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Possessively Construed Attitude Dative Constructions in Lebanese Arabic¹

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Abstract

Possessive dative constructions — a subcategory of external possession constructions, similar but not identical to the English sentence *She looked him in the eye* — are a cross-linguistic phenomenon. These structures feature a nominal or pronominal element – in this case, *him* – that functions semantically as the possessor of a separate DP – *eye* – and syntactically as a dependent of the verb. Syntactic approaches to possessive dative constructions in such languages as Hebrew and German argue for a movement analysis in which the possessor starts out in the possessum DP before moving to a higher position. Semantic approaches to the same phenomenon in German and French, among other languages, analyze possessive dative constructions as instances of anaphoric binding; the dative undergoes first-merge outside the possessum DP and binds a variable in it. The present article documents and analyzes what appear to be instances of possessive dative constructions in Lebanese Arabic. I show that the possessive construal of the datives in these structures is not syntactically or semantically mediated, but rather pragmatically determined.

Keywords

Arabic – datives - external possession – possessor raising – context-linked grammar

1 Framing the Problem

Possession constructions are a cross-linguistic phenomenon that come in two broad flavors: (i) INTERNAL POSSESSION and (ii) EXTERNAL POSSESSION. Semantically, both constructions involve a pair of noun phrases construed jointly as a possessor and a possessum; e.g., *Sue* and *cheek* in the English sentences (1) and (2). Syntactically, the two constructions are different. In internal possession constructions, the possessor and possessum form a syntactic constituent; for instance, they must undergo wh-fronting as a single unit, as (1b) shows. In external possession constructions, on the other hand, mapping between semantics and syntax is not as transparent. Thus, in (2a), *Sue* and *cheek* do not form a constituent; the possessum may be questioned separately, as (2b) illustrates.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------------------|---|----|--------------|
| (1) | a. | Tom kissed Sue's cheek. | | | |
| | b. | A: Whose cheek did Tom kiss? | - | B: | Sue's cheek. |
| (2) | a. | Tom kissed Sue on the cheek. | | | |
| | b. | A: Who did Tom kiss on the cheek? | - | B: | Sue. |

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Possessive dative constructions are a subcategory of external possession.² In this category of possession, a dative-case-marked possessor DP is realized outside the possessum DP, where it behaves as a syntactic dependent of the verb. Possessive dative constructions are licensed in a range of languages and language families. Sentences (3) and (4) show examples from Hebrew and German, respectively.

- (3) Hebrew
Gil higdil le-Rina et ha-tmuna
 Gil enlarged to-Rina ACC the-picture
 ‘Gil enlarged Rina’s picture’ (Landau 1999: 5 (5b))

- (4) German
Tim hat der Nachbarin das Auto gewaschen
 Tim has the neighbor.DAT.FEM the car washed
 ‘Tim washed the neighbor’s car.’ (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006: 102 (1a))

Lebanese Arabic (hereafter LA) licenses internal possession constructions and, arguably, possessive dative constructions. Sentence (5) is an example of the former. Semantically, *Na:dya*: ‘Nadia’ and *binit* ‘daughter’ enter a possessor-possessum relationship. Syntactically, the possessor and possessum form a syntactic constituent. For example, in (6), the whole possessum DP *binit Na:dya*: ‘Nadia’s daughter’ moves as one unit for the purpose of topicalization. Moving only the possessum results in ungrammaticality, as (7) illustrates.³

- (5) *fifna: binit Na:dya: bi-l-masrah*
 we.saw daughter Nadia in-the theater
 ‘We saw Nadia’s daughter in the theater.’

² See Payne and Barshi 1999 for a collection of papers on external possession constructions and their typological variability. Possessive dative constructions are a subcategory of external possession, but the opposite is not true. That is, some languages may have external possession constructions, but none that license a dative case; e.g., Nez Perce (Deal 2013). Throughout this article, I use the terms “external possession constructions” and “external possession” when the set of languages to which I refer includes at least one language like Nez Perce, with no possessive datives.

³ Some remarks about the gloss and translation as used in this article:

- Pronouns: LA – and Arabic in general – does not have neutral vs. feminine/masculine pronouns or agreement. For the sake of clarity, however, when a pronoun or agreement morphology is linked to a neutral entity, I gloss it as ‘it’.
- Prepositions: The same LA preposition may have different English meanings in different contexts, and vice versa (different LA prepositions in different contexts may translate into the same English preposition). The gloss tries to capture the English meaning. E.g., the LA preposition *ʕa-* in *ʕa-l-tʕa:wle* ‘on-the-table’ is glossed as ‘on’, while *ʕa* in *ʕa-l-madrassa* ‘on-the-school’ is glossed as ‘to’.
- Verb Agreement: Arabic, including LA, is a subject pro-drop language with rich verbal agreement. In the examples, if the subject is present, verbs are glossed only as verbs; e.g. *Na:dya ʔakalit* ‘Nadia ate’. If the subject is dropped, the gloss includes agreement in the form of subject/nominative pronouns; e.g., *ʔakalit* ‘she.ate’.
- The English translation of the LA examples tries to provide a general sense of their truth conditions without trying to capture their pragmatic nuances.
- Abbreviations: DAT = dative; NEG= negation; FS.POSS = free-state possessive marker; PROG = progressive

- (6) *binit* *Na:dya:* *fifne:-ha:* *bi-l-masrah*
 daughter Nadia we.saw-her in-the theater
 ‘Nadia’s daughter, we saw her in the theater.’
- (7) * *binit* *fifne:-ha:* *Na:dya:* *bi-l-masrah*
 daughter we.saw-her Nadia in-the theater
 Intended meaning: ‘The daughter, we saw her mother Nadia in the theater.’

Sentences (8) and (9) are LA examples of what looks like possessive dative constructions. I will refer to these as Possessively Construed Attitude Dative Constructions – or POSS ADCs – for reasons that will become clear in the course of this article. In a POSS ADC, a pronominal dative cliticized to a verbal element is construed as the possessor of a possessum DP.⁴ As expected of possessive dative constructions in general, the mapping between semantics and syntax in LA POSS ADCs lacks transparency. For example, in (8) *-la:* ‘her’ and *l-sayya:ra* ‘the car’ semantically enter a possessor-possessum relationship, but syntactically they do not behave as a constituent. In the event of topicalization, the possessum moves without the possessor, as (10) illustrates.

- (8) *Ziya:d yassal-la:* *l-sayya:ra* *mbe:rih*
 Ziad washed-**her.DAT** the-car yesterday
 Literally: ‘Ziad washed her.DAT the car yesterday.’
 Meaning: ‘Ziad washed her car yesterday.’
- (9) *ʔa:l fu: , re:hin-la:* *kil* *sʕiyit-a:* *la-yilʕab* *bi-l-sabaʔ*
 said what, I.pawned-**her.DAT** all jewelry-her to-play in-the-race
 Literally: ‘She claims that I have pawned her.DAT all the jewelry to bet on horse racing.’
 Meaning: ‘She claims that I have pawned all her jewelry to bet on horse racing.’ (from *nazl l-suruur*, a play by Ziad Rahbani)
- (10) *l-sayya:ra* *Ziya:d yassal-la:* *yye:ha:* *mbe:rih*
 the-car Ziad washed-**her.DAT** it yesterday
 Literally: ‘The car, Ziad washed her.DAT it yesterday.’
 Meaning: ‘Her car, Ziad washed it yesterday.’

Structurally, sentences (8) and (9) look very much like the Hebrew and German constructions in (3) and (4). Research on possessive dative constructions in the latter languages (Landau 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld 2006) shows that the possessive reading in structures like (3) and (4) is syntactically mediated. More specifically, Landau and Lee-Schoenfeld provide strong evidence that possessive dative constructions in Hebrew and German are derived from internal possession via movement. Hole (2004, 2005) offers an alternative, binding analysis of German possessive dative constructions – or what he refers to as “so-called ‘possessor’ datives” – within a neo-Davidsonian event semantics. On Hole’s binding approach, the dative is base-generated outside the possessum DP; it c-commands the possessum and binds a variable within it. Given the

⁴ In (9), *re:hin* is the active participle form of the verb ‘to pawn’. While such participles are normally adjectival in languages like English, there is strong evidence that in Arabic they are also verbal (see Hallman 2015 and work cited therein).

structural resemblance between the LA sentences in (8) and (9) and possessive dative constructions in Hebrew and German, it seems reasonable on first blush to postulate that the possessive construal of LA POSS ADs is also syntactically or semantically mediated. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that, when native speakers are presented with sentences like (8) and (9) without any additional context, their first reaction is to interpret the dative as possessive. That is, they automatically construe the referent of the dative as the possessor of the car in (8) and of the jewelry in (9).

There is reason to question the role of syntactic/semantic mediation in this construction, however. Here is why. LA POSS ADCs do more than just serve as an alternative for regular internal possession constructions. LA structures like (8) and (9) are felicitous only if the referent of the dative is made salient as a topic, and often as an affectee and/or object of empathy (see O'Connor 2007). If the possessor is not discourse-prominent, internal possession is more felicitous. This makes POSS ADCs very similar to and easily confused with another type of dative construction, referred to in Haddad (2014) as Topic/Affected Attitude Dative Constructions (hereafter TOP/AFF ADCs).

In order to frame the problem properly, let us begin by examining some data that illustrate the importance of topicality, affectedness, and empathy to POSS ADCs. Consider the conversation in (11) between speakers A and B. The conversation features Speaker B's mother-in-law. Crucially, however, Speaker A is concerned about Speaker B's well-being, and thus Speaker B, rather than his mother-in-law, is depicted as the topic and affectee in Speaker A's question. Speaker B's response is therefore most felicitous when it does not feature a dative referring to the mother-in-law. (B') is a more natural response than (B'').

- (11) A: *ki:f riħit ġa-l-ġiyil lyo:m*
how you.went to-the-work today
‘How did you go to work today?’
- B': *ʔaxadit sayya:rit ħame:t-i:*
I.took car mother-in-law-my
‘I took my mother-in-law’s car.’
- B'': *# ʔaxadit-illa: sayya:rit-a: la-ħame:t-i:*
I.took-her.DAT car-her for-mother-in-law-my
‘I took my mother-in-law’s car.’

Compare (11) with (12). In (12), the mother-in-law is established as the topic of conversation during the first exchange between the speakers. Here, Speaker A's response (A') is more felicitous than (A''); the former includes a dative that refers to the mother-in-law, thus explicitly maintaining her as the topic of conversation.

- (12) Context: B is showing A a family photo:
- A: *mi:n hayde l-mara:*
who this the-woman
‘Who is this woman?’
- B: *hayde ħame:t-i:*

this mother-in-law-my
 ‘This is my mother-in-law.’

A': *yalli ʔaxadt-illa: sayya:rit-a: hayde:k l-yo:m ?*
 that you.took-her.DAT car-her that the-day?
 ‘The woman whose car you took/borrowed the other day?’

A": # *yalli ʔaxadit sayya:rit-a: hayde:k l-yo:m ?*
 that you.took car-her that the-day?
 ‘The woman whose car you took/borrowed the other day?’

Finally, the exchange in (13) portrays the mother-in-law not only as a topic, but also as an affectee and an object of empathy. Now (B'), with the POSS AD, is more felicitous than (B").

(13) A: *fifit hame:t-ak na:tʕra taxi taht l-ḥiti*
 I.saw mother-in-law-your waiting taxi under the-rain
 ‘I saw your mother-in-law waiting for a cab in the rain.’

B': *yi:!! ʔaxadt-illa: sayya:rit-a: l-yo:m la-ru:ḥ ʕa-l-ḥiyil*
 oh!! I.took-her.DAT car-her today to-go to-the-work
 ‘Oh!! I took her car today to go to work.’

B": # *yi:, ʔaxadit sayya:rit-a: l-yo:m la-ru:ḥ ʕa-l-ḥiyil*
 oh, I.took car-her today to-go to-the-work
 ‘Oh, I took her car today to go to work.’

A: *maʕʔu:l inta?! xalli:-la: l-sayya:ra w-inta xo:d taxi*
 possible you?! keep-her.DAT the-car and-you take taxi
 ‘Are you for real?! You should have left the car for her and took a cab yourself.’

It is worth noting that many languages that license possessive dative constructions require possessor affectedness in order for external possession to be licit. Affectedness, in turn, is crucially contingent on sentience. Accordingly, only the living qualify as external possessors in such languages, to the exclusion of the dead and the inanimate. The examples in (12) and (13) may give the impression that LA is subject to the same restriction, seeing as the referent of the dative is a (living) mother-in-law. Animacy, in this case, is only incidental, however, as sentences (14), (15), and (16) illustrate. In each of these three sentences, the dative takes the possessor — a car — as a referent and depicts it as a topic, an affectee, and an object of empathy, despite its inanimacy.

(14) Topicality
hayde l-sayya:ra hada: kabb hazra: ʕl-ayy-a:
 this the-car someone threw stone on-it
w-kasar-la: fibbe:k l-fofe:r
 and-he.broke-it.DAT window the-driver
 ‘This car, someone threw a stone at it and broke the driver’s window.’

- (15) Affectedness
Ziya:d ʕasʕsʕab min sayya:rt-o ki:f bidʕdʕall
 Ziad got.mad from car-his how it.continue
titʕatʕʕal fa-fabaʔ-a: bi-ħazra: kasar-la: fibbe:k-a:
 it.break.down so-he.struck-it with-stone he.broke-**it.DAT** window-it
 ‘Ziad got mad with his car for breaking down all the time, so he threw a stone at it and broke one of its windows.’

- (16) Empathy
mif ħara:m ya zalame tkassir-la: fbe:bik-a:
 what.a.pity VOC man you.smash-**it.DAT** windows-it
la-l-sayya:ra sʕar-la: ʕafr sni:n bte:xd-ak w-bitzi:b-ak?!
 for-the-car happened-it.DAT ten years it.take-you and-it.return-you?!
 ‘Man, how could you smash the windows of the car after it had been taking you places for ten years.’

Now let us turn to TOP/AFF ADCs, a category of LA dative construction that differs minimally from POSS ADCs. Like POSS ADCs, TOP/AFF ADCs contain a dative whose referent is made discourse-prominent through portrayal as a topic, affectee, and/or object of empathy; unlike POSS ADCs, however, the TOP/AFF dative is not construed as a possessor. (17) through (19) provide examples of this latter construction. In (17), Speaker A enquires about Nadia, establishing her as the topic of conversation. Speaker B briefly mentions that she is well but goes on to talk about Ziad (perhaps a family member). The dative *-la:* ‘her’ in Speaker B’s response is used primarily to maintain the referent of *-la:* (Nadia) as the ongoing topic of the exchange. As the rest of the response indicates, Speaker B does not know much else about Nadia’s and Ziad’s situations or feelings (e.g., how Nadia feels about Ziad’s unemployment, or if Ziad is unemployed on purpose to aggravate Nadia). These data suggest that topicality may be the sole function of TOP/AFF ADs.

- (17) A: *ki:f-a: Na:dya ha-l-ʔiyye:m?*
 how-her **Nadia** these-the-days?
 ‘How is Nadia doing these days?’
 B: *mni:ħa ... Ziya:d baʕd-o ʔe:ʕid-la: bala: fiyil*
 well ... Ziad still-him sitting-**her.DAT** without work
bas hiyye ma: fakl-a: ʕa-be:l-a: hamm
 but she NEG appearance-her on-mind-her concern
 ‘She’s well. Ziad is still [**her**] unemployed, but she doesn’t seem to care.’

In (18), the referent of the dative is an affectee; he is affected by the actions of his neighbor, which could be intentional/malicious, (18a), or accidental/innocent, (18b).

- (18) a. *za:rt-o bitdawwir-lo l-ra:dyo ʔasʕid lamma:*
 neighbor-his turn.on-**him.DAT** the-radio on.purpose when
btaʕirf-o ne:yim la-twaʕfi-i

she.know-him sleeping to-wake.up-him
 ‘His neighbor turns on **[him]** the radio when she knows that he’s sleeping in order to wake him up / interrupt his sleep.’

- b. *za:rt-o ma: bitdawwir-lo l-ra:dyo ye:r huwwe*
 neighbor-his NEG turn.on-**him.DAT** the-radio except he
w-ne:yim ... byu:ʕa: w-bibatʔiʕil fi-i
 while-sleeping ... he.wake.up and-he.no.longer able-him
yne:m ... ʔa:l raħ yiħkiyy-a:
 sleep ... he.said FUT he.talk-her
 ‘His neighbor only turns on **[him]** the radio while he’s sleeping, so he wakes up and cannot go back to sleep. He said he would talk to her.’

Sentence (19) also portrays the referent of the dative as an affectee. However, while the two previous examples may or may not involve empathy, the speaker of (19) explicitly characterizes the dative referent, Nadia, as an object of empathy by using of the term *l-mʕatra* ‘the poor woman’ and by expressing what s/he would do in the same situation.

- (19) *Ziya:d biʔadʕdʕi:-la:i kil waʔt-o ne:yim la- Na:dya*
 son-her spend-**her.DAT** all time-his sleeping for-Nadia
w-hiyye l-mʕatra btiftiyil la-ttʕaʕmi-i ... matʕraħ-a:
 and-she the-poor.woman work to-feed-him ... place-her
biʕħatʕ-o
 I.kick.out-him
 ‘Nadia, Ziad spends **[her]** all his time sleeping, and the poor woman works to feed him. If I were her, I would kick him out.’

Why should the obligatory presence of topicality, affectedness, or empathy cast doubt on a syntactic or semantic account of LA POSS ADCs? After all, affectedness (though not topicality) is also a requirement of German possessive dative constructions, yet this did not stop Lee-Schoenfeld from offering a syntactic analysis or Hole from proposing a semantic one.

I mentioned earlier that when speakers are presented with structures like (8) and (9) above, their first reaction is to construe the dative as a possessor. With enough context, however, speakers may understand structures like (8) and (9) as TOP/AFF ADCs instead. That is, they may construe the referent of the dative as a topic/affectee but not a possessor. Sentence (20) is a repetition of (8) with additional context. In this case, the dative is interpreted as a TOP/AFF AD but not a possessor.

- (20) *Layla ma: btidʕhar maʕ ħada: ʔiza: sayya:rt-o miʒwiyye*
 Leila NEG go.out with anyone if car-his dirty
ʕa-Ziya:d yassal-la: l-sayya:ra mbe:riħ
 so-Ziad washed-**her.DAT** the-car yesterday
la-tidʕhar maʕ-o
 to-she.go.out with-him
 ‘Leila does not go out with anyone whose car is dirty, so Ziad washed his car yesterday so that she would go out with him.’

This is true even if an internal possessor is expressed and there is no person, gender, or number mismatch to disambiguate the intended meaning. For example, in (21), the internal possessor *-a*: ‘her’ could refer to Nadia, in which case the dative would be interpreted as a TOP/AFF AD. Alternatively, it could coincide with the dative and its referent Leila, leading to a possessive construal of the dative. In principle, both readings are available, but the context of (21) makes the former reading the only acceptable one.

- (21) *Layla_i ma: btid^hhar maʕ hada: ʔiza: sayya:rt-o miʒwiyye*
 Leila_i NEG go.out with anyone if car-his dirty
fa-Na:dya:k yassalit-la:i sayya:rit-a:k mbe:rih
 so-Nadia_k washed-her.DAT_i car-her_k yesterday
la-tid^hhar_i maʕ-a:k
 to-she.go.out_i with-her_k
 ‘Leila does not go out with anyone whose car is dirty, so Nadia washed her (own) car yesterday so that Leila would go out with her.’

The discussion so far shows that the possessive construal of datives in POSS ADCs is optional and contextually determined, and that POSS ADCs have a lot in common with TOP/AFF ADCs in terms of interpretation and pragmatic function. Two possibilities follow:

- (i) POSS ADs are syntactically TOP/AFF ADs with an optional, pragmatically determined possessive reading.
- (ii) POSS ADCs and TOP/AFF ADCs are only spuriously similar. The possessive construal of POSS ADs is the outcome of syntax (movement) or semantics (binding) rather than context and pragmatics.

Below, I entertain and ultimately reject the latter hypothesis before adopting the former. Note, incidentally, that the possibility in (ii) is a viable option; languages may have two constructions that look alike on the surface but are structurally different. German is a case in point. Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) distinguishes between possessive dative constructions without an internal possessor, like (4) above (repeated here as (22)), and structures that contain an internal possessor in addition to the dative, like (23) below (Lee-Schoenfeld’s (6a)). The author states that the dative in (23) “can but do[es] not need to coincide with a possessed nominal” (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006: 29; fn 36). Accordingly, she treats ‘the mom’ as an affectee that is co-indexed with the internal possessor but syntactically independent of it, and she dismisses (23) as a non-possessive dative construction.

- (22) *Tim hat der Nachbarin das Auto gewaschen*
 Tim has the neighbor.DAT.FEM the car washed
 ‘Tim washed the neighbor’s car.’

- (23) *Mein Bruder hat der Mami leider ihr Auto zu*
 my brother has the mom.DAT unfortunately her car to
Schrott gefahren
 scrap driven

‘Unfortunately my brother totaled mom’s car.’

The rest of this article is organized as follows. Section 2 offers a detailed description of the distribution of POSS ADCs in LA. Section 3 explores recent accounts of the possessive dative phenomenon and attempts to apply them to the construction in LA. Section 3.1 examines two syntactic approaches to external possession, raising and control, and shows that neither approach captures the facts of LA POSS ADCs. Section 3.2 considers a semantic alternative in terms of binding and shows that this, too, fails to account for the data. In section 4, I suggest that the possessor-possessum relation in LA POSS ADCs is a pragmatically controlled phenomenon that is subject to minimal syntactic constraints. The broader implication of this analysis is that external possession is not necessarily a cross-linguistically unified phenomenon. While referential dependencies in external possession may be reduced to raising, control, or binding, they do not have to be; they may be pragmatically determined instead. Section 5 presents my conclusion.

2 A Descriptive Overview

This section focuses on the distributional properties of POSS ADCs in LA. I start by comparing POSS ADCs to internal possession constructions vis-à-vis the possessor-possessum relations each construction licenses.

2.1 Possessor-Possessum Relations

LA internal possession constructions may express a number of relationships, including alienable and inalienable possession, kinship, identity, and compositional relations. Some of these relationships may also be expressed via POSS ADCs, as (24), (25), and (26) illustrate, while others are limited to internal possession constructions. For example, (27) and (28) show that identity relations (e.g., *madi:nit Bayruut* ‘the city of Beirut’) and compositional relations (e.g., *fo:rbit l-xid⁶ra* ‘vegetable soup’) are not allowed in POSS ADCs.

- (24) Alienable possession
Layla zarrabit-lo sayya:rit-o
Leila tried-**him.DAT** car-his
‘Leila tried his car.’
- (25) Inalienable possession
Ziya:d masak-la: ?i:d-a:
Ziad held-**her.DAT** hand-her
‘Ziad held her hand.’
- (26) Kinship relation
Layla se:ʔadit-lo ʕamm-o
Leila helped-**him.DAT** uncle-his
‘Leila helped his uncle.’
- (27) *za:ru:-la: madi:nit-a:*
they.visited-**her.DAT** city-her

- ✓ ‘They visited her city.’ (e.g., her city = *madi:nit Layla* ‘Leila’s city’)
 * ‘They visited her city.’ (e.g., her city = *madi:nit Bayruut* ‘the city of Beirut’)

- (28) *habbit-la:* *fo:rbit-a:*
 she.liked-**her.DAT** soup-her/it

- ✓ ‘She liked her soup.’ (e.g., her soup = *fo:rbit Layla* ‘Leila’s soup’)
 * ‘She liked its soup.’ (e.g., its soup = *fo:rbit l-xid^{ra}* ‘vegetable soup’)

The opposite is also true; not all POSS ADCs can be felicitously rephrased as internal possession constructions. Specifically, what Landau (1999) and Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) refer to as instances of “transitory” or “temporary” possession are readily expressed in POSS ADCs, but are not necessarily allowed in internal possession constructions. For example, the referent of the dative in (29) has Karim’s car in her possession, but she does not own the car. Similarly, the secret in (30) is Karim’s; the referent depicted by the dative has been entrusted with the secret, but it is not hers. Therefore, using internal possession, such as *sayya:rit-a:* ‘her car’ and *sirr-a* ‘her secret’, would result in infelicity in these cases.

- (29) *Ziya:d yassal-la:* *l-sayya:ra* *yalli* *staṣarit-a:*
 Ziad washed-**her.DAT** the-car that she.borrowed-it
min Kari:m
 from Karim
 ‘Ziad washed the car that she borrowed from Karim while it was in her possession.’

- (30) *Ziya:d fad^{aḥ}-la:* *l-sirr* *yalli* *ṭamman-a:*
 Ziad exposed-**her.DAT** the-secret that entrusted-her
ʕle-e Kari:m
 with-it Karim
 ‘Ziad exposed the secret that was entrusted to her by Karim.’

2.2 Presence versus Absence of Internal Possessors in POSS ADCs

In certain cases, internal possessors can occur within POSS ADCs in Lebanese Arabic. Some POSS ADCs *require* an internal possessor, some *permit* an internal possessor, and some *disallow* internal possessors altogether. At first blush, restrictions on internal possessors seem to be contingent on the type of possessor-possessum relationship involved in the POSS ADC. Closer examination, however, shows that this is a structural, rather than semantic, restriction.

First, note that an LA internal possessor, when it is allowed or required, may not be a lexical DP. Thus, (31) is ungrammatical under the intended reading. This sentence can only mean that Leila ate from Ziad’s plate and that a third party (e.g., Karim) was affected by her behavior. To obtain the desired reading, the internal possessor must be a pronominal clitic; the corresponding lexical DP is either dropped/implicit or realized as a double DP, as illustrated in (32) and (33).⁵ It may also be realized as a clitic-left-dislocated DP, as in (34).

⁵ This configuration is typical of clitic-doubling constructions; whether these structures are instances of clitic doubling or right dislocation needs closer examination, which I defer to another occasion. See Aoun (1999) for an analysis of clitic doubling in Lebanese Arabic. See also Anagnostopoulou 2007 for an overview and Philippaki-Warbuton et al. 2004 for a unified approach.

- (31) *Layla ʔaklit-lo_i min sahn Ziya:d_i mbe:rih bi-l-hafle*
 Leila ate-**him.DAT_i** from plate **Ziad_i** yesterday in-the-party
 *‘Leila ate from Ziad’s plate at the party yesterday.’
 ✓ ‘Leila ate from Ziad’s plate at the party yesterday ... to the (dis)satisfaction of another man.’
- (32) *Layla ʔaklit-lo min sahn-o la-Ziya:d mbe:rih bi-l-hafle*
 Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate-his **for-Ziad** yesterday in-the-party
 ‘Leila ate from Ziad’s plate at the party yesterday.’
- (33) *Layla ʔaklit-lo min sahn-o mbe:rih bi-l-hafle la-Ziya:d*
 Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate-his yesterday in-the-party **for-Ziad**
 ‘Leila ate from Ziad’s plate at the party yesterday.’
- (34) *Ziya:d Layla ʔaklit-lo min sahn-o mbe:rih bi-l-hafle*
Ziad Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate-his yesterday in-the-party
 ‘Leila ate from Ziad’s plate at the party yesterday.’

When the possessor-possessum relationship is one of alienable possession, the external possessor does not require an internal possessor, (35a), but it may take one. In the latter case, the possessum and internal possessor may form a construct-state genitive (*ʔidʿa:fa*), as in (35b), or a free-state genitive, as in (35c).

- (35) Alienable possession
- a. *POSS AD minus Internal Possessor*
Layla se:ʔit-lo l-sayya:ra la-bayy-i:
 Leila drove-**him.DAT** the-car for-father-my
 ‘Leila drove my father’s car’
- b. *POSS AD plus Internal Possessor (Construct-state)*
Layla se:ʔit-lo sayya:rt-o la-bayy-i:
 Leila drove-**him.DAT** car-his for-father-my
 ‘Leila drove my father’s car’

A reviewer asks whether *la-Ziya:d* is doubled by the internal possessor clitic or the dative clitic. The distinction between these two possibilities is difficult to tease apart, since doubling is possible with either in the absence of the other, as (i) and (ii) illustrate.

- (i) *Layla yassalit sayya:rt-o la-Ziya:d*
 Leila washed car-his for-Ziad
 ‘Leila washed Ziad’s car.’
- (ii) *Leila bitdaxxin-lo la-Ziya:d*
 Layla smoke-him.DAT for-Ziad
 ‘Leila smokes, and Ziad is affected by her behavior.’

The reviewer also asks if the restriction to pronominal internal possessors in POSS ADCs is due to Condition C. As we saw in Section 1, POSS ADs are felicitous only when linked to a salient element in discourse. This is why their reference may not be mentioned again as a lexical DP in the possessum DP. See also Section 4.

- c. *POSS AD plus Internal Possessor (Free-state)*
Layla se:ʔit-lo l-sayya:ra tabaʕ-o la-bayy-i:
 Leila drove-**him.DAT** the-car FS.POSS-him for-father-my
 ‘Leila saw my father’s car’

When inalienable possession – which, in LA, pertains exclusively to body-part relations – is involved, an internal possessor is required. In this case, the possessum DP occurs in a construct-state genitive; free-state genitives are not allowed (36).

- (36) *Ziya:d masak-la: *l-ʔi:d / ʔi:d-a: / *l-ʔi:d tabaʕ-a: la-Layla*
 Ziad held-**her.DAT** the-hand / hand-her / the-hand FS.POSS-her for-Leila
 ‘Ziad held Leila’s hand.’

Note that this situation stands in stark contrast to that found in languages like Spanish or German, where internal possessors cannot surface when an inalienable possession/body-part relation is involved. Shibatani (1994), commenting on possessive dative constructions in Spanish, holds that “body-part nominals are special in that they are automatically understood to be inalienably possessed by the referent of the dative nominal”; they therefore do not need to be mentioned again and, thus, shouldn’t be. While this conclusion may be correct for languages like German and Spanish, it does not capture the LA facts. The restriction in LA is not semantic but structural. A construct-state-style internal possessor is required in a POSS ADC if and only if it is also strictly required in the corresponding internal possession construction. (37) demonstrates that body parts must be construct-state genitives, (37a), unless the body part is modified by an adjective or relative clause, (37b). See Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) for more details about similar restrictions on inalienable constructions in English and French.

- (37) a. *yassalit *l-wiʒʒ / *l-wiʒʒ tabaʕ-i: / wiʒʒ-i:*
 I.washed the-face / the-face FS.POSS-my / face-my
 ‘I washed my face.’
 b. *bisit ha-l-wiʒʒ l-ħilo*
 I.kissed this-the-face the-pretty
 ‘I kissed this pretty face.’

For the same reason, the first option in sentence (38) is ungrammatical, but the rest of the sentences in (38) are good.

- (38) a. *yassalti-lla: *l-ʔi:d / ʔi:d-a:*
 I.washed-**her.DAT** the-hand / hand-her
 Intended reading: ‘I washed her hand.’
 b. *yassalti-lla: l-ʔi:d l-maʒru:ħa*
 I.washed-**her.DAT** the-hand the-wounded
 ‘I washed her wounded hand.’

- d. *taʕi:* *la-yassil-lik* *ha-l-ʔide:n* *l-ħilwi:n*
 come for-I.wash-**you.DAT** these-the-hands the-pretty
 ‘Come let me wash these pretty hands of yours.’

Kinship relations are a good testing ground for the observation that a construct-state-style internal possessor is required if and only if it is also required in the corresponding internal possession construction. (39) and (40) illustrate this point.

- (39) *Layla se:ʕadit* **l-ʕamm / ʕamm-a:*
 Leila helped the-uncle / uncle-her
 ‘Leila helped her uncle.’
- (40) *Layla se:ʕadit-lo* **l-ʕamm / ʕamm-o*
 Leila helped-**him.DAT** the-uncle / uncle-his
 ‘Leila helped his uncle.’

The same applies to the kinship terms in (41). These terms may only be used within construct-state genitives.

- (41) *ʔimm* ‘mother’ – *bayy* ‘father’ – *ʔibin* ‘son’ – *ʔixit* ‘sister’ – *xayy* ‘son’ – *ʒo:z* ‘husband’ – *sit* ‘grandmother’ – *ʒidd* ‘grandfather’.

In contrast, the terms in (42) may or must occur without a construct-state-style internal possessor, as (43) and (44) show — and consequently, a POSS ADC without an internal possessor is grammatical in these cases; e.g., (45) and (46).

- (42) *l-ma:ma:* ‘the-mom’ – *l-ba:ba:* ‘the-dad’ – *l-binit* ‘the-girl/daughter’ – *l-sʕabi:* ‘the-boy or the-son’ – *l-mara:* ‘the woman = the wife’ – *l-riʒze:l* ‘the man = the husband’ – *l-te:ta:* ‘grandma’ – *ʒiddo* ‘grandpa’.
- (43) *wasʕʕalit* *l-te:ta / *te:ta:-yi:* *ʕa-l-be:t*
 I.took the-grandma / grandma-my to-the-house
 ‘I took grandma home.’
- (44) *wasʕʕalit* *l-binit / bint-i:* *ʕa-l-be:t*
 I.took the-daughter / daughter-my to-the-house
 ‘I took my daughter home.’
- (45) *Ziya:d wasʕʕal-la:* *l-te:ta / *te:ta:-ha:* *ʕa-l-be:t* *la-Na:dya*
 Ziad took-**her.DAT** the-grandma / grandma-her to-the-house for-Nadia
 ‘Ziad took Nadia’s grandma home.’
- (46) *Ziya:d wasʕʕal-la:* *l-binit / bint-a:* *ʕa-l-be:t* *la-Na:dya*
 Ziad took-**her.DAT** the-daughter / daughter-her to-the-house for-Nadia
 ‘Ziad took Nadia’s daughter home.’

Kinship terms may occur in free-state genitives, such as *l-ma:ma: tabaʕ-a:* ‘the-mother FS.POSS-her’. However, such constructions tend to be used only to clarify a potential ambiguity — or to offend a person and treat her/him as an object, as (47) illustrates.

- (47) *ʃe:yif ki:f biwasʕsʕil-la: ha-l-wle:d l-zirbe:ni:n*
 you.see how he.take-**her.DAT** these-the-kids the-mite.infested
tabaʕ-a: ʕa-l-madrase kil yo:m
 FS.POSS-her to-the-school each day
 Do you see how he drives those dirty kids of hers to school every day!

The above discussion shows that the phenomenon pertaining to the presence vs. absence of internal possessors is subject to structural rather than semantic restrictions. A detailed account as to why this might be the case goes beyond the scope of this article, but I will briefly mention one possible explanation. Both internal possession constructions and POSS ADCs always start out with an internal possessor. When a free-state genitive is allowed and employed, the internal possessor occupies a complement position, from which it may be deleted; thus, *l-beit* ‘the-home’ or *l-beit tabaʕ-a:* ‘the-home FS.POSS-her’ are both acceptable constructions in reference to one’s home. When a construct-state genitive is obligatory, however, the possessum and internal possessor undergo incorporation into a single word, making the overt presence of the internal possessor obligatory (see Hoyt 2007 and references within).

2.3 *Types of Predicates that License POSS ADCs*

POSS ADCs are possible with all types of predicates, though not always with the same frequency.⁶ They are readily available with transitive predicates, which may be agentive (48)-(49), or perceptual/experiencer (50)-(51).

- (48) *Ziya:d nataf-la: hwe:ʒib-a: la-Na:dya*
 Ziad plucked-**her.DAT** eyebrows-her for-Nadia
 ‘Ziad plucked Nadia’s eyebrows.’
- (49) *Ziya:d saraʔ-la: mafa:ti:h-a:*
 Ziad stole-**her.DAT** keys-her
 ‘Ziad stole her keys.’
- (50) *Na:dya bithibb-illo⁷ ʃaʕr-o la-Ziya:d*
 Nadia love-**him.DAT** hair-his for-Ziad
 ‘Nadia loves/likes Ziad’s hair.’
- (51) *Ziya:d byaʕrif-la: ʔatʕba:ʕ-a:*
 Ziad know-**her.DAT** temperaments-her
 ‘Ziad knows/is familiar with her temperaments.’

⁶ It would be interesting to examine how factors such as predicate type and referent animacy affect statistical variation between POSS ADCs and internal possession constructions. See Linzen 2014 for a recent study on these and other factors in Hebrew possession constructions.

⁷ [-ill-] is an allomorph of the dative marker. See Haddad and Wiltshire 2014 for an analysis.

POSS ADCs are also possible with unergative predicates. In this case, the possessum DP occurs within a PP argument, which may be instrumental (52), locative (53), or source (54).

- (52) *Ziya:d tabax-la: bi-tʕanzart-a: la-Na:dya*
 Ziad cooked-**her.DAT** in-saucepan-her for-Nadia
 ‘Ziad cooked in Nadia’s saucepan.’
- (53) *Na:dya sʕaffit-lo la-Ziya:d ʔidde:m bayt-o*
 Nadia parked-**him.DAT** for-Ziad in.front.of house-his
 ‘Nadia parked in front of Ziad’s house.’
- (54) *Ziya:d ʔakal-la: min sʕahn-a:*
 Ziad ate-**her.DAT** from kitchen-her
 ‘Ziad ate from her plate.’

POSS ADCs may occur with unaccusative predicates as well, in which case the possessum DP surfaces as the grammatical subject, as (55) and (56) demonstrate. A better translation of (55) is: “She experienced the loss of several pairs of sunglasses this year.” Similarly, sentence (56) emphasizes that the referent of the dative *had to endure* the death of a son in the war.

- (55) *dʕaʕ-la: kaza: ʕwayne:t fams ha-l-sine*
 lost-**her.DAT** several glasses sun this-the-year
 ‘Several pairs of sunglasses of hers got lost this year.’
- (56) *mat-la: sʕabi: bi-l-ħarib*
 died-**her.DAT** boy in-the-war
 ‘A son of hers / Her son died during the war.’

Although rare, possessum DPs can also appear as subjects of unergative predicates, as (57) and (58) show. As Tal Siloni observes (in Linzen 2014), these predicates may include theme unergatives (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Reinhart 2002; Levin 1993), which normally take inanimate subjects. Sentences (59) through (62) illustrate.⁸

- (57) *harab-la: kalib mbe:riħ w-miħ ʕa:rfe tle:ʔi-i*
 ran.away-**her.DAT** dog yesterday and-NEG know find-him
 ‘A dog of hers/Her dog ran away yesterday, and she doesn’t seem to be able to find him.’
- (58) *ʔibn-a: ke:n ʕam-byisʕil-la: kil l-le:l*
 son-her was PROG-cough-**her.DAT** all the-night
 ‘Her son was coughing all night.’

⁸ The idiomatic examples in (59) through (61) may be realized as internal possessive constructions as well. Thus, (61) may also be expressed as in (i).

(i) *ma: tʕiliʔ sʕawtʕ-a:*
 NEG come.out voice-her
 ‘She was completely silent.’

- (59) *ma: raff-alla: zifin*
 NEG quiver-**her.DAT** eyelid
 ‘She was not affected at all.’
- (60) *ma: yimdʕit-la: ʕe:n*
 NEG shut-**her.DAT** eye
 ‘She was not able to sleep.’ ‘She was so worried or vigilant she couldn’t sleep or snooze.’
- (61) *ma: tʕiliʕ-la: sʕo:t*
 NEG come.out-**her.DAT** voice
 ‘She was completely silent.’
- (62) *ʔiza: ma: btaʕmil seʔwa:r baʕd l-ħimme:m*
 if NEG she.do hair.blowing after the-bath
byu:ʔafu:-la: ʕaʕra:t-a: he:k
 stand-**her.DAT** hair-her like.this
 ‘If she does not do her hair after she takes a bath, her hair looks messy.’

Finally, POSS ADCs are possible with stative predicates, especially locative stative verbs (Landau (1999) or stative verbs of position. Sentences (63) and (64) illustrate.

- (63) *l-taxit ʔaxad-la: kil l-ʔu:dʕa*
 the-bed took-**her.DAT** all the-room
 ‘This bed occupied/filled all her room.’
- (64) *Ziya:d txabbe:-la: wara: dʕahr-a: / bi-ʔu:dʕit-a: / taħt l-taxt la-Na:dya*
 Ziad hid-**her.DAT** behind back-her / in-room-her / under the-bed for Nadia
 ‘Ziad hid behind Nadia’s back / in Nadia’s room / under Nadia’s bed.’

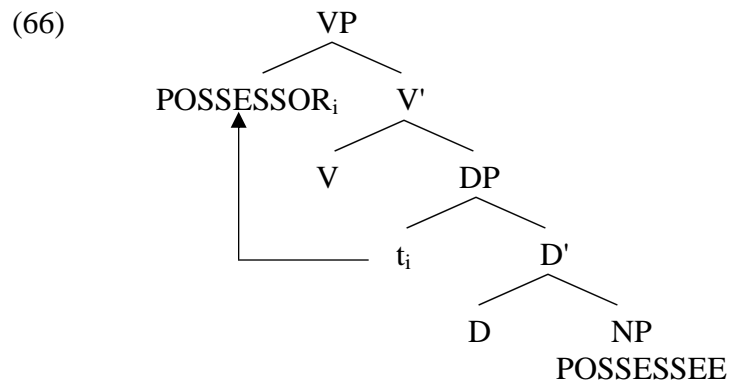
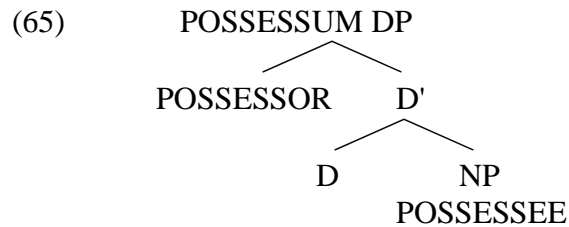
The following two sections develop an explanation for the interpretation of LA POSS ADCs.

3 LA POSS ADCs: Movement or Binding?

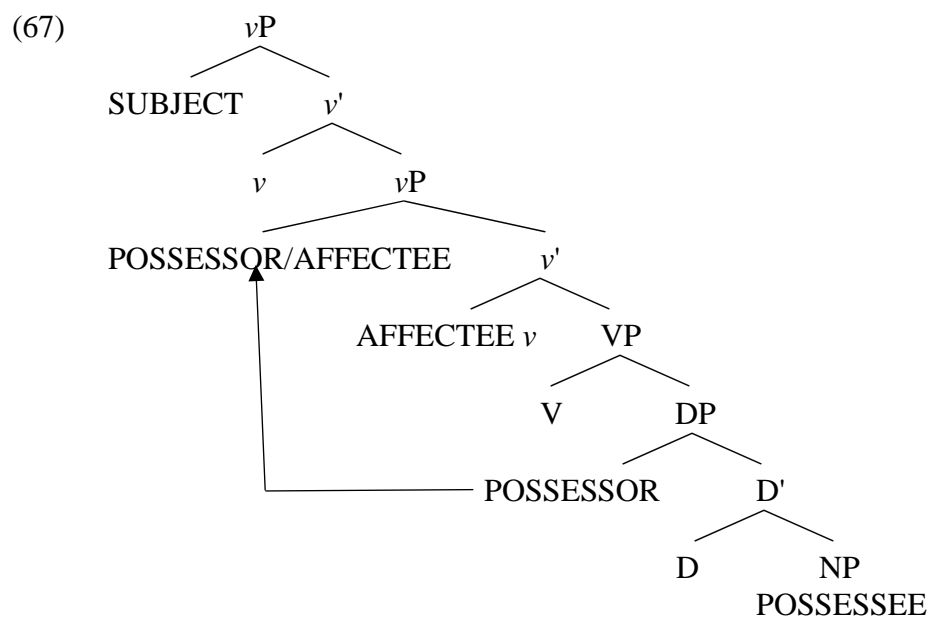
The two main approaches to external possession pursued in the literature appeal to movement (syntax) and binding (semantics). The movement approach has been further divided into a raising-based approach and a control-based approach. The raising approach maintains that the possessor moves from a thematic internal position to a non-thematic external position (e.g., Deal 2013), while the control approach holds that the possessor moves from a thematic internal position to a thematic external position, where it receives the role of affectee (e.g., Lee-Schoenfeld 2006). Conversely, the binding approach maintains that the possessor is first merged outside the possessum DP; the dative acquires its possessor role through local c-command of the possessum DP, in which it binds a variable (Hole 2005; see also Guéron 1985, 2006). In the rest of this section, I show that POSS ADCs in LA are not the outcome of movement or binding. In section 4, I present an alternative account.

3.1 *Against the Movement Approach*

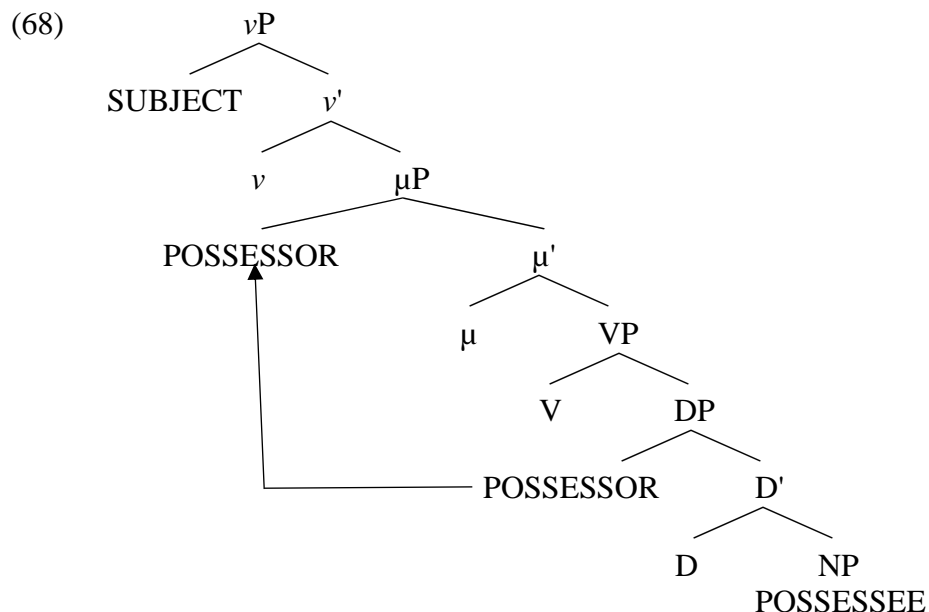
On the movement approach to external possession, the possessum DP starts out as in (65). The possessor undergoes first-merge into a caseless Spec,DP, and then raises to Spec,VP to check its case feature, as in (66) (Landau 1999). Crucially, this movement is case-driven.



On Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) account, the possessor moves to the specifier of the Affectee vP , where it checks its case feature and receives its new (affectee) theta-role. Thus, Lee-Schoenfeld's (66) looks like (67).



Deal (2013) adopts a similar approach to external possession in Nez Perce. However, since Nez Perce external possessors are not affectees, Deal proposes an athematic landing site for the possessor, as in (68).

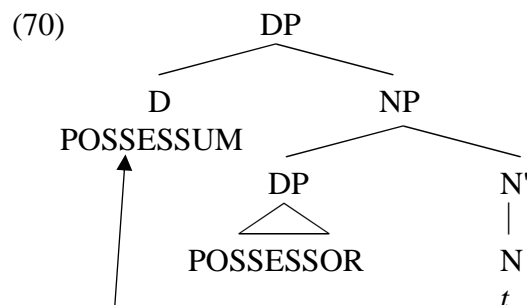
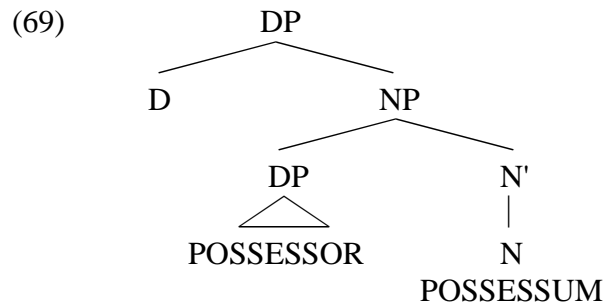


The movement analysis sketched here does not work for LA, for a number of reasons. First, if the possessor is to begin its syntactic existence in a caseless position, it cannot – at least on Landau’s and Lee-Schoenfeld’s analyses – be pronounced as part of the possessum DP as well. If the possessor receives case internally, it should remain trapped in its original position, unable to raise out of the possessum DP to seek case elsewhere. This problem is Lee-Schoenfeld’s main motivation for dismissing (23) above as a non-possessive dative construction.

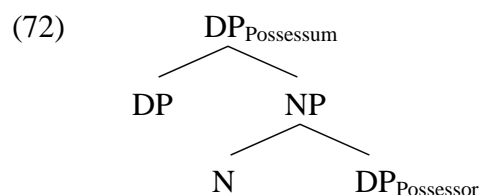
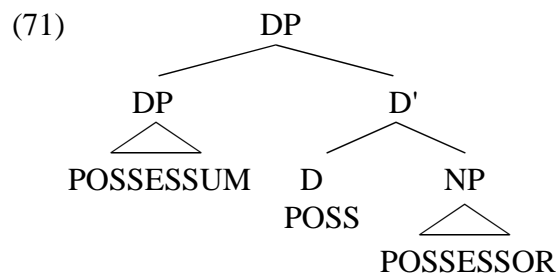
If this reasoning is correct, all instances of POSS ADC that contain an internal possessor phrase constitute counterevidence to the movement approach. Of course, it could be argued that LA POSS ADCs are instances of copy control that involve multiple case checking and multiple copy pronunciation (see Haddad 2011). Under such an analysis, the possessor would have to raise for reasons other than case. It is not clear, however, what these reasons could be. I set aside this option here.

Recall that possessum phrases in LA may be realized as construct-state genitives or free-state genitives. Drawing on Ritter (1988), it can be fairly assumed that construct-state genitives start out as in (69), and that N-to-D movement of the possessum follows (70). (For more recent analysis of construct-state genitives, see Benmamoun 2000 and Shlonsky 2004. See Hoyt 2007 for an overview.) What is important for our purposes is that the possessum, rather than the possessor, is at the edge of the DP, and should thus be the better candidate for movement. Proponents of the movement approach (be it raising or control) consider Spec,DP to be the only viable escape position for movement out of a possessum DP. As Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) explicitly states, “the relation between the PD [Possessive Dative] and its associated possessor position may not extend into the DP (into the domain of its head), but rather may access only its highest (outermost) specifier position” (113). Movement from a deeper position constitutes a violation of the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995; see Deal 2013: 403 for a more recent

incarnation), which states that movement of an element X to a position Y is disallowed if there is another element Z of the same type which is closer to Y.



Things get more complex with free-state genitives, to which Mohammad (1999) assigns the structure in (71). The possessor in this case is even more deeply buried inside the possessum. Deal (2013) analyzes similar possessive forms (“synthetic possessives,” in her terminology) in Nez Perce. Working with the structure in (72), Deal shows that movement out of these possessives is not possible. Instead, the possessor remains internal to the possessum DP, where it takes on genitive case as a last resort. LA free-state genitives and Nez Perce synthetic possessives are not isolated cases. As Deal (2013:411) points out, similar analyses have been proposed for Hebrew *fel* (Borer 1984: Chapter 2), Italian *di* (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991: 36-46), and English *of* and *'s* (Stowell 1981:239-249).



If POSS ADCs in LA do not arise through movement, we can predict that instances of external possession that are blocked in possessor-raising languages due to violation of the Minimal Link Condition should be possible in LA. This prediction is borne out in examples (73) through (76), which show that a POSS AD in LA may be associated with a possessum contained within a larger possessum DP. The larger possessum DP may be a free-state genitive, (73), or a construct-state genitive, (74), and the embedded possessum may itself be contained within another embedded possessum DP, (75). Finally, the possessum DP with which the POSS AD is associated may or may not contain an internal possessor: (73) vs. (76). The impossibility of such examples in German is taken by Lee-Shoenfeld as support for the raising analysis; she holds that “in a case where the direct object is a complex DP ... the PD [Possessive Dative] must be associated with the larger (containing) DP, rather than with the genitive, which is properly contained in (i.e., a subpart of) the larger DP” (2006: 113). No such restriction is enforced in LA — because, as I argue, LA POSS ADCs do not involve possessor raising.

- (73) *tʰaraft-illa:* *be:t* *xayy-a:*
 I.painted-**her.DAT** house brother-her
 ‘I painted her brother’s house.’
- (74) *tʰaraft-illa:* *l-be:t* *tabaʃ* *xayy-a:*
 I.painted-**her.DAT** the-house FS.POSS brother-her
 ‘I painted the house of her brother.’
- (75) *tʰaraft-illa:* *be:t* *ʔixt* *zawz-a:*
 I.painted-**her.DAT** house sister husband-her
 ‘I painted the house of her husband’s sister’s.’
- (76) *tʰaraft-illa:* *be:t* *l-sʰabi:*
 I.painted-**her.DAT** house the-boy/son
 ‘I painted her son’s house.’

Further evidence against the raising approach to LA POSS ADCs comes from structures that contain two internal arguments. Consider sentence (77), which contains a theme/patient *l-sayya:ra* ‘the car’ and a locative/goal DP *bi-l-gara:ʒ* ‘in the car repair shop’. Given enough context, speakers may associate the POSS AD *-lo* ‘him.DAT’ with either argument; indeed, example (78) shows that the POSS AD may even be associated with both arguments. These possibilities are not available in possessor-raising languages, where the possessive dative may only be associated with the higher DP; see Deal 2013.

- (77) *ħatʰtʰit-lo* *l-sayya:ra* *bi-l-gara:ʒ* *la-l-tisʰli:ħ*
 she.put-**him.DAT** the-car in-the-garage for-the-repair
 Literally: ‘She put for him the car in the garage for repair.’
 a. Possible meaning 1: ‘She put her car in his garage for repair.’ [in this case, “he” is a mechanic who owns a car repair shop (a “garage”)].
 b. Possible meaning 2: ‘She took his car to a garage because it needed repair.’
- (78) *sʰaffit-lo* *l-sayya:ra* *ʔidde:m* *l-be:t*

she.parked-**him.DAT** the-car in.front.of the-house

Literally: ‘She parked the car in front of the house.’

- a. Possible meaning 1: ‘She parked his car in front of his house.’
- b. Possible meaning 2: ‘She parked her car in front of his house.’
- c. Possible meaning 3: ‘She parked his car in front of her house.’

When a sentence contains two internal arguments, speakers may employ an internal possessor along with the POSS AD to clarify an ambiguity (or simply because an internal possessor is available). Sentence (79), from the play *Nazl l-Suruur* by Ziad Rahbani, illustrates this option.

- (79) *mwaʔʔif-li:* *sʿahri:ʒ* *l-mayy* *kill-o* *ʔiddem* *bayt-i: ?*
 he.parked-**me.DAT** cistern the-water all-it in.front.of house-**my** ?
 ‘Is he parking the whole water cistern in front of my house?’

Another structure disallowed by possessor-raising languages involves a context where the possessor is the agent or theme of the possessum. Movement-based external possession cannot accommodate this configuration: agents originate in Spec,NP (rather than Spec,DP), while themes originate in complement position (see Landau 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld 2006), and movement out of either position induces a locality violation. As predicted, however, LA readily allows POSS ADCs in this context, as (80) and (81) illustrate.

- (80) *maḥatʿit* *l-televizyo:n* *ʕaradʿit-ilna:* *taḥdʿi:ra:t-na*
 station the-television broadcasted-**us.DAT** preparations-our
la-l-ḥafle *bi-l-taʕsʿi:l*
 for-the-party in-the-detail
 ‘The TV station broadcasted our preparations for the party in detail.’

- (81) *ʔaʒʒalit-lo* *tindʿi:f-o* *la-l-be:t* *la-bukra*
 she.postponed-**it.DAT** cleaning-him for-the-house.MAS for-tomorrow
 ‘She postponed the cleaning of the house until tomorrow.’

In the following subsection, I examine Hole’s binding approach and show that, like the movement approach, this analysis does not work for LA.

3.2 Against Dative Binding

Hole (2004, 2005) argues that the dative arguments in German structures like (4) above – i.e., “possessive datives” in Lee-Schoenfeld’s (2006) terms – are not possessor arguments but affectees. Hole maintains this position despite the intuition of a possessor-possessum relationship between the dative referent and the possessum; the perception of this relationship, according to Hole, is “induced by the dative argument ‘binding’ the possessor variable of the more deeply embedded noun” or possessum (2005: 216).

Hole’s observations seem to capture the facts of POSS ADs in LA as described in Section 1, so it’s worthwhile to examine whether his analysis can account for the full range of LA data. Two pieces of evidence suggest that this analysis will not suffice for LA. First, dative binding relies crucially on a c-command relationship between the dative and the possessum DP. Hole writes:

I propose that the semantics of possession or, more generally, of relationality of the more deeply embedded argument in extra argument constructions [our POSS ADCs] should be modeled in terms of binding: The (index of the) extra argument binds the unsaturated variable of the c-commanded relational noun within the DP that denotes the possessum or (body-)part of the referent of the extra argument. (Hole 2004, Section 4.1)

This binding relationship entails that the possessum DP must first merge VP/vP-internally (e.g., as the object of a transitive verb or the subject of a passive or unaccusative predicate) in order to be c-commanded by the dative. However, as example (82) illustrates, LA licenses POSS ADCs with possessum DPs as subjects of unergative predicates (see also (57) through (62) above). In these examples, the possessum DP merges in a position higher than the dative, making it impossible for the dative to c-command it in a binding configuration.

- (82) *l-telefo:n ma: bidi??-illa: ye:r hiyye w-ʕam-btithammam*
the-phone NEG ring-her.DAT except she while-PROG-take.a.shower
‘Her phone doesn’t ring except when she is in the shower.’
‘Her phone rings every time she’s in the shower.’

Note that (82), as well as (57) through (62) above, is also problematic for the movement analysis of POSS ADCs. The different movement-based approaches to POSS ADCs require that the possessor move to a position below Spec,vP: different authors suggest Spec,VP (Landau 1999), Spec,vP-affectee (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006), or Spec, μ P (Deal 2013)). This requirement, again, means that the possessum DP must undergo its first merge VP/vP-internally. However, the possessum DP in (82) and in similar structures with unergative predicates necessarily merges as an external argument above the assumed landing site of the possessor. A possessor-raising approach would therefore have to become a possessor-*lowering* approach in order to account for the LA data, which is not possible under standard assumptions.

An additional challenge for the binding approach in particular comes from LA POSS ADC structures with implied or absent possessums. Hole (2005: 227) presents the examples in (83) (his (32)). (83a) and (83b) are synonymous; the only difference is that the verb in the former is transitive, while the verb in the latter is intransitive. Only the transitive predicate licenses a dative that may be interpreted as an affectee and a possessor. The intransitive predicate in (83b) cannot license such a dative: the binding approach assumes that the dative must be accompanied by an operator that needs to bind something; binding may not apply vacuously. See also Hole 2004, section 4.2.2.

- (83) a. *Ed hat ihr_i die Wäsche_i gewaschen*
Ed has her.DAT the laundry washed
‘Ed did her laundry for her.’
b. *Ed hat (*ihr) gewaschen*
Ed has her.DAT washed.laundry
‘Ed did the laundry (*for her).’

Consider the LA sentences in (84). All these sentences contain a possessum DP; in each case, the dative is understood as a POSS AD. At the same time, LA licenses similar POSS ADCs with implied possessum DPs, as (85) illustrates. The implicit nature of these possessums does not make the possessive reading less salient.⁹ The grammaticality of sentences like (85) in LA is a problem for an approach that requires binding to apply non-vacuously.

- (84) a. *btismaʕ-lo: ʔaya:ni-i la-hayda l-mutʕrib ?*
 you.listen-**him.DAT** songs-his for-this the-singer ?
 ‘Do you listen to this singer’s songs?’
- b. *safwart-illa:¹⁰ faʕr-a:*
 I.blow.dried-**her.DAT** hair-her
 ‘I blow-dried her hair.’
- c. *ru:h ʕind l-ħella:ʔ xalli-i yʔisʕsʕ-illak faʕr-ak*
 you.go to the-barber let-him cut-**you.DAT** hair-your
w-yihliʔ-lak daʔn-ak
 and-shave-**you.DAT** beard-your
 ‘Go to the barber’s and ask him to cut your hair and shave your beard.’
- (85) a. *btismaʕ-lo: la-hayda l-mutʕrib ?*
 you.listen-**him.DAT** for-this the-singer ?
 Understood meaning: ‘Do you listen to songs for this singer?’
- b. *safwart-illa:*
 I.blow.dried-**her.DAT**
 Understood meaning: ‘I blow-dried her hair.’
- c. *ru:h ʕind l-ħella:ʔ xalli-i yʔisʕsʕ-illak*
 you.go to the-barber let-him cut-**you.DAT**
w-yihliʔ-lak
 and-shave-**you.DAT**
 Understood meaning: ‘Go to the barber’s and ask him to cut your hair and shave your beard.’

Now that we have ruled out – or at least cast some doubt on – movement and binding as viable approaches to the analysis of LA POSS ADCs, we are ready to consider an alternative.

⁹ Implied possessum phrases are possible in a number of structures, including those in (85). At the same time, not all predicates allow an implied possessum; e.g., (i) is ungrammatical. It is not clear to me why this is the case. Frequency and idiomaticity may be involved.

(i) * *ma: bikil-lo la-hayda l-chef*
 NEG I.eat-him.DAT for-this the-chef
 Intended meaning: ‘I do not eat food prepared by this chef.’

¹⁰ From the French word *séchoir* ‘hair dryer’.

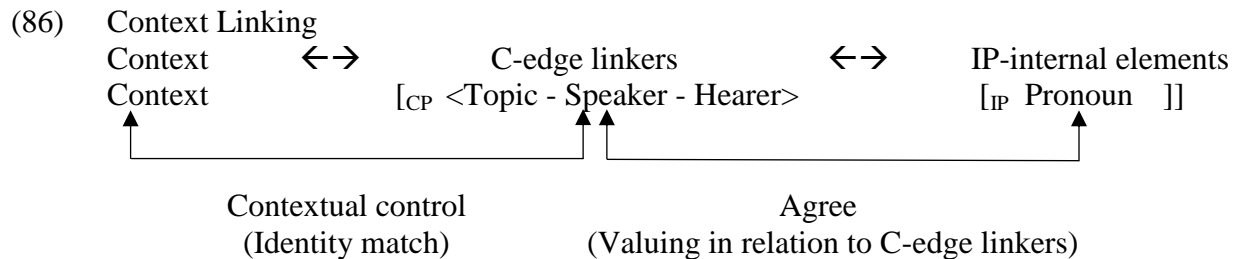
4 A Pragmatic Approach to LA POSS ADCs

Section 1 compared POSS ADCs and TOP/AFF ADCs in LA and showed that the dative argument makes a similar contribution in both types of expressions: In both POSS and TOP/AFF ADCs, the referent of the dative is made more salient by being presented as a topic, affectee, and/or object of empathy. In POSS ADCs, the dative is additionally interpreted as a possessor. Section 1 concluded with two possibilities, repeated here:

- (i) POSS ADs are syntactically TOP/AFF ADs with an optional, pragmatically determined possessive reading.
- (ii) POSS ADCs and TOP/AFF ADCs are only spuriously similar. The possessive construal of POSS ADs is the outcome of syntax (movement) or semantics (binding) rather than context and pragmatics.

Section 3 ruled out the possibility in (ii). In the present section, therefore, I explore the possibility in (i). I first postulate that POSS ADCs begin their derivation as TOP/AFF ADCs, and I identify three specific distributional constraints that must be satisfied in order for the dative to be interpreted as a possessor. I further argue that satisfying these constraints is necessary, but not sufficient, for the possessive interpretation to obtain. Context and pragmatics have the final say in determining the referent of the dative as either (i) possessor + topic/affectee/object of empathy or (ii) (only) topic/affectee/object of empathy.

Haddad (2014) analyzes TOP/AFF ADCs within the framework of Context-Linked Grammar, as proposed by Sigurðsson and Maling (2012). Drawing on Ross's (1970) Performative Hypothesis, that analysis proceeds as follows. Datives, including PDs, are pronominal elements. Pronominal reference is a linguistic phenomenon that requires syntactic involvement. For instance, if someone tells Tom, *You made a good point in the meeting*, the syntax links the ν P event participant (Tom), to the speech event participant or hearer (also Tom). Sigurðsson and Maling refer to this process as “context linking” and explain that it involves linking clause-internal participants to clause-external referents, as schematically illustrated in (86).

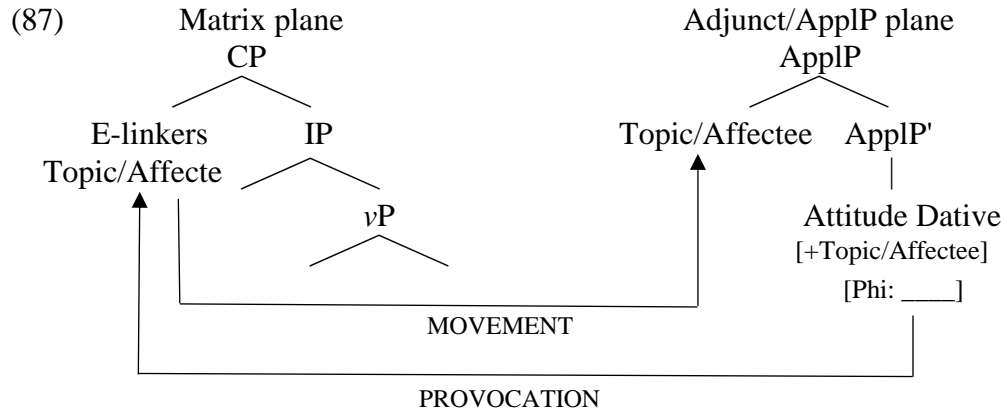


Sigurðsson and Maling (2012:371) add that, if (86) is correct, this means that the CP domain “contains not only Force and information structure features (in the spirit of Rizzi 1997), but also features of the speech event, such as Λ_A [speaker] and Λ_P [hearer]. Features of this sort are commonly assumed to belong to pragmatics.”

Haddad (2014) adopts this approach and treats TOP/AFF ADs as applicatives that start out in the syntax with unvalued phi-features and with a valued discourse feature, [+Topic/Affectee]. The role of the syntax is to link the dative to the appropriate edge-linker in CP. In this case, the

edge-linker is a topic, which may be silent or pronounced. If pronounced, it may be a clitic-doubled element, a clitic-left-dislocated topic, or a right-dislocated topic.¹¹

The derivation of a TOP/AFF ADC on this analysis is presented in (87) and proceeds as follows. The attitude dative starts out as an adjunct applicative phrase (ApplP) in a separate plane (à la Uriagereka 2003). It has a discourse feature specified as [+Topic/Affectee]; it scans the CP region of the matrix clause looking for a matching edge-linker (in this case, a topic) in order to value its phi-feature via provocative movement (à la Branigan 2011).¹² After movement and the valuation of phi-features, the ApplP collapses with the matrix structure, adjoining to vP. The dative cliticizes to the verb via head movement. See Haddad (2014) for more details.



A reviewer suggests that expressive material like TOP/AFF ADs and POSS ADs are perhaps best handled not by sideward movement and separate-plane adjunction, as in (87), but by a multidimensional semantics. I agree that the dative constructions examined in this article may be semantically distributed on two tiers, a truth-conditional tier and a non-truth-conditional one, and that TOP/AFF ADs and POSS ADs belong to the latter (see Bosse et al., 2012; Potts, 2005). I have not pursued a semantic analysis in this article, but I suggest that the two-tier semantic characteristic of these datives may also be available syntactically, as (87) illustrates.

POSS ADs are, derivationally, TOP/AFF ADs. However, does this mean that all TOP/AFF ADs are potentially POSS ADs? I contend not. Instead, I propose that three conditions must apply in order for a TOP/AFF AD to be relabeled a POSS AD:

- (i) The sentence hosting the TOP/AFF AD must contain a potential possessum.
- (ii) The TOP/AFF AD must cliticize to the verb that selects that possessum phrase.
- (iii) If the possessum phrase contains an internal possessor, the TOP/AFF AD must agree in person, gender, and number with the internal possessor.

¹¹ I defer discussion of these possibilities and consideration of their availability for POSS ADCs for another occasion. What is important for our purposes is that there is an edge-linker involved.

¹² According to Branigan (2011: 5), provocation “occurs in the course of feature valuation when certain probes seek a value for their unvalued features by identifying a goal to supply what they lack.” The probe may seek a goal internally (within the same phrase structure) or externally (e.g., from the numeration). If the probe’s features are provocative, they force the generation of a copy of the goal, which in turn generates a new position for the copy to merge into (e.g., a specifier position).

If any of these conditions is violated, the dative may only be interpreted as TOP/AFF AD. If all three conditions are satisfied, a possessive construal of the dative is judged by speakers as most natural and most readily available, (88), unless additional context is presented to offer more possible interpretations, (89); see also discussion in Section 1.

- (88) *ma: bisi?-la: l-sayya:ra la-?imm-o*
 NEG he.drive-**her.DAT** the-car for-mother-his
 Preferred reading: ‘He doesn’t drive his mother’s car.’

- (89) *ma: bisi?-la: l-sayya:ra la-?imm-o w-huwwe sikra:n*
 NEG he.drive-**her.DAT** the-car for-mother-his and-he drunk
 Possible reading 1: ‘He doesn’t drive his mother’s car while drunk.’
 Possible reading 2: ‘He doesn’t drive his car while drunk because that makes his mother worry.’

With respect to Condition (i), all the grammatical POSS ADCs we have seen so far contain an overt possessum, with the exception of the sentences in (85), which contain implied possessums. If a sentence contains a dative but no potential possessum (overt or implied) for that dative to associate with, the possessive reading is unavailable. For instance, while a possessive reading is available in (88) and (89), both of which contain potential possessum DPs, no possessive reading is available in (90).

- (90) A father to his son:
ma: tsi?-la: la-?imm-ak w-inta sikra:n
 NEG drive-**her.DAT** for-mother-your and-you drunk
 ‘Don’t drive while you’re drunk; that will make your mother worry.’

Concerning Condition (ii), if the dative cliticizes to a vP that contains a possible possessum, it may be interpreted as a POSS AD. Otherwise, it may only be interpreted as a TOP/AFF AD. Observe the exchange between Speaker A and Speaker B in (91). In B', the dative is cliticized to the verb *bidu:r* ‘wander/drive around’, which selects the instrument PP *bi-l-sayya:ra* ‘in the car’. The dative may be interpreted as a POSS AD. In B'', on the other hand, the dative is cliticized to the higher verb, *biku:n*, the copula. In this case, the possessive reading is not available.

- (91) A: *we:n Ziya:d*
 where Ziad
 ‘Where is Ziad?’

- B': *biku:n ?am-bidir-la: bi-l-sayya:ra la-?imm-o*
 He.be PROG-wander-**her.DAT** in-the-car for-mother-his
 ‘He is probably driving around in his mother’s car, and his mother doesn’t feel good about it.’
 ‘He is probably driving around in his own car, and his mother doesn’t feel good about it.’

- B'': *bikin-la: ?am-bidu:r bi-l-sayya:ra la-?imm-o*

he.be-**her.DAT** PROG-wander in-the-car for-mother-his
 ‘He is probably driving around in his own car, and his mother doesn’t feel good about it.’

If (B') in (91) is realized as in (92), the possessive interpretation becomes unavailable due to a violation of Condition (iii): The possessum phrase now contains an internal possessor with phi-features that do not match the phi-features of the dative.

- (92) *biku:n* *ʕam-bidir-la:* *bi-sayya:rt-o* *la-ʔimm-o*
 He.be PROG-wander-**her.DAT** in-car-**his** for-mother-his
 * ‘He is probably driving around in his mother’s car, and his mother doesn’t feel good about it.’
 ‘He is probably driving around in his own car, and his mother doesn’t feel good about it.’

What proof do we have that the POSS AD starts out as an adjunct in a separate plane? Evidence comes from clausal ellipsis or stripping, as exemplified in (93) and (94). Stripping is defined as “an elliptical construction in which the ellipsis clause contains only one constituent” (Huang 2000: 5). I assume that stripping is subject to the syntactic identity condition that requires deletion to take place under an identity relation with an antecedent. If a POSS AD/AppIP is strictly a part of a speaker’s statement – that is, if the AppIP occupies the same plane as the rest of the structure – only (93a) but not (94a) should be possible. In (93a), the elided part in the second conjunct syntactically matches its antecedent in the first conjunct (see 93b); however, in (94a), the elided part in the second conjunct does not contain a POSS AD, and thus it does not match its antecedent in the first conjunct (see 94b). Note that (94a) may not be interpreted as a POSS ADC; as (94c) illustrates, a POSS AD cannot corefer with an internal possessor realized as a lexical DP. See also (31) above.

- (93) a. *yassalt-illa:* *sayya:rit-a:* *la-Na:dya* ,
 you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her for-Nadia ,
 w-sayya:rit-a: *la-Layla* *kame:n*
 and-car-her for-Leila also
 ‘I washed Nadia’s car, and Leila’s car as well.
- b. *yassalt-illa:* *sayya:rit-a:* *la-Na:dya* ,
 you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her for-Nadia ,
 w-yassalt-illa: *sayya:rit-a:* *la-Layla* *kame:n*
 and-I.washed-**her.DAT** car-her for-Leila also
 ‘I washed Nadia’s car, and I washed Leila’s car as well.
- (94) a. *yassalt-illa:* *sayya:rit-a:* *la-Na:dya* ,
 you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her for-Nadia ,
 w-sayya:rit *Layla* *kame:n*
 and-car Leila also
 ‘I washed Nadia’s car, and Leila’s car as well.
- b. *yassalt-illa:* *sayya:rit-a:* *la-Na:dya* ,

you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her for-Nadia ,
w-yassalit sayya:rit Layla kame:n
 and-I.washed car Leila also
 ‘I washed Nadia’s car, and I washed Leila’s car as well.

- c. * *yassalt-illa:* *sayya:rit-a:* *la-Na:dya* ,
 you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her for-Nadia ,
 w-yassalit-illa_i *sayya:rit Layla_i kame:n*
 and-I.washed-**her.DAT_i** car Leila_i also
 ‘I washed Nadia’s car, and I washed Leila’s car as well.

The grammaticality of (94a) indicates that ApplP occupies a separate plane and is not strictly a part of the speaker’s statement. The speaker may decide to portray Leila as a topic/affectee just as he does with Nadia, (93a). Alternatively, he may decide to use an internal possessive structure to talk about Leila; thus, (94a). This use is reminiscent of the behavior of sentential or speaker-oriented adverbs, which may occur in stripping, as (95) (Merchant, 2003:2, (15)) illustrates.

- (95) a. Abby speaks passable Dutch, and (probably/possibly/fortunately) Ben, too.
 b. Definitely/Fortunately, Tom won, and probably/unfortunately Jim, too.

5 Conclusion

At first blush, LA POSS ADCs look quite similar to possessive datives in other languages, such as Hebrew and German. Accordingly, one may be tempted to assume that these expressions should receive a similar analysis. Research on possessive datives has suggested a movement analysis, whereby the possessor merges first in Spec,DP of a possessum phrase before it moves to a higher position. In this article, I show that the movement approach cannot account for POSS ADCs in LA, since the possessor in this language necessarily merges low in the possessum phrase, a position out of which movement is impossible. I also rule out a binding analysis of LA POSS ADCs by presenting structures in which the dative may not bind into the possessum DP. Finally, I develop an alternative, pragmatically motivated analysis in which LA POSS ADs are understood as TOP/AFF ADs linked to a topic that occupies the CP region as an edge-linker. I also suggest that the possessor interpretation is contextually determined provided three structural conditions are satisfied.

If this analysis is correct, it explains why POSS ADs in LA, unlike possessive datives in Hebrew and German and external possessors in Nez Perce, may not be lexical DPs; see examples (3) and (4) in section 1. Whereas a possessive dative in a possessor-raising language may undergo first-merge as a lexical DP at the edge of a possessum phrase prior to movement, a POSS AD in LA does not start out in the possessum phrase, but as a pronominal element linked to a topic in the left periphery. The topic itself, but not the POSS AD, may be pronounced as a lexical DP.

In more general terms, this article adds to the body of evidence suggesting that external possessive constructions, although a cross-linguistic phenomenon, are not structurally (or even semantically) identical across languages. Research on these structures within generative linguistics since the 1960s has tried to explain, among other things, how the external possessor receives a possessive construal. The general tendency has been to attribute the possessive reading

to syntax/movement or semantics/binding (see Deal (to appear) for an overview). This article offers a new possibility: Pragmatics. The possessive reading in LA dative constructions like (8) and (9) above is pragmatically determined, rather than syntactically or semantically mediated. An interesting next step will be to see whether pragmatics plays a role in external possession in other languages, including other Arabic dialects.

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