibliografia	Includes bibliographical references and index.
	Nota di contenuto	Determiners: universals and variation / Jila Ghomeshi, Ileana Paul & Martina Wiltschko -- Part I. The features of determiners: what's in a determiner and how did it get there? / Martina Wiltschko -- The proper D connection / Jila Ghomeshi & Diane Massam -- Argumenthood, pronouns, and nominal feature geometry / Elizabeth Cowper & Daniel Currie Hall -- Part II. The function of determiners: from local blocking to Cyclic Agree: the role and meaning of determiners in the history of French / Eric Mathieu -- Kinds of predicates and reference to kinds in Hebrew / Keren Tonciulescu -- Part III. Definiteness and beyond: on the presence versus absence of determiners in Malagasy / Ileana Paul -- The semantic core of determiners: evidence from Skwxwu7mesh / Carrie Gillon.
	Sommario/riassunto	This article explores definiteness as expressed by the determiner system of Malagasy. In particular, noun phrases with and without an overt determiner are compared in terms of familiarity, uniqueness, and other semantic notions commonly associated with definiteness. It is

shown that the determiner does not uniformly signal definiteness (as typically understood) and that bare noun phrases can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. The determiner instead signals the familiarity of the discourse referent of the DP and the absence of a determiner signals a non-familiar DP. In certain syntactic positions, however, where the determiner is either required or banned, the interpretation of DPs is underdetermined.