

## Generic demonstratives in Tunisian Arabic

Previous analyses of the Tunisian Arabic (TA) demonstrative *hāk* (Khalifaoui, 2007, Gundel, Gordon, Bassene, Humnick, and Khalifaoui, 2010) have identified a use in which this form typically receives an entity-denoting interpretation, because it instructs the hearer to retrieve a specific Familiar (i.e., in memory) entity. For instance in (1), by choosing *hāk* the speaker assumes that the hearer already has a representation of a specific doctor in memory.

- (1)     *hāk*     *t-tbība*     *maw*     *hatt-u-ha*     *fi-l-habs*  
           that    the-doctor    EMPH    put- PST.3P-her   in-the-jail  
           ‘That doctor, she was put in jail’

In this paper, I analyze another use in which the demonstrative *hāk* denotes a kind set and not specific individuals, and demonstrate that the felicity of this usage is subject to a number of constraints. In doing so, the paper contributes to research which argues that in addition to bare DPs and DPs introduced with the definite article, genericity can also be realized with demonstratives (McLaren 1980; Doran and Ward 1995).

First, in its generic use, *hāk* always occurs with the expression *ennawš mtaš* NP (kind of NP) and a restrictive modifier introduced with the relative pronoun *illi* (that, which, who, whose) as shown in (2).

- (2) *θamma hāk l-nawš mtāš l-ašjāb t-tufayliya illi dīma māddīn wżūh-hum*  
       there    that   the-kind   POS   the-weed                   REL   always   extending   faces-their  
  
       *fi l-profīl mtāš sāhb-ik, xatīb-ik, rāzl-ik*  
       in the-profile of   boyfriend   fiance-your, husband-your  
       ‘There is that kind of stalkers who are always showing up on your boyfriend’s, fiancée’s, [or] husband’s [Facebook] profile.’

The use of *ennawš mtaš* NP (kind of NP) in the demonstrative phrase is crucial to the establishment of genericity, because it explicitly signals to the hearer that the referent of the demonstrative phrase should be processed as a kind and not as individuals. The data analysis, however, revealed that this expression is not always mentioned in the utterance linguistic content as shown in (3). I argue that in such cases it is derived by the speaker through pragmatic enrichment (Sperber and Wilson 1995).

- (3) *w kunna šanna frūda hāk/#haḍum/ha-/haḍaka illi šmārit-hum dūra plastīk ḥamra*  
       and used.to have guns those                                   whose immuniton-POS.3P circle plastic red  
       ‘and we used to have guns; that [kind of guns] whose ammunition is a red plastic circle.’

Second, this usage is also restricted to the demonstrative *hāk*. As shown in (3), all other TA demonstratives result in infelicity. Further, the felicitous use of generic *hāk* is constrained by category membership. Unlike the definite article generics, generics realized with *hāk* cannot pick out a whole category. The restrictive modifier must provide enough descriptive content to distinguish a defined set from typical members within a category. Thus, in (2), the restrictive modifier distinguishes the kind set of girls who intrude into the Facebook pages of other girls’ partners from the whole set of intrusive girls. Finally, demonstrative generics must represent a kind assumed to be Familiar to the hearer (Bowdel and Ward 1991). In (4), for example, the choice of generic *hāk* is infelicitous, because the set of guns made of plastic is an adhoc non-Familiar set.

- (4) *# w kunna šanna frūda hāk illi masnušīn mi-l-plastīk*  
       and used.to have guns those which made of-the-plastic  
       ‘And we used to have [toy] guns; that [kind] which are made of plastic.’

pragmatics, discourse analysis, demonstratives, generics