

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

**Ditransitive Constructions in
Jordanian Arabic**

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Eötvös Loránd University
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Abbreviations

JA = Jordanian Arabic

1PL = First person plural

2PL = Second person plural

3SGM = Third person singular masculine

3PLM = Third person plural masculine

DO = Direct object

VP = Verb phrase

DP = Determiner phrase

TP = Tense phrase

TopP = Topic phrase

Spec = Specifier

* = The sentence is ungrammatical

*(...) = The sentence is ungrammatical with
the absence of parenthesised expression

(*...) = The sentence is ungrammatical with
the presence of parenthesised expression

DOC = Double Object Construction

PDC = Prepositional Dative Construction

EPP = Extended Projection Principle

ISG = First person singular

2SG = Second person singular

3SGF = Third person singular feminine

3PLF = Third person plural feminine

Neg = Negation

IO = Indirect object

NP = Noun phrase

PP = Prepositional phrase

CP = Complementiser phrase

ApplP = Applicative phrase

IMP= Imperative

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Chapter One: Setting the Scene

1.1. Introduction

This study investigates the syntactic and semantic properties of ditransitive constructions with both lexical and pronominal objects in Jordanian Arabic (henceforth JA). It also aims to improve understanding of ditransitive structures in contemporary spoken Arabic dialects, with a particular focus on JA syntax. A secondary aim is to briefly examine factors such as definiteness, pronominalisation, and causativity, which may influence speakers' choices of specific constructions, as suggested by research on the dative alternation. However, no definitive conclusions will be drawn in the latter areas; instead, the focus is on enriching descriptive analysis and creating a basis for future research.

Studying this syntactic phenomenon in JA is important because ditransitive constructions present a major analytical challenge in generative linguistics, especially regarding how these structures are formed across languages and how internal arguments are assigned their theta roles and case. As JA has not been previously examined in this context before, analysing its perspective data will help address these theoretical issues and further advance linguistic theory overall.

A ditransitive verb is a verb with two arguments that are not the verb's external arguments. Ditransitive constructions typically involve a verb and three arguments: an Agent, a Theme, and a third element, such as a Goal, Source, or Location. These terms help describe the structure and roles of arguments within specific verb phrases in linguistic analysis. In some constructions, direct and indirect objects, when part of a triadic complex, are endophoric—they appear as pronouns referring to an entity previously or subsequently introduced in the discourse. This structure embodies a characteristic feature of Semitic grammar, in which pronominal forms link objects to the wider context of the discourse or narrative.

Ditransitive constructions involve two internal arguments: a Theme and usually a Goal or Recipient, although the second argument can also serve roles such as benefactive or source. In many languages, including English, these arguments are expressed by two distinct structures: the double object construction (DOC) and the prepositional dative construction (PDC).

Many languages feature distinct syntactic patterns for ditransitive constructions. For example, English employs both a prepositional construction (e.g., *John gave the book to Mary*) and a double-object construction (e.g., *John gave Mary the book*), a phenomenon recognised as “dative shift” or “dative alternation” (Larson, 1988). JA exhibits a similar pattern to English, but its inventory of ditransitive constructions seems larger, including a prepositional dative construction (*Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət lɪ-ktaab lə Tamara*: “Samia gave the book to Tamara”) and a double-object construction (*Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət Tamara lɪ-ktaab*: “Samia gave Tamara the book”), along with a third form I will call the **Goal-Theme Prepositional Dative Construction** (*Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət lə Tamara lɪ-ktaab*: intended, “Samia gave the book to Tamara”). This alternation has stimulated debate in the literature, provoking questions about whether these constructions share the same meaning and underlying structure and how they should be represented in syntax. The thesis will begin by investigating key factors in the structure of ditransitives, including the syntactic and semantic features of ditransitive verbs, potential word orders, Case-marking, passives, scope interaction, and restrictions related to animacy.

1.2. Jordanian Arabic

Jordanian Arabic is part of the continuum of mutually intelligible Levantine Arabic varieties spoken across the Levant region. It is the main spoken language of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The varieties of JA are generally understood throughout the Levant and neighbouring Arabic-speaking areas, although to varying extents.

In Jordan, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) serves as the formal dialect in education, official documentation, the media, and other formal contexts. JA represents the informal spoken language of everyday life. JA consists of three main sub-dialects, each distinguished by its geographic and cultural origins, resulting in variations in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. These sub-dialects are Urban Jordanian Arabic (UJA), Bedouin Jordanian Arabic (BJA), and Rural Jordanian Arabic (RJA). UJA is primarily spoken in major cities and is often regarded as the more prestigious dialect. BJA is used by the nomadic tribes who settled in northern, eastern, central, and southern Jordan. Lastly, RJA is spoken in rural villages and is the researcher's native dialect (for more details, see Abdel-Jawad 1986; Al-Sughayer, 1990). The results of the interviews and questionnaire demonstrate that there is no syntactic dialectal variation regarding ditransitive constructions in JA, so there is no need to discuss the sub-dialects of JA.

The typical or unmarked word order in JA follows an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) pattern, similar to other Arabic dialects. This pattern is commonly observed in neutral discourse contexts, as reported in studies on various Arabic varieties. Notably, JA is not restricted to the SVO order; it can adopt different word orders (such as SOV, VSO, VOS, OVS, and OSV) under specific intonational and contextual conditions, each conveying unique syntactic and interpretive meanings (see Al-Shawashreh 2016). These variations demonstrate the flexibility of word order in JA, which is influenced by communicative demands and situational factors. This thesis argues that the word order of internal arguments in the Prepositional Dative Construction in JA is flexible.

1.3. The significance of the study and the research questions

Although there have been advances in analysing the distinct structures of DOCs and PDCs, cross-linguistic variation remains unclear. Little research has examined ditransitives in Arabic, and no studies have particularly examined them in JA. The structures of DOC and PDC in JA remain unknown, and it is unclear how previous analyses of ditransitives apply to JA, a language characterised by complex morphosyntax and frequent clitic usage.

This study is an attempt to address the following questions:

1. How are theta-roles assigned in ditransitive constructions?
2. What is the mechanism of word order derivation in ditransitive constructions?
3. What are the distinctive features or properties of ditransitive constructions?
4. Which is the unmarked surface form of the ditransitive construction?

The thesis aims to clarify these questions with particular reference to JA. The study shows that JA exhibits distinct patterns in ditransitive constructions, employing specific syntactic operations to generate different word orders for internal arguments in PDC. Contrary to Hallman's (2018) view of Syrian Arabic and Al-Janabi's (2019) view of Iraqi Arabic, the construction V-/ə DP_{GOAL}-DP_{THEME} is not a DOC but reflects the flexible word order in JA PDC. A range of syntactic evidence supports this conclusion. Additionally, the research indicates that the PDC is the unmarked word order for internal arguments in JA. The study also shows that JA's ditransitive constructions share key features with similar structures in other languages while also possessing distinctive traits. These features make JA's ditransitive constructions highly beneficial for further

linguistic investigation and contribute to a broader understanding of cross-linguistic syntactic patterns of ditransitives.

1.4. The data

The grammatical assessment of Jordanian Arabic data relies on my intuition as a native speaker, supported by interviews with other native speakers from different regions in Jordan. The recorded interviews were transliterated and transcribed to create the corpus for this study (see Appendix B). A questionnaire was distributed. I first conducted a pilot experiment, and the results enabled me to formulate the sample sentences. Sentences were rated on a five-point scale, ranging from 'completely unacceptable' to 'perfectly acceptable.' This multi-valued scale enables a graded assessment, thereby increasing the accuracy of the evaluation.

The study uses IPA phonetic transcription to transliterate the JA examples and ensure consistency. JA data will be transcribed, with each example comprising three lines. The first line presents the JA example, followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss on the second line, with hyphens separating morphemes and their grammatical functions. The third line provides an English translation. This approach ensures a systematic and clear presentation of linguistic elements throughout the study.

1.5. A general outline of the grammar of JA

Jordanian Arabic, part of the Arabic language family within the Semitic languages, is spoken by all Jordanians. While Standard Arabic serves official roles in Jordan and is used in documentation, education, speeches, and literature, JA is the everyday language for informal interactions. This local dialect is used both in spoken and written communication in daily life. For instance, when Jordanians communicate on social media, they typically write in JA rather than Standard Arabic. Here are some fundamental grammar issues that help in understanding the topic of the thesis:

In JA, the typical word order in a clause is Subject + Verb + Object, as shown in (1).

- 1- Samia ʃtar-ət beit
 Samia bought-3SGF house
 ‘Samia bought a house.’

The finite verb carries all the grammatical information of the subject, agreeing with it in person, number, and gender. The subject marker appears as a prefix in the imperfectives and as a suffix in the perfectives.

- 2- Samia b-t-okɪl ɪlu (imperfective)
 Sami Presenet-3SGF-eat sweets
 ‘Samia is eating sweets.’
- 3- Samia ʔakl-ət ɪlu (perfective)
 Sami ate-3SGF sweets
 ‘Samia ate sweets.’

The object marker is generally optional. However, when used, it emphasises the argument it is associated with and is only permitted for definite¹ arguments. It is worth noting that in this thesis, the only analysis of the association between clitics and overt noun phrases that is not compatible with my analysis is the one that treats the doubles as adjuncts, i.e., I cannot adopt the analysis which claims the double is in an A-bar position. Therefore, I can follow either the ‘big DP’ hypothesis, Uriagereka (1995), or CliticVoiceP, Sportiche (1996).

- 4- smɪɜ-t-u lɪ-mɜəlɪm
 heard-1SG-him the-teacher
 ‘I heard him, the teacher.’
- 5- smɪɜ-ɪt lɪ-mɜəlɪm
 heard-1SG the-teacher
 ‘I heard the teacher.’
- 6- *smɪɜ-t-u mɜəlɪm
 heard-1SG-him teacher
 Intended, ‘I heard him, a teacher.’

¹ For JA, it is important to speak in terms of definiteness rather than specificity. In JA, it is strictly impossible for something that is morphosyntactically indefinite to serve as a double regardless of its semantics.

In (4), the definite direct object *lī-mʕālim* ‘the teacher’ permits an optional object marker on the verb. In (6), the indefinite direct object *mʕālim* ‘a teacher’ cannot take an object marker, rendering it ungrammatical.

Like other Arabic varieties, JA is a pro-drop language, i.e., a null-subject language. A head verb, a subject marker, and an object marker can form a clause, as illustrated in (7) and (8).

- 7- *simʕ-ət-hum*
 heard-3SGF-them
 ‘She heard them.’
- 8- *simʕ-u-hə*
 heard-3PLM-her
 ‘They heard her.’

A head verb, subject marker, indirect object marker, and direct object marker can also form a clause, as shown in (9).

- 9- *ʔaʕtʕ-ət-nə* *yya²-hə*
 gave-3SGF-us *ʔyya-it³*
 ‘She gave it to us.’

All nouns are either feminine or masculine; there is no neuter gender. The verb fully agrees in gender, person, and number with the null subject. Consider (10) and (11).

- 10- *ʃirb-ət* *ʕasʕeer*
 drank-3SGF juice
 ‘She drank juice.’
- 11- *ma* *ʃirb-ət* *ʕasʕeer*
 Neg drank-3SGF juice
 ‘She did not drink juice.’

² This is another phonological variation of *ʔyya* which shows up only when we have clusters of clitics.

³ ‘it’ can be expressed by *-hə* or *-u* depending on the grammatical gender of the inanimate entity it refers to.

1.6. The adopted approach

The Minimalist Program (MP), introduced by Noam Chomsky (1993, 1995), builds on his earlier Principles and Parameters framework. Chomsky (1970) proposed that the language faculty comprises two core components: a lexicon and a computational system. The computational system interacts with two external performance systems: the articulatory-perceptual system (for sound production and perception) and the conceptual-intentional system (for thought and meaning) (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1977).

In MP, the computational system forms linguistic expressions by selecting items from the lexicon to generate derivations. Chomsky proposes an intermediate step between selecting lexical elements and building structures from them, namely ‘Numeration’. In this respect, we make a limited selection of lexical elements and use them to constrain the derivation. The derivation is complete, whether it converges or crashes, once all the elements of the ‘Numeration’ have been used. As Chomsky (2015) explains, creating a linguistic expression entails selecting lexical items and performing computations to produce “interface representations” (p. 154). These expressions must satisfy the principle of Full Interpretation (FI) at two levels: Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). The PF level connects with the articulatory-perceptual system, whereas the LF level connects with the conceptual-intentional system. A syntactic derivation is considered successful or “converges” if it produces valid PF and LF objects; otherwise, it “crashes” at the interface.

The MP framework relies on three primary derivational operations in the computational system: External Merge, Internal Move, and Agree. Features also perform a key role in this system. According to Chomsky (2000, 2001), there are two main types of inflectional features: uninterpretable features [uF] and interpretable features [iF]. Uninterpretable features are formal as well as lack semantic content; examples include the ϕ -features of T (such as Gender, Number, and Person), the EPP feature of T, and the structural Case of a DP/NP. Interpretable features, however, do carry semantic content, such as the ϕ -features of DPs.

In MP, uninterpretable features enter derivations unvalued, while interpretable features come with assigned values. This distinction in valuation is important: for a derivation to converge at LF, uninterpretable features must be valued through agreement with their interpretable counterparts. Once valued, these uninterpretable features are eliminated from narrow syntax. If

uninterpretable features are not deleted, the derivation crashes at LF because they lack interpretation at that level. As Chomsky (2001) notes, agreement relations facilitate the removal of uninterpretable features, enabling derivations to converge at LF while remaining accessible for phonological processing (p. 3). This thesis utilises the Minimalist approach (Chomsky 2000, 2001), where a Determiner Phrase checks its Case feature against that of a functional head, while also valuing the head's unvalued ϕ -feature. This mutual feature assignment process is called Agree. The thesis follows the Agree theory throughout this present framework, notably examining the interactions between functional heads and their internal arguments in ditransitive constructions.

1.7. Applicative structure

Like other languages, JA has a set of verbs that can be grouped based on the number of semantic arguments involved in the event. Intransitive verbs, which have one argument, are divided into unergative (12), where the argument could be an Agent or Experiencer, and unaccusative verbs (13), where the only argument is a Theme. Monotransitive verbs (14) typically have two arguments: the Agent or Experiencer and the Theme.

- 12- Sami rakað^s-Ø
 Sami ran-3SGM
 ‘Sami ran.’
- 13- ʔil-baas^s wis^sil-Ø
 The-bus arrived-3SGM
 ‘The bus arrived.’
- 14- Sami baaɸ-Ø ktaab-u
 Sami sold-3SGM book-his
 ‘Sami sold his book.’

This study concentrates on ditransitive verbs, which have three arguments in the event. A typical example is the verb ʔaʃt^sə ‘give’, which involves an Agent (the giver), a Theme (the thing being given), and a Goal (the recipient). What makes these ditransitive verbs particularly interesting from a syntactic perspective is that they can be realised in three different configurations: DOC (15), Theme-Goal PDC (16), and Goal-Theme PDC (17).

- 15- Sami ʔaŋtʰə -Ø Samia ktaab
 Sami gave-3SGM Samia book
 ‘Sami gave Samia a book.’
- 16- Sami ʔaŋtʰə -Ø ktaab lə Samia
 Sami gave-3SGM book to Samia
 ‘Sami gave a book to Samia.’
- 17- Sami ʔaŋtʰə -Ø lə Samia ktaab
 Sami gave-3SGM to Samia book
 ‘Sami gave a book to Samia.’

Although verbs such as ʔaŋtʰə ‘give’ are considered the classic type of ditransitives, there are three other three-argument constructions in the language that include a third semantic argument besides the Goal: locative, as in (18), instrumental, as in (19), and benefactive, as in (20). The oblique is optional in (19) and (20).

- 18- Samia ɦatʰ-ət lɪ-ktaab ʕa-tʰ-tʰawleh **(locative)**
 Samia put-3SGF the-book on-the-table
 ‘Samia put the book on the table.’
- 19- Samia gatʰ-ət ɪl-ləhmeh bɪ-s-sikeen **(instrumental)**
 Samia cut-3SGF the-meat with-the-knife
 ‘Samia cut the meat with the knife.’
- 20- Samia ram-ət ɪl-kurah lə Sami **(benefactive)**
 Samia threw-3SGF the-ball for Sami
 ‘Samia threw the ball for Sami.’

Some languages add an extra verbal affix that introduces a syntactic argument. Constructions featuring this additional verbal affix are known as applicative constructions. Chichewa, a Bantu language spoken in Malawi, exhibits various syntactic patterns, as illustrated in (21), (22), (23) from Baker (1988a), and (24) from Alsina & Mchombo (1990).

- 21- Mavuto a- na- perek -a chitseko kwa mfumu **(Goal)**
 Mavuto SP PAST hand ASP door to chief
 Mavuto handed the door to the chief

languages and English and proposes treating the English DOC as an applicative construction, despite the absence of morphological markers for the applicative head. Since JA DOC is similar to the English DOC, following Marantz, I suggest that DOC in JA has a null applicative head.

Pylkkänen (2002) defines applicative constructions as those including additional indirect objects. She considers the possessor-dative construction a type of double-object construction. The key insight is that possessor-dative constructions involve an applicative head that provides an argument with a "source" or "from" relation, rather than the "goal" or "to" relation found in typical double-object constructions. Pylkkänen discusses Hebrew possessor datives and Japanese adversity passives as two distinct types of low-source applicatives. Her main argument is that the applicative argument is introduced by a "low applicative head" or a "high applicative head". A low applicative head is generated within the VP, denoting a relationship between two individuals. In contrast, a high applicative head attaches above the VP and denotes a relationship between an event and an individual. She claims that benefactives in Chaga exhibit high applicatives, whereas in English they exhibit low applicatives. Pylkkänen (2008) argues that a language may have both head inventories, as in Bantu, but she does not claim that both heads can be merged in the same clause at the same time.

1.8. An approach compatible with the UTAH

The UTAH (25) suggests that the same thematic roles are always assigned to the same structural positions within syntactic structures. Therefore, if two arguments share a semantic role, such as "Agent" or "Theme," they will occupy the same position in a sentence's syntax tree, regardless of the verb or syntactic construction.

The UTAH offers theoretical and empirical benefits that help explain its ongoing influence in syntactic theory by requiring that identical thematic relationships correspond to identical structural relationships. The UTAH introduces restrictiveness and predictability into grammatical analysis. This constraint narrows the hypothesis space by preventing arbitrary structural assignments for the same thematic configuration, hence improving the theory's falsifiability. The UTAH also supports cross-linguistic consistency by predicting that thematic role assignment functions uniformly across languages; surface differences are attributed to independently motivated movement operations rather than to arbitrary structural variation. This consistent

mapping facilitates language acquisition, as learners can rely on a stable link between thematic roles and syntactic positions, decreasing the need to learn language-specific mappings. Additionally, the UTAH explains cross-linguistic generalisations in argument structure, such as the consistent syntactic behaviour of unaccusatives, by linking them to underlying structural uniformity. The hypothesis further creates a principled interface between thematic interpretation and syntax, supporting compositional semantics. These combined advantages contribute to the lasting appeal of the UTAH, despite continuing arguments regarding its empirical scope and theoretical necessity.

Although the UTAH has played an influential role in syntactic theory, it continues to generate major debate in the linguistic literature. Critics claim that empirical support for strict structural uniformity across languages is inconsistent, citing argument-structure alternations, cross-linguistic variation in theta-role assignments, and exceptions in languages with flexible word order or non-canonical argument realisation (Lebeaux, 1988; Levin & Hovav, 1995). Some scholars (Grimshaw, 1990; Kiparsky, 1997) argue that UTAH's restrictiveness may be excessive, potentially excluding observed patterns or demanding complex movement analyses when simpler base-generation explanations could suffice. Furthermore, continuing discussions question whether thematic roles are sufficiently well-defined and universally applicable to underpin the UTAH's central claims. In contrast, I align myself with those who hold that the hypothesis provides a valuable foundation for cross-linguistic comparison and encourages more explicit, testable analyses by limiting theoretical possibilities.

Let us now examine whether Pykkänen's approach to applicative constructions is consistent with the UTAH. Pykkänen's (2002, 2008) applicative structure provides a basic framework for analysing the syntax and semantics of ditransitive constructions. In this model, applicative heads are divided into two types—high and low—based on structural and interpretive criteria. Syntactically, the high applicative head sits above the verb phrase, projecting an Applicative Phrase (ApplP), whereas the low applicative head is positioned below the verb, heading its own ApplP. Semantically, the high applicative head introduces an additional participant, such as a Beneficiary, Instrument, or Location, into the event structure by creating a direct link between the event and this participant. Conversely, the low applicative head does not

relate directly to the verb; instead, it facilitates a direct relation between two participants, typically by encoding the transfer of possession of the Theme, either from a Source or to a Goal/Recipient.

26- [VoiceP [High.ApplP Beneficiary, Instrument, Location [Appl' Appl⁰ [VP ...]]]

27- [VP [V' V [Low.ApplP Goal, Source [Appl' Appl⁰ Theme]]]]

The principles of Universal Grammar are assumed to consistently associate thematic roles with syntactic structure, as exemplified by the UTAH (25). This hypothesis implies that a lexical item with a specific thematic role (e.g., THEME) is always mapped to a fixed syntactic position. Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) analysis of applicatives would be perfectly compatible with the UTAH if the assumption that Themes are always complements of V is correct wherever they occur. Pylkkänen's analysis conflicts with the UTAH and the dominant view in the literature that Themes are consistently introduced in specifier positions. Therefore, the assumption that Themes are invariably complements becomes untenable under this alternative perspective. To maintain theoretical uniformity, applicative structures should be revised so that the Theme argument is placed in the specifier position rather than in a complement position.

One could propose a definition of the Theme that conforms to the UTAH without specifying a particular structural configuration, instead describing a structural relationship of the Government type. This would imply that the Theme must always be governed by the verb, thereby allowing a broad range of possibilities for the Theme. However, the UTAH aims to make a considerable contribution to solving the logical problem of language acquisition. The rapid rate at which children acquire language raises the question of how they quickly distinguish the relationship between thematic roles and syntactic structures despite substantial variability. If there is no variability, the process becomes simpler. Conversely, defining the Theme's relationship in terms of Government—an inherently heterogeneous relationship—fails to address the core logical problem in language acquisition. Therefore, it is essential to define thematic roles more precisely in relation to specific structural configurations.

In Pylkkänen's approach, Themes are not always complements of V: in low applicatives, the Theme is the complement of Appl. The only definition of the "Theme of" relationship that Pylkkänen could adopt to comply with the UTAH would exploit the Government relation. Yet there is a consensus in the literature that the Theme is not the complement of V. For example, in the

sentence ‘*John put the book on the shelf*’, both the small clause and VP shell analyses agree that the Theme, *the book*, is not the direct complement of the verb *put* (see Larson, 1988; Hale and Keyser, 1993). It occupies the specifier position in both analyses. In this thesis, I adopt the Larsonian analysis of non-applicative ditransitives, which treats the Theme as a VP specifier. This view is fully compatible with the UTAH and does not support the idea of the Theme as a complement of V. Therefore, to preserve conformity with the UTAH, it is necessary to adjust Pylkkänen's analysis of low/high applicative constructions, as the UTAH remains our preferred option for a systematic, structure-based approach to thematic relations; hence, I support a modified hypothesis regarding applicatives.

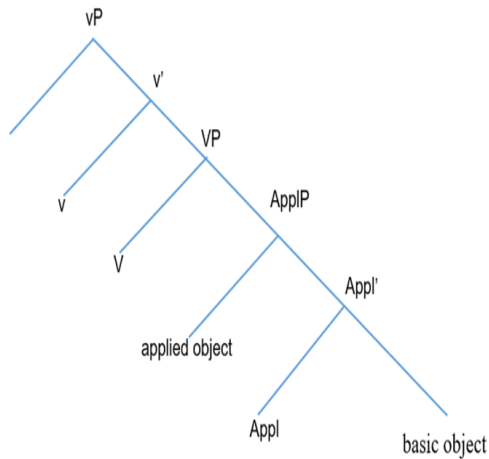
There is no bridge to be built between Pylkkänen's hypothesis and Larson's hypothesis of ditransitive constructions, as no connection exists between the two. However, once we recognise that at least part of Larson's analysis can be combined with Pylkkänen's, we see that Pylkkänen's analysis can coincide with Larson's/Baker's project. Larson's analysis of the dative shift alternation is based on the UTAH and the assumption that both internal arguments share exactly the same thematic role across the two diathesis variants. Part of Larson's analysis can be maintained and integrated with Pylkkänen's, provided Pylkkänen's analysis is modified accordingly. Additionally, I adhere to the view of Green (1974) and others that the thematic role of the indirect object in DOC differs from that of the P-object. The P-object functions as a locational goal, while the indirect object in DOC acts as the beneficiary or recipient (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2).

To analyse DOCs, I employ a modified version of Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) high/low applicative hypothesis. This change aligns the ApplP hypothesis with the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) by elevating Pylkkänen's low/high ApplP structure. In this configuration, the "low ApplP" takes the VP as its complement, with the Theme in Spec VP and the applied object in Spec ApplP, while the "high ApplP" takes little vP as its complement (see Xing 2025)⁴. This structure is consistent with Hale and Keyser's (1993) proposal that themes are

⁴ My proposal, conceived independently of Xing (2025) dissertation, happens to converge with a conclusion independently reached for Chinese by her.

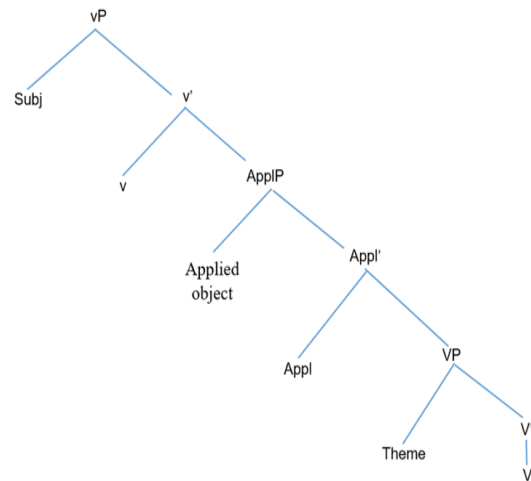
positioned in Spec VP. To analyse PDCs, I adopt Larson's (1988) approach, as it properly addresses the issue of assigning theta-roles and Case to the two internal objects in PDCs.

28- (a)



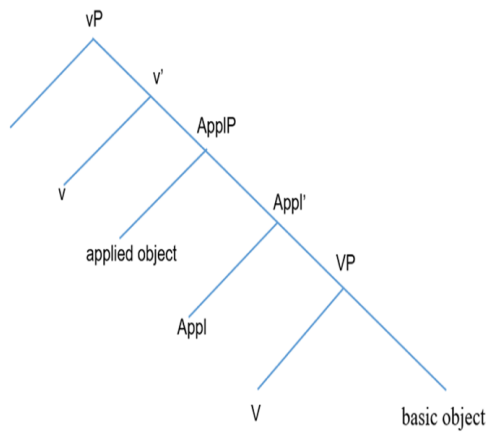
Pylkkänen's low ApplP

(b)



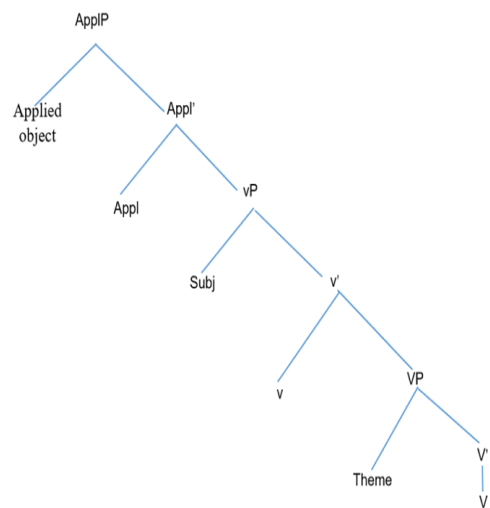
A modified version of Pylkkänen's low ApplP

29- (a)



Pylkkänen's high ApplP

(b)



A modified version of Pylkkänen's high ApplP

One might wonder whether the modified version of Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) high ApplP would be problematic, given that the Agent in Spec-VP, in high ApplP, would then have to move across the applied argument to reach the subject position, contrary to the Minimal Link Condition (MLC). As Guasti (2002) observes, A-movement to derived specifier positions remains insensitive to the MLC (or Relativised Minimality) when crossing arguments in their base θ -positions. The absence of such violations stems from the ineligibility of intervening θ -positions to serve as targets for the relevant A-probe, rendering them irrelevant to locality computations. Consequently, locality constraints are met rather than violated. This pattern is consistent with the core principle underlying the MLC: movement operations target the nearest *available* position. Because independent constraints—notably the Theta Criterion—prohibit movement to θ -positions, such positions are excluded from the set of potential interveners for locality assessment. It is also worth noting that the external argument moves to Spec-TP, so it still c-commands the applied object.

The modified approach to Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) low applicative does not abandon her fundamental claim that low applicatives involve a relationship between individuals, essentially possession, because the event argument is located in "little v", not V, which is an acategorical root; eventivity is specific to verbal constructs. In the present analysis, the low applicative head is positioned directly above the VP, thereby establishing a direct syntactic relationship between its specifier (the applied argument) and the VP. The VP is analysed as a root phrase ($\sqrt{P}$), containing a category-neutral root and a Theme argument, with the Theme serving as the only interpretable element at this stage of the derivation. This approach is consistent with the principles of Distributed Morphology (Harley and Noyer 1999, 2000; Marantz 1997, 2000; Embick and Marantz 2008), in which roots undergo Late Insertion and only receive phonological and semantic content upon merging with a categorising functional head. Consequently, roots lack inherent meaning until lexicalisation occurs, specifically after their integration with the applicative structure. V raises to "little v". After V-raising, the only meaningful material in the low ApplP is the two internal arguments, between which Appl establishes a possessive relationship. The low applicative still involves a semantic relationship between the two objects. The modified structure is consistent with Pylkkänen's (2002, 2008) characterisation of the low applicative and effectively accounts for the possession relationship present in simple ditransitive constructions, as initially delineated in cross-linguistic studies by Green (1974).

Moreover, we maintain the view that high Appl involves a relation between the applied object and the event: in the modified approach of Pytkkanen's analysis, the complement of high Appl is the vP, which represents the event; it is vP that high Appl relates to the applied object.

1.9. Ditransitive constructions in JA: Preliminaries

Ditransitive verbs take two objects: an indirect object (IO) and a direct object (DO). Typically, the IO indicates the recipient of the direct object or the beneficiary of the event, while the DO represents the item or entity affected by the action. Together, these objects add essential information, completing the verb's meaning. In JA, there are three ditransitive constructions: the Double Object Construction (DOC), as in (30), and two types of Prepositional Dative Construction (PDC), namely, Theme-Goal PDC, as in (31), and Goal-Theme PDC, as in (32). The DOC includes a ditransitive verb, an Agent, a Recipient, and a Theme. Conversely, the PDC comprises a ditransitive verb, an Agent, a Theme, and a Goal. The Goal-Theme PDC is the reverse structure of the Theme-Goal PDC, and I hypothesise that both structures share the same underlying structure. This will be vindicated in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

30- Samia	ʔaʃtʰ ⁵ -ət	Tamara	ктааб	
Samia	gave-3SGF	Tamara	book	
‘Samia gave Tamara a book.’				
31- Samia	ʔaʃtʰ ⁵ -ət	ктааб	lə	Tamara
Samia	gave-3SGF	book	to	Tamara
‘Samia gave a book to Tamara’				
32- Samia	ʔaʃtʰ ⁵ -ət	lə	Tamara	ктааб
Samia	gave-3SGF	to	Tamara	book
‘Samia gave a book to Tamara.’				

The Recipient and the Theme cannot generally both be coded by prepositions simultaneously. However, with certain verbs, a preposition can introduce either object, as in (33) and (34).

⁵ The verb 'give' in JA has two realisations: "ʔaʃtʰ⁵" and "ʔantʰ⁵a"

- 33- Sami baaʕ- Ø ʔil-bert lə Rami
 Sami sold -3SGM the-house to Rami
 ‘Sami sold the house to Rami.’
- 34- Sami mawwan - Ø ʔil-bert bi-l-ʔakıl
 Sami provided- 3SGM the-house with-food
 ‘Sami provided the house with food.’
- 35- Sami dayyan- Ø Rami masʕaari
 Sami lent- 3SGM Rami money
 ‘Sami lent Rami money.’

As mentioned earlier, the single case of a verb that permits both the Recipient and the Theme to be simultaneously coded by prepositions is the verb *ʔitbarraʕ* ‘donate’, as shown in (36). This construction will not be analysed further in the present work.

- 36- ʔitbaraʕ-ıt bi-masʕaari lə l-fageer
 donated-1SG with-money to the-poor
 ‘I donated money to the poor.’

Almost all verbs that accept the DOC in JA also accept the PDC diatheses (see chapter 4). The pattern in (35) alternates with V-NP_{Theme}-*lə*-NP_{Goal}, as shown in (37).

- 37- Sami dayyan- Ø masʕari lə Rami
 Sami lent- 3SGM money to Rami
 ‘Sami lent money to Rami.’

It is also possible to have a pronominal recipient attached to the verb along with a complete NP Theme, as in (38).

- 38- Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət-hum masʕaari
 Samia gave-3SGF-them money
 ‘Samia gave them money.’

The pronominal Recipient *-hum* is attached to the verb *ʔaʕtʕ-ət*. Clitics can serve as direct objects in monotransitive constructions (39).

39- Samia zaar-ət-hum⁶
 Samia visited-3SGF-them
 ‘Samia visited them.’

In a DOC with a pronominal Recipient, a pronominal Theme is illicit unless it is attached to *ʔyya*.

40- Samia baaf-ət-ni ʔyya-hin⁷
 Samia sold-3SGF-me ʔyya-them
 ‘Samia sold me them.’

Furthermore, it is possible to have a pronominal Theme and a full NP Recipient in PDCs, but not in DOCs, as seen in (41) and (42).

41- Samia wadd -ət-hin lə Rami
 Samia sent-3SGF-them to Rami
 ‘Samia sent them to Rami.’

42- *Samia ʔaʔt-ət Rami hin
 Samia gave-3SGF Rami them
 Intended ‘Samia gave Rami them.’

Even with the aid of *ʔyya*, it remains impossible to have **V-R-Th** when the Theme is a pronominal clitic, and the Recipient is a full NP.

43- *Samia ʔaʔt-ət Rami ʔyya-hin
 Samia gave-3SGF Rami ʔyya-them
 Intended ‘Samia gave them to Rami.’

When both internal arguments are pronominal, the direct object clitic is cliticised onto the verb, and the indirect object clitic is cliticised onto the preposition in the pattern: **V-Th-lə-G**.

⁶ This is a 3PLM object pronoun that can refer to animate and inanimate entities.

⁷ This is a 3PLF object pronoun that can refer to animate and inanimate entities.

44- Samia wadd -ət-hum lə-ɪ
 Sami sent-3SGF-them to-me
 ‘Samia sent them to me.’

45- Samia dʒaab-ət-hɪn lɛɪ⁸-hə
 Samia brought-3SGF-them for-her
 Intended ‘Samia brought them for her.’

ʔɪyya only hosts the Theme argument, not the Recipient argument.

46- *Samia wad-ət -hum ʔɪyya -ɪ
 Samia sent-3SGF-them ʔɪyya-me
 Intended ‘Samia sent them to me.’

The function of *ʔɪyya* is to mark the second pronominal object, the Theme in DOC and PDC, to prevent clitic clustering when the Recipient is also a clitic. Otherwise, the use of *ʔɪyya* is illicit, as in (47).

47- Samia dʒaab-ət (*ʔɪyya)-hɪn min ɪl-suug
 Samia brought-3SF ʔɪyya-them from the-market
 ‘Samia brought them from the market.’

When the direct object is a clitic, it should be attached directly to the verb, as in (48).

48- Samia dʒaab-ət-hɪn mɪn-ɪs-soog
 Samia brought-3SF-them from-the-market
 ‘Samia brought them from the market.’

Pronominal objects in Arabic, particularly in JA, will be examined in depth to provide insights into their syntax. In Chapter 5, the pronominal objects of ditransitive verbs will be analysed, along with variations in strong, weak, and clitic pronouns.

⁸ Another phonological variant of *lə*.

1.10. The organisation of the thesis

This study is organised as follows: Chapter 2 provides the theoretical approach for understanding the structure of ditransitive constructions and discusses the argument surrounding their relationships. Chapter 3 analyses the corpus collected through interviews and questionnaires. Chapter 4 offers a typological overview of ditransitive constructions in JA, including word-order variation, binding asymmetries, scope interaction, and A and A-bar movements. Chapter 5 analyses the pronominal and lexical arguments in JA ditransitive constructions. It draws attention to the distinction between full DPs and pronominal objects, and their impact on the derivation process. Additionally, it clarifies the morphosyntax of personal pronouns in JA and examines cliticisation and clitic doubling in ditransitive constructions. Chapter 6 discusses how ditransitive constructions are formed in JA, concentrating on theta roles and Case assignment to the two internal arguments of ditransitive predicates. It also examines the syntactic properties of the involved functional heads and the syntactic and semantic connections between the objects. Chapter 7 concludes the study and suggests directions for future research. As previously noted, the analysis of PDCs will follow Larson's (1988) framework, while a modified version of Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) high/low applicative approach will be used for DOCs.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out a theoretical framework for understanding ditransitive and double-object constructions (DOCs) and examines the debate over their relationship with prepositional dative constructions (PDCs). There are three main perspectives on analysing ditransitive constructions that are supported by scholarly research: First, Aoun and Li (1989) and Hallman (2015) argue that PDCs are derived from DOCs. Second, Larson (1988) and den Dikken (1995) argue that DOCs are derived from PDCs via Dative Shift. Third, DOCs and PDCs are not transformationally related (Pesetsky, 1995; Bruening, 2001; Pylkkänen, 2002, 2008; Harley, 2002). The idea that different construction variants represent the same underlying thematic relations has been highly influential and underpins much research on alternation (e.g., Baker 1988; Larson 1988, den Dikken 1995). These linguists adopt Baker's (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH), which states that "identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-Structure" (Baker, 1988, p. 46). A main implication of the UTAH is that, if the double object and prepositional dative constructions express the same thematic relations—such as between a verb like *give* and its two internal arguments, the Goal and the Theme—the derivational relationship between the two structures naturally follows. However, a widely held view, stemming from Green (1974) and Oehrle (1976), is that the non-Theme objects in DOCs and PDCs do not have the same meaning. According to this perspective, a double-object structure implies a successful transfer of possession, whereas a PP dative indicates a change of location.

A central point of contention concerns the projection of each argument in ditransitive constructions. Some theories posit that both the Theme and the Goal are arguments of the lexical verb (e.g., Larson, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995). In small clause approaches, neither argument belongs to the verb; instead, they form a small clause (e.g., Kayne 1984; Aoun & Li, 1989; den Dikken, 1995; Harley, 2002). Another view indicates that the second argument is a verb argument, whereas the first is projected by a functional head, such as Appl(licative) (Marantz, 1993; Pylkkänen, 2008; Bruening, 2010).

On the other hand, supporters of the projectional view, such as Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002), Pylkkänen (2002, 2008), and Bruening (2010, 2014), argue that DOCs are not derived from

PDCs but are structurally separate. In this perspective, two main hypotheses emerge: one suggesting that DOCs are headed by an applicative head (Pylkkänen, Bruening), and the other proposing that DOCs are headed by a prepositional phrase with a null preposition (Pesetsky, Harley). This section investigates these hypotheses in detail, studying their consequences for understanding ditransitive constructions.

2.2. Oehrle 1976

Oehrle (1976) departs from the transformational approach to dative alternation by proposing that the two variants have distinct Deep Structures. He argues that verbs such as *give* possess two distinct subcategorisation frames, enabling them to be used in both the double-object and prepositional-dative structures. The connection between the two is expressed through a lexical redundancy rule. Oehrle extends this analysis beyond possession-based double-object alternations with *to* to include benefactive alternations. He asserts that the variants represent separate Deep Structures. While *for*-dative alternation is productive, this is not the case for the double object alternant, as demonstrated by the following sentences.

- 1- a. John fished a trout for Mary.
- b. #John fished Mary a trout.
- c. John fished out an apple for Mary.
- d. John fished Mary out an apple.
- e. #John bit a piece of licorice for himself.
- f. #John bit himself a piece of licorice.
- g. John bit off a piece of licorice for himself.
- h. John bit himself off a piece of licorice.
- i. #John hacked a piece of steak for himself.
- j. #John hacked himself a piece of steak.
- k. John hacked off a piece of steak for himself.
- l. John hacked himself off a piece of steak. (Oehrle 1976, 120).

Oehrle concludes that although the *for*-dative alternation is productive, the semantic properties of a verb in the *for*-dative construction do not ensure its occurrence in the DOC.

Additionally, the two alternants produce different entailment patterns. According to Oehrle, the DOC implies that the indirect object receives the direct object, a condition not necessary in the PDC. For instance, in (2a), *John* can be interpreted as either a Beneficiary (or, more precisely, a Maleficiary) or a Recipient. However, in (2b), a Recipient interpretation is essential. This distinction emphasises the different semantic roles associated with the two constructions.

- 2- a. Helmut built an electric chair for John (ambiguous).
- b. Helmut built John an electric chair (unambiguous). (Oehrle 1976, 118-119).

Consequently, the possession relation can be revoked in the PDC but not in the DOC version, as demonstrated by the examples in (3).

- 3- a. Originally, I bought this tea-kettle for my wife, but I decided to keep it.
- b. #Originally, I bought my wife this teapot, but decided to keep it. (Oehrle 1976, 104)

Based on this, Oehrle concludes that the two alternants are not derived from a shared Deep Structure and denote distinct Deep Structures.

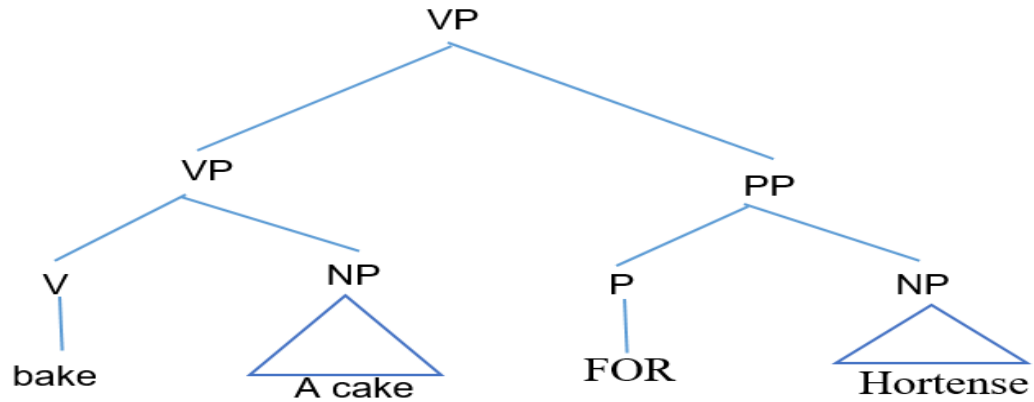
2.3. Marantz 1984

While Oehrle (1976) concentrates on the differences between the double object structure and the *to*-variant, other scholars emphasise their similarities, concluding that both share the same thematic relations. Marantz (1984) argues that sentences like:

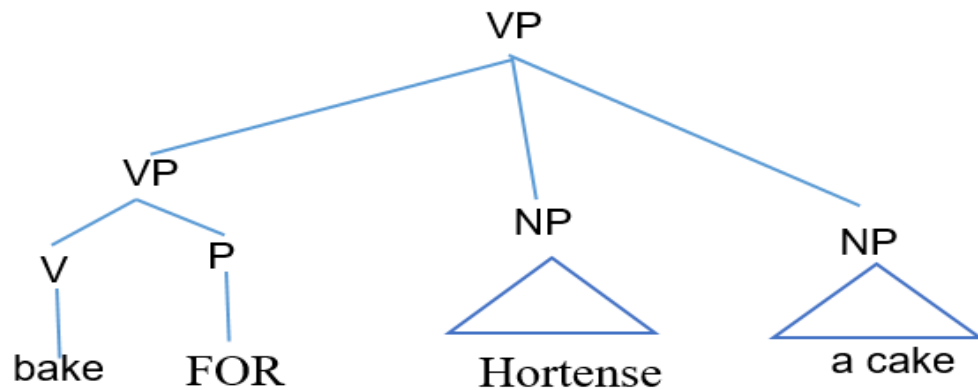
- 4- a- I baked Hortense a cake.
- b- I baked cake for Hortense. (Marantz 1984, 208)

exhibit a clear relationship. Marantz (1984) claims they include essentially the same roles, although they are not derived from a typical underlying structure. He argues that the NP-NP variant is derived from the NP-PP variant by merging the preposition (P) with the verb's governing head. This process transforms the structure in (5) into the structure in (6) (as shown in Marantz 1993), emphasising a structural connection between the two variants.

5-



6-



The preposition *for* that merges with the verb differs slightly from the non-incorporating preposition *for*. Thus, while the same thematic relations apply, the underlying structures remain distinct.

2.4. Kayne 1984

Like Oehrle's (1976) approach, Kayne's (1984) analysis is nonderivational, proposing distinct base structures for the DOC and PDC. For Kayne, the non-Theme object in both PDCs and DOCs is introduced by a preposition, which is silent in DOCs. English allows verbs like *give* to express arguments in two ways, whereas French lacks an equivalent double-object construction. This comparison highlights how the two languages diverge in their syntactic possibilities for representing specific argument structures.

Kayne (1984) attributes the absence of a DOC in French, despite the presence of the verb *avoir* ‘to have’, which appears superficially similar to English “have,” to basic differences in the syntactic properties and derivational possibilities of these verbs in the two languages. Kayne argues that the English DOC (7a) relies on a specific syntactic configuration in which the verb directly assigns structural Case to both the recipient and the theme within the same clause, a process enabled by the verb “have.” In English, this configuration permits both objects to appear without a preposition. In contrast, JA is not a “have” language, yet it possesses a genuine DOC (see 6.3.1).

French requires prepositional phrases to mark the recipient (8b) and does not allow both the recipient and the theme to appear as bare noun phrases in a DOC. Consequently, the French syntactic system, as analysed by Kayne, inherently blocks the formation of DOCs, despite the existence of the verb *avoir*.

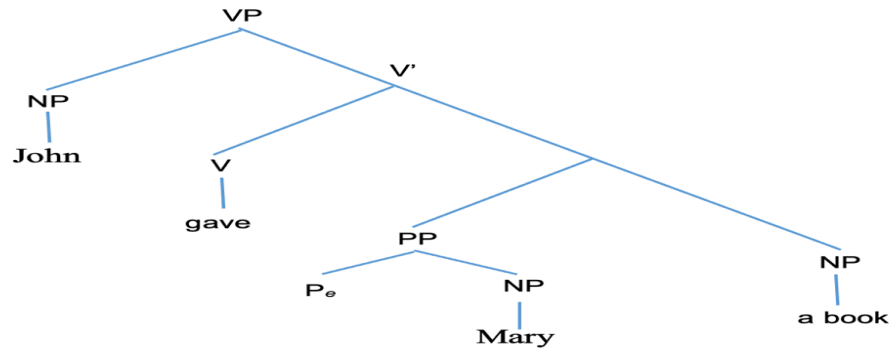
To summarise, Kayne (1984) maintains that the absence of DOCs in French is rooted in the language’s syntactic and Case-assignment system, rather than in the mere lexical presence or absence of the verb “have.”

- 7- a. John gave Mary a book.
- b. John gave a book to Mary.

- 8- a. *Jean a donné Marie un livre.
- b. Jean a donné un livre à Marie. (Kayne 1984, 193)

Kayne (1984) analyses the indirect object NP as a “covert” PP with a P that remains empty throughout the derivation. This null preposition transfers case from the verb to the indirect object. While empty prepositions are assumed to exist across languages, English null prepositions have a special property: they can assign the objective case. In contrast, French prepositions assign an oblique case, preventing the verb’s case from transferring to the complement of the null preposition. For example, in the sentence “*John gave Mary a book*,” Kayne (1984) proposes a structure where an empty preposition (Pe) mediates the relationship between the verb and its arguments.

9-

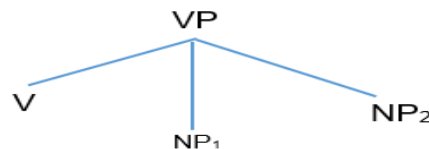


In this structure, the verb *give* assigns case and θ -role to *a book*, while the empty preposition P_e transmits objective case from the verb to the indirect object *Mary*. Although Kayne (1984) does not specify the exact label for the constituent dominating the empty-headed PP and direct object, this analysis became the first "small clause" analysis of double object constructions.

2.5. Barss and Lasnik 1986

In their 1986 study, Barss and Lasnik criticised Chomsky's analysis of ditransitives for the double-object construction. They pointed out inconsistencies in the structural trees, as proposed by Oehrle (1976) and Chomsky (1981). Contrary to these proposals, Barss and Lasnik argued that the first noun phrase in the double object construction asymmetrically c-commands the second noun phrase. This finding led them to reject the previously suggested structures.

10- Oehrle (1976)



11- Chomsky (1981)



Barss and Lasnik (1986) utilise binding principles to support the structures of ditransitive constructions. They observe an asymmetry in the relationship between NP1 and NP2 in the DOC, where NP2 is within NP1's domain but not vice versa. PDCs also show the same asymmetries; the first NP, the direct object, must c-command the second NP, the indirect object, not vice versa. However, this is not entirely clear, as linear approaches to referential dependencies can be proposed instead of structure-based ones (Jackendoff, 1990). Anaphors must be bound within their local domain, pronouns must be free within their local domain, and R-expressions must be free regardless of their governing category. By applying these principles, Barss and Lasnik analysed examples (12a) and (12b). While (12a) conforms to the binding principles, (12b) violates Principles A and C, indicating asymmetry in the relationship between the first and second noun phrases in the DOC. This finding disputes earlier structural proposals by Oehrle (1976), who treated the relationship between NP1 and NP2 as symmetrical, and by Chomsky (1981), who treated NP2 as asymmetrically c-commanding NP1, suggesting a need to reexamine the structural trees for ditransitives.

- 12- a. I showed Sami_k himself_k.
 b. *I showed himself_k Sami_k.

Barss and Lasnik (1986) also present evidence from DOCs involving bound-variable pronouns. The pronoun is bound in example (13a), whereas in example (13b), it is not.

- 13- a. I denied each worker his paycheck.
 a. I denied its owner each paycheck. (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348)

They utilise weak crossover phenomena (14) as their third piece of evidence for these asymmetrical relations. Crossover involves wh-movement across a coindexed pronoun and is categorised according to perceived degrees of ungrammaticality, as described by Haegeman (1994, p. 417).

- 14- a. Which worker_i did you deny his_i paycheck?
 b. *Which paycheck_i did you deny it_i's owner? (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348)

Barss and Lasnik (1986) also highlight "superiority," indicating that in DOC, if both noun phrases are wh-phrases, only the first can be moved, as shown in (15).

- 15- a. Who did you give a book?
 b. Who did you give which book?
 c. *Which book did you give who? (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 348)

The paper also examines the relationship between *each* and *the other*. In example (16a), *each* in the first object links to *the other* in the second. This differs from (16b), showing a syntactic difference that implies restrictions on their connection within sentence structures.

- 16- a. I gave each man the other's watch.
 b. *I gave the other's trainer each lion. (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 349)

The polarity item *any* is also used to demonstrate that negations in the higher object license polarity items in the lower object, not vice versa. Example (17a) shows *any* being licensed by the second object within the negation's scope, while (17b) does not have licensing from the first object.

- 17- a. I gave no one anything.
 b. *I gave anyone nothing. (Barss and Lasnik 1986, 350)

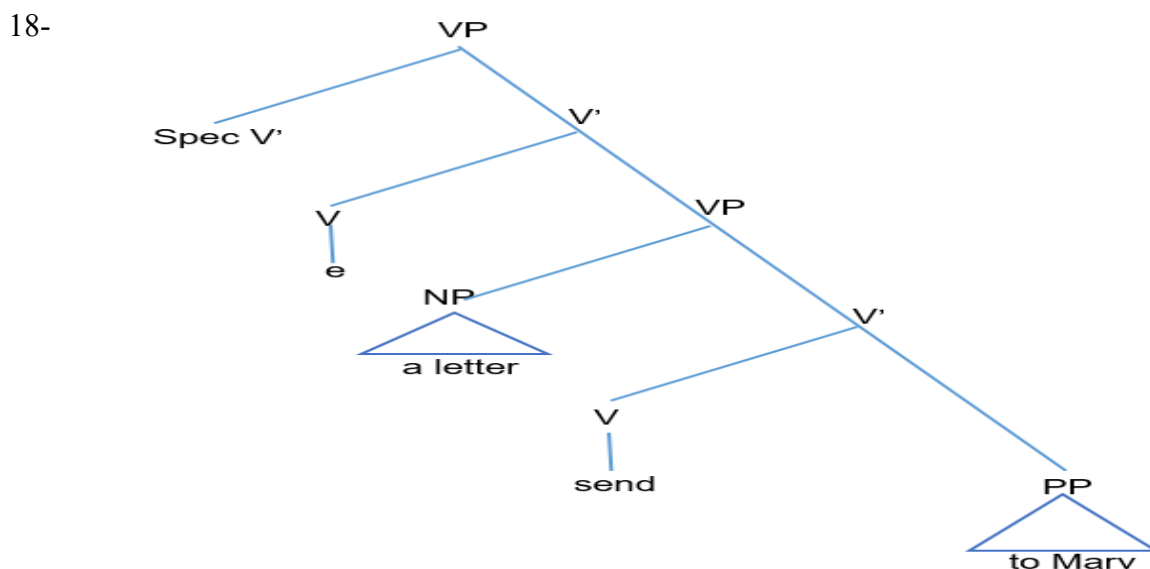
Barss and Lasnik (1986) conclude, based on empirical evidence, that in DOCs the first noun phrase asymmetrically c-commands the second. Oehrle's (1976) structure in (10), which suggests symmetric c-command, was thus rejected. Similarly, Chomsky's (1981) proposal in (11), where the second noun phrase asymmetrically c-commands the first, contradicts their findings and is also dismissed.

2.6. Larson 1988

Larson (1988) proposes a derivational perspective on the syntax of dative ditransitive constructions in English. He adopts a derivational approach to the DOC, suggesting that it can be derived through a process similar to "a modern form of Dative Shift" (p 335), similar to how passive constructions are derived from their active forms. Furthermore, he claims that both DOCs and PDCs assign identical semantic roles, reinforcing their basic structural similarity. Therefore, Larson's hypothesis indicates that the PDC and the DOC share the same underlying structure.

Larson's analysis of ditransitive constructions expands on Chomsky's (1975) proposal that a PDC like *John sent a letter to Mary* originates from a deep structure where the verb *sent* and its complement, the indirect object *to Mary*, form a constituent that excludes the direct object, *a letter*.

Larson argues that, in this analysis, the PDC includes an underlying clause-like VP, with *a letter* as its subject and *to Mary* as its object, concealed in the surface structure due to V Raising. This approach accounts for the syntactic structure behind ditransitive constructions, emphasising the role of transformations during the derivation. The following tree (18) illustrates the underlying structure of the PDC.



(Larson 1988: 342)

Larson introduces the concept of VP shells in his analysis of ditransitive constructions, proposing that as many VP shells are created as thematic roles are assigned by the verb. In his model, the internal VP is dominated by the higher V', with an empty head that lacks thematic requirements. An external VP shell is generated to assign an Agent role to its specifier, triggering V Raising to an unfilled position. This positions the Agent within the verb's projection, assigning it its thematic role.

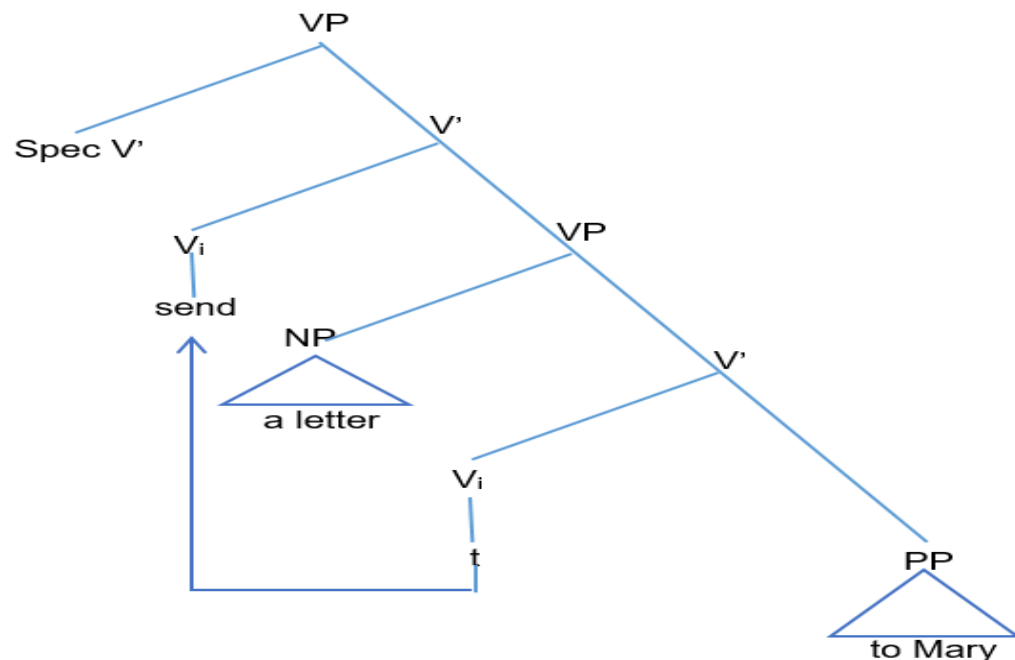
The paper also suggests that one argument, e.g., *Mary*, is directly marked with a theta-role, while others, e.g., *John* and *a letter*, are marked indirectly. The internal VP shell includes a specifier, e.g., *a letter*, a head, e.g., *send*, and a complement, e.g., *to Mary*, forming a small predicate for the inner subject.

However, this structure results in an ungrammatical sentence: **John a letter sent to Mary* due to the placement of the verb. The surface structure is proposed to be achieved through head-

to-head movement, in which the verb *send* moves to the empty V position. This movement is driven by Case and agreement requirements, allowing the verb to be governed by I, to receive tense and agreement information, and to assign accusative Case to the Theme *a letter*.

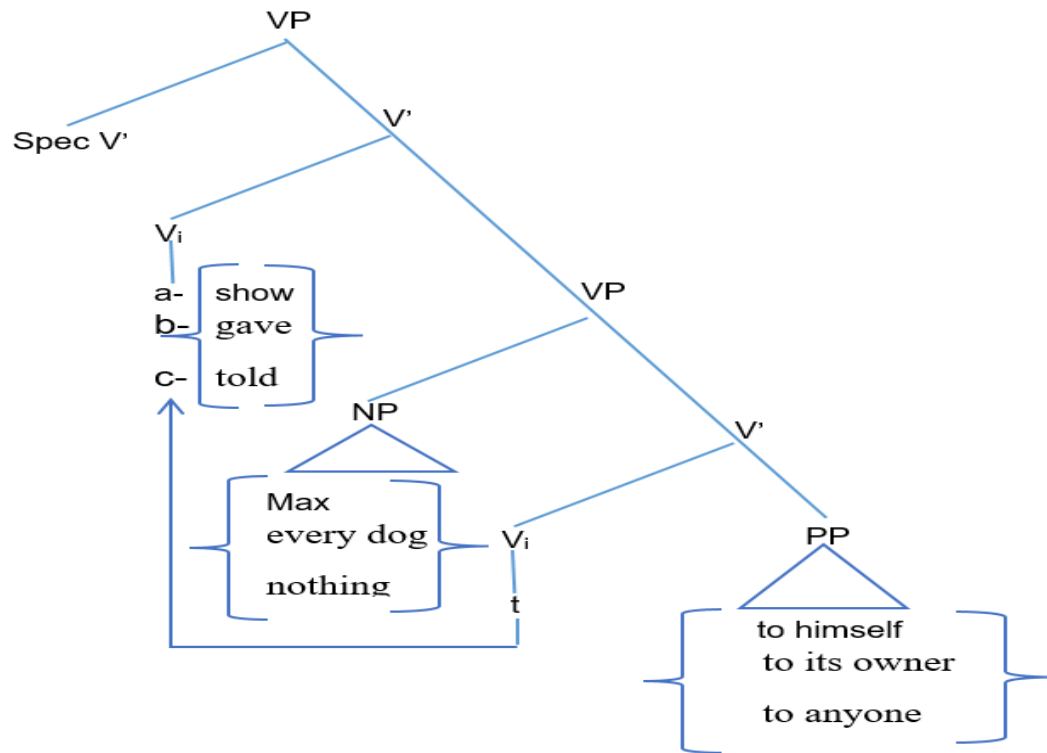
To summarise, Larson's analysis of the PDC entails constructing VP shells to accommodate thematic roles assigned by the verb. He distinguishes between directly and indirectly marked arguments and proposes a hierarchical structure within the VP. According to Larson's version of the Thematic Hierarchy (Agent - Theme - Goal - Oblique), the UTAH ensures that if argument α is higher than β on the hierarchy, α must c-command β at D-structure. To achieve syntactic correctness, Larson suggests head-to-head movement, placing the verb in the correct position for Case assignment and agreement while maintaining thematic roles within the sentence. The surface structure of the PDC after raising V can be shown in (19).

19-



(Larson 1988: 343)

(20) illustrates the c-command relationship between the direct object and the oblique object.

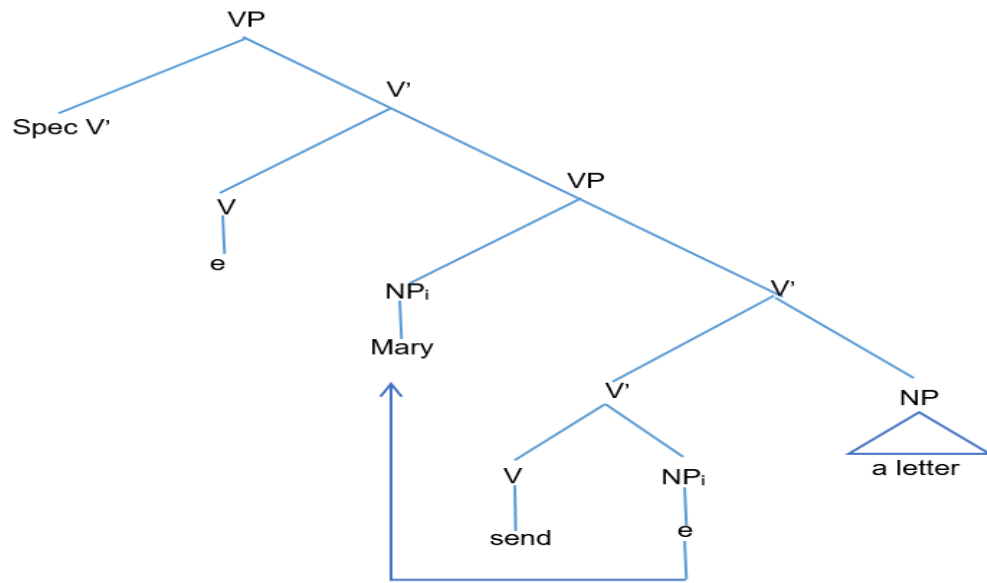


(Larson 1988: 344)

In (20a), the binding asymmetry is evident as the anaphora *himself* is c-commanded by its antecedent, *Max*, but not vice versa. Similarly, in (20b), the pronoun *its* is c-commanded by *every*. Likewise, in (20c), the negative polarity item appears in the c-command scope of *nothing* but not vice versa.

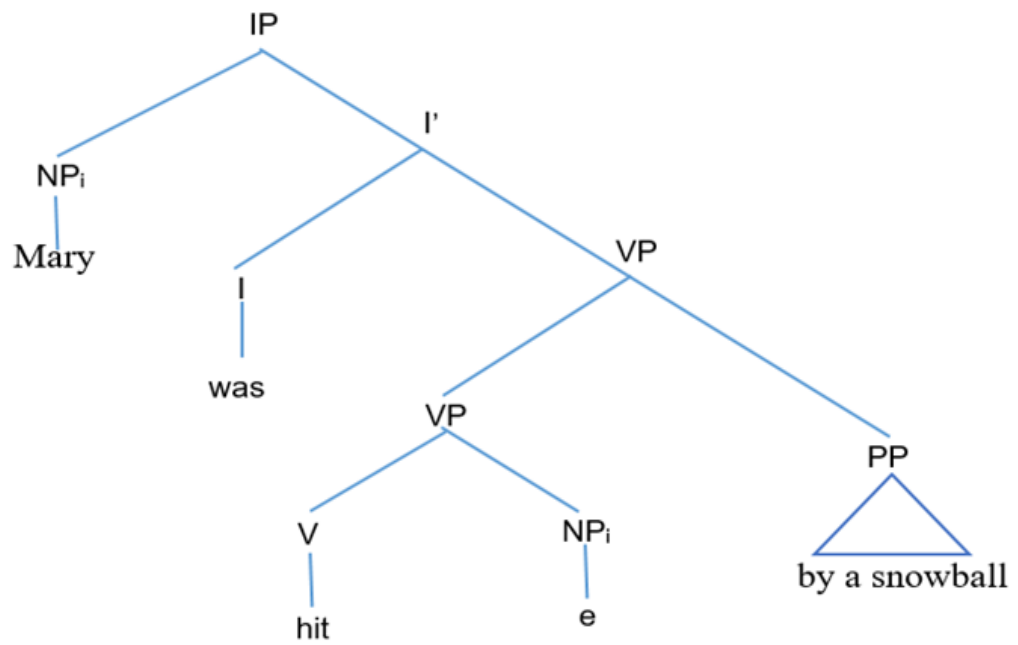
Larson connected Dative Shift and Passive, assuming a subject-object relation between the two NPs, with the direct object functioning as the VP subject. Accordingly, the preposition *to* is absorbed because it is deemed a Case marker. Larson analogises the absorption of *to* to the object Case absorption by the passive verb. Passivisation results in Argument Demotion, which demotes the direct object to a nonthematic position, similar to a *by*-phrase in passive structures. As a result, an empty VP subject position is created, leading to the movement of the caseless indirect object to occupy it; a process Larson refers to as “Dative Shift”. This relationship is illustrated in (21) and (22).

21-



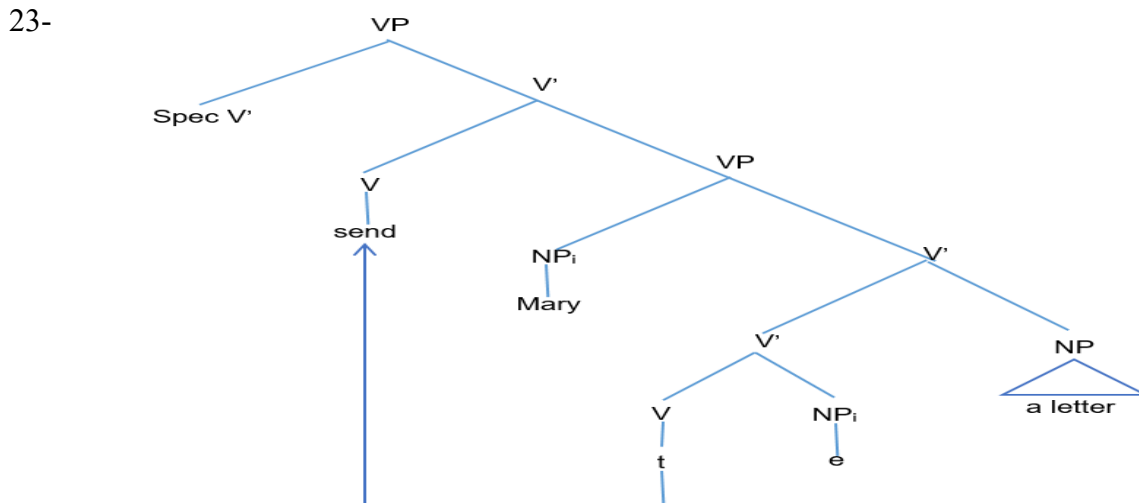
(Larson 1988: 353)

22-



(Larson 1988: 351)

In (21), the indirect object undergoes NP movement, followed by verb raising to an empty V-head position. From this point, the verb assigns Case to the derived subject *Mary*, resulting in the configuration *John sent Mary a letter*, as depicted in (23).



(Larson 1988: 353)

In Larson's analysis (1988: 352), both (21) and (22) involve demoting an argument to adjunct status while the object shifts to the subject position. He distinguishes between the two movements: promoting an argument to the IP subject position is called "Passive," while promotion to the VP subject position is known as "Dative Shift." Despite this, Larson categorises both operations as "PASSIVE." However, Larson fails to note that passive constructions violate the binding relations he explains with his proposed transformation, as seen in (24).

24- ?*Bill_i was hit by himself_i

25- Mary showed Bill_i himself_i

(Jackendoff 1990)

The analogy between the derivation of DOC and passive constructions fails because in (24), *himself* is embedded within a PP in an adjunct position, and the antecedent *Bill* lies outside the domain of *himself*, making it difficult to bind the reflexive. The ungrammaticality of (24) results from a violation of principle (A). In contrast, in (25), *Bill* can serve as the antecedent of *himself*, which indicates that the Goal *Bill* occupies a position that c-commands the reflexive. Notably, the Goal and the Theme are within the same domain in (25).

Larson (1988) suggests that a preposition exists in the deep structure of DOC but is omitted in the surface structure. He explains the absence of a preposition by proposing that it is unnecessary; the verb in the double object construction can assign Case to the demoted Theme. In Larson's (1988) analysis of DOC, the demoted Theme is not introduced by a preposition, unlike the demoted argument in a typical passive, which is obligatorily introduced by *by* when expressed. Furthermore, the Theme of a DOC is not usually omissible, unlike the demoted argument in a typical passive. DOC verbs resist Theme omission; it is impossible to say *John gave Mary*, in which *Mary* is the Recipient and the Theme is implicit. The DOC requires both internal arguments to be present. Even verbs that allow Theme omission in other structures do not permit it in the DOC, so you can say *John was reading (something) to Mary*, but not **John read Mary (something)*; the ungrammaticality follows from a reading in which *Mary* is not the Theme. Larson's account does not predict the obligatory nature of the Theme in the DOC. In principle, adjuncts are omissible. It is rather ironic that the Theme ends up in an adjunct position precisely because it is inherently non-omissible in the DOC. Consequently, the analogy between the derivation of DOC and passive constructions cannot stand.

In Larson's structure, the adjunct Theme and the Goal (located in Spec-VP) are governed by the same node and share a mutual c-command relationship. This configuration compromises the necessary asymmetric c-command relation, as both the Theme and the Goal can c-command each other. Consequently, Larson's analysis predicts a symmetric relationship between the two objects, which conflicts with the empirical findings of Barss and Lasnik. Larson's adjunct analysis of the Theme fails to account for the asymmetric syntactic behaviour observed in the DOC. Barss and Lasnik's findings require a structure in which the Goal asymmetrically c-commands the Theme, a relationship that Larson's proposal cannot derive due to the mutual c-command between the adjunct Theme and the Goal in Spec-VP.

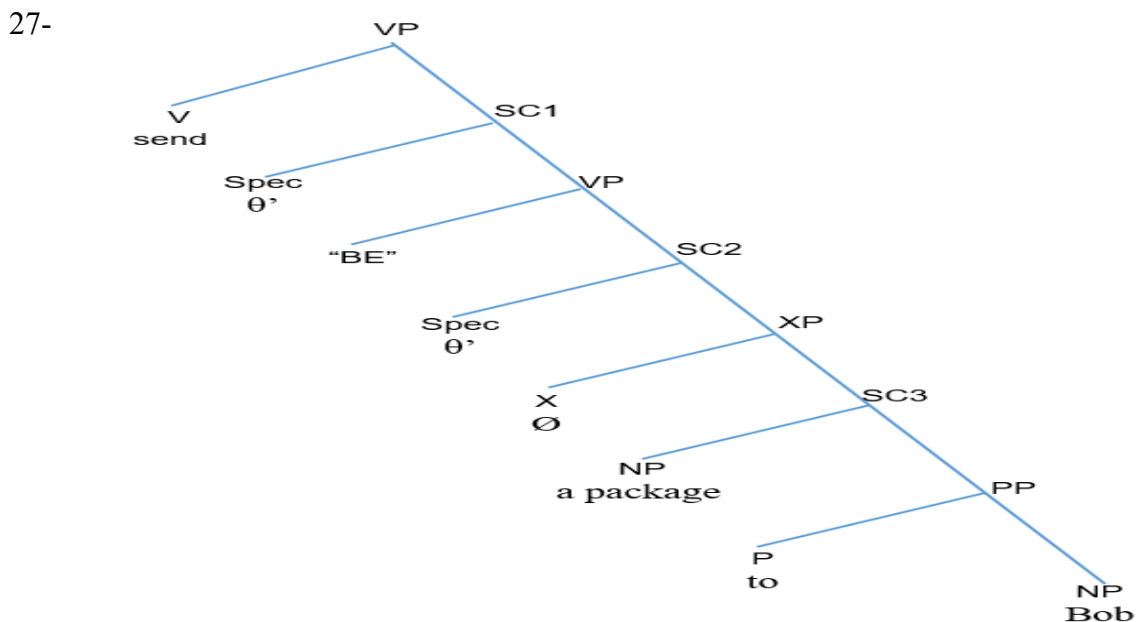
2.7. Den Dikken 1995

One of the major innovations in Den Dikken's (1995) proposal is that, within the small clause analysis, Den Dikken (1995) develops a syntax for locative inversion (and predicate inversion, more generally), whereby it depends on the movement of the head that relates the predicate to its subject. His analysis accounts for surface word order in which the predicate appears to precede the subject, while maintaining a straightforward, consistent underlying structure.

Den Dikken (1995) examines three types of constructions in which particles are important: verb-particle constructions, triadic constructions, and causative constructions. He aims to develop a syntactic theory that explains how particles are integrated and interact with verbs and objects. He also explores what limitations exist on the ordering, movement, and interpretation of verbs, objects, and particles.

Den Dikken (1995) proposes a detailed decompositional structure for verb phrases that aligns with the UTAH framework. He suggests that PDCs and DOCs arise from underlying structures that include a preposition, which is empty in the latter. Den Dikken presents two key assertions. Firstly, following Czepluch (1982), Kayne (1984), Marantz (1984), and Baker (1988), he advocates a null preposition in DOCs. Secondly, this null preposition ultimately merges with the verb during derivation. Consider his claims in (26) alongside the proposed underlying structure for triadic constructions is depicted in (27).

- 26- a. The dative PP is a SC predicate.
 b. Triadic verbs take a propositional (SC) complement; the Theme and Goal-roles are assigned by the dative preposition. (den Dikken 1995: 123)



(den Dikken 1995: 141)

The empty preposition must be licensed, which can occur in two ways: either through dative case morphology in languages with morphological dative case (such as German or Icelandic) or by incorporating it into the verb in languages without morphological case. The DOC is derived from an underlying structure containing an empty preposition via an operation called “Dative shift,” similar to the Predicate Inversion found in Locative Inversion constructions. Den Dikken classifies this as an A-movement, partly driven by case requirements. In PDCs, case-driven movement applies to the Theme, whereas in DOCs, the empty-headed prepositional phrase shifts instead. This adjustment forces the Theme noun phrase to remain in situ, where it can receive case, while the matrix verb marks the Goal.

The derivation goes as follows: with an empty head in the double object structure, the dative PP shifts around the direct object to the subject (specifier) position of the particle-headed small clause (Spec SC2). From this point, the empty head of the dative PP incorporates into the abstract copula BE's head, licensing the empty preposition. The "BE" in den Dikken (1995) refers to an empty copula element that functions as the head 'BE' in the small clause structure supporting DOCs and related structures. More specifically, deep structure PPs for double objects with particles contain a series of small clauses, and in the course of the derivation, the PP moves to the specifier of the higher small clause, and the P is incorporated into the null copula element (the lower V). As a consequence of incorporation, the head of the lower VP takes over the governing role that the empty preposition held in its original position, following Baker's (1988) Government Transparency Corollary. Consequently, the Theme can receive case directly from the V+P complex in its position. Once incorporation occurs, the remainder of the PP, which includes the Goal and the trace of the incorporated preposition, moves to the specifier of SC1, resulting in an order where the Goal comes before the Theme. The Goal noun phrase receives case from the higher verb *send*. This stage of the derivation is driven by the understanding that, in DOCs, the Goal is regarded as a possessor.

Den Dikken (1995) concludes that the PP in an adpositional dative construction functions as the predicate of the Theme. Typically, locative inversion occurs only if the fronted PP is predicated of the postverbal noun phrase. Den Dikken (1995) develops a syntax for locative and predicate inversion, in which the movement of the head that links the predicate to its subject is crucial. Den Dikken's original proposal achieves this with the support of a non-verbal small clause

structure. Note that in Den Dikken's proposal, P is silent when predicate inversion occurs. The motivation for predicate inversion is based on the licensing of the silent allomorph of the dative P, which is suppressed during derivation but remains present throughout. What varies is the overt nature of P, and consequently, the position of PP.

Following Czepluch (1982) and Kayne (1984), a significant advantage of Den Dikken's analysis of DOC is that it clarifies the mystery of why the Goal argument cannot antecede a depictive secondary predicate. For example, (28) allows *cold* to be anteceded by the Theme. (29) allows *drunk* to be anteceded by the Agent. However, (29) does not permit *drunk* to be anteceded by the Goal; there is no reading for (29) such that Mary is drunk as she is served the food. Den Dikken's approach makes it possible to link the unavailability of the Goal reading in (29) to the absence of a reading for (31) in which *cold* is anteceded by the P-object.

28- John served Mary the food cold.

29- John served Mary the food drunk.

30- John chewed the meat cold.

31- John chewed at the meat cold.

What unites (31) with (29) on the reading of the latter, in which the depictive is linked to *Mary*, is the fact that in both, the intended antecedent for the depictive is contained in a PP.

Another advantage is that the involvement of the predicate inversion during the derivation of the DOC also provides a link between the inability of the Theme to take scope over the Goal and the failure of the Theme to take scope over the fronted locative in a locative inversion construction. In locative inversion, we observe a scope pattern that closely resembles the scope pattern found in other ditransitive constructions. If you compare (32) with (33), you notice scope ambiguity in both, but if you compare (34) with (35), there is no scope ambiguity in either.

32- They gave some book to every student.

33- Some sheet was lying on every chair.

34- They gave some student every book.

35- On some chair was lying every sheet.

However, it does not follow that the Theme in DOC can scope over the agent (Bruening, 2001). The Theme can have a wide scope over the subject. For example, in a sentence such as

‘*someone gave me every book*,’ it can be interpreted to mean that a different person gave each book. Therefore, a wide scope over the subject is possible, but a wide scope over the other object is not.

This analysis points several benefits. It explains why indirect objects and recipients can undergo passivisation and wh-extraction but not *tough* movement. Den Dikken (1995) explains that the restriction on *tough* movement arises because these objects are empty-headed PPs rather than DPs. PPs cannot undergo pied-piping under empty operator movement, leading to ungrammatical constructions like (36b). Therefore, the decompositional approach clarifies the restrictions on movement operations involving objects within sentences.

- 36- a. John is not easy [Op_i to talk [$_{PP}$ to t_i]].
 b. *John is not easy [[$_{PP}$ to Op_j] to talk t_j]. (den Dikken 1995: 188)

Den Dikken suggests that the prohibition of pied-piping the dative PP under empty operator movement arises because empty operators, considered identical to PRO, cannot be governed at S-structure. However, since the empty dative preposition governs its empty operator, pied-piping the PP would violate the PRO hypothesis.

2.8. Pesetsky 1995

Pesetsky (1995) examines ditransitive constructions, distinguishing between the nominalisation of the DOC and the PDC. He argues that this distinction reflects their separate underlying structures. Following Czepluch (1982), Kayne (1984), Baker (1988), and Den Dikken (1995), Pesetsky suggests that DOCs, unlike PDCs, involve zero morphemes. More importantly, for Pesetsky, this zero morpheme in the DOC is not a null allomorph of *to*, unlike in the works of Kayne, Czepluch, Baker, and Den Dikken. This zero morpheme indicates a null, affixal preposition (G) used to introduce the second object and assign Case. Conversely, the first object receives case from the verb through adjacency. This null element G is illustrated in (37).

- 37- Sam gave Kris [G a book]

A [G a book] structure is a PP introduced by the null preposition G, which functions as a Case-assigner fulfilling the same role as the overt Case-assigner in the PDC construction. However, the silent G in (37) is not the same P-element as the *to* in (38).

38- Sam gave a book to Kris.

Pesetsky argues that the binding asymmetries identified by Barss and Lasnik (1986) support the existence of the null element G. This is demonstrated by the fact that the first object can c-command the second but not vice versa, showing a structural asymmetry introduced by G.

- 39- a. I showed John [*G* himself] in the mirror.
b. *I showed himself [*G* John] in the mirror.

Pesetsky suggests that in (39a), the structure only represents an underlying form, with *G* moving from its original position to attach to the governing verb. The obligatory attachment of *G* to the verb results from its lexical property [+affix]. This trait requires it to join a non-affixal category at the S-structure. Conversely, *to* is [-affix]. This difference is clear in the possibilities for nominalisation, where constructions with *to* allow further derivation, e.g., "*Sue's gift of a book to Mary*," whereas those with *G* do not, e.g., "**Sue's gift of Mary (of) a book*." The inability for further derivation in the latter example results from *G*'s affixation to the governing verb, which prevents any additional morphology. Baker's (1988) and Den Dikken's (1995) analyses of the DOC also achieve this outcome. For Baker and Den Dikken, the verb in DOCs is zero-derived through the incorporation of the silent *to* rather than the silent *G*.

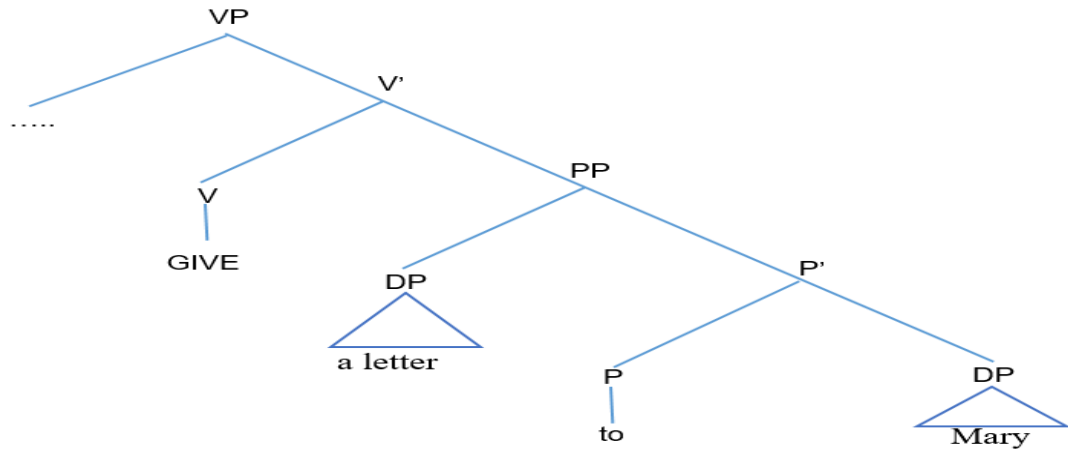
The *G* is a new theoretical element with limited evidence beyond Pesetsky's proposal. It is a stipulative element rather than an empirically supported head. Furthermore, in Pesetsky's analysis, *G* introduces the Theme, not the Goal, thereby violating the UTAH's regulations.

2.9. Harley 2002

Harley (2002) analyses DOC and PDC, supporting two distinct structures and modifying Pesetsky's model. Harley's discussion emphasises the different interpretations of these linguistic structures across various theoretical frameworks.

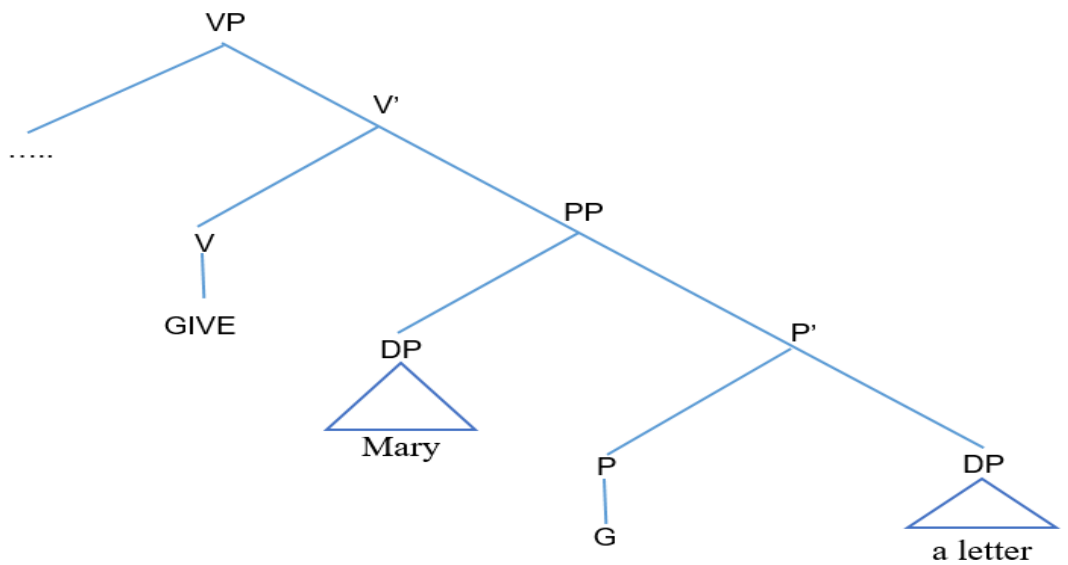
In the PDC (40), the verb *give* is complemented by a prepositional phrase, with the theme in its specifier and *to* as the head. The complement denotes the goal (Harley, 2002, p. 32). Contrastingly, the DOC (41) features a different prepositional phrase complementing *give*, with the goal and theme reversed and a null *G* replacing the preposition. This null *G* signifies the goal in the DOC and is expected to rise via head movement and merge with the verb *give*.

40-



(Harley 2002: 33)

41-

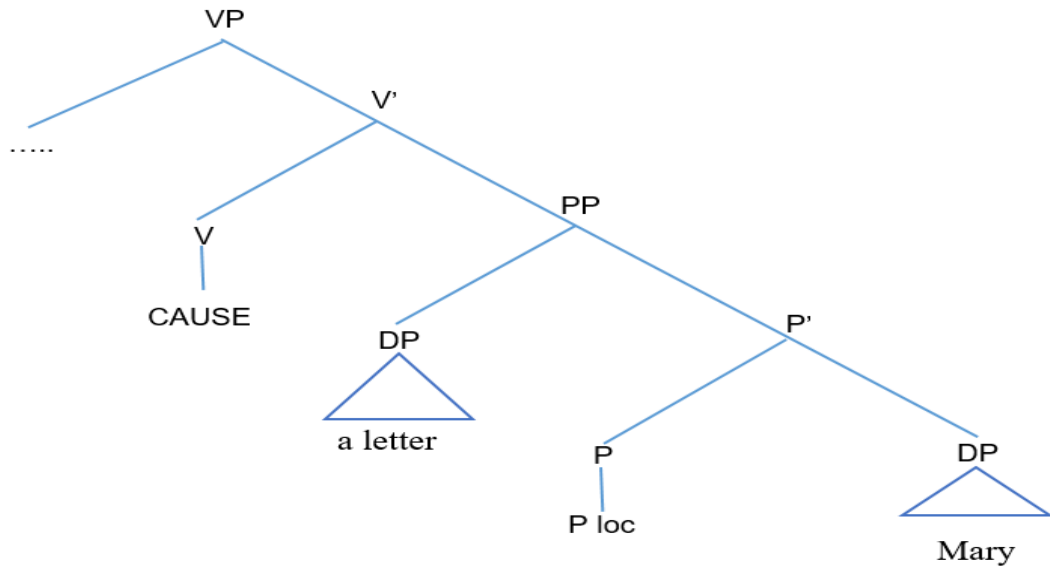


(Harley 2002: 33)

Harley (2002) expands on Pesetsky's structures by introducing modifications. In the PDC, the preposition *to* is replaced by the abstract locative preposition *Ploc*, which indicates the location and forms a prepositional phrase. In the DOC, the null *G* is replaced by the abstract preposition *Phave*, which expresses the transfer of possession to the goal. These abstract prepositions, *Ploc* and

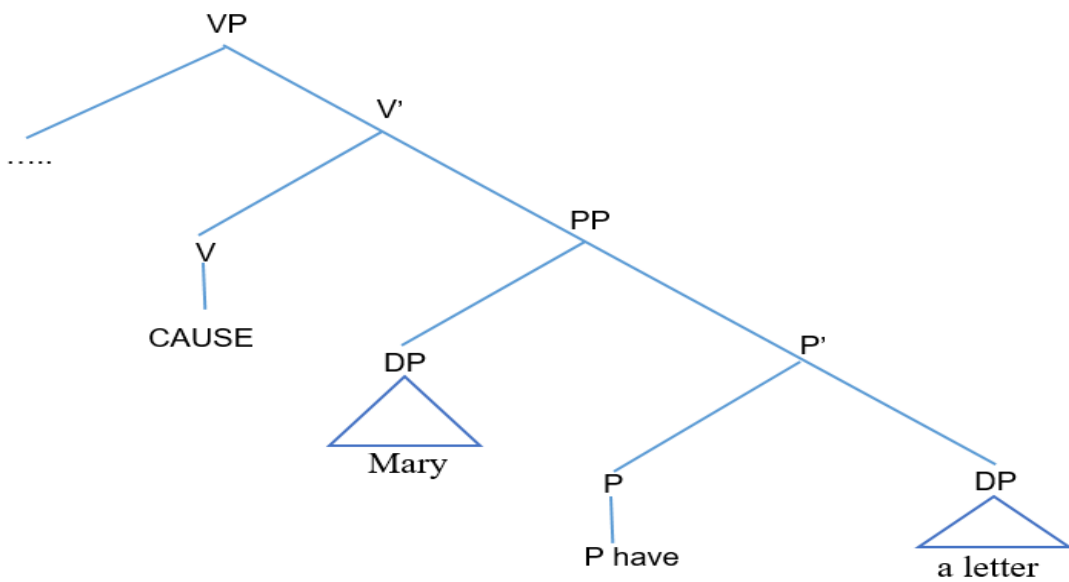
Phave, form the second part of the decomposed verb, the first being the null head "CAUSE," representing the external argument "subject".

42-



(Harley 2002: 334)

43-



(Harley 2002: 334)

Harley (2002) argues that the abstract prepositions *Phave* and *Ploc*, together with CAUSE, form the verb *give*, enabling PDCs and DOCs. However, she claims that because the object of the preposition *to* in the PDCs and the indirect object in the DOCs do not share the same semantic roles, the two structures cannot be derived from one another. According to Harley's analysis, this is supported by evidence in example (44), which highlights differences among these structures in terms of semantic roles and derivation. Harley uses examples (44) and (45), which date back to Green (1974), to support her claim. However, these facts are not an incontrovertible argument against a derivational approach. Den Dikken's (1995) exploration of affectedness provides an early and influential framework for analysing the interpretive differences between Recipients in DOCs and those in PDCs. Building on the foundational work of Hoekstra (1984, 1988) concerning affected arguments, Den Dikken offers a structural definition of affectedness rather than relying only on thematic or semantic considerations. In his analysis, an argument is regarded as "affected" only if it occupies a specific structural configuration—namely, the subject position of a small clause that forms a predicative relationship with the Theme. This structural approach suggests that in the DOC, where the Goal/Recipient takes on the role of the subject within a resultative-like small clause, the Recipient is structurally represented as affected. Conversely, in the PDC, the Goal appears as a PP-complement external to the small clause. It thus lacks the structural configuration necessary to qualify as affected under Den Dikken's criteria. The outcome provides a principled structural explanation for the systematic difference in the interpretation of affectedness between Recipients in DOCs and the Goal in PDCs, thus grounding the well-documented semantic asymmetry in an independently motivated syntactic framework. Den Dikken's (1995) notion of affectedness was an early attempt to explain why Recipients in DOCs are interpreted as more affected than in PDCs. Den Dikken's concept is retained and formalised as the foundation for later analyses by, for example, Harley and Pylkkänen, on low and high applicatives.

- 44- a. The editor sent the article to Sue.
 b. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.
 c. The editor sent Sue the article.
 d. ?The editor sent Philadelphia the article. (Harley 2002: 8)

Example (44d) is grammatically correct only if *Philadelphia* is considered animate. Consequently, Harley deduces that in the PDC, the object with the preposition *to* indicates location

rather than possession, in contrast to the DOC, where the first object, as the possessor, must be animate. Examples (45) and (46), dated back to Green (1974), provided by Harley, validate this interpretation.

- 45- a. John taught the students French.
- b. John taught French to the students.
- 46- a. I knitted this sweater for our baby.
- b. I knitted our baby this sweater. (Harley 2002: 9)

In example (45a), the students, treated as animate due to the animacy restriction, assume a possessive semantic role, in accordance with the understanding that they genuinely learned French. Conversely, in (45b), the prepositional object *the students* is interpreted as locative, implying limited learning. This distinction based on semantic roles is also evident in example (46). In (46a), *our baby*, as a prepositional object, is deemed ambiguous, whereas in (46b), the indirect object *our baby* must be animate, implying birth. Harley (2002) emphasises the effect of semantic roles on interpretation within these constructions.

Harley (2002) proposes a restrictive theory of discontinuous idioms, in which other elements separate parts of idioms. Using Larson's (1988) examples in PDCs (47), Harley shows that when the subsequent prepositional object (49) is informationally light, the idiom struggles to switch between the DOC (48) and PDC, resulting in the unacceptability of (49b, c) or grammatical errors (49a).

- 47- a. Max gave his all to linguistics.
- b. Alice gives hell to anyone who uses her training wheels.
- c. Oscar will give the boot to any employee that shows up late. (Harley 2002: 17)
- 48- a. Max gave linguistics his all.
- b. Alice gives everyone hell.
- c. Oscar will give John the boot. (Harley 2002: 19)
- 49- a. *Max gave his all to it.
- b. ?Alice gave hell to him.
- c. ?Oscar gave the boot to Susan. (Harley 2002: 19)

Bruening (2010a) opposes Harley's symmetric approach, which assumes a similar structure for the DOC and the PDC because both have the head CAUS that takes a PP as its complement, but with the two structures in reversed positions. Bruening argues that in his asymmetric framework (see 2.11), the ApplP in the DOC functions as a zero morpheme that attaches to the verb. As a result, further derivation through nominalisation is blocked due to the presence of the null morpheme Appl on the verb. Conversely, nominalisation is allowed in the PDC because it does not contain the null morpheme Appl. Bruening emphasises that the difference between the DOC and the PDC regarding the presence of the null morpheme Appl provides evidence for the asymmetric approach over the symmetric one proposed by Harley (2002), which fails to account for these facts. Bruening argues that despite Harley's claim about the presence of null heads in both the DOC and the PDC, CAUSE+*Phave* in the former, and CAUSE+*Ploc* in the latter, her proposal does not adequately clarify the contrast in nominalisation.

Bruening (2010) explicitly rejects a theory similar to Harley's (2002) that suggests the double object construction and the prepositional dative share parallel structures. According to Harley, both constructions involve a small PP clause, but the two noun phrases are rearranged and linked by different directional prepositions: *Ploc* vs *Phave*. This theory has difficulty explaining the scope asymmetry between the two constructions, since they are structured in parallel.

2.10. Pylkkänen 2002/2008

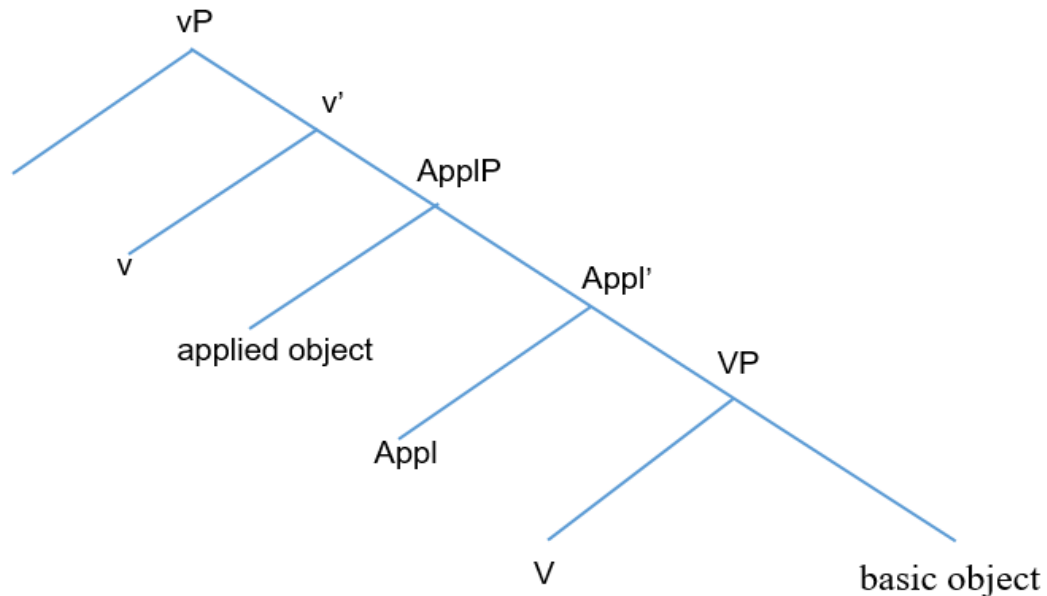
Several analyses of DOCs compare them with applicative constructions, even in languages that lack explicit applicative morphology. In these interpretations, an applicative morpheme exists but can remain silent. Marantz (1993) extends this applicative framework, initially developed for Bantu languages, to English double object constructions. Marantz regards the silent applicative morpheme as a verbal head, while Baker (1988) and others interpret it as a prepositional element. Baker's structure for a Chichewa applicative shows the underlying preposition incorporated into the verb, surfacing as an explicit applicative morpheme.

Pylkkänen's high/low applicative hypothesis, proposed in 2002, is influential in the field of applicative research. It suggests that applicatives in languages, including English, fall into two categories: "high applicatives" and "low applicatives." These categories, which are part of the universal inventory of functional elements, add extra arguments to a clause. Pylkkänen argues that

high and low applicatives have distinct syntactic and semantic features. This hypothesis has offered a significant framework for recent studies on applicatives, capturing empirical generalisations across several languages.

A high applicative merges with the VP as its complement. The applied argument functions as its specifier, thereby forming a structure as illustrated in (50).

50-

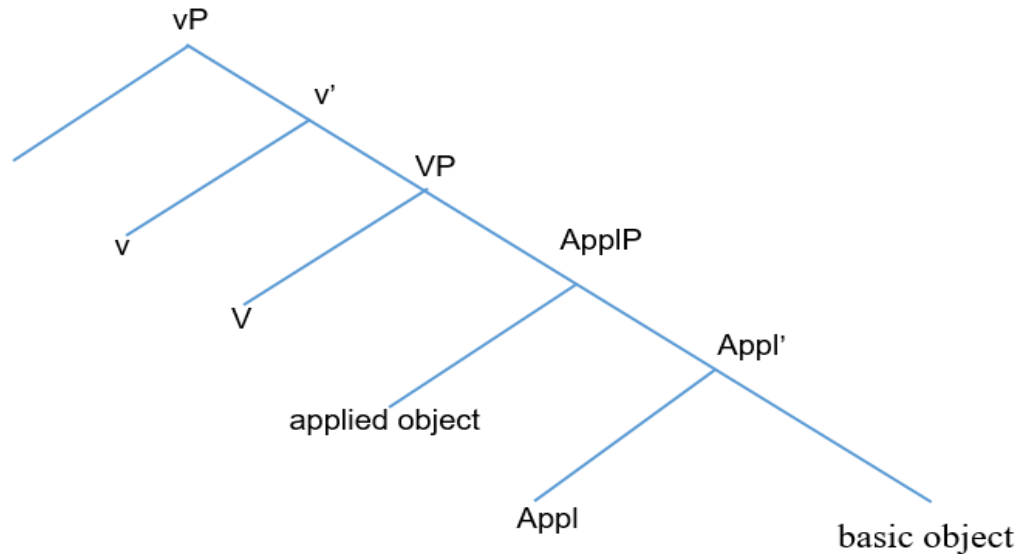


(Pylkkänen 2002: 19)

High applicatives create a semantic link between the applied argument and the event described by the VP. Pylkkänen proposes a universal inventory of semantic roles for applicative heads, including instrumental, benefactive, malefactive, and others.

Pylkkänen proposes that low applicative heads are generated within the VP, merging with the direct object as a complement and the applied argument as a specifier. The main verb then merges with this applicative phrase as its complement. Unlike high applicatives, which merge outside the VP, low applicatives demonstrate a syntactic structure shown in (51).

51-



(Pylkkänen 2002: 19)

She distinguishes two types of low applicatives based on the direction of transfer: those in which the applied object is the source and those in which it's the recipient. Pylkkänen names these "source applicatives" and "recipient applicatives", respectively, providing examples of both types for clarification.

52- a. Source applicative (Korean)

Totuk-i Mary- hanthey panci-lul humchi-ess -ta.

thief-NOM Mary -DAT ring-ACC steal -PAST-PLAIN

The thief stole a ring from Mary. (Pylkkänen 2002: 21)

b. Recipient applicative (English)

I wrote John a letter.

I baked my friend a cake. (Pylkkänen 2002: 19)

In Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) analysis of applicative constructions, the verb takes ApplP as its complement within the low Appl structure, and Appl takes the Theme as its complement. Suppose the configurational requirement for Themes is that they be complements of either V or the combination of V and Appl, with Appl incorporating into V through the Government Transparency Corollary (Baker, 1988). If so, the verb ends up governing the Theme. Therefore, if the requirement is that Themes serve as complements of V or V+Appl, that would be acceptable; however,

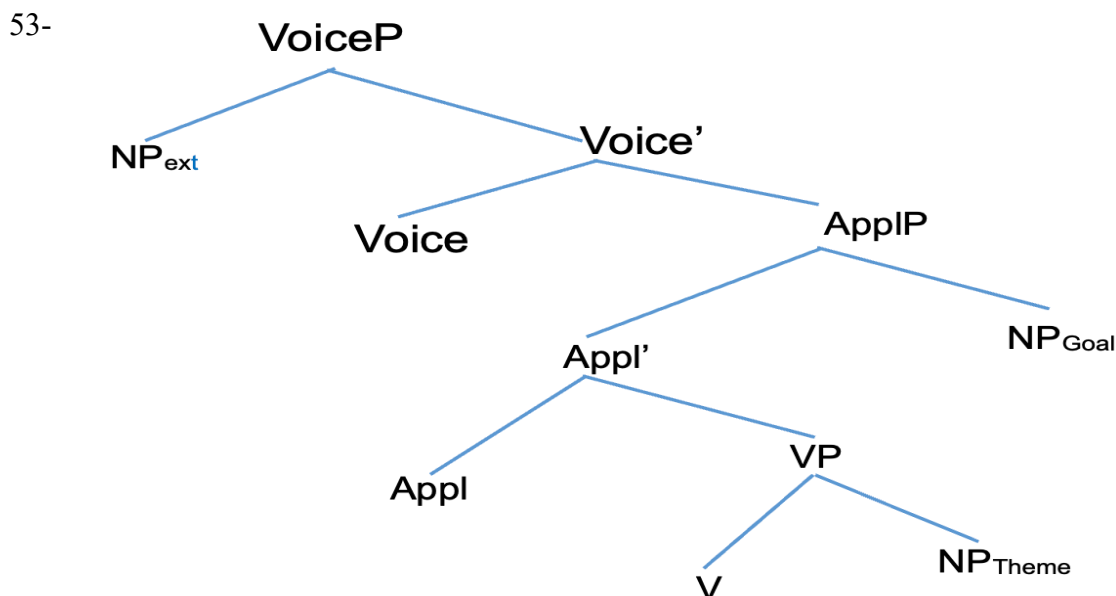
analysing PDC makes it difficult to accept that the Theme functions as a complement. If we take the Theme to be the complement of V, the PP in the PDC can be mapped either into the specifier position of VP or into a position adjoined to a projection of V. Imagine that we have the PP in Spec-VP and the Theme in the complement position of V; English should permit orders like ‘*put on the table the books*’ or ‘*gave to John the book*’, but such orders are systematically ungrammatical in English. Moreover, if the PP were in the Spec-VP, the shell structure would incorrectly predict wrong c-command, incorrect binding relations, incorrect quantifier scope, and incorrect linearisation patterns. Treating the PP as an adjunct to V' and treating the Theme as the complement of V fails to deliver asymmetry between the two internal arguments of the PDC. For both arguments, the first maximal projection that dominates them is VP; they then symmetrically c-command each other. Moreover, predicate heads can assign theta-roles only to arguments, not to adjuncts, so adjuncts cannot satisfy verb-selected theta-roles. Because of the difficulty of accommodating the Goal-PP, we cannot uphold that Themes are complements. We can fix the problem by assuming that the Theme of the DOC is not positioned as low as Pylkkänen takes it to be (see 1.8).

If the UTAH guides us in projecting syntactic structures, which it should if we wish to develop a structure-based definition of thematic relations, then we do not want the Larson (1988) representation in (19) and the Pylkkänen (2002) representation in (51) to coexist. This is because the Theme's position in (19) and in (51) are simply two different positions that cannot be reconciled under a single hypothesis about the Theme's structural relationship with the verb, unless Government is the structural relationship, which was abandoned. A possible structural definition of the Theme is that Themes are always in the specifier position of the VP, including when a predicate denotes a state or location. Hale and Keyser (1993) identify thematic roles with specific noun phrase positions within syntactic projections. These predicates project into the syntactic structure in conjunction with particular combinatorial principles.

2.11. Bruening 2010

Bruening (2010b) rejects the idea that the DOC and PDC share identical syntactic and semantic features, which speakers select based on factors such as discourse accessibility, definiteness, or animacy. He introduces the concept of rightward dative shift (R-dative shift), arguing that structures that can switch between these forms do not constitute the PDC but instead undergo R-

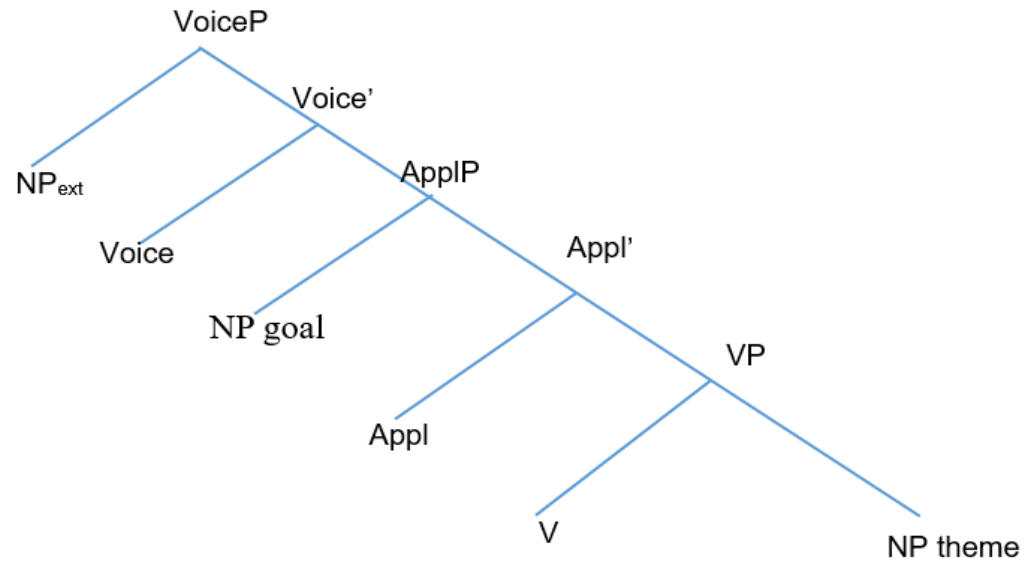
dative shift. However, 'dative shift' involving the movement of the PP to the right was proposed much earlier than Bruening. The term was first introduced by Erteschik-Shir (1979). This shift reverses the order of the two NPs in the DOC and adds the preposition *to*. Bruening (2010:292) states that “The most important point of this analysis is that, although R-dative shift looks identical on the surface to the prepositional dative construction, it is really a double object construction.” While the resulting structure may appear superficially similar to the prepositional dative construction, Bruening emphasises different syntactic properties. Example (53) depicts the DOC after undergoing R-dative shift, showing its different syntactic composition. This challenges conventional assumptions about the interchangeability and underlying structures of both the DOC and the PDC. However, Aoun and Li (1989) attribute to David Lebeaux the observation that DOCs contrast with PP datives by disallowing inverse scope, thus emphasising a structural difference.



(Bruening 2010b, 290)

In the R-dative shifted DOC (53), its syntactic structure closely resembles that of the "pure" DOC (54). The central difference lies in the position of the Applicative Phrase specifier, which remains on the left in (54). The presence of the Goal NP on the right of ApplP necessitates adding the preposition *to* to the NP. (Bruening 2010b, 290).

54-



(Bruening 2010b, 289)

Bruening (2010b, 292) evaluates his R-dative shift hypothesis by examining quantifier scope within the DOC. In Aoun and Li's (1989) approach, variable binding was replaced with chain binding for quantifier scope interpretation. They aim to explain the differences in data between English and Chinese: English transitive sentences with two quantifiers are ambiguous, whereas their Chinese equivalents are not. Following Aoun and Li (1989), Bruening argues that in the DOC, the second object cannot outscope the first—examples (55a-b) support Bruening's assertion regarding the limitations of quantifier positioning within the DOC.

- 55- a. I gave a different candy bar to every child. (every - a)
 b. I gave a different child every candy bar. (*every - a) (Bruening 2010b, 292)

In Bruening's analysis (2010b, 292), the universal quantifier *every* can scope over the indefinite quantifier *a* along with *different* in the PDC (55a), allowing for inverse scope. However, without a distributive reading, as in (55b), *different* sounds odd or incomprehensible without contextual cues.

Based on (55), Bruening argues that the R-dative shifted double object construction has essentially the same structure but with the specifier of the Applicative phrase on the right, similar to the double object construction in relation to scope quantifiers. Through examples (56) and (57),

Bruening observes that the R-dative DOC (56c) behaves similarly to the standard DOC (56b), indicating that they function equally. Therefore, he suggests treating them as one construction.

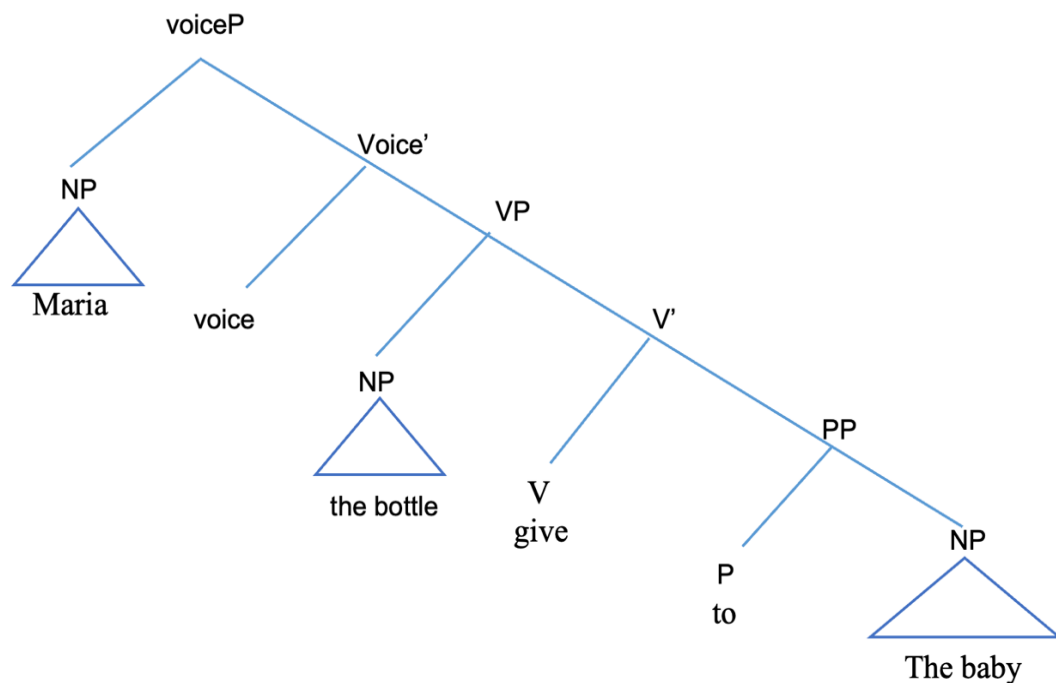
- 56- a. This lighting gives everyone a different kind of headache. (every - a)
 b. This lighting gives a different person every kind of headache. (*every - a)
 c. This lighting gives every kind of headache to a different (type of) person. (*every - a)
 d. This lighting gives a different kind of headache to everyone who enters the room. (every - a)
- (Bruening 2010b, 294)

57- I give every kind of candy to a different (type of) person. (every - a)

(Bruening 2010b, 294)

Bruening (2010a) proposes the following structure for PDC, which lacks Appl, indicating that both the NP and the PP are internal arguments of V.

58-



(Bruening 2010a:521)

Bruening contends that his proposal to DOCs and PDCs supports the asymmetric theory over Harley's symmetric theory (2002), which does not account for scope facts. Bruening also notes that, despite Harley's assertion that null heads exist in both constructions—namely CAUSE and *Phave* in the DOC, and CAUSE and *Ploc* in the PDC—this theory does not sufficiently explain the differences in nominalisation (see 2.9).

By examining the structures of DOC in (54) and PDC in (58), we notice that the Theme in (54) functions as a complement of V, whereas in (58) it occupies the specifier position. Bruening faces the same problem as Pylkkänen with regard to the representation of the Theme-of relation. Bruening treats the Theme as a complement of V. If Bruening applies Government in his analysis, it is consistent for the Theme to appear once as a complement and another time in the specifier, since V governs everything. Relying on Government would cause him to deviate from current principles, as Government was abolished in the early 1990s. The inconsistency in the Theme position across these structures violates the UTAH, which remains our main guide for projecting syntactic structures and formulating a structure-based definition of thematic relations. However, unlike Pylkkänen's original proposal for "low ApplP", Bruening's ApplP structure can easily be adjusted to be UTAH-compliant — by placing the Theme in (54), not in the complement of V, but in Spec-VP. In fact, this would result in exactly the approach I am advocating. Both approaches share the idea that Appl takes VP as its complement.

2.12. Hallman 2018

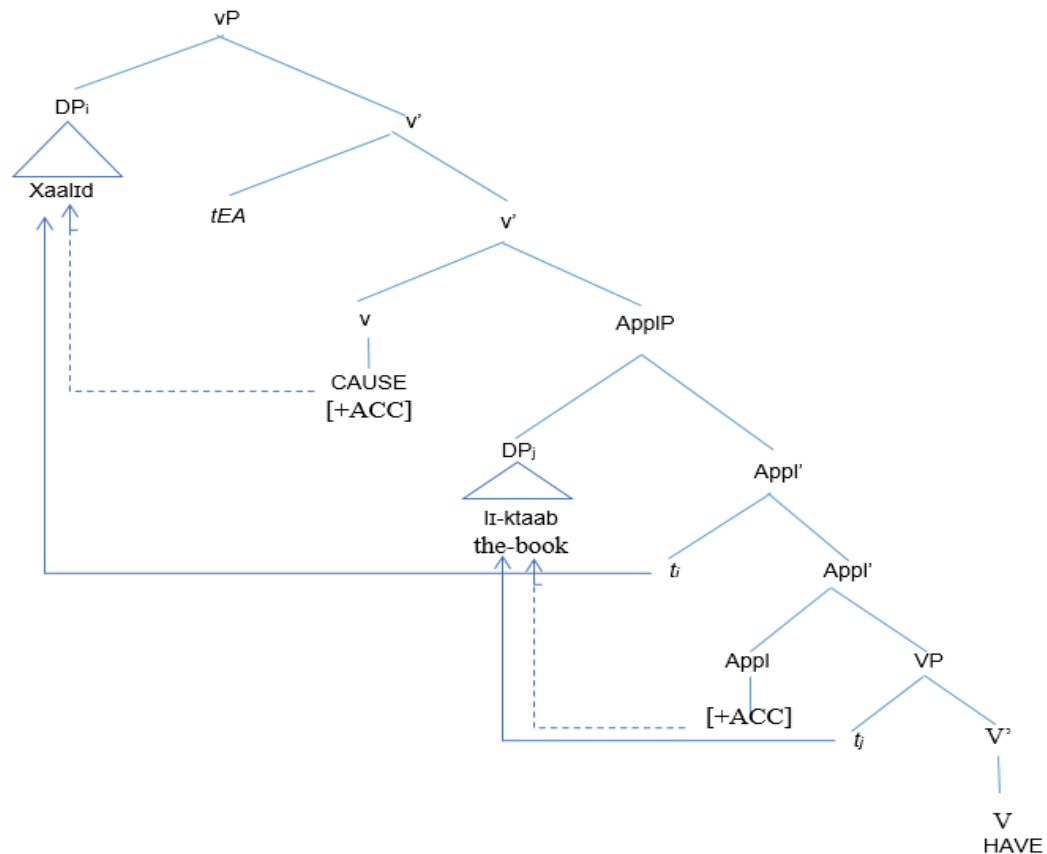
Hallman (2018) examines Double Object Constructions in modern Syrian Arabic, analysing how case frames vary within these structures. He argues that some double-object verbs assign the accusative case to the indirect object (IO), as in English, while others assign the dative case, as in German. Nevertheless, both types of verbs can shift to a structure where the IO appears within a prepositional phrase. This results in the dative case exhibiting both lexical case, dependent on the verb, and structural case, absent in the prepositional frame. Hallman (2018) also observes that restrictions on cliticisation, animacy, and idiomatic expressions suggest that the prepositional frame derives from the core double object frame. He proposes an analysis in which D-feature checking preserves the IO-DO order in DOCs, regardless of the case assigned to the IO. The variation between dative, accusative, and prepositional frames is explained by the properties of the applicative head, which theta-licenses the indirect object.

Hallman proposes the syntax of *give*-type double object constructions given in (60), which is basically straightforward on the hypothesis that case assignment is always upwards, in Spec-Head configuration; the syntax in (60) could in principle be simplified on an Agree-based downward case assignment approach, but Hallman assumes later in his study that movement of DP-objects is required for D-feature checking independently of case which means that even if case could in principle be assigned to each object in situ, the two DPs would still need to both be displaced.

59- Leyla ʔatʰ-ət Xaalɪd lɪ-ktaab
 Leyla gave-3SF Xaalɪd the-book

‘Leyla gave Khalid the book.’

60-



Hallman claims that the V-*la*-DP-DP construction (61) is a Double Object Construction in Syrian Arabic, not a Prepositional Dative Construction, for three reasons.

61- Leyla	waffar-ət	la-Xaalid	li-ktaab
Leyla	provided-3SF	DAT-Khalid	the-book

‘Leyla provided Khalid with the book.’ (Hallman 2018:4)

- First, the *la*-phrase can occur between the verb and the Theme, which is not typical of PPs in Arabic.

Hallman provides examples that are locative or directional PP constructions, which in Arabic do not permit the PP to appear post-verbally unless there is heavy NP-shift. He compares directional PPs to PDCs. In Arabic, as in (62) and (63), the PP occurs immediately after the verb because there is nothing else besides the PP after the verb. That is a strong generalisation. (62) and (63) indicate that *la*-DP and *la*-clitic behave similarly.

62- yaner-t	lə	Samia
sang-1SG	for	Samia

‘I sang for Samia.’

63- yaner-t	il-hə
sang-1SG	for-her

‘I sang for her.’

Furthermore, in locative PPs, (V-PP-NP_{Theme}) does not always require a heavy Theme. It is grammatical and permissible to use examples like (64) and (65). Alternation is permitted in Arabic locative constructions and has no information-structure consequences.

64- hat ^ə er-t	bi-f- ^ə anteh	ktaab
put-1SG	in-the-bag	book

‘I put a book in the bag.’

65- hat ^ə er-t	ktaab	bi-f- ^ə anteh
put-1SG	book	in-the-bag

‘I put a book in the bag.’

Note that when the Theme is lighter, the PP is easier to intrapose; however, when the Theme is heavier, intraposition becomes difficult, as in (66).

- 66- ʔhatʕer-t bɪ-f-ʃanteh lɪ-ktaab
 put-1SG in-the-bag the-book
 ‘I put a book in the bag.’

In JA and other Levantine varieties, some locative PPs can intrapose and still allow the Theme to promote to subject position (see sections 4.5, 4.5.1, and 4.5.2).

- 67- ʃabber-t bɪ-d-dalu may
 filled-1SG in-the-bucket water
 ‘I filled the bucket with water.’

- 68- may ʔɪt-ʃabb-ət bɪ-d-dalu (Theme passive)
 Water passive-filled-3SGF in-the-bucket
 ‘Water was filled in the bucket.’

Directional PPs, on the other hand, do not alternate, and because they have a larger structure than locative PPs, they have a larger extended projection; therefore, they are not eligible for intraposition (see den Dikken, 2010).

- 69- Samia wadd-ət Tamara lə s-soog
 Samia sent-3SGF Tamar to the-market
 ‘Samia sent/drove Tamara to the market.’

- 70- *Samia wad d-ət lə s-soog Tamara
 Samia sent-3SGF to the-market Tamara
 Intended, ‘Samia sent Tamara to the market.’

- Second, the DOCs with an accusative recipient and those with a dative recipient exhibit frozen scope, a feature typical of a DP+DP frame in English.

Hallman argues that both DOCs with an accusative recipient and those with a dative recipient display frozen scope, a characteristic typical of a DP+DP structure in English. However, in other Arabic constructions, frozen scope and a lack of ambiguity can be observed without relying on DOC syntax. For example, with the verb *ʔhatʕ* ‘put’, the quantificational Theme following the location can cause scope freezing, as shown in (71). This is similar to the *ʔaʃtʕ* ‘give’ construction

in (73). When the order is reversed in both constructions—placing the quantifier with the location in the *ḥatʿ* ‘put’ construction and with the Goal in *ʔaʕtʿə* ‘give’—we observe an inverse scope reading that introduces ambiguity in both constructions, as in (72) and (74).

- 71- ḥatʿei-t ʕala raf bi-l-maktabeh kull iktaab dʒadeed
 put-1SG on shelf in-the-library every book new
 ‘I put a new book on a shelf in the library.’
- 72- ḥatʿei-t iktaab dʒadeed ʕala kull raf bi-l-maktabeh
 put-1SG book new on every shelf in-the-library
 ‘I put a new book on every shelf in the library.’
- 73- ʔaʕtʿ-u lə tʿaalib bi-sʿ-sʿaf kull iktaab dʒadeed
 gave-3PLM to student in-the-class every book new
 ‘They gave a student in the class every new book.’
- 74- ʔaʕtʿ-u iktaab dʒadeed lə kull tʿaalib bi-sʿ-sʿaf
 gave-3PLM book new to every student in-the-class
 ‘They gave a new book to every student in the class.’

(71) to (74) demonstrate that *ʔaʕtʿə* ‘give’ and *ḥatʿ* ‘put’ constructions are parallel. What we observe is an alternation between two orders, both for *ʔaʕtʿə* ‘give’ and *ḥatʿ* ‘put’. For *ḥatʿ* ‘put’, it is impossible to appeal to the double object syntactic structure because *ḥatʿ* ‘put’ does not have a V-DP-DP frame in Arabic. There is no way to say *Sami ḥatʿ-Ø li-iktaab raf* ‘Sami put the book a shelf’ or *Sami ḥatʿ-Ø raf li-iktaab* ‘Sami put a shelf the book’.

- Third, the *lə*-phrase with the order V-*lə*-DP-DP differs from that with the order V-DP-*lə*-DP, as observed in cliticisation patterns.

Hallman argues that the *lə*-phrase with the order V-*lə*-DP-DP differs from that with the order V-DP-*lə*-DP, as observed in cliticisation patterns. He states that verbs accept an enclitic form of the *lə*-phrase that preserves the characterising *l* onset. Hallman considers *lə*+clitic a clitic in Arabic. The combination *lə*+clitic forms a constituent with the preposition *lə* as its head. *lə*+clitic (PP) is a constituent that can be preposed, topicalised, coordinated with other PPs, and moved freely around other constituents (see chapters 4, 5, and 6). However, dative pronouns, especially in the speech of most speakers, arise from the grammaticalisation of the preposition *lə* ‘to, for’

augmented with bound pronouns. In most speakers' speech, dative pronouns are unmistakably affixal because they consistently create a new phonological word with their host, as noted by Herin & Al-Wer (2025).

- 75- dʒɪb-ɪt ʃafa lə-ɪ wə leɪ-k
brought-1SG supper for-me and for-you
'I brought supper for you and for me.'
- 76- dʒɪb-ɪt lə-ɪ wə leɪ-k ʃafa
brought-1SG for-me and for-you supper
'I brought supper for you and for me.'
- 77- lə-ɪ wə leɪ-k dʒɪb-ɪt ʃafa
for-me and for-you brought-1SG supper
'For you, and for me, I brought supper.'

It is true that when the *lə*+clitic is immediately adjacent to the verb, it exhibits clitic behaviour because of the pronominal, which creates a new phonological variant with its host. However, as in the examples above, the *lə*+clitic does not necessarily have to be adjacent to the verb. Nonetheless, this behaviour does not imply that we are dealing with DOC. Prepositional clitics exist in languages. For instance, in French, there is a locative clitic *y* 'there' (see Kayne 1975), as in the following example.

- 78- J'y ai mis le livre
I.CL.there 1SG.have put the book
'I put the book there.'

The cliticisation of the locative clitic *y* to the verb in (78) does not imply that French exhibits double object construction whenever *y* is used. The attachment of *lə*+clitic in JA does not influence the syntax towards either a DOC or a PDC, since PPs can attach as clitics without necessarily indicating a DOC analysis. The French *mettre* 'put' is comparable to the English *put*, and the JA *ħat*⁶ 'put' does not support DOC syntax. With *mettre*, you can cliticise a PP from within a VP to the verb without invoking DOC syntax. Cliticisation is independent of whether it concerns a DOC or a PDC. Cliticisation of the Goal remains possible regardless.

Even locative adverbs in JA, such as *hoon* ‘here’ and *ʔihnaak* ‘there’, require *lə* when used with verbs that resist DOC, and they are used without *lə* with verbs that accept DOC (for the classification of ditransitive verbs in JA, see chapter 4). It is worth noting that these adverbs, in (79) and (81), can appear between the verb and the *lə*+clitic, indicating that *lə*+clitic behaves like a PP and does not need to be attached directly to the verb, as shown in the following examples.

- 79- dʒaab-Ø lə hoon lə-ɪ ɪktaab
 brought-3SGM to here to-me book
 ‘He brought me a book here.’
- 80- ʔaʃtʔei-t-ək ʔihnaak ɪktaab
 gave-1SG-you there book
 ‘I gave you a book there.’
- 81- wadder-t lə-hnaak ʔɪl-u ktaab
 sent-1SG to-there for-him book
 ‘I sent him a book there.’

With verbs that resist DOC, as in (79) and (81), the locative adverbs *hoon* ‘here’ and *ʔihnaak* ‘there’ require the use of *lə*. These adverbs can separate the verbs from the *lə*+clitic. With *ʔaʃtʔə* ‘give’ (80), the locative adverbs *hoon* ‘here’ and *ʔihnaak* ‘there’ do not require the use of *lə*, but they cannot separate the clitic from the verb.

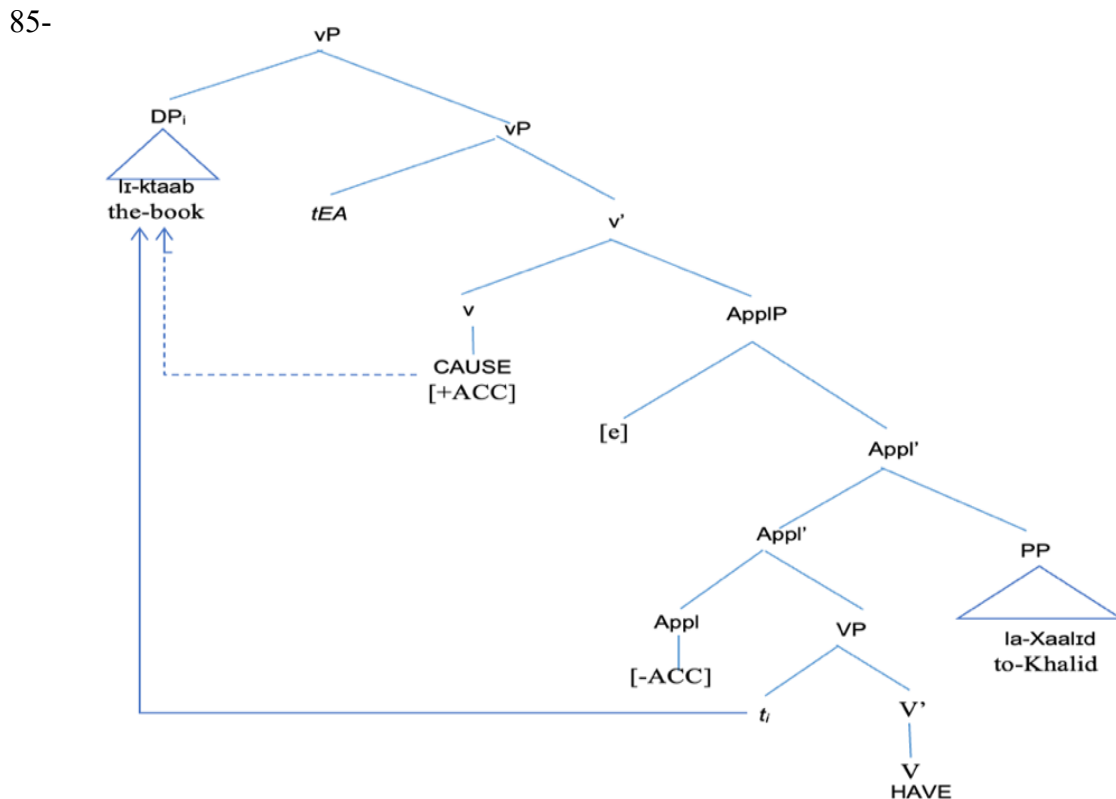
Hallman also claims that *lə*+clitic is not a PP but a nominal clitic, with *l* as a case marker. He argues that the fact that *lə*+clitic cannot occur on the verb with *give*-type verbs supports this conclusion. However, *lə*+clitic can follow *ʔaʃtʔə* ‘give’ in contrastive focus constructions, as shown in the following examples.

- 82- ʔaʃtʔei-t ʔɪL-ək ɪs-sayyaara muu ʔɪL-U/Lə SAMI (JA)
 gave-1SG TO-YOU the-car Neg TO-HIM/TO SAMI
 ‘I gave the car TO YOU, not TO HIM/TO SAMI.’
- 83- ʔaʃtʔei-t Lə-K ɪs-sayyaara muu Lə-h/ Lə SAMI (Kuwaiti Arabic)
 gave-1SG TO-YOU the-car Neg TO-HIM/TO SAMI
 ‘I gave the car TO YOU, not TO HIM/TO SAMI.’

The use of *la*+clitic after *give*-type verbs in the examples above shows that *la*+clitic is a PP clitic, not a nominal clitic, as Hallman (2018) claims, simply because in contrastive focus we compare two constituents of the same type. Therefore, contrary to Hallman’s (2018) assertion, this study will show that the *V-la*-DP-DP construction is not a DOC but a different variation of the Prepositional Dative Construction.

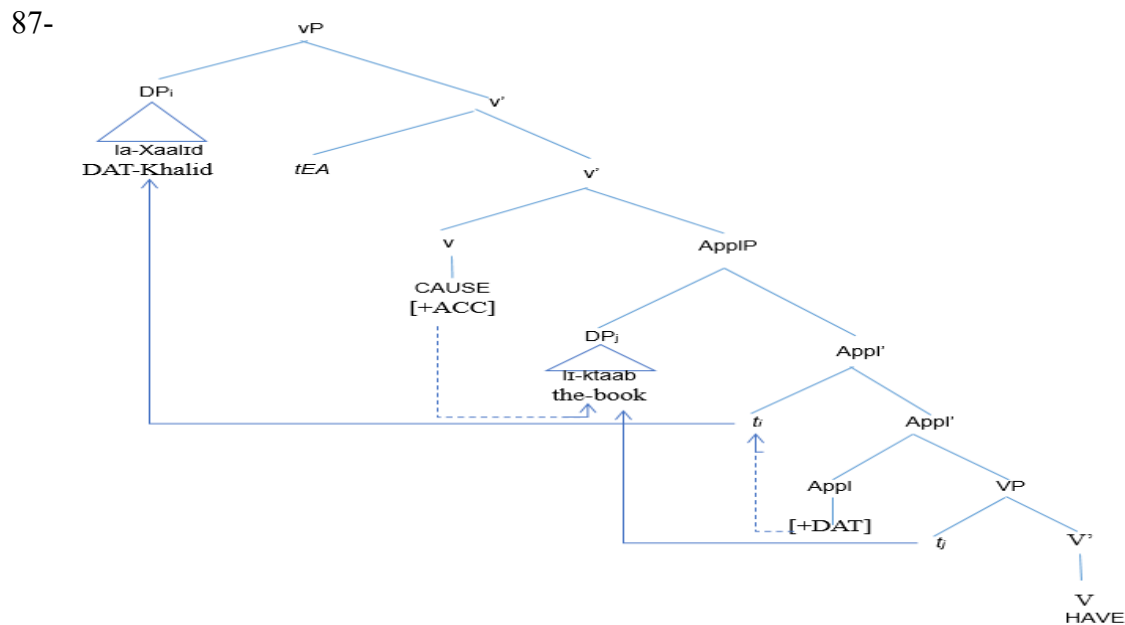
The syntax in (85) for PDC follows the work of Bruening (2013) and Aoun & Li (1989), and treats ApplP as detransitivised (i.e., deprived of its ability to license an external argument and to case-license a DP). The Theme DP now depends on the verb “little *v*” for case and will therefore be promoted to subject in the passive. There is no [+ACC] feature under Appl in (85).

- 84- Leyla ʔaʕtʕ-ət lɪ-ktaab la-Xaalɪd
 Leyla gave-3SF the-book to-Xaalɪd
 ‘Leyla gave the book to Khalid.’



In the analysis of *provide*-type⁹ verbs, Hallman appeals to the displacement of a dative-marked DP for reasons having to do with a D-feature. In (87), accusative case assignment to the Theme proceeds downwards, but the Theme is still being displaced, fulfilling the need to get its D-feature checked.

- 86- Leyla waffar-ət la-Xaalid lɪ-ktaab
 Leyla provided-3SF DAT-Khalid the-book
 ‘Leyla provided Khalid with the book.’

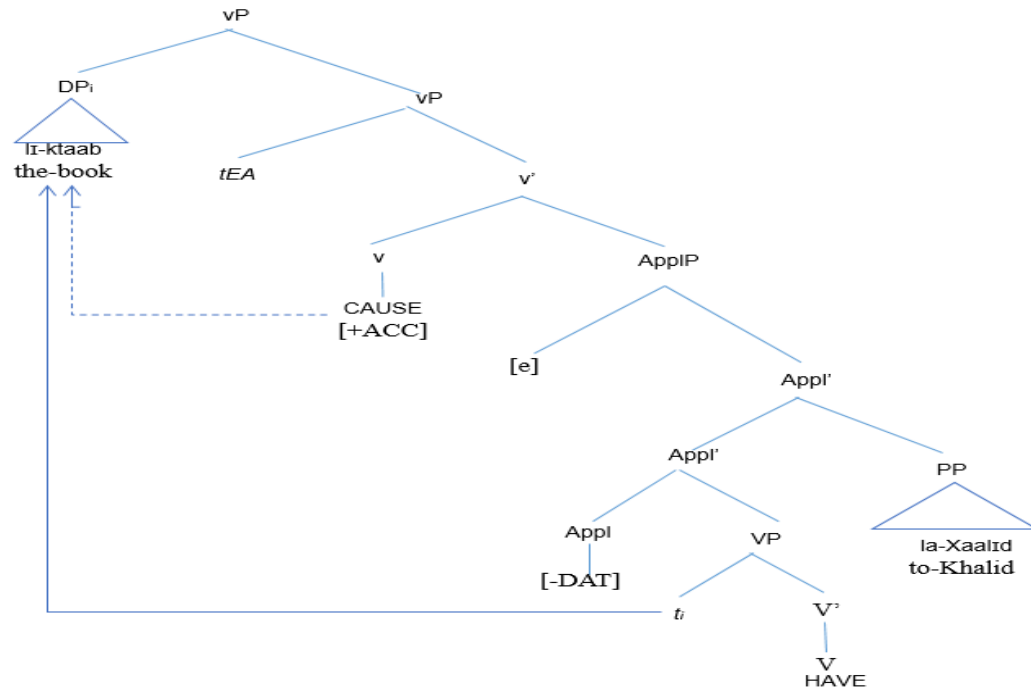


In the syntax of (89), where Appl’s case feature, this time [+DAT], is being suppressed, it switches to [-DAT], and the demoted Goal appears in an adjunct-PP. The hypothesis that the DAT case feature is subject to suppression clearly requires it to be a structural case feature.

- 88- Leyla waffar-ət lɪ-ktaab la-Xaalid
 Leyla provided-3SF the-book to-Khalid
 ‘Leyla provided the book to Khalid.’

⁹ Hallman (2018) classifies the verb *warrat* ‘bequeath’ in *provide*-type verbs although it occurs in DOC in Arabic.

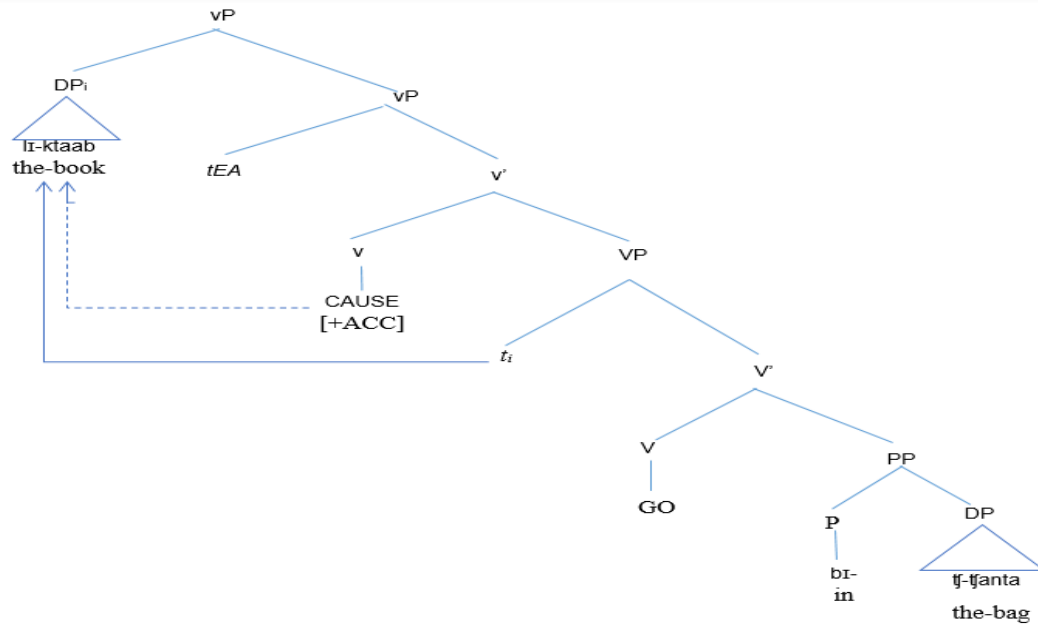
89-



Hallman argues that the primary syntactic difference between *ʔaʕtʕə* ‘give’ and *waffar* ‘provide’ lies in the lexical insertion stage. For *ʔaʕtʕə*, a head complex containing a [$\pm$ ACC] Appl is inserted, whereas for *waffar*, it contains a [$\pm$ DAT] Appl. Consequently, dative case appears only with verbs involving a head complex with a [+DAT] Appl at the lexical insertion stage, making the dative case "lexical" in this context.

According to Hallman, in genuine locative constructions involving verbs like *ħatʕ* ‘put’, the PP is generated lower than the theme. He proposes a structure where the little *v* remains causative, but the VP indicates directed motion rather than possession, and the PP complements the verb. The absence of an ApplP in such predicates means a DP+DP configuration is unavailable, eliminating the possibility of dative case assignment in these semantically locative constructions.

- 90- Leyla ħatʕ-ət lɪ-ktaab bɪ-ʃ-ʃanta
 Leyla put-3SF the-book in-the-bag
 ‘Leyla put the book in the bag.’



The key distinction between the locative structure and possessive DP+PP frames lies in the placement of the PP. In locative constructions, the PP is generated lower than the Theme. Conversely, in possessive frames, the PP is positioned higher, close to where the indirect object DP is generated within a DP+DP structure. In Hallman's analysis, the DP within the possessive PP shares the same theta role as the indirect object DP, explaining why DP+DP and possessive DP+PP frames have similar interpretations. In possessive PP constructions, the preposition *la* is semantically empty. In contrast, in locative PPs, prepositions such as *bi*, meaning "in," *ʕala*, meaning "on" or "to," and *la*, meaning "to," express a locative relationship with their complements.

2.13. Al-Janabi 2019

Al-Janabi (2019) examines ditransitive constructions with lexical and pronominal objects in two unrelated languages: Iraqi Arabic, a less-documented language, and English (including British dialects). The study aims to identify cross-linguistic similarities and differences in ditransitive constructions, a debated topic in generative theory. Al-Janabi's work emphasises Iraqi Arabic as a rich environment for the study of ditransitives, as it displays a wide range of ditransitive patterns. The thesis focuses on word order, case marking, and passives, discussing the relationship between DOCs and PDCs, and highlighting pronoun theory and the syntactic features of clitics, drawing on Shlonsky (1997) and Roberts (2010). Al-Janabi (2019) argues that pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic function as syntactic clitics.

Al-Janabi follows Holmberg et al. (2018), despite the Appl approach predating this work. He argues that in DOCs, the predicate includes *v*, *V*, and an applicative head Appl, with Appl assigning a role to the Recipient and *V* assigning a role to the Theme. In Iraqi Arabic and Standard English, *v* assigns Case to the Recipient, while Appl assigns Case to the Theme. However, in some British English dialects, *v* can assign Case to either the Recipient or the Theme due to Appl's flexible licensing, allowing it to license either argument. In PDCs, *v* assigns Case to the Theme, and the Goal receives Case from a preposition.

In addition to the Appl head in the DOC, termed *Appl 1*, Al-Janabi argues that Iraqi Arabic possesses a second Applicative head, *Appl 2*, which is similar to high Appl attested in Bantu languages (Pylkkänen 2002; 2008). *Appl2* introduces Benefactive arguments in relevant clauses. He claims that a distinctive feature of Iraqi Arabic is that these Appl heads can appear as the special form *iya* when followed by a pronominal object.

Al-Janabi finds that the two languages studied are more similar than previously believed, particularly with respect to syntactic clitics. This similarity is evident in DOCs, where both languages allow a defective¹⁰ Recipient with a full DP-Theme but do not allow a full DP-Recipient with a defective Theme. Both also permit DOC constructions with two defective objects, DOCs with two full DP objects, and PDCs with pronominal or lexical objects. Additionally, in terms of passives, Iraqi Arabic resembles Standard English; both languages are asymmetrical, allowing only the Recipient to be passivised in the DOC.

He argues that there are notable differences between the two languages. For instance, while the DOC form, *she gave it him/John* is used in some British English dialects, it does not appear in Iraqi Arabic. In British English dialects, the Appl head can agree with either a defective Recipient or the Theme, but in Iraqi Arabic, Appl agrees only with the Theme in the DOC. This suggests that the uF of little *v* can be valued by either the Recipient or Theme in British English dialects, while

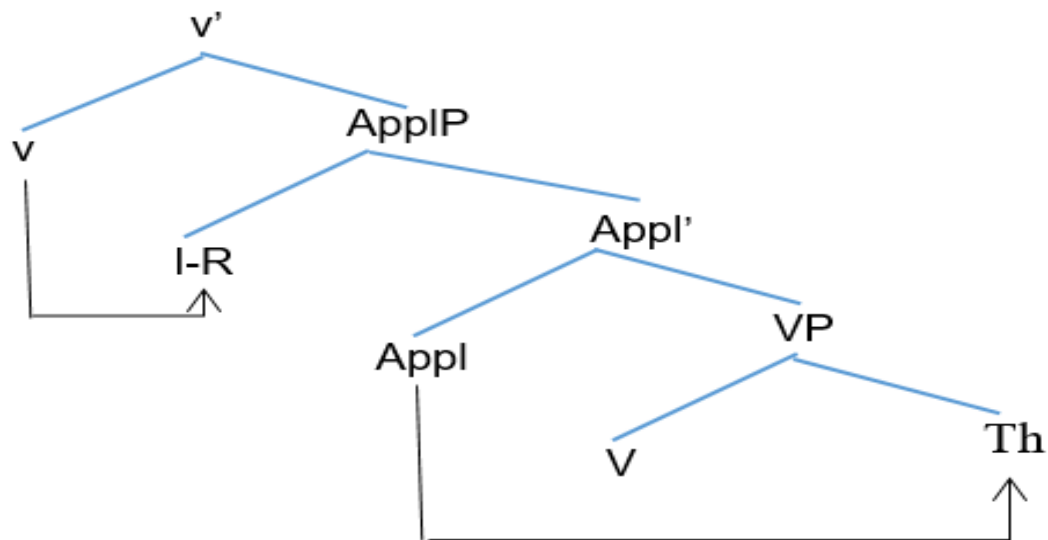
¹⁰ Defective objects are structurally reduced object noun phrases, such as clitic pronouns or incorporated nouns, that lack certain properties of full determiner phrases (DPs). These properties include the ability to trigger agreement, receive accusative case, or undergo syntactic operations such as passivisation (Chomsky, 2001; Baker, 1988).

in Iraqi Arabic, it can only be valued by the Recipient. Another difference is that British English dialects use only *Appl1*, while Iraqi Arabic uses *Appl1* and *Appl2*.

Al-Janabi argues that the prefix *l-* in the Iraqi Arabic construction *V-la-IO-DO* functions similarly to the Japanese dative-*ni*, which introduces the indirect object in DOC. However, it differs from the Japanese *-ni* in that it is not a case marker, allowing two accusatives within a single clause. Evidence for this includes the presence of DOCs in Iraqi Arabic, where *l-* does not always introduce Recipients in all DOCs, thereby permitting two adjacent accusatives. He contends that some ditransitive verbs in Iraqi Arabic occur only in a neutral alignment, specifically in the double accusative construction (Anagnostopoulou, 2003), where neither object carries a specific marker. In chapters 4, 5, and 6, I will demonstrate that, based on observations of A and A-bar-movement, scope interaction, cliticisation, and clitic doubling, the construction *V-la-DP-DP* reflects a PDC with reverse order. Additionally, I will argue that *la* functions as a beneficiary theta-role assigner rather than a dative case assigner.

Al-Janabi argues that, as an asymmetric language, Iraqi Arabic's DOC resembles that of Standard English's, with one key difference: the Recipient is preceded by *l-*. The structure of the DOC in Iraqi Arabic, particularly in sentences with the ditransitive verb *ʔaʕtā* "give", where both the Recipient and the Theme are full DPs, is illustrated in (92).

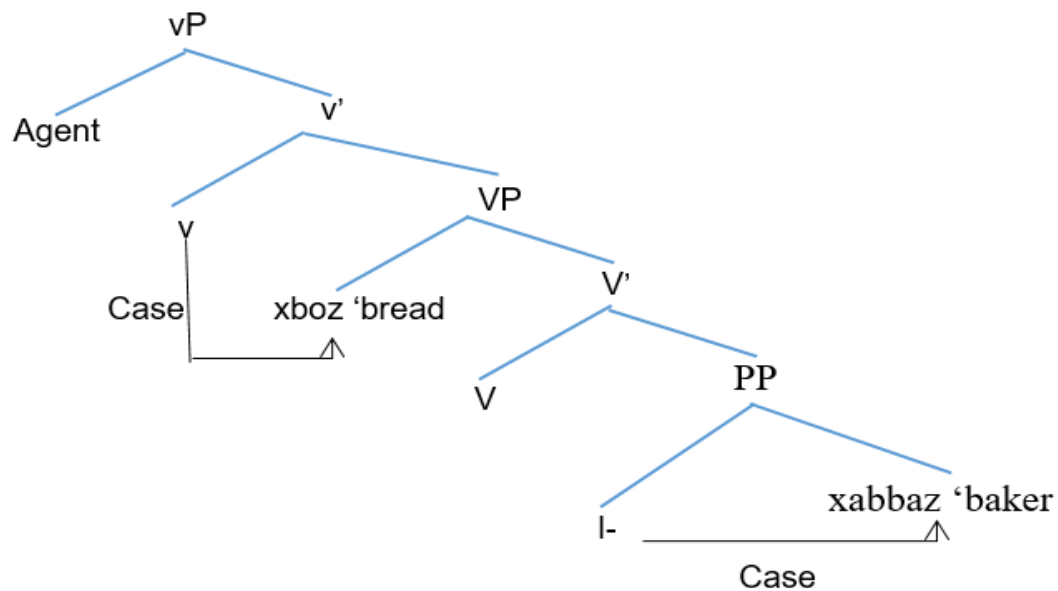
92-



In (92), Al-Janabi argues that the Recipient receives the accusative Case from *v*, while the Applicative head assigns the Theme's Case. Here, the prefix *l-* signifies the realisation of the accusative Case. In this account, if the above example is similar to the English DOC and if the prefix *l-* is the realisation of the accusative case, why can the *l-R* in the spec of ApplP in the above structure not be promoted to the structural subject position in passive constructions?

In the PDC of Iraqi Arabic, Al-Janabi argues that the Theme functions as the specifier of VP, with the PP as the verb's complement. Regarding case assignment, the Theme receives case from *v*, while the Goal is assigned case by the preposition *la* "to", as illustrated in (93)¹¹.

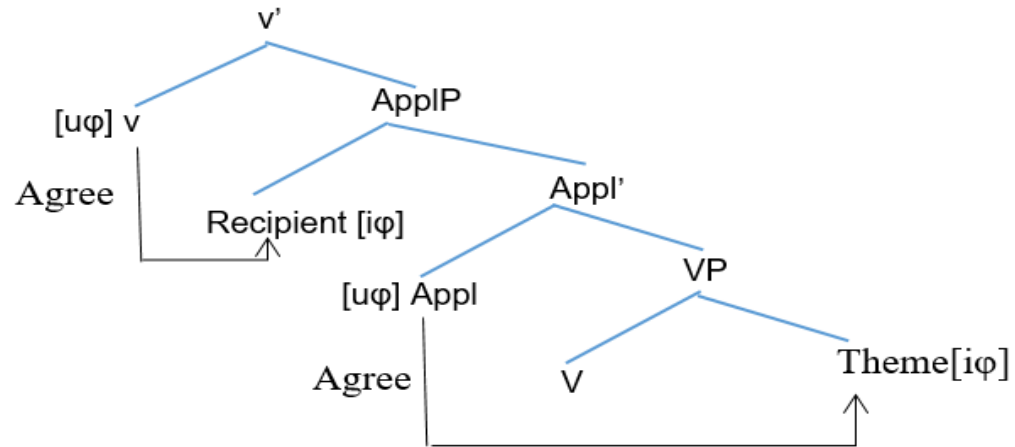
93-



Al-Janabi, building on Roberts' (2010) clitic analysis, argues that in DOCs with pronominal objects, little *v* agrees with a defective Recipient, while Appl agrees with a defective Theme. Example (94) illustrates these two Agree relations, and (95) presents the resulting structures at Spell-out.

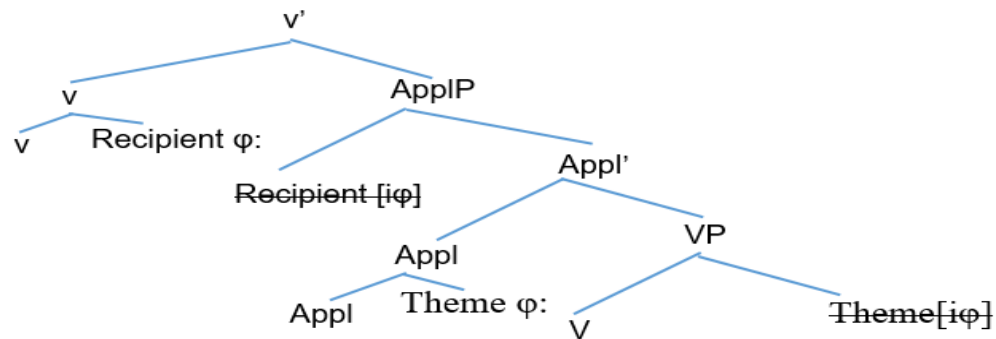
¹¹ Al-Janabi attributes this structure to Holmberg *et al* (2018) although Larson (1988) first proposed this structure.

94-



v agrees with the Recipient, while Appl agrees with the Theme and can be spelt out as object-markers.

95-



Al-Janabi observes that in Iraqi Arabic DOCs with cliticised pronominal Recipient and Theme, the Theme clitic is consistently preceded by the form *iya*. He asserts that *iya* functions as a "carrier" of object ϕ -features, allowing the clitic pronoun to appear in positions where it would otherwise be illicit. Al-Janabi proposes that *iya* acts as a strong form, facilitating the spell-out of the Theme clitic. It is important to note that *iya* not only appears in DOCs but also in every construction where clitics follow one another; in these cases, *iya* helps prevent clitic clustering. In ditransitive constructions, when the Recipient is a clitic and the Theme is also a clitic, *iya* hosts the Theme. *iya* cannot host the Recipient because it is either hosted by the verb in DOCs or by the

preposition *lə* in PDCs. *iya* is not required when the DO is a full DP. The literature argues that *ʔyya* is a PF form that hosts clitics (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Jarrah et al., 2019) (see section 5.4.2).

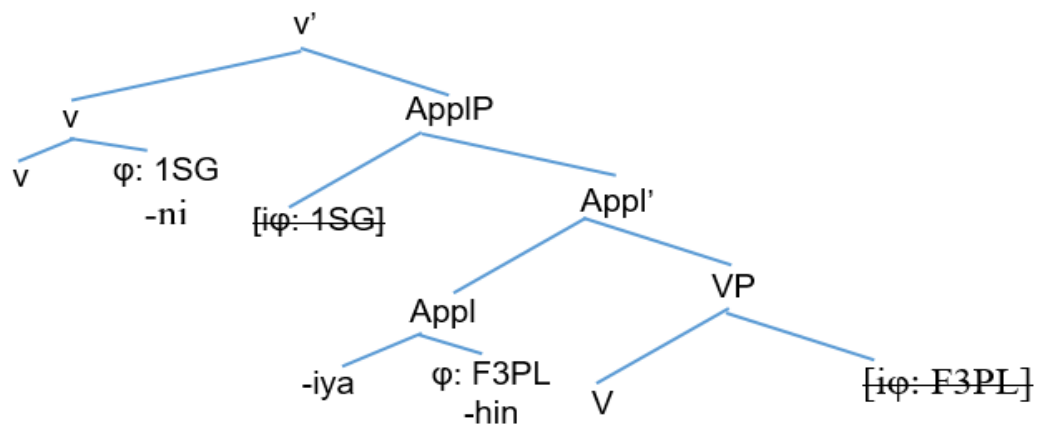
96- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-u ɪyy-hɪm
 gave-1SG-him ɪyy-them
 ‘I gave him them.’

97- wadder-t l-u ɪyy-hɪm
 sent-1SG to-him ɪyy-them
 ‘I sent them to him.’

Al-Janabi explains that when the Theme receives Case from Appl, the pronominal DO cliticises to Appl, while the pronominal IO cliticises to little v. Once the Agree relations are established, the ϕ -features are expressed as object markers on both Appl and little v. In the case of the Theme, its ϕ -features are expressed on the head *iya*. Al-Janabi concludes that *iya* can be understood as a realisation of Appl, with the ϕ -features on *iya* representing the Agree relation between the pronominal Theme and its licenser. Consequently, the Theme pronoun cliticises to Appl, indicated by the form *iya*.

98- Fatma intʰə -t -ni -iya -hin
 Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU -1SG.IO -IYA -F.3PL.DO
 ‘Fatma gave me them’

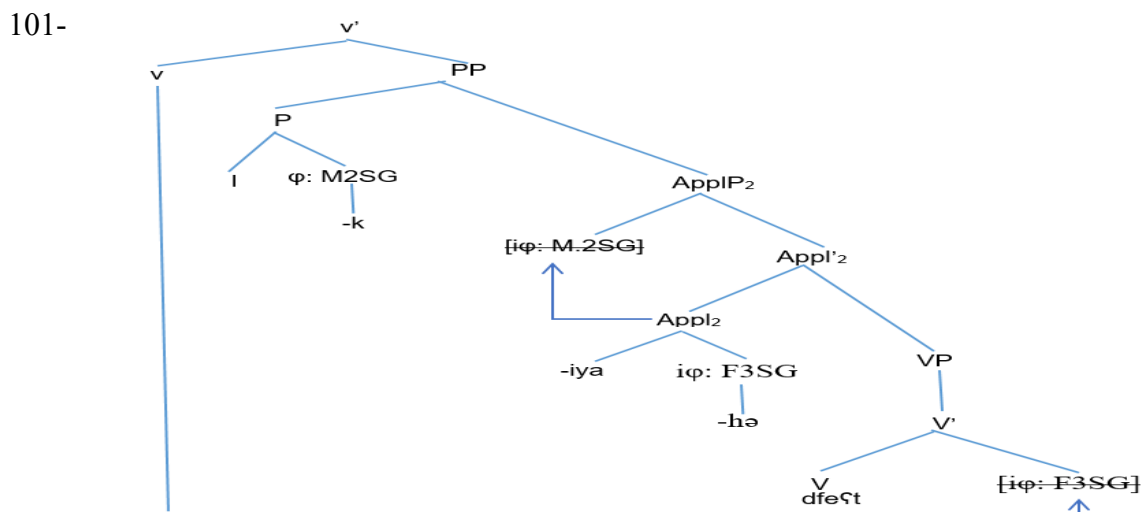
99-



Al-Janabi argues that the construction in (99) differs from the typical DOC in that it lacks a Recipient argument. Instead, it includes a Benefactive argument along with a Theme argument.

Al-Janabi advocates a distinctive syntactic feature in Iraqi Arabic: a null head, akin to an Applicative, can introduce a Benefactive argument. This head, *Appl2*, is like the high *Appl* found in Bantu languages (Pylkkänen 2002, 2008). Consequently, Iraqi Arabic has two Applicative heads, *Appl1* and *Appl2*, that overlap in function. While *Appl1* can be either null or marked by *iya* to introduce a Recipient, *Appl2* introduces a Benefactive and must be marked by *iya*. The semantic distinction lies in their functions: *Appl1* indicates a transfer of possession from the applied argument to the direct object, known as the "possessive *Appl*." Conversely, *Appl2*, referred to as the "benefactive *Appl*," adds an external participant to the event as an extra argument. *Appl1* can introduce both pronominal, when we have *iya*, and lexical Recipients, when the *Appl* is null, whereas *Appl2* is restricted to pronominal Benefactives, excluding lexical ones. This is because *iya* shows up when we have clitics following each other.

100- dfeʃ	-t	-l	-k	-iya	-hə
pay.PAST	-1SG.SU	-for	-you	-IYA	-F.3SG.DO
‘I paid it for you’					



examples, (104) and (105), all give reason not to believe that *ʔiyya* is an Appl head. Therefore, I cannot follow such an approach.

104- <i>zaraʃ-it</i>	<i>l-ək</i>	<i>ʔil-ħadeega</i>	<i>warid (*ʔiyya-ħin)</i>
planted-1SG	for-you	the-garden	flowers (*ʔiyya-them)
‘I planted the garden flowers for you.’			
105- <i>zaraʃ-it</i>	<i>l-ək</i>	<i>ʔiyya-ħə</i>	<i>warid (*ʔiyya-ħin)</i>
planted-1SG	for-you	<i>ʔiyya-it</i>	flowers (*ʔiyya-them)
‘I planted flowers for you.’			

2.14. Scrambling and A and A-bar diagnostics

Scrambling is the flexible word order found in languages such as Dutch, German, Japanese, Korean, and Hindi, where constituents may appear in non-canonical positions without altering the core semantics of the sentence (Saito 1985; Mahajan 1990; Miyagawa 1997). The syntactic status and derivational mechanisms underlying scrambling remain central topics in generative syntax.

A central issue in the literature concerns whether scrambling constitutes A (argument) movement or A-bar (non-argument, such as operator) movement. This distinction is significant because A-movement, as in raising and passive constructions, targets argument positions and is associated with properties such as binding and reconstruction. By contrast, A-bar movement, as in *wh*-movement and topicalisation, targets operator positions and is linked to scope (Chomsky 1981; Mahajan 1990). Empirical diagnostics that distinguish A-movement from A-bar movement include reconstruction for binding, weak crossover, scope and quantifier raising, and interaction with focus and topic. Specifically, A-movement reconstructs for Principle A (anaphor binding), whereas A-bar movement reconstructs for Principle C (Rizzi 1990). Only A-bar movement yields weak crossover effects (Mahajan 1990). Additionally, A-bar movement can generate wide-scope readings, whereas A-movement generally does not (Saito 1992). A-bar movement also frequently correlates with discourse-related features such as focus and topic (É. Kiss 1998).

Cross-linguistic evidence highlights the complexity of scrambling. In Japanese, Saito (1985, 1992) and Miyagawa (1997) argue that scrambling may exhibit both A and A-bar properties

depending on context. Local scrambling tends to behave like A-movement, whereas long-distance scrambling exhibits A-bar movement characteristics. In Hindi, Mahajan (1990) shows that scrambling displays mixed behaviour, but many instances align with A-bar movement, as indicated by island sensitivity and weak crossover effects. In German, Grewendorf and Sabel (1999) and Fanselow (2001) observe that scrambling is generally classified as A-bar movement, although certain short-distance scrambling operations may display A-movement properties.

Recent research (e.g., Bailyn 2001; Bošković & Takahashi 1998) further refines this perspective by proposing that scrambling may be parameterised both across and within languages, with different instances exhibiting varied A and A-bar properties.

In conclusion, the literature converges on the view that scrambling cannot be uniformly classified as either A or A-bar movement. Instead, multiple diagnostics indicate that scrambling is a heterogeneous phenomenon, with its categorisation dependent on language-specific and structural factors.

2.15. Conclusion

The literature on ditransitive constructions is extensive. This review offers a structured overview of key theoretical developments. While foundational research has mainly concentrated on English, comparative studies of languages such as Syrian and Iraqi Arabic have significantly contributed to the debate. These studies are essential for evaluating whether the V-*la*-DP-DP construction in JA should be classified as a DOC or as a PDC variant. If it is a PDC variant, further questions concern whether it aligns with the canonical Theme–Goal PDC and how the relationship between these alternatives should be conceptualised.

The findings on scrambling, especially regarding the nature and diagnostics of argument structure and movement, are relevant for analyses of word order and argument realisation in JA. They provide a further set of theoretical and empirical questions to be considered alongside those raised by ditransitive constructions. A major source of controversy in the literature centres on the syntactic and thematic relationship between DOCs and PDCs. Early generative approaches, as reflected in classical transformational analyses (e.g., Baker, 1988; Larson, 1988; den Dikken, 1995), posited that both constructions express the same underlying relations and are derived from

identical deep structures. On this view, the two surface forms are produced via different transformational operations, a fundamental idea that influenced much subsequent work on ditransitive alternation. However, this consensus has been increasingly challenged by more recent analyses, leading to a persistent debate over whether DOCs and PDCs are fundamentally linked or independently derived.

Two main theoretical approaches have emerged. The derivational approach suggests a deep connection between the DOC and PDC, with the DOC derived from the PDC through processes such as Dative Shift (Larson, 1988; den Dikken, 1995). This perspective holds that both structures share argument structure and thematic roles. In contrast, the projectional approach (Pesetsky, 1995; Harley, 2002; Pytkänen, 2002, 2008) rejects a derivational link, contending that DOCs and PDCs are projected independently, each with its own syntactic head and interpretive properties. Within this framework, some scholars (Marantz, 1993; Pytkänen, 2002, 2008; Bruening, 2010) argue that DOCs involve a null Applicative head, while others (Pesetsky, 1995) propose a null affixal preposition introducing the second object. Harley (2002) further develops this by introducing *Phave*, a prepositional head that encodes a possessive relationship in DOCs, in contrast to *Ploc* in PDCs, which encodes spatial or directional semantics.

This debate is particularly significant in cross-linguistic contexts. Hallman (2018), for example, analyses Syrian Arabic ditransitives and demonstrates that both accusative and dative case-marking are possible for indirect objects, paralleling patterns observed in English and German. Evidence from cliticisation, animacy, and idiomaticity indicates that prepositional frames are derived from core DOCs, rather than the reverse, and that variation in the features of the applicative head determines indirect object licensing. Similarly, Al-Janabi (2019) investigates Iraqi Arabic and English, showing that the diverse ditransitive patterns in Iraqi Arabic provide critical tests for theoretical claims about argument structure and case assignment, revealing both similarities and differences.

Collectively, these studies highlight the empirical complexity and theoretical debate inherent in the ditransitive analysis. They stress the importance of treating Arabic varieties as central rather than peripheral to the testing and refinement of argument structure theories. In the case of JA, the key controversy—whether the V-*la*-DP-DP construction is a true DOC or a subtype of PDC—remains unresolved, emphasising the need for further research.

Building on these insights, the present study provides a detailed analysis of ditransitive constructions in JA, examining their syntactic structure, case-marking, and semantics. The findings are assessed in relation to the competing derivational and projectional approaches, with consideration of the broader cross-linguistic debate.

Given the controversies and gaps in the literature, several research questions warrant further investigation within the context of JA.

- a. Does the V-/ə-DP-DP construction in JA consistently display properties of DOCs, or does it provide evidence of being a PDC variant?
- b. How do case-marking patterns in JA compare to those observed in other Arabic dialects and in languages such as English and German? What are the syntactic and semantic constraints on the ordering and realisation of arguments in JA ditransitives?
- c. Can the analysis of JA ditransitives contribute to resolving the broader DOC/PDC controversy, and if so, in what ways?
- d. To what extent do the observed word order and argument realisation patterns in JA represent instances of scrambling, and in what ways can JA data inform the typology and diagnostics of scrambling phenomena in a broader cross-linguistic context?

Addressing these questions in JA could clarify both language-specific patterns and broader theoretical issues related to ditransitive constructions.

Chapter Three: Corpus Analysis

This chapter examines the corpus, which includes all transcribed utterances from the 30 interviews, supplemented by questionnaire items that received acceptability ratings (Appendices B and C). This provides evidence of how structures are genuinely used in natural language. The analysis offers empirical, usage-based data on syntactic patterns, rather than depending only on introspection or constructed examples. Furthermore, the study emphasises which constructions are common, marginal, or absent in actual speech.

3.1. Methodology

Thirty interviews were carried out to supplement the quantitative data analysis. The sample comprised both male and female participants from diverse backgrounds, assuring a broad yet cohesive representation of Jordanian speakers. Each interview lasted approximately 15 minutes and took place at Yarmouk University. At the beginning of each session, participants provided basic personal information, including name, age, place of origin, and their parents' places of origin. Participants were also asked about their perceptions of their own JA speech and whether they believed they had a noticeable local accent. These questions ensured representation from all regions of Jordan and helped identify the main dialect differences as recognised by the speakers: Urban, Bedouin, and Rural JA.

To preserve the naturalness and spontaneity of responses, the specific aim of the interviews was not disclosed to participants. This approach helped to gather authentic language data. All participants were students at Yarmouk University from various regions of Jordan. Participants were randomly selected on campus, with age as the only criterion; all were in their twenties or thirties. This ensured that speakers shared similar social backgrounds, which was necessary given the study's limited scope and the inability to include wider social diversity.

The interviews were specifically developed for this research, constituting the first comprehensive study of ditransitive constructions in JA. All materials were assembled using common verbs to encourage spontaneous, natural responses. From the outset, it was emphasised that the study was unrelated to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or Arabic writing; instead, it focused exclusively on the most everyday and colloquial forms of JA (see Appendix B).

The corpus for this study consists of all transcribed utterances from the 30 interviews, supplemented by questionnaire items that received acceptability ratings. Filler items were excluded from the questionnaire to be sure that only targeted acceptability judgments relevant to the research questions were collected. The risk of response bias was considered minimal in this context. The questionnaire was distributed to a larger pool of 100 participants to obtain a comprehensive and representative overview of speakers' judgments. Questionnaire items were presented in the same order to all participants to preserve consistency in data collection. Questionnaires with incomplete responses or inconsistent rating patterns, like assigning identical ratings to all items, were excluded from analysis. The 30 interview participants were selected from those who completed the questionnaire and expressed willingness to participate in a follow-up interview, based on the consistency and completeness of their responses. The interview component enabled more detailed probing of individual judgments, follow-up questions, and clarification of responses that could not be reliably obtained through a questionnaire alone. The interviews included targeted elicitation tasks meant to investigate speakers' judgments and productions regarding the PDC–DOC alternation. Interviewees were asked to use specific verbs in sentences to elicit natural, spontaneous responses while controlling for relevant syntactic variables. The interviews also allowed for clarification and further probing of speakers' intuitions regarding hesitation or variation. These methods elicit linguistic judgments and controlled productions. The value of the resulting data resides in its ability to systematically examine speakers' grammatical knowledge under regulated conditions.

Additional parameters were incorporated into the questionnaire to increase material variation. Both pronominal and full noun phrase recipients were included to investigate their effect on phrase construction. The theme was also varied between definite and indefinite nouns to assess its influence (see Appendix C).

3.2.Results and Discussion

- **The interview**

This section analyses interview and questionnaire data, beginning with an exploration of the various ditransitive diatheses identified in JA. The interview corpus provides evidence of dative alternation in JA, featuring two main variants that resemble the English Double Object

Construction (DOC) and Prepositional Dative Construction (PDC). In JA, the equivalent of the English preposition *to* is represented by *lə*, *ɔl*, *l*, or *ɪl*, depending on the phonological context. In addition to these two core constructions, a third variant, which I refer to as the Goal-Theme Prepositional Dative Construction, is also observed; this construction appears to follow the word order of DOC, but it coincides with the canonical PDC (Theme-Goal PDC) in terms of A and A-bar movement, cliticisation and clitic doubling behaviour (cf. Chapter 4, 5, and 6). Thus, JA exhibits two primary diathesis patterns: a genuine DOC and a PDC. Interestingly, the PDC manifests itself in two surface word orders, demonstrating the complexity of dative alternation in JA.

The main research question was to identify which verb categories occur in the V-DP-DP and V-DP-PP constructions. This made selecting verbs for the interviews a key step. Since almost all verbs in JA can appear in the DP-PP pattern, the researcher categorised them into two main groups: verbs that resist the DOC and those that accept it. The researcher chose verbs likely to occur frequently in colloquial JA, making sure that the data captured the natural patterns of dative alternation in everyday speech. This categorisation was key for understanding the grammatical and syntactic behaviour of verbs in JA within the context of dative constructions.

When both objects are pronominal, the particle *ɔɪyɪ* hosts the Theme. In the PDC, the preposition *lə* hosts the recipient, whereas in the DOC, the recipient is hosted by the verb. (For a complete overview of pronouns and clitics in JA, see Chapter 5). The subject is omitted when it is pronominal because JA is a pro-drop language. The pronominal ditransitive construction has the following structures:

Table 3.1: Pronominal ditransitive construction in JA

Theme-Goal PDC	$V_{Clitic}-lə_{Clitic}$
Goal-Theme PDC	$V-lə_{Clitic}-ɔɪyɪ_{Clitic}$
DOC	$V_{Clitic}-ɔɪyɪ_{Clitic}$

The corpus has revealed various constructions found in JA. The following list shows the distribution of these constructions.

A. Theme-Goal PDCs

1-	biʕ-it	sayyaart-i	lə	dʒaar-nə
	sold-1SG	car-my	to	neighbour-our
	‘I sold my car to our neighbour.’			(S 1) ¹²

B. Goal-Theme PDCs

2-	biʕ-it	il-hə		ktaab
	sold-1SG	to-her		book
	‘I sold a book to her.’			(S 3)

C. DOCs

3-	biʔ-it	sʕaahibt-i	l-ʔayraadʕ
	sold-1SG	friend-my	the-objects
	‘I sold my friend the objects.’		(S 4)

D. Monotransitive

4-	Mansʕuur	baaʕ-Ø	sayyaart-u
	Mansoor	sold-3SGM	car-his
	‘Mansoor sold his car.’		(S 12)

E. V-P_{Theme}-P_{Goal}

5-	ʔitbaraʕ-it	bi-kutb-i	lə	tʕ-tʕulaab
	donated-1SG	with-books-my	to	the-students
	‘I donated my book to the students.’			(S 13)

F. V-P_{Goal}-P_{Theme}

6-	ʔabu-i	tbaraʕ-Ø	lə	l-madrash
	father-my	donated-3SGM	to	the-school
	bi-meet	deenaar		
	with-one hundred	dinars		
	‘My father donated one hundred dinars to the school.’ (S 11)			

The corpus reveals the frequency of the above constructions with specific verbs (see Appendix B). The following table summarises the distribution of constructions found in JA.

¹² This refers to the number assigned to the speaker in the corpus (Appendix B)

Table 3.2: The distribution of constructions attested in JA

NO	Verbs	Th-G PDCs	G-Th PDCs	DOCs	Mono-transitive	V-P _{Theme} -P _{Goal} V-P _{Goal} -P _{Theme}	Total
1	Give	7	2	21	0	0	30
2	Buy	9	4	0	17	0	30
3	Sell	14	3	3	10	0	30
4	Send	22	7	0	0	0	30
5	Bring	18	5	0	7	0	30
6	Hand	4	1	25	0	0	30
7	Teach	4	1	20	5	0	30
8	Feed	7	1	19	3	0	30
9	Rent	19	1	4	6	0	30
10	Fill	11	1	17	1	0	30
11	Show	5	2	23	0	0	30
12	Return	17	10	0	3	0	30
13	Donate	1	0	0	1	28	30
14	Lend	2	2	26	0	0	30
15	Bequeath	2	2	26	0	0	30
	Total	143	42	184	53	28	450

At first sight, the verbs in the corpus can be divided into two groups:

A- Verbs that resist DOC: *ʔiftarə* ‘buy’, *waddə* ‘send’, *dʒaab* ‘bring’, *radʒdʒaʕ* ‘return’, *ʔitbaraʕ* ‘donate’.

B- Verbs that accept DOC: *ʔaʕtʔə* ‘give’, *baaʕ* ‘sell’, *naawal* ‘hand’, *darras* ‘teach’, *ʔatʕam* ‘feed’, *ʔadʒdʒar* ‘rent’, *ʕabbə* ‘fill’, *wardʒə* ‘show’, *dayyan* ‘lend’, *warraθ* ‘bequeath’.

Notice that verbs which accept DOCs can alternate between DOCs and PDCs. In contrast, verbs that resist DOCs cannot switch between these two constructions, but they still alternate between Theme-Goal PDCs and Goal-Theme PDCs. This pattern applies to both nominal arguments, as seen in (7) and (9), and to pronominal arguments, as in (8), (10), and (11).

- 7- ʔaʃtʕeɪ-t ʔahmad iктааб
 gave-1SG Ahmed book
 ‘I gave Ahmed a book.’
- 8- ʔaʃtʕeɪ-t-u yaa-h
 gave-1SG-him yaa-it
 ‘I gave it to him.’
- 9- ʔiʃtar-ert lə hmad iктааб
 bought-1SG for Ahmed book
 ‘I bought a book for Ahmed.’
- 10- *ʔiʃtareɪ-t-u kтааб
 bought-1SG-him book
 Intended: ‘I bought him a book.’
- 11- ʔiʃtareɪ-t l-u kтааб
 bought-1SG for-him book
 ‘I bought a book for him.’

Note that the verb *ʔiʃtarə* ‘buy’ resists DOCs with nominal and pronominal arguments. It can be observed that the Goal-Theme PDC pattern does not frequently occur with nominal arguments. The more a verb appears in DOCs, the less likely it is to be used in Goal-Theme PDCs. However, the Goal-Theme PDCs pattern is preferred with pronominal arguments (cf. Chapter 5).

The verb *ʔitbaraʃ* ‘donate’ is one of those verbs for which prepositions code both arguments. The verbs *ʔaʃtʕə* ‘give’, *naawal* ‘hand’, *darras* ‘teach’, *wardʒə* ‘show’, *dayyan* ‘lend’, and *warraθ* ‘bequeath’ do not often appear in PDCs but are frequently found in DOCs. Although the verbs *baaʃ* ‘sell’ and *ʔaɖʒʒar* ‘rent’ accept DOCs, they often appear in PDCs.

The verbs *dayyan* ‘lend’, *darras* ‘teach’, and *warraθ* ‘bequeath’ are morphologically causative in JA, as evidenced by their doubled second root consonant. The verbs *naawal* ‘hand’

and *ʔatʕam* ‘feed’ are lexically causative. The verb *manah* ‘grant’ is excluded from the corpus because it is primarily used in MSA, whereas the verb *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ is used instead in spoken language. The informants advised against including it in the interviews. Nevertheless, using MSA words in JA is not unnatural; specialised vocabulary, such as in discussions of politics or literature, originates from MSA and adapts to JA pronunciation. This reflects the typical mechanism of code-switching found across all Arabic vernaculars.

The corpus reveals that the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’ appears in various constructions. This predicate varies in its complementation. The following constructions are found in JA ditransitive diathesis with the predicate *saʔal* ‘ask’.

- **DOC**

12- saʔal-it	Rayad	suʔaal	
asked-1SG	Raghad	question	
‘I asked Raghad a question.’			(S 15)

In the example above, the predicate *saʔal* ‘ask’ behaves similarly to *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ in DOCs. The internal arguments are DPs without prepositional marking. However, there are no instances of the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’ in the corpus within PDCs; this could be because such a verb could convey another interpretation, namely ‘on behalf of’.

- **Goal-P_{Theme}**

The data show that the preposition *ʕan* “about” is essential before nouns in most examples provided by the informants. Therefore, it forms a PP that serves as the complement of the verb. In this function, it operates similarly to a preposition used with a non-recipient object.

13- saʔal-Ø-ni	baba	ʕan	is-saaʕah	
asked-3SGM-me	father	about	the-time	
‘My father asked me the time.’				(S 4)

- **Monotransitive-Nominal_{DO}**

There is one occurrence in the interviews of the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’ where it is used monotransitively with a nominal direct object. In this construction, the ‘ask’ clause is supported by a coordinated clause.

- 14- *saʔal-Ø* *suʔaal* *wa* *d-daktoor* *dʒaawab-Ø* *ʕal-h*
 asked-3SGM question and the-professor answered-3SM on-it
 ‘He asked a question, and the professor answered it.’ (S 2)

- **Monotransitive-P_{DO}**

The direct object in this construction is introduced by the preposition *ʕan* ‘about’. The PP can serve as the direct object. There are two instances of this construction in the interview corpus.

- 15- *saʔal-it* *ʕan* *ʔxbaar* *imħammad*
 asked-1SG about circumstances Mohammad
 ‘I asked about Mohammad's circumstances.’ (S 6)

- **Goal-Clausal_{DO}**

Object clauses can start with complementisers and operators (*ʔinnu* “that,” *ʔiða* “if,” *ʔuu* “what,” *ʔilli* “that,” “who,” “which”), including wh-pronouns and relative pronouns. They may refer to both finite and non-finite verbal forms.

- 16- *saʔal-it* *ʔauxt-i* *ʔiða ħaab-eh* *tɪ-tʰlaʕ* *maʕ-nə* *ʔilyom*
 asked-1SG sister-my if like-3SGF 3SGF-go out with-us today
 ‘I asked my sister if she wants to go out with us today.’ (S 16)

The complementiser *ʔiða* ‘if’ and interrogative clauses can follow nearly all ATTENTION, THINKING (knowledge and prediction), and SPEAKING (saying, asking) verbs.

Interrogative complement clauses can also follow command SPEAKING verbs. Although there are exceptions, these clauses convey potential meanings rather than facts or activities, as in the following example.

17- *saʔal-it* *ʔimm-i* *ʃuu* *yadaa-nə* *ʔil-yoom*
asked-1SG mother-my what lunch-our the-day
‘I asked my mother what our lunch is today.’ (S 1)

The following table summarises the constructions in which the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’ occurs and the number of instances in the corpus.

Table 3.3: Constructions with the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’

1	DOC	S10, S15, S17, S19,
2	Goal-P _{Theme}	S4, S5, S11, S12, S14, S20, S21, S22, S24, S25, S26, S27, S28, S29, S30
3	Monotransitive-P _{DO}	S6, S22
4	Monotransitive-Nominal _{DO}	S 2
5	Goal-Clausal _{DO}	S1, S3, S13, S16, S17

The corpus has also shown that the verb *hakə* ‘tell’ can vary in the constructions in which it appears. The verb *hakə* ‘tell’ resists DOC and accepts PDC diathesis. Examine the following examples:

- **Theme-Goal PDC**

18- *hakə-Ø* *tʰ-tʰaaleb* *gisʰah* *lə* *li-mʕalem*
told-3SGM the-student story to the-teacher
‘The student told a story to the teacher.’ (S 17)

There are two occurrences of Theme-Goal PDCs in the interview corpus. The verb *hakə* ‘tell’ prefers Goal-Theme PDC word order because the number of occurrences of this construction in the corpus exceeds that of Theme-Goal PDCs. Ten occurrences of Goal-Theme PDCs have been recorded in the corpus.

- **Goal-Theme PDC**

This is the other variant of the PDC, in which the dative recipient moves to a position closer to the verb than the Theme (see Chapter 6).

19- *ħak-ert* *lə* *ʔimm-i* *l-ʔisʕa* *kaamleh*
told-1SG to mother-my the-story whole
‘I told the whole story to my mother.’ (S 1)

- **P_{Goal}-P_{Theme}**

Like the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’, the internal arguments of the verb *ħakə* ‘tell’ can also be expressed with prepositions. However, the verb *ħakə* ‘tell’ behaves like the verb *ʔitbarraʕ* ‘donate’, where prepositions express both the Theme and the Goal.

20- *ħaker-t* *lə* *Mħammad* *ʕan* *Muʕaað*
told-1SG to Mohammad about Muaath
‘I told Mohammad about Muaath.’ (S 6)

- **P_{Goal}-Clausal_{DO}**

There are no occurrences of DOCs in the interview corpus for the verb *ħakə* ‘tell’; however, like *saʔal* ‘ask’, there are many instances of clausal complementation with the verb *ħakə* ‘tell’.

21- *ħak-ət* *l-i* *sʕaħıbt-i* *ʔinn-hə* *ʔilyom* *yaaybeh*
told-3SGF to-me friend-my that-she today absent
‘My friend told me that she is absent today.’ (S 30)

The following table summarises the constructions associated with the verb *ħakə* ‘tell’ in the corpus and the frequency of their occurrences.

Table 3.4: Constructions with the verb *ħakə* ‘tell’

1	Theme-Goal PDC	S17, S19
2	Goal-Theme PDC	S1, S2, S3, S8, S9, S10, S14, S15, S23, S26, S28
3	P _{Goal} -P _{Theme}	S5, S6, S7, S11, S18, S21, S22, S24, S27
4	P _{Goal} -Clausal _{DO}	S4, S12, S13, S16, S20, S25, S29, S30

In this study, the verbs *saʔal* ‘ask’ and *ħakə* ‘tell’ in the corpus support the “*end-weight*” principle (Leech & Svartvik, 1975). When the Theme is lexically “heavier” than the Goal, the Theme tends to occupy the final position, as it represents the more complex part of the clause or

sentence. The Theme occupies its canonical position after the Goal in DOC with the verb *saʔal* ‘ask’, whereas the verb *hakə* ‘tell’ supports the Goal-Theme PDC to position the Theme at the end and conform to the “*end-weight*” principle. It is noteworthy that when the Theme is light, *hakə* ‘tell’ supports the Theme-Goal PDC surface form. This is apparent in the corpus (see Appendix B, S17, S19), although light Themes are also valid in Goal-Theme PDCs (see S10).

The relationship between the selectional requirements of the verbs *saʔal* ‘ask’ and *hakə* ‘tell’ and their internal arguments offers important insights into ditransitive constructions. The verbs must internally accommodate nominal, prepositional, and clausal complements (subcategorisation).

- **The questionnaire**

The questionnaire results (Appendix C) complemented the interview data, providing a basis for analysing the distribution of various constructions and the effects of specific parameters. The results, which have produced a linguistic judgments dataset, will be further explored in the next chapters.

Objective

The main objective of the questionnaire was to evaluate the following aspects:

- a. The acceptability of the three ditransitive constructions in JA.
- b. The distribution and behaviour of the light verb *ʔaʕtə* ‘give’ within these constructions.
- c. Patterns of alternation, binding, scope, and scrambling.

These objectives are contextualised within the extensive literature on ditransitives, in which similar alternations and constraints have been documented and analysed (see Baker, 1997; Marantz, 1993).

Methodology

The questionnaire included acceptability-judgement tasks administered to native speakers of JA. Filler items were excluded from the questionnaire to make sure that only relevant acceptability judgments related to the research questions were collected. The risk of response bias was considered minimal in this context. Participants assessed utterances that represented various

ditransitive structures, alternations, and syntactic environments. Special attention was given to the following phenomena:

1. Use of the Light Verb *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’

The study examined the distribution of *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ across the three ditransitive constructions in JA. Consistent with cross-linguistic findings that light verbs usually exhibit extended combinatorial properties, the results show that *ʔaʕtʕ* is acceptable in all three constructions. This supports the claim that light verbs in JA have broad syntactic flexibility.

2. Locative Constructions

The questionnaire assessed alternation between V-Theme-PP_{loc} and V-PP_{loc}-Theme orders, including instances with light Themes. The results show that both orders are possible, corroborating findings in the literature that locative alternation is not constrained by thematic weight (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995).

3. Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme Alternation

For verbs resistant to the DOC, the questionnaire examined alternation between Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs. The acceptability of both orders indicates structural flexibility in JA ditransitives, consistent with observations in English and other languages (Larson, 1988; Den Dikken, 1995).

4. Inanimate-Causer Subjects

The data confirm that inanimate-causer subjects are acceptable in all three ditransitive constructions, expanding previous findings that some languages restrict inanimate causers in ditransitives (Harley, 2002).

5. Idioms and Ditransitive Alternation

The questionnaire incorporated idiomatic expressions in JA, demonstrating that idioms can participate in all three ditransitive constructions. This is significant, as idioms are often syntactically rigid (Marantz, 1997).

6. Binding Dependencies and Scrambling

Acceptability judgments showed that scrambling a prepositional phrase can enable it to bind an anaphor, an operation that is not possible without scrambling. This finding is consistent with research on scrambling and binding in other languages, where movement can create new binding domains.

7. Bound-Variable Anaphora

The results show that scrambling not only creates new binding relations for bound-variable anaphora but also disturbs existing ones, hence supporting the dynamic view of binding domains in ditransitives (Sportiche, 1996).

8. Scope Interaction

Testing scope interactions within ditransitives, the questionnaire found that V-*la*-Goal-Theme constructions, like the DOC, exhibit ‘scope freezing’, a phenomenon in which scope relations are fixed. This is consistent with findings on scope rigidity in ditransitive structures (Aoun & Li, 1993).

9. Load Verbs as Genuine DOCs

Load verbs in the JA pattern are genuine DOCs, strengthening the distinction between DOCs and PDCs noted in the literature.

10. Transfer of Possession vs. Directional Motion

The DOC was shown to encode transfer of possession, whereas the PDC encoded directional motion, consistent with cross-linguistic generalisations about the semantic distinctions between these constructions (Green, 1974).

11. Pronominal Object Clitics and Clitic Clustering

The questionnaire examined the use of pronominal object clitics in ditransitive constructions and revealed that the element *ʔyya* is used to prevent clitic clustering. This finding adds to the literature on cliticisation and morphological constraints in Arabic.

Conclusion

The questionnaire-based investigation offers new evidence on the syntactic flexibility and constraints of ditransitive constructions in JA. The results not only support but also expand the existing literature, especially in the areas of light-verb usage, where I will compare the light verb 'give' in both English and JA, alternation patterns, binding phenomena, and pronominal object behaviour. This study improves the typological understanding of ditransitives and lays the basis for further comparative research across Semitic and other languages.

This chapter examined the methodology used in the current study and presented the key results from the fieldwork carried out to collect linguistic data. It described the research process, the criteria for selecting speakers, the choice of verbs, the questionnaire parameters, and the data analysis.

In Chapter 4, setting the scene for ditransitive constructions, the results of this questionnaire are important. JA shows a wide range of ditransitive constructions. These constructions will be examined in detail in Chapter 4. Although definitive claims about the nature of its ditransitive and prepositional structures cannot be made, the order of Theme and Recipient varies across utterances, influenced by different constraints. Despite this variation, the core dative alternation remains intact.

Chapter Four: Setting the Scene of Ditransitive Constructions in JA

4.1. An overview of ditransitive typology

Malchukov et al. (2010) argue that "ditransitives" syntactically refer to the DOC, e.g., *Sami gave Ahmed a book*, and to the PDC, e.g., *Sami gave a book to Ahmed*. Semantically, the term describes constructions with a ditransitive verb and two internal arguments: a Recipient and a Theme. This distinction highlights the structural and functional aspects of ditransitive verbs in linguistic analysis. Haspelmath (2015) argues that ditransitive verbs express the transfer of a Theme from an Agent to a Recipient, as in “*Sami gave Ahmed a pen*”. These verbs may involve the transfer of concrete possession (e.g., *give, lend, bequeath*), abstract transfer (e.g., *offer, promise*), or cognitive transfer (e.g., *show, teach, tell*).

Derived ditransitives, such as applicatives and causatives, are often categorised as ditransitives because they share the same argument structure as basic ditransitives. Malchukov (2013) asserts that transfer verbs inherently include a "cause" element, with verbs like *give* paraphrased as “cause to have”. This emphasises the conceptual link between derived and basic ditransitive constructions. In typological studies, causative and applicative constructions are distinguished through specific morphology, often with affixes that introduce a new Agent, ‘causatives’ or object ‘applicatives’. Malchukov (2013) observes that in some languages, derived ditransitives such as causatives and applicatives tend to appear in DOCs, whereas basic ditransitives do not. This pattern is evident in Imbabura Quechua, where basic ditransitives use dative constructions (1), while derived ditransitives employ DOCs (2).

1- Juzi Marya-man muti-ta kara-rka.

José María-to mote-ACC give-PST.3

‘Jose gave/served mote to Maria.’

(as cited in Malchukov 2013: 270)

2- Juzi-ka Marya-ta-mi Juan-ta riku-chi-rka.

José -top María -ACC -VAL Juan-ACC see-CAUS- PST.3

‘ Jose caused Maria to see Juan.’

(as cited in Malchukov 2013: 270)

In JA, some causative¹³-derived ditransitives occur in DOCs. In line with Malchukov's (2013) generalisation, applicative-derived ditransitives from verbs that accept DOCs and PDCs appear only in DOCs in JA.

3-	Sami	daffaʕ-Ø	ʕalı	ʕıfreen	deenaar	
	Sami	caused to pay-3SGM	Ali	twenty	dinars	
	'Sami made Ali pay twenty dinars.'					(causative in DOC)
4-	*Sami	daffaʕ-Ø	lə	ʕalı	ʕıfreen	deenaar
	Sami	caused to pay-3SGM	to	Ali	twenty	dinars
	Intended: 'Sami made Ali pay twenty dinars.'					(causative in PDC)
5-	Sami	baaʕ-Ø	ıktaab-u			
	Sami	brought-3SGM	book-his			
	'Sami sold his book.'					(transitive)
6-	Sami	baaʕ-Ø	ʕalı	ıktaab-u		
	Sami	brought-3SGM	Ali	book-his		
	'Sami sold Ali his book.'					(applicative in DOC)
7-	*Sami	dʒaab-Ø	ʕalı	lı-ıktaab		
	Sami	brought-3SGM	Ali	the-book		
	Intended: 'Sami brought the book for Ali.' (applicative in DOC from a verb resisting DOC)					

Causative constructions are similar to ditransitive verbs because both introduce an argument that functions as the endpoint or recipient of an event. In ditransitive verbs such as *ʔaʕtʕə* 'give', the Recipient refers to the entity that receives something.

8-	ʔaʕtʕ-ert	Rami	ıktaab
	gave-1SG	Rami	book
	'I gave Sami a book.'		

In (8), *Rami* represents the endpoint of the transfer, becoming the book's possessor.

¹³. There are certain parallels in JA between ditransitives and causatives. In both causative and ditransitive verbs in JA, the clause contains an external argument, an Agent or a Causer. In both constructions, there are two internal arguments, a Theme or Experiencer, and a Goal. This is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Similarly, in causative constructions, the causee—the individual compelled to perform an action—serves as the endpoint in a comparable manner. When a causative verb introduces an additional argument, it identifies the individual whose state or activity is altered as a result of the causer’s action:

- 9- xall-ert Sami yerkuðʳ
 made-1SG Sami run
 ‘I made Sami run.’

In (9), *Sami* is the causee—the one whose state has changed as a result of the causer’s intervention.

The parallels between ditransitive and causative constructions can be observed as follows: In both cases, the added argument (*Rami*, *Sami*) is the participant whose situation is affected by the main event—they are the endpoint of the action.

In the case of atelic Causatives, as in (9), a potential issue arises with causatives involving atelic predicates, such as *yerkuðʳ* ‘run’. ‘Running’ is an atelic activity because it lacks a natural endpoint. This makes it difficult to interpret the causee as an endpoint.

However, the causative construction introduces a new event boundary: the transition from the causee not engaging in the activity to participating in it. The causer’s action initiates this change. Therefore, the causee functions as the endpoint of the causation event, even when the embedded verb is atelic.

Although ‘running’ is not telic, the causative *xallə* ‘made’ introduces a telic change: from a state where ‘he’ was not running to one where ‘he’ is running. The endpoint is the initiation of the running activity by the causee, which results from the causer’s intervention.

This situation is analogous to the Recipient in a ditransitive construction, who serves as the endpoint of the transfer, even if the object itself does not inherently possess an endpoint. In causative constructions, the causee is the endpoint of the causation, as the individual whose state or activity is affected by the causer’s action.

To summarise, both causativisation and ditransitivisation add an argument that serves as the endpoint of an event: the Recipient in the case of transfer, and the Causee in the case of

causation. Even with atelic predicates, the causative construction imposes a new event boundary (the causee's transition into the activity), preserving the endpoint analogy (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 2005)

In applicative constructions, the applicative object can serve as a Recipient or a Beneficiary. Therefore, depending on the context, the non-theme may be interpreted differently as a Recipient or Benefactive.

10- I sent a book to him.

11- I sent a book for him.

(10) is interpreted as "*I sent the book to his location*," where *him* is the Recipient. Alternatively, (11) means "*I sent a book for his benefit*," where *him* is a Benefactive and the Recipient is someone else.

This is also true for JA; the non-theme argument can be interpreted as a Recipient or a Benefactive, as in (12).

12- waddə-∅	l-I	lI-ktaab
sent-3SGM	for/to-me	the-book
'He sent me a book.'		

In (12), the non-theme argument could be a Recipient or a Benefactive.

4.2. Categorising ditransitive verbs in JA

Based on the interview corpus (Appendix B) and the questionnaire (Appendix C), JA ditransitive verbs can be categorised into two groups: (1) verbs that allow DOC, (2) verbs that resist DOC. Nearly all verbs that allow genuine DOC naturally accept PDC¹⁴. For example, the verb *ʔaʕtʕə* 'give' accepts DOC, and the two types of PDC, namely, Theme-Goal PDC and Goal-Theme PDC, in JA:

¹⁴ Although there may be circumstances under which they strongly prefer the DOC in English. For example, when the direct object is an idiom chunk or the verb is light. However, in JA, the light verb *ʔaʕtʕə* 'give' does not behave like the light verb *give* in English (see section 4.4.8, 4.4.9).

- 13- ʔaŋtʰeɪ-t ʔuxt-ɪ lɪ-ktaab (DOC)
 gave-1SG sister-my the-book
 ‘I gave my sister the book.’ (S 3)
- 14- ʔaŋtʰə-Ø t-talɪfoon lə ʔuxt-u (Th-G PDC)
 gave-3SGM the-mobile to sister-his
 ‘He gave the mobile to his sister.’ (S 2)
- 15- ʔaŋtʰə-Ø Sami lə ʕalɪ lɪ-ktaab (G-Th PDC)
 gave-3SGM Sami to Ali the-book
 ‘Sami gave the book to Ali.’ (S 12)

The verb *baŋaθ*, *waddə* ‘send’, resists DOC and accepts the two types of PDC.

- 16- baŋaθ-ɪt lə sitt-ɪ ʔɪl-ʔayraadʰ (G-Th PDC)
 sent-1SG to grandma-my the-objects
 ‘I sent the objects to my grandma.’ (S 1)
- 17- wadder-t ɪtʰ-tʰandʒarah lə dʒaart-ɪ (Th-G PDC)
 sent-1SG the-cooking pot to neighbour-my
 ‘I sent the cooking pot to my neighbour.’ (S 2)

We conclude that all genuine DOCs can alternate with the two types of PDC: Theme-Goal PDC and Goal-Theme PDC.

The verbs *baaŋ* ‘sell’ and *ʔadʒdʒar* ‘rent’ can be used in transitive, DOC, and PDC diathesis. However, when used in PDC diathesis, they have two different interpretations. Consider the following examples:

- 18- Sami baaŋ-Ø bert-u (transitive)
 Sami sold-3SGM house-his
 ‘Sami sold his house.’
- 19- Sami baaŋ-Ø ʕalɪ bert (DOC)
 Sami sold-3SGM Ali house
 ‘Sami sold Ali a house.’

20- Sami baaʃ-Ø bert lə ʃalɪ (Th-G PDC)

Sami sold-3SGM house to Ali

‘Sami sold a house to Ali.’ Or ‘Sami sold a house on Ali’s behalf.’

21- Sami baaʃ-Ø lə ʃalɪ bert (G-Th PDC)

Sami sold-3SGM to Ali house

‘Sami sold a house to Ali.’ Or ‘Sami sold a house on Ali’s behalf.’

In (20) and (21), we present two interpretations. The first interpretation is that *Sami* owned the house and sold it to *Ali*, while the second is that *Sami* sold the house on *Ali*’s behalf.

The verbs *ʔaxað* ‘take’ and *sarag* ‘steal’ have two interpretations when used in PDC diatheses. The non-Theme argument can take on either a benefactive theta role or a malefactive theta role in these constructions in JA, as in (22).

22- sarag-u l-ɪ ktaab

stole-3PLM (for) (from)-me book

‘They stole a book for me.’ Or ‘They stole a book from me.’

The verb *ʔitbarraʃ* ‘donate’ alternates between V-DP-*lə* DP and V-*bɪ* (with)DP-*lə* DP in JA (see Appendix B). The syntax of double PP predicates is not the focus of this thesis. The primary concern in this thesis is the syntax of DOCs and PDCs in JA.

Based on the above observations, the following table categorises the ditransitive verbs in JA into two groups as follows:

Table 4.1: The categorisation of ditransitive verbs in JA.

NO	Verbs that resist DOC	English	Verbs that allow DOC	English
1	ʔɪʃtarə	buy	ʔaʃtʃə	give
2	dafaʃ	pay	darras	teach
3	waddə baʃaθ	send / drive deliver	ballay	inform
4	dʒaab	bring	wardʒə fardʒə	show
5	gaal/ʔaal/ħakə	tell	naawal	hand
6	ramə/ zat/ ʃazag	throw	baaʃ	sell
7	tʃalab	order for	ʔadʒdʒar	rent out

8	gaddam/ʔaddam	serve/offer	yarram	fine
9	wasʕsʕal	deliver/drive	ʔahdə	give as a present
10	ʕimil/ sawwə	make/do	saʔal	ask
11	katab	write	ʔatʕʕam	feed
12	sʕammam	design	dayyan	lend
13	xasʕasʕ	allocate	naggal	dictate
14	banə	build	ðʕayyaf	offer
15	waffar	save for	sallam	hand
16	ðʕamman	guarantee	xabbar	tell
17	dʒahhaz	ready/prepare		
18	rasam	draw		
19	radʒdʒaʕ	return		
20	ʔaxaðʕ	take		
21	sʕaad	hunt		
22	ʔakkad	assure		
23	xabaz	bake		
24	gatʕtʕaʕ/ʔatʕtʕaʕ	cause to cut		
25	laga/laʔa	find		
26	wasʕsʕaf/wasʕaf	describe		
27	wasʕaf	prescribe		
28	gara/ʔara	read		
29	sabbab	cause		
30	ʃaħan	charge		
31	tʕabax	cook		
32	ʔaθbat	prove		
33	naggə	choose		

4.3.The defining properties of ditransitives and ditransitive alternations in JA.

4.3.1. Scope interaction

The distinction between DOCs and PDCs in JA can be partially understood through the analysis of quantifier scope (Aoun & Li, 1989; Larson, 1990; Bruening, 2001). When both objects in a DOC are quantified, their scope appears fixed, with the first quantifier taking scope over the second. This is evident in (23), where the sentence exhibits "scope freezing," preventing a distributive interpretation.

23- ʔaʕtʕ-u tʕaalib bi-sʕ-sʕaf kull iктаab dʒadeed
gave-3PLM student in-the-class every book new
‘They gave a student in the class every new book.’

In contrast, the PDC, as shown in (24), permits a distributive reading, which creates ambiguity. Two readings are available: the first is the linear scope reading (a specific book given to every student). The second reading is the inverse-scope reading, which is quite different (for each student, they gave that student a different book, not necessarily the same book for all students). This supports the argument that JA possesses a genuine DOC.

24- ʔaʃtʰ-u ktaab lə kull tʰaaleb
 gave-3PLM book to every student
 ‘They gave a book to every student.’ (Q 35¹⁵)

When a modifier like *muxtalef* ‘different’ is used, the availability of a distributive reading becomes explicitly clear in both PDCs and DOCs.

25- ʔaʃtʰ-u ktaab muxtalef lə kull tʰaaleb
 gave-3PLM book different to every student
 ‘They gave a different book to every student.’

(26) shows scope freezing, preventing distributive interpretation, although the modifier *muxtalef* ‘different’ is used, but with the indefinite this time.

26- ʔaʃtʰ-u tʰaalɪb muxtalef kull ɪktaab dʒadeed
 gave-3PLM student different every book new
 ‘They gave a different student every new book.’

A distributive reading is unavailable when the *lə* phrase precedes the Theme, as in (27).

27- ʔaʃtʰ-u lə tʰaalɪb kull ɪktaab bɪ-sʰ-sʰaf
 gave-3PLM to student every book in-the-class
 Lit: ‘They gave to a student every book in the class.’

Even when we have a modifier like *muxtalef* ‘different’ that modifies the indefinite, we still maintain a ‘frozen scope’.

¹⁵ This refers to the utterance number in the questionnaire.

28- ʔaʕtʕ-u lə tʕaalib muxtalef kull iktaab dzadeed
gave-3PLM to student different every book new
Lit: ‘They gave to a different student every new book.’

(27) and (28) behave like a DOC because the Theme is frozen and cannot scope over the Goal. However, I argue that (27) and (28) are Goal-Theme PDCs, and that, because the scrambled PP *lə tʕaalib* ‘to a student’ is in an A-bar position, which prevents the Theme from moving and passing it to a higher A-bar position due to Relativised Minimality¹⁶, a distributive reading is unavailable (see chapter 6, section 6.2.2). The Theme is being frozen and cannot scope over the Goal, indicating that the Goal has moved to a higher position and is acting as an intervener or blocker of the Theme's movement (see chapter 6).

Hallman (2018) uses scope freezing to argue that Goal-Theme PDCs in Arabic function as DOCs with a dative case. He presents the following examples:

- 29- Leyla waffar-it la-walad kill ktaʕb ʕa-r-raff.
Leyla provided-3FS DAT-child every book on-the-shelf
‘Leyla provided a child with every book on the shelf.’ (Hallman 2018:6)
- 30- Leyla waffar-it ktaʕb la-kill walad fi-s.-s.aff.
Leyla provided-3FS book to-every child in-the-class
‘Leyla provided a book to every child in the class.’ (Hallman 2018:6)

Hallman (2018) asserts that this pattern applies to *waffar* ‘provide’ when the recipient precedes the theme in a *la*-phrase. In (29), a distributive reading—where different children receive different books—is unavailable. However, when the recipient follows the theme, as in (30), both distributive interpretations of the universal quantifier become possible.

¹⁶ Relativised Minimality is a syntactic principle introduced in Luigi Rizzi (1990) that restricts constituent movement in sentence structures by prohibiting dependencies across specific intervening elements. Under this principle, a syntactic dependency, such as movement or agreement, between two positions is blocked if an intervening element of the same structural type is present between them, resulting in a minimality effect.

However, in other Arabic constructions, we observe the same phenomenon of distributivity that causes ambiguity, and the absence of ambiguity when the Theme is frozen without the possibility of relying on DOC syntax. For example, with the verb *ḥatʕ* ‘put’, changing the order of the Theme and the location can lead to ambiguous readings, as shown in the following examples.

31- ḥatʕei-t ʕala raf bi-l-maktabeh kull iḵtaab dʒadeed
 put-1SG on shelf in-the-library every book new

Lit ‘I put on a shelf in the library every new book.’

32- ḥatʕei-t iḵtaab dʒadeed ʕala kull raf bi-l-maktabeh
 put-1SG book new on every shelf in-the-library

‘I put a new book on every shelf in the library.’

In (31), with the order Location-Theme, there is no distributive reading, whereas in (32), with the order Theme-Location, the distributive reading is available. (31) and (32) demonstrate that *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ and *ḥatʕ* ‘put’ constructions are parallel. What we observe is an alternation between two orders, both for *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ and *ḥatʕ* ‘put’. For *ḥatʕ* ‘put’, it is impossible to appeal to the double object syntactic structure because *ḥatʕ* ‘put’ does not have a V-DP-DP frame in Arabic. There is no way to say “*Sami ḥatʕ-Ø li-ḵtaab raf*” *Sami put the book a shelf* or “*Sami ḥatʕ-Ø raf li-ḵtaab*” *Sami put a shelf the book*. Therefore, the behaviour of the order in (31) and (32) for *ḥatʕ* ‘put’ cannot be attributed to the double object syntax, simply because such a structure does not exist for the verb *ḥatʕ* ‘put’.

Based on these observations, I argue that the order V-*la*-Goal-Theme is not a DOC, which conflicts with the claims of Hallman (2018) and Al-Janabi (2019).

4.3.2. Binding asymmetries

Barss and Lasnik (1986) use binding principles to support the structure of the DOC. They argue that the NP1-NP2 relationship in the DOC is asymmetrical, with NP2 falling within NP1’s domain but not vice versa. This asymmetry provides evidence for their proposed syntactic structure.

4.3.2.1. Bound variable anaphora

The binding tests in (33), (34), and (35) demonstrate a c-command relationship between the two objects. The quantifier in the possessor binds the pronoun in the DO.

33- ḡil-mudeer ḡaṣṣə-Ø kull muwaḏṣaf_i raatb-u_i
the-manager gave-3SGM every employee salary-his
'The manager gave every employee his salary.' (Q 29)

34- ḡil-mudeer ḡaṣṣə-Ø lə kull muwaḏṣaf_i raatb-u_i
the-manager gave-3SGM to every employee salary-his
Lit: 'The manager gave to every employee his salary.' (Q 30)

35- *ḡil-mudeer_i ḡaṣṣə-Ø raatb-u_i lə kull muwaḏṣaf
the-manager gave-3SGM salary-his to every employee
'The manager gave his salary to every employee.' (Q 31)

The asterisk in (35) indicates that the sentence does not support a bound-variable reading for -u "his". It is, of course, a grammatical sentence with -u "his" interpreted referentially.

In (33) and (34), there is a clear binding asymmetry between the quantified IO and the DO. The quantifier *kull* 'every' c-commands the pronoun -u 'his', but not vice versa, as shown in (35). This results in a quantifier-pronoun asymmetry in (33) and (34). The binding asymmetry in these examples is consistent with the asymmetries in DOCs identified by Barss and Lasnik (1986), where NP1, the IO, asymmetrically c-commands NP2, the DO. This suggests that (33) is a DOC. Al-Janabi (2019) argues that (34) is also a DOC, based on its similarity to (33) in terms of bound variable behaviour. However, like Standard English, JA is an asymmetrical language in which only the Recipient or the Theme can be passivised. The fact that only the Theme can be passivised suggests that (34) is not a DOC (cf. section 4.4). I propose that (34) is a Goal-Theme PDC. In this case, a weak crossover effect does not occur when the order of the PP and the Theme is changed or reversed because the variable is co-indexed with a pronoun appearing to its right. Additionally, the verb *wasṣṣal* 'deliver' with the preposition *ṣala* 'on' or 'to' also participates in bound variable anaphora. In (36), the pronoun -u 'his' is c-commanded by the quantifier *kull* 'every'. Conversely, in (37), the pronoun -u 'his' is not c-commanded by *kull* 'every'. Furthermore, moving the PP to an A-bar position keeps the quantified Theme frozen in place. Therefore, it is impossible to invoke

a double object syntactic structure because the verb *wasʕsʕal* ‘deliver’ also lacks a V-DP-DP frame in Arabic.

36- wasʕsʕal-*it* kull tʕaalib_k ʕa-beit-*u_k*
 delivered-1SG every student to-house-his
 ‘I delivered every student to his house.’

37- *wasʕsʕal-*it*¹⁷ ʕa-beit-*u_k* kull tʕaalib_k
 delivered-1SG to-house-his every student
 Lit: ‘I delivered to his house every student.’

In JA, to avoid weak crossover in Theme-Goal PDCs, I argue that the PP, generated low as the complement of the verb, moves to the specifier of the upper big VP, leaving a trace behind. This moved PP c-commands and binds its trace and the variable in the Theme argument (see Chapter 6). However, (35) and (37) are ungrammatical due to the weak crossover effect, where a variable is co-indexed with a pronoun appearing to its left.

In PDCs, the IO is c-commanded by the DO, as shown in (38) and (39).

38- ʔil-mudeer ʔaʕtʕ-Ø kull raatib_i lə sʕaahb-*u_i*
 The-manager gave-3SGM every salary to owner-its
 ‘The manager gave every salary to its owner.’

39- *ʔil-mudeer ʔaʕtʕ-Ø lə sʕaahb-*u_i* kull raatib_i
 The-manager gave-3SGM to owner-its every salary
 Intended: ‘The manager gave every salary to its owner.’

The binding asymmetry becomes clear when comparing (38) and (39). In (38), the pronoun *-u* ‘its’ is c-commanded by its quantifier *kull* ‘every’, which results in a distributive reading. In contrast, in (39), the pronoun *-u* is not c-commanded by *kull* ‘every’, and additionally, the movement of the PP to an A-bar position causes the quantified Theme to remain frozen in its place. This asymmetric command relationship between the DO and the IO indicates that the DO is

¹⁷ Note that, as before, the asterisk indicates that the sentence does not support a bound-variable reading for *-u* ‘his’. It is grammatical with *-u* ‘his’ interpreted referentially.

structurally higher than the IO. Moreover, the Goal-Theme PDC in (39) is ungrammatical because of the weak crossover effect, where the variable *raatib* ‘salary’ is co-indexed with a pronoun to its left, leading to unacceptability.

4.3.2.2. Reflexive binding

JA speakers use *nafs* ‘self’ and *haal* ‘self’ as reflexive pronouns, attaching personal pronouns to them to indicate person, number, and gender. Consider the following paradigm of reflexives in JA:

Table 4.3: Reflexive pronouns in JA

nafs ‘self’	haal ‘self’	English reflexive
nafs-ɪ	haal-ɪ	myself
nafs-nə	haal-nə	ourselves
nafs-u	haal-u	himself
nafs-hə	haal-hə	herself
nafs-hum	haal-hum	themselves
nafs-ək	haal-ək	yourself (masculine)
nafs-ɪk nafs-ɪʃ	haal-ɪk haal-ɪʃ	yourself (feminine)
nafs-ku	haal-ku	yourselves (masculine)
nafs-kɪn nafs-ʃɪn	haal-kɪn haal-ʃɪn	yourselves (feminine)

Reflexive pronouns in JA conform to Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981). Observe the following examples that illustrate their behaviour within this framework.

40- Sami_i dʒarah nafs-u_i
 Sami cut-3SGM self-him
 ‘Sami cut himself.’

41- Sami_i dʒarah -u*_i
 Sami cut-3SGM-him
 ‘Sami cut him.’

42- ʃali_i gaal ʔɪnnu Sami_k dʒarah-u_i/*_k
 Ali said-3SGM that Sami cut-3SGM-him
 ‘Ali said that Sami cut him.’

43-	ʕali _i	gaal	ʔɪnnu	Sami _k	dʒaraḥ	nafs-u* _{i/k}
	Ali	said-3SGM	that	Sami	cut-3SGM	self-him
	‘Ali said that Sami cut himself.’					

In (40), the reflexive anaphor *nafs-u*, ‘himself’, is grammatical only when co-indexed with the subject *Sami*. This is consistent with Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981), which states that an anaphor must be bound within its governing category. However, in (41), the pronoun *-u* ‘him’ cannot refer to *Sami* because it must remain free within its binding domain. Similarly, in (42), *-u* ‘him’ must be free in its binding domain, preventing the embedded clause’s subject from binding it. Finally, in (43), the reflexive *nafs-u* ‘himself’ needs to be bound by the subject of the embedded clause, in accordance with Condition A of the Binding Theory. These patterns confirm the syntactic constraints that govern reflexives and pronouns in JA.

In ditransitive constructions, the first object c-commands the second, but not vice versa, regardless of the chosen diathesis (DOC or Theme-Goal PDC). The first object can bind the second as a reflexive, but not the other way around. In examples (44) and (45), *Samia* functions as the first NP, capable of binding the second NP, *haal-hə* ‘herself’. This demonstrates the asymmetric binding relationship in these structures.

44-	wardʒ-u	Samia _i	haal-hə _i	bɪ-lɪ-mraaya	
	showed-3PLM	Samia	self-her	in-the-mirror	
	‘They showed Samia herself in the mirror.’				(Q 24)

45-	wardʒ-u	Samia _i	lə	nafs-hə _i	bɪ-lɪ-mraaya
	showed-3PLM	Samia	to	self-her	in-the-mirror
	‘They showed Samia to herself in the mirror.’				(Q 25)

46-	wardʒ-u	lə	Samia _i	haal-hə _i	bɪ-lɪ-mraaya
	showed-3PLM	to	Samia	self-her	in-the-mirror
	‘They showed Samia to herself in the mirror.’				(Q 26)

In example (46), the main issue is how *Samia* can c-command *haal-hə* even though it is inside a prepositional phrase headed by *lə*. This supports the idea that prepositions do not always block the c-command necessary for binding. Referential expressions within PPs often bind anaphors even without standard c-command, as shown in (47).

47- soolaf-it [pp lə Samia_i] [pp ʕan ʔaal-hə_i]
 talked-1SG to Samia about self-her
 ‘I talked to Samia about herself’

This phenomenon goes beyond anaphor binding and applies to Condition C effects (Reinhart, 1976; Pesetsky, 1995, p. 177) as well as variable binding. Consequently, a comprehensive Binding Theory must add an assumption related to either PP structures or the nature of c-command. Proposals such as “almost c-command” (Hornstein, 1995, p. 108) and “precede-and-command” (Bruening, 2014) aim to explain these patterns, indicating that a more adaptable approach to binding is needed for elements embedded within PPs.

4.3.2.3. Negative polarity item licensing

In ditransitive constructions, the higher object can license NPI in the lower object, such as *ʔayya* ‘any’. This may suggest that the dependent element must either be preceded by the element it depends on (linear structure) or be structurally lower than that element (hierarchical structure). In Arabic, NPIs require licensing by clausal negation rather than argument-internal negation. This observation does not make the test ineffective; instead, it shows that the diagnostic functions differently. Even when clausal negation is used, it is still possible to test for asymmetry. The sentential negation sits above the entire VP and licences the NPI, as in (48) and (49).

48- ma ʔaʕtʕ-u masʕaari lə ʔayya ʔaamel
 Neg gave-3SGM money to any worker
 ‘They did not give money to any worker.’

49- *ʔaʕtʕ-u masʕaari lə ʔayya ʔaamel
 gave-3SGM money to any worker
 ‘They gave money to any worker.’

However, in some cases, there is an asymmetry between the two objects, regardless of the fact that the negative QP depends on the negation particle high up in the clause. The negation particle itself does not appear to be the licenser of the NPI *ʔayya* ‘any’ in (51). The negative particle, together with the negative QP, licences an NPI only if the negative QP c-commands the *ʔayya* ‘any’ NPI.

- 50- *ma ʔaʃtʰ-u ʔayya ʃii lə wala waahad
 Neg gave-3PLM any thing to no one
 Intended: ‘They gave anything to no one.’
- 51- ma ʔaʃtʰ-u wala waahad ʔayya ʃii
 Neg gave-3PLM no one any thing
 ‘They gave no one anything.’

(50) and (51) demonstrate that sentential negation, marked by the negative particle, does not automatically allow you to place an NPI anywhere. You are permitted to place the NPI only if the negative QP c-commands the NPI. Since the negative QP depends on sentential negation, it must c-command the NPI itself. If it does not, then the NPI cannot be licensed.

4.4. A and A-bar movement in ditransitive constructions in JA

Ditransitive predicates involve two internal arguments, the ‘Recipient’ and the ‘Theme’, both commonly labelled as objects. However, their syntactic behaviour varies across languages. In some languages or constructions, only one of these arguments functions like the object of a transitive verb; in others, both do, creating what is known as a ‘symmetrical’ DOC. JA, however, does not exhibit such symmetry with respect to passivisation. Symmetry is especially evident in A-movement, as in passive constructions. In symmetrical languages like Norwegian and Kinyarwanda, as well as certain British English dialects, the Recipient or the Theme can be promoted to the subject position in passives. Conversely, asymmetrical DOCs restrict this movement to only one argument. In languages such as Standard English, Swahili, Chichewa, Danish, Italian, and German, typically only the Recipient or the Theme, not both, can be passivised. This distinction has been extensively discussed in the literature (e.g., Baker 1988; Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Holmberg et al., 2019).

In the following sections, the syntactic behaviour of ditransitive constructions in JA with respect to A- and A-bar-movement shows that JA is an asymmetrical language with respect to passivisation. However, because of the resumptive strategy, Arabic imposes no restrictions on the syntactic roles that can be relativised (see Herin & Al-Wer, 2025; Keenan & Comrie, 1977) (see Section 4.4.2). Furthermore, these movements demonstrate that both types of PDC exhibit identical patterns of A and A-bar movements.

4.4.1. A-movement

The syntactic behaviour of A-movement in JA shows that JA follows an asymmetrical pattern. Only the Recipient can be passivised in DOCs, whereas only the Theme can be passivised in the Theme-Goal PDC and the Goal-Theme PDC. This distinction emphasises the language-specific nature of object alignment and passivisation in ditransitive structures. Consider the following examples:

52- Samia ʔaʔtʰ-ət Tamara ktaab
 Samia gave-3SGF Tamara book
 ‘Samia gave Tamara a book’ (DOC)

The passivisation of (52) would be:

53- Tamara ʔm-ʔatʰ-ət ktaab
 Tamara **Passive**-gave-3SGF book
 ‘Tamara was given a book.’

Passivisation of the Theme in (52) will lead to ungrammaticality:

54- *ktaab ʔm-ʔatʰə-Ø Tamara
 book Passive-gave-3SGM Tamara
 Intended: A book was given to Tamara.’

Only the Theme can be passivised in PDCs. Note that we have identical outputs for both Theme-Goal PDC and Goal-Theme PDC.

55- Samia ʔaʔtʰ-ət ktaab lə Tamara
 Samia gave-3SGF book to Tamara
 ‘Samia gave a book to Tamara.’ **(Th-G PDC)**

56- Samia ʔaʔtʰ-ət lə Tamara ktaab
 Samia gave-3SGF to Tamara book
 Literally: Samia gave a book to Tamara.’ **(G-Th PDC)**

The passivisation of (55) and (56) would be:

57- ktaab ʔm-ʔatʰə-Ø lə Tamara
 book **Passive**-gave-3SGM to Tamara
 ‘A book was given to Tamara.’

The passivisation of the *lə*-Goal: Recipient in (55) and (56) would result in ungrammaticality, as PPs cannot move to case positions.

58- * <i>lə</i>	Tamara	ʔm-ʕatʕ-ət	ктааб
to	Tamara	Passive-gave-3SGF	book
Intended: ‘Tamara was given a book.’			

Since the outcome of passivisation in both types of PDC is the same, it is difficult to determine whether a passive construction with Theme promotion originates from a Theme-Goal PDC or a Goal-Theme PDC. We cannot identify which type of PDC (57) it derives from. It is logically possible that the Goal-Theme PDC does not act as an input to passivisation; however, based on (57), we cannot confirm this. We need to use floating quantifiers to gain insight into the source of (57) (i.e., a Theme-Goal PDC or a Goal-Theme PDC).

Quantifier float occurs when a quantifier is separated from its associated noun. Sentences (55) and (56) differ in the placement of the PP and Theme. When passivised, the Theme appears in the subject position. Floating Quantifiers can indicate the Theme’s original position, providing insight into the syntactic structure and underlying word order of such constructions. First, we need to establish that a floating quantifier is a valid diagnostic to determine the original position of the Theme before it moves to the subject position. We need to apply this diagnostic to unaccusative and transitive verbs in JA. Consider (59-61) with the unaccusative verb *wisʕl* ‘arrive’ in JA.

59- ʔil-baasʕaat	kull-hm	wisʕl-in	mitʔaxraat	lə	l-mudʒamaʕ
the-buses	all-3PLF	arrived-3PLF	late	at	the-station
‘The buses all arrived late at the station.’					
60- ʔil-baasʕaat	wisʕl-in	kull-hm	mitʔaxraat	lə	l-mudʒamaʕ
the-buses	arrived-3PLF	all-3PLF	late	at	the-station
‘The buses arrived all late at the station.’					
61- ʔil-baasʕaat	wisʕl-in	mitʔaxraat	kull-hm	lə	l-mudʒamaʕ
the-buses	arrived-3PLF	late	all-3PLF	at	the-station
‘The buses arrived all late at the station.’					

Now, we should apply the floating quantifier to transitive verbs in the active (62-64), and then to passive sentences (65), (66), and (67).

- 62- Sami $\text{ħat}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\emptyset$ kull ıl-kutub ıbsur ħ ah ħ ala $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{-t}^{\text{c}}\text{awleh}$
 Sami put-3SGM all the-books quickly on the-table
 ‘Sami put all the books quickly on the table.’
- 63- Sami $\text{ħat}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\emptyset$ ıl-kutub kull- ħ ın ıbsur ħ ah ħ ala $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{-t}^{\text{c}}\text{awleh}$
 Sami put-3SGM the-books all-3PLF quickly on the-table
 Lit: ‘Sami put the books all quickly on the table.’
- 64- Sami $\text{ħat}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\emptyset$ ıl-kutub ıbsur ħ ah kull- ħ ın ħ ala $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{-t}^{\text{c}}\text{awleh}$
 Sami put-3SGM the-books quickly all-3PLF on the-table
 Lit: ‘Sami put the books quickly all on the table.’
- 65- ?ıl-kutub kull- ħ ın $\text{?ın-ħat}^{\text{c}}\text{-ın}$?ıbsurħ ah ?ala $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{-t}^{\text{c}}\text{awleh}$
 the-books all-3PLF passive-put-3PLF quickly on the-table
 ‘The books were all put quickly on the table.’
- 66- ?ıl-kutub ?ıbsurħ ah kull- ħ ın $\text{?ın-ħat}^{\text{c}}\text{-ın}$?ala $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{-t}^{\text{c}}\text{awleh}$
 the-books quickly all-3PLF passive-put-3PLF on the-table
 ‘The books were quickly all put on the table.’
- 67- ?ıl-kutub ıbsur ħ ah $\text{?ın-ħat}^{\text{c}}\text{-ın}$ kull- ħ ın ħ ala $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{-t}^{\text{c}}\text{awleh}$
 the-books quickly passive-put-3PLF all-3PLF on the-table
 ‘The books were all put quickly on the table.’

Note that you cannot place the quantifier just anywhere in JA. Consider the following examples.

- 68- * Sami $\text{?aħt}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-ħ}$ ın ıl-kutub lə Rami ?ımbaareħ kull- ħ ın
 Sami gave-3SGM-3PLF the-book to Rami yesterday all-3PLF
- 69- * kull- ħ ın Sami ıl-kutub $\text{?aħt}^{\text{c}}\text{-}\emptyset\text{-ħ}$ ın lə Rami ?ımbaareħ
 all-3PLF Sami the-book gave-3SGM-3PLF to Rami yesterday

The stranding analysis of Q-float (Sportiche 1988) posits that quantifiers are stranded when their associated noun phrase moves, leaving the quantifier in a trace position. In contrast, the adverbial analysis (Bobaljik 2003) treats floating quantifiers as adverbial adjuncts that are relatively freely positioned and simply agree with an NP.

In (70) and (71), the floating quantifiers in ditransitive constructions are not just free adverbials. Binding and agreement restrictions show that the floating quantifier must agree with a specific argument and cannot freely associate with any noun phrase. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

70- Sami ʔaʔtʰə-Ø ɪl-kutub kull-hɪn lə tʰ-tʰaalɪbaat ʔɪmbaareh
 Sami gave-3SGM the-books all-3PLF to the-students-F yesterday
 ‘Sami gave the books to all the students yesterday.’

71- Sami ʔaʔtʰə-Ø lə tʰ-tʰaalɪbaat ɪl-kutub kull-hɪn ʔɪmbaareh
 Sami gave-3SGM to the-students-F the-books all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘Sami gave the books to all the students yesterday.’

In the examples above, the Q refers to the books, not the female students.

The above facts demonstrate that the floating quantifier is a valid diagnostic tool for Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs, determining the exact position and source of the moved Theme in the subject position of passive constructions. The passivisation of (72) and (73) in (74) and (75) shows that promoting the Theme to the subject is possible in Goal-Theme PDC.

72- Rami ʔaʔtʰə-Ø hal-kutub kull-hɪn lə Sami mbaareh
 Rami gave-3SGM these-books all-3PLF to Sami yesterday
 ‘Rami gave these books all to Sami yesterday.’

73- Rami ʔaʔtʰə-Ø lə Sami hal-kutub kull-hɪn mbaareh
 Rami gave-3SGM to Sami these-books all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘Rami gave these books all to Sami yesterday.’

74- hal-kutub ʔɪn-ʕatʰ-in kull-hɪn lə Sami ʔɪmbaareh
 these-books Passive-gave-3PLF all-3PLF to Sami yesterday
 ‘These books were all given to Sami yesterday.’ **(Th-G PDC)**

75- hal-kutub ʔɪn-ʕatʰ-in lə Sami kull-hɪn ʔɪmbaareh
 these-books Passive-gave-3SGF to Sami all-3PLF yesterday
 Intended, ‘These books were all given to Sami yesterday.’ **(G-Th PDC)**

In (75), a quantifier associated with the Theme is floated between the PP and the sentence-final adverbial, suggesting that the Theme is promoted to subject from the position following the PP, in a Goal-Theme PDC. This observation is significant because, logically speaking, there is a derivation of the Goal-Theme PDC that arises in a manner similar to that of the DOC. The DOC arises by taking the Theme-Goal PDC as input, swallowing the preposition, and shifting the indirect object to the Theme's position. The Theme tends to be frozen, preventing it from being promoted to the subject (see Larson 1988, den Dikken 1995). The Goal-Theme PDC resembles a DOC in that the indirect object shifts around the Theme without swallowing the preposition. However, unlike the DOC, the Goal-Theme PDC behaves exactly the same as the canonical Theme-Goal PDC with respect to passivisation, relativisation, wh-movement, cliticisation, clitic doubling (see chapter 5) and depictive secondary predicate (see chapter 6). Therefore, the Goal-Theme PDC syntax significantly differs from the DOC syntax.

Applying the same diagnostic to *send*-type verbs yields the same results as shown in the following examples.

- 76- Rami waffar-Ø hal-kutub kull-hın lə Sami mbaareh
 Rami made available-3SGM these-books all-3PLF for-Sami yesterday
 ‘Rami made these books available for Sami yesterday.’
- 77- Rami waffar-Ø lə Sami hal-kutub kull-hın imbaareh
 Rami made available-3SGM for Sami these-books all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘Rami made these books available for Sami yesterday.’
- 78- hal-kutub ʔit-waffar-in kull-hın lə Sami mbaareh
 these-books passive-made available-3PLF all-3PLF for. Sami yesterday
 ‘These books were all made available for Sami yesterday.’
- 79- hal-kutub ʔit-waffar-in lə Sami kull-hın imbaareh
 these-books passive-made available-3PLF for Sami all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘These books were made available for Sami all yesterday.’

The above facts show consistency across all verbs in JA concerning Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDC with nominal arguments. I maintain that both structures share the same underlying representation.

4.4.2. *la* does not disappear in relativisation

Syntactically, the relative clause is externally headed and follows the nouns it modifies. In Arabic, there are two strategies for forming relative clauses, depending on the syntactic role of the noun being relativised and the nature of the predicate. The primary method is resumptive in Arabic, while the gap strategy is restricted to relativising subjects in non-verbal predicates. Because of the resumptive strategy, Arabic imposes no restrictions on the syntactic roles that can be relativised (see Herin & Al-Wer, 2025; Keenan & Comrie, 1977).

Al-Janabi (2019) claims that the construction in (80) is a DOC where the IO precedes the DO in the linear order, while it is a PDC in (81) where the DO precedes the IO in the linear order. He claims that the IO plays a Recipient role in (80), whereas it is a locative in (81).

80-	Ali	intʕə	-Ø	l -	il -	moʕəlm	-ə	sʕ ək
	Ali	give.PAST	-M.3SG.SU	to-	the-	teacher	-F	paycheck
	‘Ali gave the teacher a paycheck’							(Al-Janabi 2019: p. 90)

81-	Ali	intʕə	-Ø	sʕ ək	l -	il -	moʕəlm	-ə
	Ali	give.PAST	-M.3SG.SU	paycheck	to-	the-	teacher	-F
	‘Ali gave a paycheck to the teacher’							(Al-Janabi 2019: p. 90)

He supports his claim by considering the substitution of the Recipient with a pronominal one as in (82).

82-	Ali	intʕə	-Ø	-(*l)	-hə	sʕ ək
	Ali	give.PAST	-M.3SG.SU	-to	-F.3SG	.IO paycheck
	‘Ali gave her a paycheck’					(Al-Janabi 2019: p. 90)

Al-Janabi (2019) argues that when replacing the Recipient with a pronominal object, the prefix *l-* disappears, as in (82), asserting that the Recipient position is a DP position.

First, I argue that in (80) and (81), only the Theme can be A-moved to the subject position. Moving the Recipient results in ungrammaticality, indicating that (80) is not a DOC. The Theme cannot be promoted to the subject position in genuine DOCs. While the Theme cannot be promoted

to the subject position in DOCs, it can be promoted in PDCs regardless of the order of the Theme and *lə*-phrase.

- 83- *ʃak* *ʔin-ʃatʕə-Ø* *lə* *li-mʃalmeh*
 paycheck passive-gave-3SGM to the-teacher
 ‘Paycheck was given to the teacher.’
- 84- * *lə* *li-mʃalmeh* *ʔin-ʃatʕ-ət* *ʃak*
 to the-teacher passive-gave-3SGF paycheck
 Intended, ‘The teacher was given a paycheck.’

Second, the pronoun replaces the Recipient bare DP in DOCs (82), while it replaces the Goal *lə*+ DP in the Goal-Theme PDC, which originates low and then moves around the Theme. In section 4.2, ditransitive predicates are categorised into two groups. One group comprises verbs that resist DOC. It has been observed that genuine DOCs allow Goal-Theme PDCs with lexical Recipients (see Chapters 5 and 6). Nevertheless, (86) is grammatical and acceptable to most speakers, and for simplicity, they prefer (87).

- 85- *ʔaʃtʕei-t* *lə* *Sami* *iktaab*
 gave-1SG to Sami book
 ‘I gave a book to Sami.’
- 86- ?? *ʔaʃtʕei-t* *l-u* *iktaab*
 gave-1SG to-him book
 Intended, ‘I gave a book to him.’

An accusative clitic is legitimately attached to those predicates that allow DOCs.

- 87- *ʔaʃtʕei-t-u* *ktaab*
 gave-1SG-him book
 ‘I gave him a book.’

Al-Janabi (2019) utilises the relativisation of the construction in (80) to argue that it is a DOC. He argues that the preposition *l-* vanishes when relativising the Recipient, as shown in (88) and (89).

88- il - moʃəlm -ə ili Ali intʕa -Ø -hə sʕ ək
the- teacher -F that Ali give.PAST -M.3SG.SU -F.3SG IO.paycheck
‘The teacher that Ali gave a paycheck to’ (Al-Janabi 2019, p. 91)

89- il - moʃəlm -ə ili Ali intʕa -Ø sʕ ək l - hə
the- teacher -F that Ali give.PAST -M.3SG.SU paycheck to- F.3SG.IO
‘The teacher that Ali gave a paycheck to her’ (Al-Janabi, 2019, p. 91)

I argue that (88) cannot be the relativisation construction of (80) because (88) represents the relativisation of the indirect object in a genuine DOC. (89) functions as the relativisation construction for (81). The relativisation of (80) would be as follows.

90- lɪ-mʃalmeh ʔillɪ Ali ʔaʕtʕə-Ø l-hə ʃak
the-teacher whom Ali gave-3SGM to-her paycheck
‘The teacher whom Ali gave a paycheck to.’

As previously mentioned, the general approach to relativisation in Arabic is a resumptive strategy. Therefore, a resumptive pronoun is used in the same position as the relativised noun, and this resumptive pronoun should follow *lə*. In (81), there is a restriction on relativising the indirect object. This restriction occurs because the relativised element in (88) occupies a position where relativisation is not legitimate without using the preposition plus the resumptive pronoun, since the relativised indirect object is in a PP. The same applies to (80), where the relativised noun is also in a PP. This can be demonstrated by using other prepositions like *ʃala* ‘on’, as shown in the following examples.

91- Sami ʔatʕ-Ø il-loom ʃala lɪ-mʃalmeh lama rasab-Ø
Sami put-3SGM the-blame on the-teacher when failed-3SGM
‘Sami put the blame on the teacher when he failed.’

92- Sami ʔatʕ-Ø ʃala lɪ-mʃalmeh il-loom lama rasab-Ø
Sami put-3SGM on the-teacher the-blame when failed-3SGM
Lit: ‘Sami put on the teacher the blame when he failed.’

Suppose we relativise *li-mʕalmeh* ‘the teacher’ in both examples above. In that case, we will notice that the resumptive will attach to the preposition *ʕala* ‘on’ in both constructions and *ʕala* ‘on’ does not disappear.

93- *li-mʕalmeh ʔilli Sami ʔatʕ-Ø il-loom ʕalei¹⁸-hə. lama rasab-Ø*
 the-teacher whom Sami put-3SGM the-blame on-her when failed-3SGM
 ‘The teacher whom Sami put the blame on when he failed.’

94- *li-mʕalmeh ʔilli Sami ʔatʕ-Ø ʕalei-hə il-loom lama rasab-Ø*
 the-teacher whom Sami put-3SGM on-her the-blame when failed-3SGM
 ‘The teacher whom Sami put the blame on when he failed.’

In (88), Al-Janabi is relativising from a genuine DOC, where there is no preposition and the resumptive attaches to the verb, as in the following examples.

95- *Sami ʔatʕ-Ø li-mʕalmeh ʕak*
 Sami gave-3SGM the-teacher paycheck
 ‘Sami gave the teacher a paycheck.’

96- *li-mʕalmeh ʔilli Sami ʔatʕ-Ø-hə ʕak*
 the-teacher whom Sami gave-3SGM-her paycheck
 ‘The teacher whom Sami gave a paycheck.’

Moreover, following Holmberg et al. (2019), Al-Janabi (2019) claims that the order V-IO-DO in Iraqi Arabic, contrary to V-DO-to-IO, permits an inanimate causer subject, a defining characteristic of DOCs. Al-Janabi provides the following examples:

97- *il - ləhəm y- intʕi l- il- nas broti:n*
 the- meat M.3SG.SU- give to- the- people protein
 ‘Meat gives people protein’ (Al-Janabi, 2019, p. 92)

¹⁸ Another phonological variant of *ʕala* ‘on’

98- ʔil- ləħəmə y- intʔi broti:n l- il- nas
the- meat M.3SG.SU- give protein to- the- people
‘Meat gives protein to people’ (Al-Janabi, 2019, p. 92)

In this chapter and the following sections and chapters, I consistently argue that (97) and (98) share the same underlying representation but differ in the surface order of the Recipient and the Theme. The A and A-bar constructions illustrate this (see chapter 6). Moreover, I examined the acceptability of (97) and (98) and found that the two structures are equally acceptable. Furthermore, the idiomatic *ʔaʕtʔ* ‘give’ in Arabic can be used with an inanimate causer subject in JA and other Arabic varieties with DOCs and both PDC diatheses, which indicates that both (97) and (98) are acceptable with an inanimate causer subject in Arabic.

99- ʔis-sayyara ʔaʕtʔ-ət Sami xaazyg lama xirb-ət
the-car gave-3SGF Sami pole when broke down-3SGF
‘The car gave Sami a pole (caused a big problem) when it broke down.’
100- ʔis-sayyara ʔaʕtʔ-ət xaazyg lə Sami lama xirb-ət
the-car gave-3SGF pole to Sami when broke down-3SGF
‘The car gave a pole (caused a big problem) to Sami when it broke down.’
101- ʔis-sayyara ʔaʕtʔ-ət lə Sami xaazyg lama xirb-ət
the-car gave-3SGF to Sami pole when broke down-3SGF
‘The car gave a pole (caused a big problem) to Sami when it broke down.’

Moreover, in some constructions, an inanimate causer subject must appear in Theme-Goal PDCs and is excluded from Goal-Theme PDCs and DOCs. This is shown in the following examples.

102- hasʕ-sʕuura ðakkar-ət Sami bi-l-maaðʕi lama kaan sayeer
this-photo reminded-3SGF Sami of-the-past when was young
‘This photo reminded Sami of the past when he was young.’
103- *hasʕ-sʕuura ðakkar-ət bi-l-maaðʕi Sami lama kaan sayeer
this-photo reminded-3SGF of-the-past Sami when was young
Intended: ‘This photo reminded Sami of the past when he was young.’

104- *has^s-s^suura ðakkar-ət Sami l-maað^sɪ lama kaan sayeer
 this-photo reminded-3SGF Sami the-past when was young
 Intended: ‘This photo reminded Sami of himself when he was young.’

The above examples show that Al-Janabi’s generalisation is wrong. It appears that there are no specific rules restricting the use of an inanimate causer subject in particular constructions.

Hallman (2018) claims that the order V-*la*-DP_R-DP_{Th}, which I refer to as the Goal-Theme PDC, is ungrammatical with *ʔaʕtʔ* ‘give’ verbs—verbs that permit genuine DOCs—in Syrian Arabic. He provides the following example:

105- *Leyla ʕaʕ-it la- X⁻alid l-kt⁻ab.
 Leyla gave-3FS to-Khalid the-book
 (Lit. ‘Leyla gave to Khalid the book.’) (Hallman, 2018, p 3)

A survey involving over fifty Syrian participants was conducted to assess the acceptability of construction (105). The results demonstrate unanimous acceptance of the construction among all informants. Additionally, as a resident of a village near the Jordanian-Syrian border with both Jordanian and Syrian heritage, the author sought further perspectives from Syrian acquaintances residing in Hungary. These informants also unanimously considered construction (105) acceptable.

Hallman (2018) contends that the order V-*la*-DP_R-DP_{Th}, which he associates with *waffar* ‘provide’ verbs—those that resist DOCs—is a DOC with a dative case borne by the Recipient. In contrast, in the order V-DP_{Th}-*la*-DP_R, the Recipient bears a genitive case, as shown in (106).

106- a. [DP la-X⁻alid_{DAT}]
 b. [PP [_P la-] [DP X⁻alid_{GEN}]] (Hallman, 2018. P.8)

I contend that there is no dative case in Standard Arabic and Arabic dialects overall (see Wright, 2011; Ryding, 2005; Fassi Fehri, 1993). In Classical Arabic, case distinctions were marked morphologically as nominative, accusative, and genitive, but there was no separate dative case. Indirect objects, the role typically assigned to the dative case, were usually marked using prepositions. Lexical arguments in JA lack overt morphological case, but pronouns show case distinctions. JA employs nominative, genitive, and accusative pronouns, with no separate dative forms. Instead, dative constructions use a preposition before the noun. The preposition *la* represents

both 'to' and 'for,' as JA makes no lexical distinction between them. Thus, *la* marks the beneficiary or Recipient Goal role in surface structures. I argue that the preposition *la* assigns genitive case to the Recipient in both types of PDC in JA. This is evident with genitive pronouns following the preposition *la* (see chapter 5).

In section 4.3.1, I argue that the construction V-*la*-Recipient-Theme is not a DOC, contrary to Hallman's claim. I assert that the quantified Theme is frozen in the Goal-Theme PDC because the PP is in an A-bar position, which blocks QR movement to another A-bar position due to Relativised Minimality. Furthermore, I consistently insist that the Recipient cannot be A-moved in Hallman's examples, emphasising that these constructions are not DOCs. In (107), the Recipient is ineligible to move to the subject position. Hallman (2018) also claims that *la* assigns the lexical or inherent dative case in (107), which is lost in V-DP_{Th}-*la*-DP_R constructions. The puzzle remains: how can the dative case be lost if it is indeed lexical or inherent, as he asserts?

- 107- Leyla waffar-it la-X⁻alid l-kt⁻ab.
 Leyla provided-3FS DAT-Khalid the-book
 'Leyla provided Khalid with the book.' (Hallman, 2018, p. 24)

The above facts indicate that the passive in JA is asymmetrical. Only the Recipient can be passivised in DOC, whereas in both types of PDC, only the Theme can be passivised. Furthermore, these facts demonstrate that the Theme-Goal PDC and the Goal-Theme PDC exhibit identical syntactic behaviour. Therefore, we conclude that the construction V-*la*-Recipient-Theme is not a DOC, as Hallman (2018) and Al-Janabi (2019) claim.

4.4.3. Wh-movement of the Recipient and the Theme in DOC, and both types of PDC

In ditransitive predicates, both the Recipient and the Theme are usually labelled as 'objects'. However, cross-linguistic variation exists in their syntactic alignment. In some languages or constructions, only one—either the Recipient or the Theme—exhibits object-like behaviour similar to that of a transitive object, while in others, both arguments display such properties, reflecting different patterns of grammatical organisation across languages (see Holmberg et al, 2019). The previous section shows that in JA, the Theme can undergo A-movement in both PDC types. This suggests that Theme-Goal PDCs and Goal-Theme PDCs function identically with respect to A-

108- Samia	ʔaɬʰ-ət	Tamara	ктааб	
Samia	gave-3SGF	Tamara	book	
‘Samia gave Tamara a book’				(DOC)
109- *miin	Samia	ʔaɬʰ-ət	ктааб	
who	Samia	gave-3SGF	book	
Intended, ‘Who did Samia give a book to?’				

110- juu Samia ʔaŋtʰ-ət Tamara
 what Samia gave-3SGF Tamara
 ‘What did Samia give Tamara?’

111-	Samia		ʔaŋtʰ-ət	htaab	lə	Tamara	
	Samia		gave-3SGF	book	to	Tamara	
	‘Samia gave Tamara a book’						(Th-G PDC)
112-	lə	miin	Samia	ʔaŋtʰ-ət	htaab		
	to	whom	Samia	gave-3SGF	book		
	‘To whom did Samia give a book?’						

113- juu Samia ʔaŋtʰ-ət lə Tamara
 what Samia gave-3SGF to Tamara
 ‘What did Samia give to Tamara?’

122

- When questioning the Theme in the above examples, we should first pseudo-cleft it, and then we obtain the following result.

- The above facts suggest that wh-movement in JA is compatible with floating quantifiers. Therefore, it is valid to apply this diagnostic to Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs to identify the Theme's wh-movement at its point of origin, as in the following examples.

- When questioning the Theme in the above Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs, it becomes easier to identify the Theme's origin in the constructions, as in the following examples.

- 123

- 121- juu yallı Samia ʔaʃtʰ-ət-hın lə Tamara kull-hın mbaareh
 what that Samia gave-3SGF-3PLF to Tamara all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘What did Samia give all to Tamara yesterday?’

Wh-movement floating quantifiers must also be applied to send-type verbs to reinforce my claim that V-*lə*-DP-DP is fundamentally a PDC, not a DOC, as shown in the following examples.

- 122- Rami waddə-Ø l-kutub kull-hın lə Sami mbaareh
 Rami sent-3SGM the-books all-3PLF to Sami yesterday
 ‘Rami sent the books all to Sami yesterday.’

- 123- Rami waddə-Ø lə Sami l-kutub kull-hın ʔimbaareh
 Rami sent-3SGM to Sami the-books all-3PLF yesterday
 Intended: ‘Rami sent the books all to Sami yesterday.’

When questioning the Theme, we will have the same result as in (124) and (125).

- 124- juu yallı Rami waddə-Ø-hın kull-hın lə Sami ʔimbaareh
 what that Rami sent-3SGM-3PLF all-3PLF to Sami yesterday
 ‘What did that Rami send all to Sami yesterday?’
- 125- juu yallı Rami waddə-Ø-hın lə Sami kull-hın ʔimbaareh
 what that Rami sent-3SGM-3PLF to Sami all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘What did that Rami send all to Sami yesterday?’

The above facts provide further evidence that V-DP-*lə*-DP and V-*lə*-DP-DP share the same underlying representation. I argue that the construction V-*lə*-DP-DP is not a DOC. The data above also indicate that the Theme can be questioned in all ditransitive constructions in JA, whereas the Recipient can be questioned only in PDC diatheses.

4.4.4. The Combination of A and A-bar movement

JA shows asymmetry in passivisation. However, the resumptive strategy in Arabic does not restrict the syntactic roles that can be relativised. The following sections illustrate the logical possibilities of passivisation and A-bar extraction for both the Recipient and the Theme, explaining how these processes interact in JA. It is important to note that both types of PDC behave identically regarding

these movements and their combinations. First, consider the A and A-bar extraction of the Recipient and the Theme in DOCs.

- 126- Tamara ʔm-ʕatʕ-ət ktaab
 Tamara Passive-gave-3SGF book
 ‘Tamara was given a book.’ **[R-passive]**
- 127- miin ʔm-ʕatʕ-ət ktaab
 who Passive-gave-3SGF book
 ‘Who was given a book?’ **[R-wh, R-passive]**
- 128- ʔayya ktaab ʔm-ʕatʕ-ət Tamara
 which book Passive-gave-3SGF Tamara
 ‘Which book was Tamara given?’ **[Th-wh, R-passive]**
- 129- *ʔayya ktaab ʔm-ʕatʕ-ə-Ø Tamara
 Which book Passive-gave-3SGM Tamara
 Intended: Which book was given to Tamara?’ **[Th-wh, *Th-passive]**

The ungrammaticality of (129) arises from passivising the Theme in DOC diathesis.

In JA DOC, the only combination that is consistently rejected is the A-bar movement of the Recipient or Theme alongside the passive of the Theme, which is systematically ungrammatical, as shown in (129).

4.4.5. Passive and relative in DOC

JA shows asymmetry in A-movement. In DOCs, in this language, only the Recipient can undergo passivisation. Note that, in JA, the Recipient can both be passivised and relativised simultaneously in DOCs, and the construction remains grammatical.

- 130- lɪ-mʕalɪm ʔaʕtʕ-ə-Ø ʔɪtʕ-tʕaaleb-eh lɪ-ktaab
 the-teacher gave-3SGM the-student-3SGF the-book
 ‘The teacher gave the student the book.’
- 131- ʔɪtʕ-tʕaaleb-eh ʔm-ʔaʕtʕ-ət lɪ-ktaab
 the-student-3SGF Passive-gave-3SGF the-book
 ‘The student was given the book.’ **[R-passive]**

- 132- ʔɪtʰ-tʰaaleb-eh ʔɪllɪ ʔɪn-ʔaʃtʰ-ət lɪ-ktaab
 the-student-3SGF who Passive-gave-3SGF the-book
 ‘The student who was given the book.’ **[R-relative, R-passive]**
- 133- *lɪ-ktaab ʔɪllɪ ʔɪn-ʃatʰə-Ø tʰ-tʰaaleb-eh
 the-book which Passive-gave-3SGM the-student-3SGF
 Intended: The book which was given to the student.’ **[Th-relative,*Th-passive]**

The ungrammaticality of (133) results from the passivisation of the Theme in DOCs.

Since JA is an asymmetrical language with respect to passive, the Theme cannot undergo both passivisation and relativisation in DOCs. However, the Recipient can be both passivised and relativised in DOCs in JA.

4.4.6. A and A-bar extraction of the Recipient and the Theme in both types of PDC

We also have asymmetrical passive constructions in Theme-Goal PDCs and Goal-Theme PDCs, where the Theme is the only legitimate object eligible for passivisation. Additionally, the Recipient and the Theme can undergo wh-movement in these constructions.

- 134- Samia ʔaʃtʰ-at lɪ-ktaab lə Tamara
 Samia gave-3SGF the-book to Tamara
 ‘Samia gave the book to Tamara.’ **(Th-G PDC)**
- 135- Samia ʔaʃtʰ-at lə Tamara lɪ-ktaab
 Samia gave-3SGF to Tamara the-book
 Literally: Samia gave the book to Tamara.’ **(G-Th PDC)**
- 136- lɪ-ktaab ʔɪn-ʃatʰə-Ø lə Tamara
 the-book Passive-gave-3SGM to Tamara
 ‘The book was given to Tamara.’ **[Th-passive]**
- 137- *lə miin ʔɪn-ʃatʰ-ət lɪ-ktaab
 to-whom Passive-gave-3SGF the-book
 Intended: To whom was the book given?’ **[R-wh,*R-passive]**
- 138- ʃuu ʔɪn-ʃatʰə-Ø lə Tamara
 what Passive-gave-3SGM to Tamara
 ‘What was given to Tamara?’ **[Th-wh, Th-passive]**

- 139- lə miin lɪ-ktaab ʔm-ʂatʂə-Ø
to- whom the-book Passive-gave-3SGM
‘To whom was the book given?’ **[R-wh, Th-passive]**

The above examples illustrate that questioning the Recipient and the Theme is permitted in both types of PDC. Additionally, the asymmetrical property of PDC diathesis in JA allows for the Theme's A-movement.

4.4.7. Passive and relative in both types of PDC

As we have seen in the previous sections, only the Theme can undergo A-movement in both types of PDC. The combination of Recipient passivisation and Recipient relativisation leads to ungrammaticality, whereas the combination of Theme passivisation and Theme relativisation is entirely acceptable in PDCs. Note that any instances of Recipient passivisation in both types of PDC result in ungrammaticality, as in the following examples.

- 140- lɪ-mʂalɪm ʔaʂtʂə-Ø lə tʂ-tʂaaleb-eh lɪ-ktaab
the-teacher gave-3SGM to the-student-3SGF the-book
‘The teacher gave the book to the student.’ **[G-Th PDC]**

- 141- lɪ-ktaab ʔm-ʔaʂtʂə-Ø lə tʂ-tʂaaleb-eh
the-book Passive-gave-3SGF to the-student-3SGF
‘The book was given to the student.’ **[Th-passive]**

- 142- ʔitʂ-tʂaaleb-eh ʔillɪ ʔm-ʂatʂə-Ø lɪ-ktaab ʔil-hə
the-student-3SGF who Passive-gave-3SGM the-book to-her
‘The student to whom the book was given.’ **[R-relative, Th-passive]**

- 143- *ʔitʂ-tʂaaleb-eh ʔillɪ ʔm-ʂatʂə-ət lɪ-ktaab il-hə
the-student-3SGF who Passive-gave-3SGF the-book to-her
Intended: The student who was given the book.’ **[R-relative, *R-passive]**

- 144- lɪ-ktaab ʔillɪ ʔm-ʂatʂə-Ø lə tʂ-tʂaaleb-eh.
the-book which Passive-gave-3SGM to the-student-3SGF
‘The book which was given to the student.’ **[Th-relative, Th-passive]**

Once again, we should use the quantifier float to identify the underlying structure of these combinations (i.e., whether they are Theme-Goal PDCs or Goal-Theme PDCs). First, we need to test whether relativisation allows quantifier float. The following sentences with the transitive verb *ħatʕ* ‘put’ demonstrate that relativisation can permit quantifiers to float.

- 145- Sami ħatʕ-Ø ɪl-kutub kull-hin ʔɪbsurʕah ʕala tʕ-tʕawleh
 Sami put-3SGM the-books all-3PLF quickly on the-table
 ‘Sami put all the books quickly on the table.’
- 146- Sami ħatʕ-Ø ɪl-kutub ʔɪbsurʕah kull-hin ʕala tʕ-tʕawleh
 Sami put-3SGM the-books quickly all-3PLF on the-table
 ‘Sami put all the books quickly on the table.’

When relativising the Theme *ɪl-kutub* ‘the books’, its associate quantifier floats freely in the construction, as in the following examples.

- 147- ʔɪl -kutub ʔɪllɪ ħatʕ-Ø- hin Sami kull-hin ʔɪbsurʕah ʕala tʕ-tʕawleh
 the-books that put-3SGM-3PLF Sami all-3PLF quickly on the-table
 ‘The books that Sami put all on the table.’
- 148- ʔɪl -kutub ʔɪllɪ ħatʕ-Ø- hin Sami ʔɪbsurʕah kull-hin ʕala tʕ-tʕawleh
 the-books that put-3SGM-3PLF Sami quickly. all-3PLF on the-table
 ‘Sami put all the books quickly on the table.’

The facts in (149) to (152) emphasise the claims in section 4.4.1 that the Theme is not frozen and that the mechanism for deriving Goal-Theme PDC is similar to that for deriving DOC. It is important to note at this point that relativisation of a non-subject involves a resumption in JA. Therefore, relative clauses in JA are derived by base-generation rather than A-bar movement, whereby the referentiality of the resumptive is achieved by binding (Al-Aqraba, 2022). Wh-movement of the Theme in Theme-Goal PDC and Goal-Theme PDC involves pseudo-clefting, which is a relativisation strategy that involves resumption. The moved-PP sits in an A-bar position that cannot hinder the movement of the Theme to an A-position (i.e., the subject position). Because the PP is in the A-bar position, it prevents the Theme from QR and passing over the PP to a higher A-bar position due to Relativised Minimality (see section 6.2.2.2).

Note that the quantifier float in (150) confirms that the relativisation of the Theme is derived from (149), namely a Theme-Goal PDC, while the quantifier float in (152) indicates that the relativisation of the Theme is derived from (151), namely a Goal-Theme PDC. Moreover, it demonstrates that Theme-Goal PDCs and Goal-Theme PDCs behave identically and that the Goal-Theme PDC is not a DOC.

- 149- Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət il-kutub kull-hin lə Tamara ʔimbaareh
 Samia gave-3SGF the-books all-3PLF to Tamara yesterday
 ‘Samia gave all the books to Tamara.’
- 150- ʔil-kutub ʔilli ʔin-ʕatʕ-in kull-hin lə Tamara ʔimbaareh
 the-books that passivie-gave-3PLF all-3PLF to Tamara yesterday
 ‘The books that were all given to Tamara.’ (Th-G PDC)
- 151- Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət lə Tamara il-kutub kull-hin ʔimbaareh
 Samia gave-3SGF to Tamara the-books all-3PLF yesterday
 Intended: ‘Samia gave all the books to Tamara yesterday.’
- 152- ʔil-kutub ʔilli ʔin-ʕatʕ-in lə Tamara kull-hin ʔimbaareh
 the-books that passivie-gave-3PLF to Tamara all-3PLF yesterday
 ‘The books that were all given to Tamara yesterday.’ (G-Th PDC)

The above facts suggest that both types of PDC display the same syntactic behaviour and underlying structure concerning A and A-bar movement. It can be argued that we are dealing with free word order in JA (see chapter 6). This supports my assertion that **V-*la*-Goal-Theme** is not a DOC, as Hallman (2018) and Al-Janabi (2019) claimed.

4.4.8. The light verb ʔaʕtʕ ‘give’ in JA.

In English, standard usage generally involves combining a verb and a noun with the light verb *GIVE*. For example, *I gave her a kiss*, favouring the simpler form: *I kissed her*. Light verbs are defined as verbs whose “contribution to the meaning of the predication is relatively small in comparison with that of their complements” (Huddleston, 2002, p. 290). The following section shows that the argument-structure alternation in light-verb constructions in JA differs considerably from that in English. Furthermore, it argues that using the light verb ʔaʕtʕ ‘give’ in both types of PDC is acceptable in JA.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------|------|--------|-------|
| 153- | ʔaŋʰɪ | ɦuðʰun | lə | baba | |
| | IMP-give | hug | to | dad | |
| | ‘Give a hug to dad.’ | | | | (Q 5) |
| 154- | ʔaŋʰɪ | lə | baba | ɦuðʰun | |
| | IMP-give | to | dad | hug | |
| | ‘Give a hug to dad.’ | | | | (Q 6) |

There are restrictions on “Dative-shift” in English. However, these restrictions do not apply to JA. It is well established that DOC is the preferred choice in certain circumstances in English light verb constructions and idioms (see Bresnan et al. 2007; Bruening 2010). The PDC remains relevant, but it requires specific conditions, particularly a relative heaviness in English P-dative constructions with light verbs and idioms. That heaviness constraint, which English appears to adhere to, is not as relevant in Arabic, which is less concerned with it.

- 155- ʔaŋtʰeɪ-nə-hə lɪ-ktaab
gave-1PL-her the-book
'We gave her the book.'

A light verb construction involves a complex predicate in which the verb carries minimal semantic meaning, often referred to as "light." Instead of providing significant lexical content, the verb mainly indicates aspects such as tense, directionality, or aktionsart of the overall predicate (Jespersen, 1965). Jespersen, who introduced this concept in English, describes light verbs—empty or delexical verbs—with little intrinsic meaning. These verbs combine with nouns to form predicates, relying on the noun to convey the core semantic content of the expression. Unfortunately, no studies focus exclusively on light verb constructions in Arabic dialects.

‘give’ does not assign a theta role to its complement— *ʔibtisaameh* ‘a smile’ is neither a theme nor a patient of the event. Furthermore, adding the second internal argument *ʕalɪ* ‘Ali’ distinguishes English light verb constructions, which typically do not favour such structures in PDCs, as shown in (158). This indicates that the light verb in Arabic is more contentful and functions as a semantic-role assigner. This minimal or absent theta-role assignment characterises light verbs.

- 156- Sami ʔaʕtʕ-Ø ktaab lə ʕalɪ
 Sami gave-3SGM book to Ali
 ‘Sami gave a book to Ali.’
- 157- Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət ʔibtisaameh ʕareeðʕah lə ʕalɪ
 Samia gave-3SGF smile broad to Ali
 ‘Samia gave a broad smile to Ali.’
- 158- * I gave a smile to Sami.

In the questionnaire (see chapter 3), I tested the acceptability of the light verb *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ with Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs in JA. I found that the use of *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ in these diatheses is entirely acceptable, even with light arguments. The evidence in this section and the questionnaire shows that what is not applicable in English might be entirely applicable in other languages.

It is worth noting that omitting the PP in (157) would render it unacceptable, whereas in English it would not, as demonstrated by the following examples.

- 159- ??Samia ʔaʕtʕ-ət ʔibtisaameh ʕareeðʕah
 Samia gave-3SGF smile broad
 ‘Samia gave a broad smile.’
- 160- Samia gave a broad smile.

Bresnan et al. (2007) and Bruening (2010) demonstrate that PDCs with the light verb *give* are possible, especially when a heavy recipient appears clause-finally, thus making the construction more acceptable because of improved syntactic and informational structure. They provide the following examples:

161- From the heads, offal and the accumulation of fishy, slimy matter, a stench or smell is diffused over the ship that would give a headache to the most athletic constitution.

(Bresnan et al, 2007, p 6)

162- This lighting gives a different kind of headache to everyone who enters the room.

(Breuning 2010, p 294)

4.4.9. The idiomatic *ʔaŋtʰə* ‘give’ in ditransitives in JA.

Considering what was discussed earlier, the behaviour of idioms in JA indicates that DOCs and PDCs are derivationally related. However, as noted earlier, this is not sufficient evidence to establish such a connection. The fact that idiomatic meanings stay the same under alternation might suggest that JA does not have a direct equivalent of the English dative alternation, in which idiomaticity is usually lost. While we see idiom preservation as a sign that the two JA ditransitive constructions are related, this reasoning is not fully convincing. For comparison, few linguists doubt that passive and active forms are derivationally linked; yet, passivisation does not always preserve idiomaticity. Therefore, idiomaticity alone cannot confirm a derivational link between these two constructions in JA.

163- Rami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø Sami χaazug

Rami gave-3SGM Sami pole

‘Rami gave Sami a pole.’ (Rami deceived Sami)

164- Rami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø χaazug lə Sami

Rami gave-3SGM pole to Sami

‘Rami gave a pole to Sami.’ (Rami deceived Sami)

165- Rami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø Sami tʰanaaʃ

Rami give-3SGM Sami deaf ear

‘Rami gave Sami a deaf ear.’ (Rami did not listen to Sami at all)

166- Rami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø tʰanaaʃ lə Sami bi-l-ʔdʒtɪmaaʃ

Rami gave-3SGM deaf ear to Sami in-the-meeting

‘Rami gave a deaf ear to Sami in the meeting.’ (Rami did not listen to Sami in the meeting at all)

- 167- a-ʔaŋtʰ-i-nɪ ʔeed-ək
IMP-give-2SG-me hand-your
'Give me your hand.' (help me)
- 168- *ʔaŋtʰ-i ʔeed-ək lə Sami wa feel maŋ -u hal-kartonəh
IMP-give-2SGM hand-your to Sami and IMP-carry with-him this box
'Give your hand to Sami and carry this box with him.' (help Sami)
- 169- ʔaŋtʰ-i l-χabaaʒ χubz-u
IMP-give-2SGM the-baker bread-his
'Give the baker his bread.' (Do not involve yourself in things you do not know how to do.)
- 170- ʔaŋtʰ-i l-χubz lə χabaaʒ -u
IMPgive-2SGM the-bread to baker-his
'Give the bread to its baker.' (Do not involve yourself in things you do not know how to do.)

The above idioms may or may not indicate that the DOC and PDC are derived from one another, so they might or might not share the same underlying structures. The presence of verbs that accept DOCs and verbs that resist DOCs shows that DOCs and PDCs cannot be derived from each other in JA. What is worth noting is that restrictions which apply to English light verbs and idioms do not necessarily hold in JA.

4.5. Locative constructions in JA

The primary objective of this section is to show that *load* verbs in JA are genuine DOC verbs, while *put* constructions are not. Studying locative constructions in JA provides insights into how Arabic encodes spatial meaning syntactically. Locative constructions are considered ditransitives because the verb in these constructions takes two internal arguments, and that is what ditransitivity is all about. Therefore, this section examines locative constructions and directional motion in JA. According to Levin (1993), motion verbs across languages typically encode motion events, which may or may not involve displacement. These events feature a moving entity, the ‘Figure,’ and a more stable reference object, the ‘Ground’ (Talmy, 1985). A spatial preposition usually connects the two, such as the locative *fii* or *bi* ‘in’, or the directional *la* ‘to’. Locative prepositions indicate the position of the Figure relative to the Ground, while directional prepositions signal a change in the Figure’s position along a path. This contrast between static location and movement is reflected

in the distinction between *Place* and *Path*: *Place* refers to stationary spatial relationships, whereas *Path* involves motion and direction (den Dikken, 2010). This distinction is central to understanding how JA expresses spatial relations, with prepositions playing a key role in mediating between locative and directional meanings in motion events. Consider the following examples:

- 171- rakað^s-Ø il-walad bɪ l-malʕab
 ran-3SGM the-boy in the-playground
 ‘The boy ran in the playground.’
- 172- rakað^s-Ø il-walad lə l-midraseh
 ran-3SGM the-boy to the-school
 ‘The boy ran to the school.’

In (171), *il-walad* ‘the boy’ is in the playground running, while in (172), he has not yet reached the school and is moving along a trajectory whose endpoint is the school. JA expresses locative and directional events using motion verbs.

The preposition *lə* is glossed as the English preposition ‘to’ because it introduces a location that marks the endpoint of the path. The recipient NP in **V-NP_{Th}-*lə*-NP_R**, and **V-*lə*-NP_R-NP_{Th}** and the **locative NP** share the same preposition but do not share the same syntactic structure, as in the following example:

- 173- Sami was^sʕal-Ø Rami lə s-soog
 Sami drove-3SGM Rami to the-market
 ‘Sami drove Rami to the market.’

The second one indicates the transfer of possession as in the following example:

- 174- Samia wadd-ət iktaab lə Tamara
 Samia sent-3SGF book to Tamara
 ‘Samia sent a book to Tamara.’

Both (173) and (174) are ditransitives. In the PDC, we can alternate between **V-NP_{Th}-*lə*-NP_{Goal}** (174) and **V-*lə*-NP_{Goal}-NP_{Th}** (175). Whereas, in the locative directional construction (173), we cannot alternate between **V-NP_{Theme}-*lə*-NP_{Locative}** and **V-*lə*-NP_{Locative}-NP_{Theme}** (176).

- 175- Samia wadd-ət lə Tamara ktaab
 Samia sent-3SGF to Tamara book

‘Samia sent a book to Tamara.’

- 176- *Sami was^sal-Ø lə s-soog Rami
 Sami drove-3SGM to the-market Rami

Intended: ‘Sami drove Rami to the market.’

With locative *lə*, the alternation between **V-Theme-Locative Goal** and **V-Locative Goal-Theme** is sometimes attested and sometimes not when the Theme is animate in JA (cf. Green, 1974). Consider the following examples:

- 177- Samia wadd-ət Tamara lə s-soog
 Samia sent-3SGF Tamar to the-market

‘Samia sent/drove Tamara to the market.’

- 178- *Samia wad d-ət lə s-soog Tamara
 Samia sent-3SGF to the-market Tamar

Intended, ‘Samia sent Tamara to the market.’

- 179- ʔil-ħokumah wadd-ət safeer lə LΛndɒn
 the-government sent-3SGF ambassador to London

‘The government sent an ambassador to London.’

- 180- ʔil-ħokumah wadd-ət lə LΛndɒn safeer
 the-government sent-3SGF to London ambassador

‘The government sent an ambassador to London.’

In (180), the intended meaning is to the government of London, not to London as a location.

The alternation between **V-Theme-Locative Goal** and **V-Locative Goal-Theme** is attested when the Theme is inanimate in JA. Consider the following examples:

- 181- Samia wadd-ət tʰarid lə LΛndɒn
 Samia sent-3SGF package to London

‘Samia sent a package to London.’

- 182- Samia wadd-ət lə LΛndɒn tʃarɪd
 Samia sent-3SGF to London package
 Intended: ‘Samia sent a package to London.’
- 183- *Samia wadd-ət LΛndɒn tʃarɪd
 Samia sent-3SGF London package
 Intended: ‘Samia sent a package to London.’

The ungrammaticality of (183) and the grammaticality of (182) indicate that V-*lə*-DP-DP is not a DOC.

Another preposition in JA that can function as both locative and directional is *ʃala* ‘on’ ‘to’. This preposition exhibits certain phonological variations depending on the surrounding sounds.

- 184- ɦatʃ-ert lɪ-ktaab ʃa-tʃ-tʃawleh
 put-1SG the-book on-the-table
 ‘I put the book on the table.’
- 185- wasʃsʃal-ɪt Sami ʃa-s-soog
 drove-1SG Sami to-the-market
 ‘I drove Sami to the market.’

The facts above demonstrate that JA has purely locative and directional prepositions. Similar to English, JA features a set of ambiguous prepositions that can convey both locative and directional meanings.

4.5.1. *load* verbs in JA

I assume that the *load* verb in JA can take two internal arguments (objects): an inanimate Recipient and a Theme. Therefore, they are ditransitives. The construction does not involve the transfer of possession, as the Recipient is inanimate. Hence, the difference between *load* constructions and essential ditransitive constructions is semantic. *Load* verbs exhibit alternation with prepositional constructions in JA, as in the following examples:

- 186- ʔɪl-ʃumaal ɦamal-u ʃaahneh tɪbɪn
 the-workers loaded-3PLM truck hay
 ‘The workers loaded the truck with hay.’

- 187- ʔil-ʕumaal ḥamal-u tībīn bī- ʃ-ʃaḥneh
 the-workers loaded-3PLM hay in- the-truck
 ‘The workers loaded hay onto the truck.’
- 188- ʔil-ʕumaal ḥamal-u bī- ʃ-ʃaḥneh tībīn
 the-workers loaded-3PLM in- the-truck hay
 ‘The workers loaded hay in the truck.’
- 189- Sami zaraʕ-Ø ʔil-saaḥah shadʒar
 Sami planted-3SGM the-yard trees
 ‘Sami planted the yard with trees.’
- 190- Sami zaraʕ-Ø shadʒar bī-saaḥah
 Sami planted-3SGM trees in-the-yard
 ‘Sami planted trees in the yard.’
- 191- Sami zaraʕ-Ø bī-saaḥah shadʒar
 Sami planted-3SGM in-the-yard trees
 ‘Sami planted trees in the yard.’
- 192- Sami fallal-Ø ʔīs-sayrah banziin
 Sami filled-3SGM the-car benzine
 ‘Sami filled the car with benzine.’ (S 7)
- 193- Sami fallal-Ø banziin bī-ʔīs-sayrah
 Sami filled-3SGM benzine in-the-car
 ‘Sami filled the car with benzine.’ (S 7)

It is worth mentioning that these constructions can alternate between Recipient-like-Theme, Theme-P-Recipient-like, and P-Recipient-like-Theme. Consider the following examples:

- 194- ʕabber-t īd-dalu mōy
 filled-1SG the-bucket water
 ‘I filled the bucket with water.’ (S 15)
- 195- ʕabber-t ʔil-mōy bī-d-dalu
 filled-1SG the-water in-the-bucket
 ‘I filled the water in the bucket.’ (S 15)

196-	ʕabber-t	bɪ-d-dalu	may	
	filled-1SG	in-the-bucket	water	
	‘I filled the bucket with water.’			(S 20)

What is striking about the above facts is that the load verbs in JA behave like *ʔaʕtə* ‘give’ verbs, as they can occur in the three diatheses of ditransitive: DOCs, Theme-Goal PDCs, and Goal-Theme PDCs. Thus, *load* verbs in JA are genuine DOC verbs, which the passive facts can demonstrate in the following section. In addition, the difference between JA and English concerning *load* verbs is that the DOC of *load* verbs is attested in JA, while it is not in English. Although English can represent the location argument as a P-less object, as in “*John loaded the wagon with hay.*” The difference between JA and English is that when the location argument is projected as a P-less object in English, the locatum argument cannot be projected as an object; it must instead appear in a *with*-PP.

4.5.2. Passive structure in *load* verbs in JA

Only the Recipient can raise to Spec-TP in the DOC's Passivisation. Consider the following example.

197-	Samia	ʕabb-ət	ʔɪd-dalu	may	(Active)
	Samia	filled-3SGF	the-bucket	water	
	‘Samia filled the bucket with water.’				
198-	ʔɪd-dalu	ʔɪt-ʕabbə-Ø	may		(Recipient passive)
	the-bucket	passive-filled-3SGM	water		
	‘The bucket was filled with water.’				
199-	ʔɪd-dalu	m-ʕabbə-Ø	may		(Recipient passive)
	the-bucket	present-passive-filled-3SGM	water		
	‘The bucket is filled with water.’				
200-	* mayi	ʔɪt-ʕabb-ət	ʔɪd-dalu		(Theme passive)
	Water	passive-filled-3SGF	the-bucket		
	Intended: ‘Water was filled in the bucket.’				

Regarding PDC diatheses, only the Theme can be passivised. Consider the following examples:

- 201- Samia ζ abb-ət η il-may bɪ-d-dalu (Active)
 Samia filled-3SGF water in-the-bucket
 ‘Samia filled the bucket with water.’
- 202- η il-may η it- ζ abb-ət bɪ-d-dalu (Theme passive)
 the-water passive-filled-3SGF in-the-bucket
 ‘The water was filled in the bucket.’
- 203- η il-may m- ζ abb-əya bɪ-d-dalu (Theme passive)
 the-water present-passive-filled-3SGF in-the-bucket
 ‘The water is filled in the bucket.’
- 204- bɪ-d-dalu η it- ζ abb-ət η il-may (locative inversion. Th-passive)
 in-the-bucket passive-filled-3SGF the-water
 ‘In the bucket, the water was filled.’

It is worth noting that Theme-Goal PDCs and Goal-Theme PDCs in JA are not limited to the preposition *lə* ‘to’. The preposition *ɬala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ can also participate in forming such constructions. The examples above support the claim that Goal-Theme PDCs in JA are not DOCs.

4.5.3. The preposition *ɬala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ participates in forming Goal-Theme PDC

With the preposition *ɬala* ‘on’ or ‘to’, we observe the same distributional effects as the preposition *lə* ‘to’ or ‘for’, including scope interaction, quantifier floating, and movement asymmetries. It is also noteworthy to mention that the preposition *ɬala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ participates in forming a ditransitive construction with the verb *ɬaɬtʰə* ‘give’ in JA, but they never participate in forming genuine DOCs.

- 205- Sami η aɬtʰə-Ø 1000 dinaar η a-l-baħθ
 Sami gave-3SGM 1000 dinars on-the-research paper
 ‘Sami gave 1000 dinars for the research paper.’
- 206- Sami η aɬtʰə-Ø η a-l-baħθ 1000 dinaar
 Sami gave-3SGM on-the-research paper 1000 dinars
 ‘Sami gave 1000 dinars for the research paper.’

Moreover, the preposition *ɬan* ‘about’ also participates in forming a ditransitive construction with the verb *ɬaɬtʰə* ‘give’ in JA.

The data above indicate that not only does the preposition *la* participate in forming ditransitive constructions, but other prepositions do as well. Additionally, these constructions alternate between Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs. It is important to note that with these prepositions, genuine DOCs are never possible.

- **Floating quantifier**

The floating quantifier can specify the precise position of the Theme when passivising it from constructions that include a Goal introduced by a preposition. Recall that the preposition *ʕala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ has been used in the previous sections with the verb *ḥatʕ* ‘put’ to show scope freezing in other constructions in Arabic. Even the preposition *bi* ‘in’ can participate in forming ditransitive constructions, and it can also alternate between V-*bi*-location-Theme and V-Theme-*bi*-location. This is similar to the alternation of the preposition *la* in PDCs. In this construction, we can use a floating quantifier to specify the exact position of the theme.

213- ḥatʕ-ert	bi-f-fanteh	il-kutub	kull-hin	imbaareh
put-1SG	in-the-bag	the-books	all-3PLF	yesterday
‘I put all the books in the bag yesterday.’				

214- ḥatʕ-ert	il-kutub	kull-hin	bi-f-fanteh	imbaareh
put-1SG	the-books	all-3PLF	in-the-bag	yesterday
‘I put all the books in the bag yesterday.’				

215- ?il-kutub	?in-ḥatʕ-in	bi-f-fanteh	kull-hin	imbaareh
the-books	passive-put-3PLF	in-the-bag	all-3PLF	yesterday
‘The books were all put in the bag yesterday.’				

216- ?il-kutub	?in-ḥatʕ-in	kull-hin	bi-f-fanteh	imbaareh
the-books	passive-put-3PLF	all-3PLF	in-the-bag	yesterday
‘The books were all put in the bag yesterday.’				

- **A-bar movement**

In section (4.4.2), I argue that the general approach to relativisation in Arabic is the resumptive strategy. A resumptive pronoun is used in the same position as the relativised noun, and this resumptive pronoun should follow *la* in PDCs. Al-Janabi claims that when relativising the

indirect object, the preposition *la* disappears. However, why does the preposition *ʕala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ not disappear when relativising a noun inside the PP in the following examples?

- 217- Sami ʔatʕ-Ø il-loom ʕala lɪ-mʕalmeh lama rasab-Ø
 Sami put-3SGM the-blame on the-teacher when failed-3SGM
 ‘Sami put the blame on the teacher when he failed.’
- 218- Sami ʔatʕ-Ø ʕala lɪ-mʕalmeh il-loom lama rasab-Ø
 Sami put-3SGM on the-teacher the-blame when failed-3SGM
 ‘Sami put the blame on the teacher when he failed.’
- 219- lɪ-mʕalmeh ʔillɪ Sami ʔatʕ-Ø il-loom ʕaleɪ-hə lama rasab-Ø
 the-teacher whom Sami put-3SGM the-blame on-her when failed-3SGM
 ‘The teacher whom Sami put the blame on when he failed.’
- 220- lɪ-mʕalmeh ʔillɪ Sami ʔatʕ-Ø ʕaleɪ-hə il-loom lama rasab-Ø
 the-teacher whom Sami put-3SGM on-her the-blame when failed-3SGM
 ‘The teacher whom Sami put the blame on when he failed.’

- **Bound variable anaphora**

The preposition *ʕala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ also participates in bound variable anaphora. In (221), the pronoun *-u* ‘his’ is c-commanded by the quantifier *kull* ‘every’, which results in a distributive reading. In contrast, in (222), the pronoun *-u* ‘his’ is not c-commanded by *kull* ‘every’. Moreover, the movement of the PP to an A-bar position causes the quantified Theme to remain frozen in its place.

- 221- wasʕʕal-it kull tʕaalɪb_k ʕa-beɪt-u_k
 delivered-1SG every student to-house-his
 ‘I delivered every student to his house.’
- 222- *wasʕʕal-it ʕa-beɪt-u_k kull tʕaalɪb_k
 delivered-1SG to-house-his every student
 ‘I delivered every student to his house.’

The asterisk in (222) indicates that the sentence does not support a bound-variable reading for *-u* ‘his’. It is, of course, a grammatical sentence with *-u* ‘his’ interpreted referentially.

- **A-movement**

Like *la* constructions, in *ʕala* ‘on’ or ‘to’ constructions, only the Theme is permitted to A-move to the subject position.

223- Sami *ħatʕ-Ø* *il-kutub* *ʕala* *tʕ-tʕawleh*
 Sami put-3SGM the-books on the-table
 ‘Sami put all the books quickly on the table.’

224- *il-kutub* *in-ħatʕ- in* *ʕa-tʕ-tʕawleh*
 the-book passive-put-3PLF on-the-table
 ‘The books were put on the table.’

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has two main objectives. Firstly, it provides a typological overview of ditransitive constructions in JA. Secondly, it describes aspects of JA relevant to ditransitives, including word order variations, binding asymmetries, scope rigidity, and passive constructions.

In this chapter, we have categorised ditransitive verbs into two groups: those that accept DOCs and those that resist them. A third group might include verbs that can take double PP predicates, like the verb *ʔitbarraʕ* ‘donate’, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Regarding the defining properties of ditransitives and ditransitive alternations in JA, I acknowledge that the construction V-*la*-DP-DP behaves similarly to a DOC in terms of scope rigidity, although there are other constructions in Arabic which show scope interaction, such as the *ħatʕ* ‘put’ construction, that cannot rely on the double object construction in their analysis. At the same time, many diagnostics in the chapter, such as passivisation, relativisation, bound variable anaphora, reflexive binding, locative constructions, and the ditransitive constructions with prepositions other than *la*, indicate that V-*la*-DP-DP behaves exactly like Theme-Goal PDCs. Furthermore, in chapters 5 and 6, we will see that cliticisation, clitic doubling, and depictive secondary predicates demonstrate that both the Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs are identical.

It has been demonstrated that the argument-structure alternation in light-verb constructions in JA differs significantly from that in English. Moreover, it maintains that using the light verb *ʔaʕtʕa* ‘give’ in both types of PDC is acceptable in JA. The restrictions on “Dative-shift” in English do not apply to JA.

Notably, *load* verbs in JA show two internal arguments: a Recipient-like entity and a Theme. Regarding word order, JA follows a strict pattern in which the Theme cannot precede the Recipient in DOCs. Concerning passives, there are two types in JA, with either the Theme or the Recipient capable of undergoing passivisation, although passivisation of the Recipient is the default or unmarked choice. This chapter highlights the complex linguistic features and syntactic patterns found in JA's ditransitive constructions, enhancing our understanding of the language's grammatical structure. Chapter 6 discusses the syntax of ditransitive constructions and beyond.

Chapter Five: Pronominal and lexical objects with ditransitive verbs in JA

This chapter explores the pronominal and lexical arguments in JA ditransitive constructions. It emphasises the differences between full determiner phrases and pronominal objects in these structures, and their effects on derivation. It also clarifies the morphosyntax of personal pronouns and examines cliticisation and clitic doubling in JA ditransitive constructions.

5.1. The morphosyntax of personal pronouns in JA

This section describes the morphosyntax of JA's personal pronoun system, detailing the various types of personal pronouns, their syntactic properties, and their distribution. Like Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and other Arabic dialects, JA includes subject, object, and possessive pronouns. Strong pronouns function as subjects and copulas. Subject inflection markers attach to verbs to denote person, gender, and number. Object and possessive pronouns act as clitics linked to verbs, nouns, quantifiers, or prepositions.

Strong subject pronouns in JA closely resemble those in MSA, with minor phonological differences. Table 5.1 lists the subject pronouns, which are often omitted for verb agreement. These pronouns are categorised into first, second, and third person, including both singular and plural forms. First-person pronouns are gender-neutral.

1- <i>hɪyə</i>	<i>ʃtar-ət</i>	<i>iktaab</i>
she	bought-3SGF	book
'She bought a book.'		

The example above shows two different syntactic forms of subject pronouns: the strong form *hɪyə* (3SGF) and the subject agreement marker *-ət* (3SGF). While it is optional, the strong subject pronoun adds extra features such as focus and contrast to the sentence's subject.

Similar to MSA, JA also permits pro-drop because the verb's subject agreement markers indicate person, gender, and number.¹⁹ This agreement confirms that the subject can be inferred from the verb, allowing it to be omitted.

2- ʔɪʃtar-ət ɪktaab
 bought-3SGF book
 ‘She bought a book.’

The strong subject pronoun *hiyā* ‘she’ is optional and may be used for emphasis, especially when the subject is already clear or understood from the context.

5.1.1. Clitics in JA

In JA, as in MSA, I treat object and possessive pronouns as clitics attached to verbs, nouns, quantifiers, or prepositions. In Classical Arabic, it is permissible to attach two object markers to a verb. As illustrated below, the indirect object marker-*nɪ* ‘me’ precedes the direct object marker-*hə* (3SGF).

3- ʔaʃtʕə-Ø-nɪ-hə (CA)
 gave-3SGM-1SG-3SGF
 ‘He gave it to me.’

Conversely, JA allows only one object marker to be attached to the verb (see section 5.3), as illustrated in the following examples:

4- ʔaʃtʕə-Ø-nɪ ɪ-ktaab
 gave-3SGM-1SG the-book
 ‘He gave me the book.’

¹⁹ Unlike MSA, JA does not feature independent or dependent dual pronouns; instead, plural forms are typically employed. To convey duality, the word *θnem* ‘two’ is often added for clarity. This absence of dual forms underscores a significant grammatical difference between the two varieties, streamlining the pronominal system in JA.

- ʔɪntu ɪ-θnem wesʕil-tu mɪtʔaxreen
 2PLM the-two arrived-2PLM late-3PLM
 ‘You both arrived late.’

- 5- * ʔaʕtʕə-Ø-nɪ-u
 gave-3SGM-me-it
 Intended: ‘He gave it to me.’

In (4), the indirect-object clitic *-nɪ* ‘me’ attaches to the verb, while the direct-object *lɪ-ktaab* ‘the book’ follows. When both objects are expressed as clitics, the direct object must instead attach to the particle *ʔɪyya* in MSA. MSA typically chooses either this particle or a suitable preposition whenever two object markers are needed. JA behaves similarly: *ʔɪyya* intervenes between the two object markers. Unlike proper pronouns, *ʔɪyya* lacks interpretable person, number, or gender features. Therefore, these ϕ -features must be supplied through the attachment of a subsequent object marker, as shown in the following example. This structural rule ensures correct order and clarity within clause morphology.

- | | |
|---------------------|---------|
| 6- ʔaʕtʕə-Ø-nɪ | ya-h |
| gave-3SGM-1SG | ya-3SGM |
| ‘He gave it to me.’ | |

The indirect object marker *-nɪ* ‘me’ is attached to the verb, while the direct object marker *-h* (3SGM) is encliticised to *ʔɪyya*. In some cases, it is permitted to cliticise the Theme to the verb and attach the indirect object to the preposition *lə*, as shown in (7), depending on the context.

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 7- ʔaʕtʕeɪ-t-u | leɪ ²⁰ -hum |
| gave-1SG-3SGM | to-3PLM |
| ‘I gave it to them.’ | |

The direct object marker *-u* encliticises to the verb, while the indirect object marker *-hum* attaches to the preposition. Arabic disallows gaps in prepositional object positions, requiring object markers to affix directly to prepositions like *leɪ* ‘to’, as shown in the example where the clitic functions as its complement.

Enclitics are the only pronouns that can function as the object of a preposition. In this case, the preposition assigns the genitive case to the object marker. Strong pronouns cannot serve as

²⁰ Another phonological variant of *lə*.

objects of prepositions. It also follows that no strong pronouns are permitted to be direct objects. This can be confirmed only for 1SG because there is no distinction between accusative and genitive for other object markers in JA.

8- maʕ-ɪ masʕaari
 with-me money
 ‘I have money.’

Object clitics can also be used in combination with quantifiers. The quantifier and the clitic do not form a single unit on the surface because the object clitic attaches to certain heads, and on that head, the quantifier cannot be present. This quantifier likely 'floats' when combined with the object clitic. That floating quantifier could indicate the origin of the object clitic. Recall that in Chapter 4, floating quantifiers helped us pinpoint the exact position and source of the Theme when it appears in the subject position, whether the source is a Theme-Goal or a Goal-Theme PDC.

9- kull-hm raah-in
 all-3PLF went-3PLF
 ‘All of them went.’

Furthermore, clitics function as possessive pronouns when attached to nouns, exemplified by the following instance:

10- kutub-hə bi-f-fanteh
 books-her in-the-bag
 ‘Her books are in the bag.’

5.1.2. Comparing strong pronouns and clitics

In JA, object and possessive clitics originate from strong subject pronouns through syllable reduction or phonological change. Their ability to attach to various lexical categories—verbs, nouns, prepositions, and quantifiers—demonstrates their clitic nature, as they do not function independently but depend on a host word for attachment.

Table 5.1: Strong pronouns, subject markers, and enclitics in JA

		Nominative		Enclitics	
	Person, number and gender	Strong Pronouns	Subject Markers/Affixes	Accusative clitic	Genitive clitic
1st person	1SG	ʔana/ ʔani	-t	-ni	-i
	1PL	ʔihne	-ne	-ne	-ne
2nd person	2SGM	ʔintə	-t	-ək	-ək
	2SGF	ʔinti	-ti	-ik -iʃ	-ik -iʃ
	2PLM	ʔintu	-tu	-ku	-ku
	2PLF	ʔintin	-tin	-kin -ʃin	-kin -ʃin
3rd person	3SGM	huwə	-Ø	-u	-u
	3SGF	hiyə	-ət	-hə	-hə
	3PLM	hummə	-u	-hum	-hum
	3PLF	hinneh	-in	-hin	-hin

The table shows that in JA, there is a range of subject-marking options. These subject markers are highly sensitive to tense, as shown in (11-14). Tense sensitivity is not observed in object marking; object markers always suffix in JA, and their form is not affected by tense (see Alwardat, 2024). Tense sensitivity is typically a property of inflection, whereas insensitivity to tense is a key feature of cliticness (see Nevins, 2011). In (13) and (14), the order of subject and object marking—where object marking is peripheral to subject marking—serves as empirical evidence that object marking is not inflection. The alternative is that it functions as a clitic.

In JA, there is no distinction between accusative and genitive enclitics, except in the 1SG, where it is *-ni* in the accusative and *-i* in the genitive. Affixes cross-referencing the nominative subject consistently maintain a linear order closer to the verbal stem than object markers. Morphologically, inflectional subject markers are distinguished from object markers by their placement as suffixes in the past tense (perfect) (11), and as prefixes (12) or circumfixes in the present tense (imperfect) (14). Object markers consistently suffix verbs (enclitics), indicating the

presence of an object. Object markers always appear as suffixes (enclitics) on verbs to mark the object, but notably not with ditransitives, because object markers may cliticise to *la* or *ʔyya*.

11- Samia naam-ət (perfect)

Samia slept-3SGF

‘Samia slept.’

12- Samia bi-t-naam badri (imperfect)

Samia Present-3SGF-sleep early

‘Samia sleeps early.’

13- Samia ʃaaf-ət-nə (perfect)

Samia saw-3SGF-us

‘Samia saw us.’

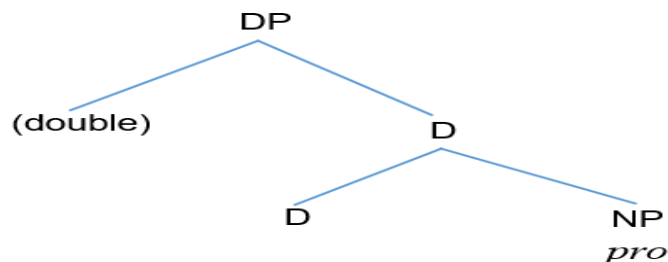
14- ʔil-banaat bi-ʃuuf-m-nə kull yoom (imperfect)

the-girls Present-see-3PLF-us every year

‘The girls see us every day.’

There are two main analyses of clitic doubling: one considers the clitic as a non-canonical agreement marker (see Sportiche 1996), while the other views it as a morpheme that has moved from within the DP into the verbal complex (see Uriagereka 1995). Some research combines both analyses depending on the type of clitic (see Ormazabal and Romero 2010). The approach, which treats the clitic as a D head with a null NP complement and the doubled DP as its specifier, will be adopted to explain specific properties of object markers. Although the details of this movement approach will not be central to the discussion, they underpin the analysis of clitic doubling in this context.

15-



Big DP Hypothesis: (Uriagereka 1995:81, (2a))

In Uriagereka (1995), clitics are analysed as syntactic heads (D) that raise to a functional head near the verb, rather than being tied to Case assignment or phi-feature valuation. This distinguishes clitic doubling from agreement, in which agreement markers are phi-features on heads such as T or v. Clitic doubling does not involve the same mechanisms as agreement, especially in the context of JA. The study argues that the behaviour of object markers aligns with clitic-hood rather than agreement, emphasising the fundamental differences between the two phenomena (see Alwardat 2024).

5.2. JA's pronouns within the typology of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) classify pronouns into three grammatical categories based on morphology and distribution. Class 1 includes strong personal pronouns, while Classes 2 and 3 consist of deficient forms: weak pronouns and clitic pronouns, respectively. This tripartite system clarifies distinctions in pronoun form and syntactic behaviour, offering valuable insights into how different pronoun types function within grammar and improving the linguistic analysis of pronoun usage. Consider the following table.

Table 5.2: Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) classification of pronouns

		Deficiency	Position	Example: JA
1	Strong	non-deficient	Phrasal, θ	hiya hɪlwa she beautiful 'She is beautiful.'
2	Weak	Deficient	Phrasal, non- θ	No weak pronouns in JA
3	Clitic	Deficient	non-phrasal non- θ (head)	Sami ʃaaf- $\emptyset$ -nə Sami saw-3SGM-us 'Sami saw us.'

Pronouns in Class 3 lack certain syntactic features found in Class 1, such as the ability to coordinate, as exemplified.

16- hiyə wa Sami ʔaxwa
she and Sami brothers
'She and Sami are brothers.'

17- *hə	wa	Sami	ʔaxwa
3SGF-clitic	and	Sami	brothers
Intended: 'She and Sami are brothers.'			

As predicted by Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) theory, the strong personal pronoun *hiyə* "she" in (16) permits coordination, whereas the deficient pronoun *-hə* "3SGF" in (17) does not. This difference stems from structural variations between Class 1 (strong) and Class 3 (deficient) pronouns. Class 1 pronouns are structurally more complex, morphologically richer, and marked as [+human], resembling full clause structures (CPs). Conversely, Class 3 pronouns exhibit reduced morphology and simpler syntactic forms. These structural distinctions explain variations in syntactic behaviour across pronoun classes, emphasising how morphological and structural properties influence the syntactic functions of pronouns in linguistic theory and analysis.

Cardinaletti and Starke distinguish clitics from weak pronouns by proposing that both are deficient phrases but differ in structure. Clitics function as heads (X°s) at the word level, while weak pronouns are maximal projections (XPs) at the phrase level. This structural difference allows clitics to attach to other heads, such as verbs and auxiliary verbs, a syntactic operation that weak pronouns cannot perform. This distinction explains their different syntactic behaviours. The contrast is exemplified in Italian in examples (18) and (19).

18- a.	non	diro`	mai	tutto	a	<i>lui</i>
	not	I-will-say	never	everything	to	him
b.	non	<i>gli</i>	diro`	mai	tutto	
	not	to him	I.will.say	never	everything	
both: 'I will never tell him everything.'						
19- a.	non	diro`	mai	tutto	*(a)	<i>loro</i>
	not	I-will-say	never	everything	to	them
b.	non	diro`	mai	*(a)	<i>loro</i>	tutto
	not	I-will-say	never	to	them	everything
both: 'I will never tell them everything.'						

(Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, p. 60)

In (18), the third-person singular masculine dative pronoun can be *either lui* with *a* or *gli* alone. The third-person plural dative pronoun can be *either loro* with *a* or *loro* alone. In (18), the form of the third-person singular masculine dative pronoun clearly varies depending on its position. In (18.b), *gli*, as the third person singular masculine dative, functions as an X^0 , a proclitic attached to the modal auxiliary verb, and cannot occupy XP positions. Although *loro* looks the same in both positions (19.a, b), the distribution of *a* differentiates them. *loro* in (19.b) functions as an XP. Unlike *gli*, *loro* cannot adjoin to a head, indicating a structural difference between clitics and weak pronouns. Apart from their morphological signatures, the forms *a lui* and *a loro* in (18.a) and (19.a) have semantic and syntactic properties that are not shared with *gli* and ‘bare’ *loro* (see Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

Applying Cardinaletti and Starke’s pronoun typology, JA includes only strong and clitic pronouns, excluding weak ones. JA clitics are syntactic rather than simple clitics, as they lack non-clitic counterparts. These syntactic clitics occupy positions such as object or prepositional-object positions that are unavailable to non-clitic pronouns. Clitics do not appear in phrasal positions; instead, they are found in head-adjoined positions, with heads hosting them. As is well known in syntax, positions hosted by heads are never Θ -positions²¹. While it is broadly accepted that clitics are hosted by or adjoined to heads, there remains significant debate on how this occurs. A widely held view is that clitics are base-generated on their hosts and coindexed with a silent element (*pro*), which resides in a θ -position for argument clitics or in the predicate position for pro-predicate clitics (see Sportiche 1996). Sportiche (1996) suggests that object clitics are merged as Voice functional heads (e.g., *AccVoice*), which agree with *pro* elements in argument positions. These *pro* elements receive theta-roles from the verb, while the clitic heads license them. This analysis addresses clitic/argument asymmetries and ordering issues, as Voice heads possess an internal hierarchical structure that regulates clitic placement. Sportiche adds that to satisfy licensing

²¹ In compounds like *truck driver*, *man-eater*, or *wife-beater*, a theta-role relation appears to challenge the given claim. However, since such synthetic compounds are not formed syntactically but are lexical in nature, they do not invalidate the statement. In contrast, noun incorporation constructions—common in many American Indian and other languages—are syntactic and do involve a theta-relation between the host and the incorporated noun. Yet, as Baker (1988) argues, the theta-role is not assigned within the head’s position but to the maximal projection of the incorporated noun externally. Therefore, noun incorporation, despite being syntactic, also does not contradict the statement, as theta-role assignment still occurs outside the domain of the hosting head.

requirements, the silent element may move to a specifier position during the syntactic derivation of the sentence.

In JA, only clitics, not unstressed or stressed full pronouns, can serve as objects, as shown in (20), (21), and (22). This differs from Italian, where three forms of pronominal objects are allowed: clitic pronouns (e.g., *gli*), unstressed full pronouns (e.g., weak *loro*), and stressed full pronouns (e.g., strong *loro*). For example, while JA's equivalents of "them" are the clitic pronouns - *hin* 3PLF and *hum* 3PLM, Italian offers several forms. JA does not have this variety, using only the clitic pronouns -*hin* 3PLF and -*hum* 3PLM for the object "them."

20- *raħ	ya-ŋt ^ʕ -u	HiNNEH	il-kutub
will	Inf-give-3PLM	3PLF	the-book
Intended 'They will give THEM the book.'			
21- *raħ	ya-ŋt ^ʕ -u	hinneh	l-kutub
will	Inf-give-3PLM	3PLF	the-book
Intended 'They will give them the book.'			
22- raħ	ya-ŋt ^ʕ -u- hm		il-kutub
will	Inf-give-3PLM-3PLF		the-book
'They will give them the book.'			

5.2.1. Factors influencing clitic distribution

The distribution of JA's syntactic clitics is illustrated through various factors. First, ($\pm$ human), as in the following examples:

23- ʔisimŋ-it-hə	Samia
listened-1SG-her	Samia
'I listened to her, Samia.'	
24- ʔisimŋ-it-hə	l- ʔuyniya
listened-1SG-her	the- song
'I listened to it, the song.'	

The examples above show that the clitic -*hə* can cross-reference the [+human] object *Samia* and the [-human] object *ʔuyniya* 'song'. In JA, these clitics can be used as non-human because they are underspecified.

Secondly, strong pronouns phonologically differ from clitic ones; the latter are weaker, containing a single syllable, whereas strong pronouns have two syllables (see Table 5.1).

25- a) ʔani/ ʔana	-ni	-i
I	me	my
b) ʔihna/ niha	-na	
we	us/our	

Clitic forms are generally morphologically shorter than strong pronouns, as shown in Table 5.1. Moreover, JA clitics cannot coordinate.

26- * Sami	dəʕaa-Ø-na	wə	sʰhaab-na
Sami	invited-3SGM-us	and	friends-our
Intended: ‘Sami invited ends and us.’			

When coordinating a clitic object in JA, it must be accompanied by a corresponding nominative strong pronoun, enabling subsequent coordination with another DP.

27- Sami	dəʕaa-Ø-na	ʔihna	wə	sʰhaab-na
Sami	invited-3SGM-us	we	and	friends-our
‘Sami invited our friends and us.’				

In the example above, the nominative strong pronoun *ʔihna* ‘we’ follows the pronominal clitic *-na* ‘us’. Omitting the strong form makes the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in (26), even though the clitic is attached to a host. Similarly, dropping the clitic results in ungrammaticality, as JA does not allow free pronouns as objects (28). Coordination requires adherence to these linguistic constraints.

28- *Sami	dəʕaa-Ø	ʔihna	wə	sʰhaab-na
Sami	invited-3SGM	we	and	friends-our
Intended: ‘Sami invited our friends and us.’				

Only strong pronouns can be modified by a focus particle like *bəs* ‘only’, whereas clitics cannot be modified.

29- ʔaʃteɪ-t-ək	bəs	ʔɪntə	ктааб
gave-1SG-you	only	you	book
‘I gave only you a book.’			
30- *ʔaʃteɪ-t	bəs-ək	ʔɪntə	ктааб
gave-1SG	only-you	you	book
‘I gave only you a book.’			

Finally, clitic pronouns in JA cannot appear in peripheral positions, unlike strong pronouns and full DPs.

31- -*u/huwə	Sami	ʔɪllɪ	rasab-∅	(cleft)
*him/ he	Sami	who	failed-3SGM	
‘It was he/Sami, who failed.’				
32- -*u/huwə/Sami		zurt-∅-u	mabaareh	(left dislocation)
him/he/Sami	visited-1GS-him	yesterday		
‘He/Sami, I visited him yesterday.’				

In JA, non-clitic pronouns such as the weak Italian *loro* are absent and cannot occupy XP positions. Object clitics must adjoin to other heads to be pronounced, as they function as X°s regardless of their syntactic position.

5.2.2. Summary

This section outlines the morphosyntax of JA pronouns, distinguishing between strong and weak pronouns, affixes, and clitics, which consistently function as clitics in JA. It also examines the origin of clitics, discussing whether they are word-level (X°) or phrase-level (XP) entities. It aligns with Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), arguing that clitics are X° and serve as heads in surface structure, whereas weak pronouns are XPs. This framework clarifies the syntactic roles of clitics and weak pronouns.

Applying Cardinaletti and Starke's diagnostics to JA's pronominal objects clarifies their clitic nature. Incapable of forming phrase-level categories, they do not appear as unstressed free pronouns in XP-positions. As X°, they must adjoin to another head, as they cannot occupy base-generated object positions or coordinate with other DPs. Furthermore, they cannot appear in

isolation or undergo clefting. Notably, JA lacks weak pronouns, reinforcing the distinct syntactic properties of its pronominal objects.

5.3. Cliticisation in ditransitive constructions in JA

When the direct object is pronominalised in monotransitive constructions in JA, it appears as a clitic hosted by the verb.

33- zur- <i>it</i>	Samia
visited-1SG	Samia
'I visited Samia.'	
34- zur- <i>it-hə</i>	
visited-1SG-her	
'I visited her.'	

The clitic object can be doubled by a full DP preceded by the Differential Object Marker²² *lə*.

35- zur- <i>it-hə</i>	<i>lə</i> _{DOM}	Samia
visited-1SG-her	to	Samia
'I visited her, Samia'		

Inanimate DPs can be clitic doubled, but not indefinites.

36- kasar- <i>it-hə</i>	<i>lə</i> _{DOM}	<i>l-kaaseh</i>
broke-1SG-3SGF	to	the-glass
'I broke it, the glass.'		
37- *kasar- <i>it-hə</i>	<i>lə</i>	<i>kaaseh</i>
broke-1SG-3SGF	to	glass
Intended: 'I broke it, glass.'		

²² The particle *lə* has been identified in certain Arabic dialects, particularly within some Levantine varieties, as a *differential object marker* DOM. It precedes specific direct objects, often animate or definite ones, to overtly mark them. This phenomenon is similar to the use of *a* in DOM systems in languages such as Spanish, where *a* is used before animate objects. The use of *lə* as a DOM is not universal across all Arabic varieties (see Aya 2024).

Prepositional phrases also permit clitic doubling of the complement of the preposition. The preposition serves as the host for the clitic.

38- nim- <i>it</i>	ʕind	Sami
slept-1SG	at	Sami
'I slept in Sami's house.'		
39- nim- <i>it</i>	ʕind-u	lə _{DOM} Sami
slept-1SG	at-3SGM.him	to Sami
'I slept in Sami's house.'		

In JA, a verb can host only one clitic object at a time; both arguments of a ditransitive verb cannot be cliticised to the verb simultaneously. The grammatical principles that determine which object may appear as a clitic in ditransitive constructions are discussed below. To introduce this discussion, I first distinguish between two types of ditransitive verbs in JA, highlighting the main pronominalisation patterns associated with each. I then analyse clitic pronoun doubling across both verb types.

The ditransitive constructions in JA differ in how they encode the Recipient role. In all these constructions, the Theme argument is unmarked morphologically and is taken to bear the accusative case. One construction, the DOC, also assigns unmarked accusative to the Recipient, as in English and Classical Arabic. The other construction, the PDC, marks the Recipient with genitive case. The PDC appears in two forms: Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme. We begin our analysis with DOC verbs, exemplified by *ʔaʕtʔ* 'give'.

5.3.1. Cliticisation in DOCs

As in English, the JA verb *ʔaʕtʔ* 'give' requires the fixed order Recipient - Theme, known as the DOC (40). In this construction, the Recipient can be pronominalised using the accusative clitic paradigm (41). Furthermore, under passivisation, the Recipient moves to the subject position (42).

40- ʔaʕtʔer-t	Samia	l-ktaab
gave-1SG	Samia	the-book
'I gave Samia the book.'		

- 41- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-hə l-ktaab
 gave-1SG-her the-book
 ‘I gave her the book.’
- 42- Samia ʔɪn-ʃatʰ-ət l-ktaab
 Samia passive-gave-3SGF the-book
 Samia was given the book.’

As in standard English, reversing the two objects in the DOC structure is ungrammatical because the DOC is fixed in both languages (43). Moreover, the Theme cannot be realised as a clitic on the verb when a Recipient DP is present in the same clause (44), nor can it be promoted to subject position in such cases (45).

- 43- *ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t l-ktaab Samia
 gave-1SG the-book Samia
 Literally: ‘I gave the book Samia.’
- 44- *ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-u Samia
 gave-1SG-him Samia
 Literally: ‘I gave it Samia.’
- 45- *l-ktaab ʔɪn-ʃatʰ-ə-Ø Samia
 the-book passive-gave-3SGM Samia
 Literally: ‘The book was given Samia.’

The object clitic forms a syntactic dependency with a gap in the position typically occupied by its full DP counterpart. However, this dependency cannot extend to the Recipient. Consequently, the Recipient can cliticise to the verb, while the Theme cannot in such contexts. Importantly, this does not indicate a general restriction on Theme cliticisation. The Theme can indeed cliticise to the verb in monotransitive constructions, as shown in (34), where no Recipient argument is present. Therefore, the Theme's inability to cliticise in DOCs seems to be caused by the presence of the Recipient, which intervenes in its cliticisation. This is comparable to passivisation, where a dependency is established between the subject position and a gap in the original object position. This dependency is blocked by an intervening DP, which serves as a structural barrier to movement. In JA, even if the beneficiary argument moves to the subject position or cliticises to the verb, the Theme cannot cliticise to the verb. We cannot have one host for two clitics in JA.

5.3.2. Cliticisation in PDCs

The examples from the previous section illustrate a consistent pattern: if a DP can cliticise to the verb, it can also be promoted to subject position in the passive voice. This correlation is also observed in both types of PDCs. In Theme-Goal PDCs, similar to English, the Theme immediately follows the verb, while the Recipient appears within a prepositional phrase (46). In Goal-Theme PDCs, the Theme follows the *lə*-Recipient phrase (47). In both structures, the Theme can either cliticise to the verb using the accusative clitic paradigm (48) or be raised to the subject position during passivisation (49). Notably, the preposition introducing the Recipient argument is *lə* ‘to’ — the same preposition that introduces a full DP in clitic doubling constructions, reinforcing the structural similarity between these constructions.

46- ʔaʃtʰer-t	l-ktaab	lə	Samia
gave-1SG	the-book	to	Samia
‘I gave the book to Samia.’			
47- ʔaʃtʰer-t	lə	Samia	l-ktaab
gave-1SG	to	Samia	the-book
‘I gave the book to Samia.’			
48- ʔaʃtʰer-t-u	lə	Samia	
gave-1SG-it	to	Samia	
‘I gave it to Samia.’			
49- l-ktaab	ʔm-ʃatʰə-Ø	lə	Samia
the-book	passive-gave-3SGM	to	Samia
‘The book was given to Samia.’			

5.4. The cliticisation constraint in ditransitive constructions in JA

Upon scrutinising the above data, a key generalisation can be proposed: the cliticisation constraint in JA. Note that this constraint can be applied to passive constructions in JA. This supports the consistency indicated in this chapter.

Cliticisation Constraint in JA

- 50- Only the Recipient can cliticise to the verb in DOCs, and only the Theme can cliticise to the verb in Theme-Goal PDCs and Goal-Theme PDCs.

Hallman and Al-Balushi (2022) propose that Damascus Arabic features a paradigm of object clitic pronouns beginning with *l*, similar to the preposition *la* ‘to’. They argue that this pattern allows pronominalisation of a dative DP but not of a full PP. They provide (52) to show that the *la*-phrase cannot cliticise to the verb. Hallman and Al-Balushi also claim that the ban on cliticisation might be due to the Theme intervening between the PP and the verb; however, this reasoning is invalid when the Theme is passivised and moved out of that position. They contend that the verb *ʔaʕtʕa* does not permit cliticisation of the *la*-PP, as shown in (52). This indicates that *ʔaʕtʕa* does not assign dative case. Therefore, the *la*-phrase, when functioning as a PP, is not suitable for cliticisation and remains structurally distinct from dative DPs within this paradigm.

51- baʕat-nā-la	l-ktāb.
sent-1PL-DAT.3FS	the-book
‘We sent her the book.’	
52- *ʕaṭē-nā-la	l-ktāb.
gave-1PL-DAT.3FS	the-book
‘We gave her the book.’	(Hallman and Al-Balushi, 2022, p 1305)

It is worth noting that the above constraint prevents phrasal cliticisation on the verb. Therefore, attaching a *la*-clitic to the verb is impossible in this context. In this chapter and the previous ones, various syntactic diagnostics have shown that the **V-*la*-Goal-Theme** construction is the reverse of the canonical PDC, namely, **V-Theme-*la*-Goal**. Firstly, with *ʔaʕtʕa* ‘give’ verbs, which are referred to as verbs that accept the DOC in this thesis, the Recipient cliticises directly to the verb, so in (52) the preposition *l* appears between the verb and the 3SGF clitic *a*. The preposition acts as an intervener to cliticisation (see 50). Secondly, regarding *baʕaθ* ‘send’ verbs, which are called verbs that resist DOC in this thesis, in (51), the preposition *l* also appears between the verb and the 3SGF clitic *a*. The preposition acts as an intervener to cliticisation. In Hallman’s example (51), if the Theme is a clitic, it takes priority of cliticising to the verb. Furthermore, the *la*-clitic in (51) can be separated by an adverbial, as in (53) below.

53- baʕat -nə	mbaareh	ʔil-a	ktaab	(Syrian Arabic)
sent-3SGM-it	yesterday	to-her	book	
‘We sent a book to her yesterday.’				

Another issue arises here: if we have an accusative clitic attached to the verb *baʕat* ‘send’ in (53), which is a verb that assigns dative case in Hallman’s account, why does the dative clitic not have priority to attach to the verb rather than the accusative clitic if it is a DOC, as in the following example?

54- baʕt-ət-nɪ	ʔimbaareh	ʔɪl-on	mirsaal	(Syrian Arabic)
sent-3SGF-me	yesterday	to-them	messenger	

‘She sent me to them as a messenger.’

If (52) and (54) are DOCs, the Recipient must prioritise cliticising to the verb, even if the Theme is pronominal. I argue that the *la*-clitic is a separate element, specifically a full PP, and can move independently of other dependencies. Furthermore, it is unmistakable that Arabic speakers cliticise it to the verb. Herin & Al-Wer (2025) state, “Dative pronouns arose from the grammaticalisation of the preposition *la* ‘to, for’ augmented with bound pronouns. In the speech of most speakers, dative pronouns are unmistakably affixal, because they consistently create a new phonological word with their host.” (p 46). Consider the following examples.

55- Samia	baʕaθ-ət	l-ək	l-ktaab
Samia	sent-3SGF	to-you	the-book

‘Samia sent you the book.’

Using the stressed form of the preposition *la*, which is *ʔɪl*, allows for the construction of focus fronting (56) and negative contrastive focus of the PP (57).

56- ʔɪL-ək	Samia	baʕaθ-ət	l-ktaab
to-you	Samia	sent-3SGF	the-book

‘TO YOU, Samia sent the book.’

57- Samia	baʕaθ-ət	l-ktaab	ʔɪL-ək	muf	lə	ʕalɪ
Samia	sent-3SGF	the-book	to-you	not	to	Ali

‘Samia sent the book TO YOU not to Ali.’

In (56) and (57), the *la*+clitic can move freely relative to other dependencies, indicating that the *la*+clitic in these constructions is a complete constituent that does not need to cliticise to another host.

To show that the weak form of the preposition *lā* is the same as the strong one and the choice between them is just dialect-dependent, consider the following examples from Kuwaiti Arabic²³.

58- hal-ktaab	muu	l-I	(Kuwaiti Arabic)
this-book	Neg	for-me	
'This book is not mine.'			
59- hal-ktaab	ma-huu	l-I	(Kuwaiti Arabic)
this-book	Neg-3SGM	for-me	
'This book is not mine.'			
60- hal-ktaab	muu	ʔil-I	(Jordanian Arabic)
this-book	Neg	for-me	
'This book is not mine.'			
61- hal-ktaab	muf	ʔil-I	(Jordanian Arabic)
this-book	Neg	for-me	
'This book is not mine.'			

For verbs that resist DOC, the clitic's initial host is the preposition. In this case, the clitic cannot bypass the preposition to attach to another host, rendering the sentence ungrammatical. Additionally, a P head (host) is not required for attachment to the verb head (another host).

62- *Samia	baʕaθ-ət-ək	lə	l-ktaab
Samia	sent-3SGF-you	to	the-book
Intended, 'Samia sent the book to you.'			

The prepositions used in Arabic to express meanings such as "to," "for," or "belonging to" vary considerably between Standard Arabic and Arabic dialects, both in form and function. In Standard Arabic, the preposition *li* generally indicates possession, a recipient, or a beneficiary.

63- ʔaʕtʕay-t-u	ʔal-kitaab-a	li	l-bint-I
gave-1SG-NOM	the-book-ACC	to	the-girl-Genitive
'I gave the book to the girl.'			

²³ The researcher worked in the ministry of education in the state of Kuwait for 16 years. He has access to many Kuwaiti informants.

For explicit spatial or directional movement, Standard Arabic uses *ʔila*, as shown in the following example (see Ryding, 2005).

64- ḍahab-t-u	ʔila	l-madrasat-i
went-1SG-NOM	to	the-school-Genitive
‘I went to school.’		

In contrast, many Arabic dialects, especially Levantine varieties, use the prepositions *la* and *ʔil*, depending on phonological context, to indicate direction, recipient, or beneficiary in situations where Standard Arabic would use either *li* or *ʔila*, as in (58-61). The choice between *la* and *ʔil* differs by region and speaker (Brustad, 2000). Therefore, while Standard Arabic clearly distinguishes between *li* and *ʔila* for different grammatical functions, spoken dialects often merge these functions into a single form.

5.4.1. The chameleon *ʔyya*

Although only the first object in a double object construction can directly cliticise to the verb, the second object can still be pronominalised. In such cases, the first object cliticises to the verb, while the second attaches to the particle *ʔyya*, which functions as a host. This is illustrated in (65) and (66) with the verbs *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ and *baʕaθ* ‘send’. The particle *ʔyya* is frequently used in JA and some other dialects when no other morphosyntactic host is available.

65- Samia	ʔaʕtʕ-ət-ək	ʔyya-hm	
Samia	gave-3SGF-you	ʔyya-3PLF.them	
‘Samia gave you them.’			
66- Samia	baʕaθ-ət	l-ək	ʔyya-hm
Samia	sent-3SGF	to-you	ʔyya-3PLF.them
‘Samia sent them to you.’			

The data above suggest that clitic pronouns must attach to a suitable host, but an intervention effect constrains this attachment. Specifically, no other potential cliticisation target can intervene between the clitic and the canonical position of its full DP counterpart. As a result, the Theme can only cliticise to the verb in PDCs, where it immediately follows the verb. In DOCs, the intervening Recipient blocks this cliticisation. However, the Theme can still be pronominalised

in that context by attaching to the particle *ʔyya*, which serves as an alternative clitic host when the verb is inaccessible due to morphosyntactic constraints.

Fassi Fehri (1993) and Jarrah et al. (2019) claim that *ʔyya* is a PF insertion that exists only as a host for bound forms. Wilmsen (2013) traces it to a proto-Semitic tonic pronoun.

5.4.2. The functions of the chameleon *ʔyya*

The chameleon *ʔyya* can change its colour (function) depending on its location. In JA, it can be found in various places as follows:

A. Pronominal object marking (direct object)

67- ʔaʕter-t-u	ryyaa-hə
gave-1SG-him	<i>ʔyya</i> -3SGF. Her
‘I gave it to him.’	

In DOCs, when the arguments are pronominalised, *ʔyya* is used to avoid clitic clustering. Therefore, it hosts the direct object because the indirect object is permitted to cliticise to the verb in DOCs.

B. Pronominal object marking (indirect object) in tritransitive constructions.

68- ʕaber-t	lə-k	ʔyya-hə	banzeen
filled-1SG	for-you	<i>ʔyya</i> -3SGF.her	benzine
‘I filled it with benzine for you.’			

ʔyya is also helpful in tritransitive constructions when the Recipient is pronominalised and preceded by a pronominalised beneficiary, as it prevents clitic clustering by hosting the pronominal Recipient. A and B cases support the idea that *ʔyya* is a PF insertion (Fassi Fehri, 1993; Jarrah et al., 2019). Note that only the Recipient in a tritransitive construction can be pronominalised and hosted by *ʔyya*; it is also impossible to have more than one *ʔyya* in a clause, as in the following examples.

69- zarʕ-it	l-ək	ʔi-ħadeega	warid (*ʔyya-hm)
planted-1SG	for-you	the-garden	flowers (*ʔyya-them)
‘I planted the garden with flowers for you.’			

70- zarʕ-ɪt	l-ək	ʔɪyya-hə	warid (*ʔɪyya-hin)
planted-1SG	for-you	ʔɪyya-it	flowers (*ʔɪyya-them)
‘I planted flowers for you.’			

In Kuwaiti Arabic, it is common and preferred to attach the Recipient to the verb, followed by the pronominalised beneficiary and then the lexical Theme.

71- ʕaber-t-hə	lə-k	banzeen
filled-1SG-her	for-you	benzine
‘I filled it with benzine for you.’		

(69) and (70) show that *ʔɪyya* appears in ditransitive and tritransitive constructions only when we have clitics following each other.

C. Object of pseudo-verbs.

Brustad (2000) defines a pseudo-verb in Arabic dialects as a form that functions syntactically as a verb but lacks the complete morphological paradigm and lexical independence characteristic of canonical verbs. These pseudo-verbs typically convey meanings such as desire, necessity, possibility, or intention. Brustad further notes that these forms are “defective” because they do not possess all verbal forms, such as verbal nouns or participles, and are often not inflected for all tenses or persons in the same manner as regular verbs. Rather, they function similarly to particles or modal auxiliaries, primarily serving as functional elements that introduce or modify the action of a subsequent verb in the subjunctive or imperfective form.

72- bad-u	yaa-hə
want-3SGM	ʔɪyya-3SGF.her
‘He wants it/her.’	
73- ʕand-ɪ	yaa-hə
at-1SG	ʔɪyya-3SGF.her
‘I have it.’	

In JA and other Arabic dialects, attaching the clitic to pseudo-verbs renders the construction ungrammatical. These verbs cannot take clitics; therefore, *ʔɪyya* arises to bear that clitic.

74- *bad-u-hə
 want-3SGM-3SGF.her
 ‘He wants it/her.’

In Lebanese Arabic and some Syrian dialects, using the strong pronoun in the object position with pseudo-verbs is acceptable.

75- ʕand-i hiya
 at-1SG 3SGF.she
 ‘I have it.’

D. Demonstrative

76- ʔəker-t l-u l-mawḏʕuuʕ ʔiyya-h
 told-1SG for-him the-matter that-3SGM.it
 ‘I told him that matter.’

ʔiyya can be used as a demonstrative across all Arabic dialects. It is common in Egyptian Arabic. It is recognised as a demonstrative in a dictionary of spoken Egyptian Arabic (see Wilmsen, 2013).

The role and etymology of *ʔiyya* remain under debate. As such, further investigation is necessary, and linguists should take responsibility for examining it in upcoming studies.

5.5. Summary

The data above suggest that clitic pronouns must attach to a suitable host, but an intervention effect constrains this attachment. Specifically, no other potential cliticisation target can intervene between the clitic and the canonical position of its full DP counterpart. As a result, the Theme can only cliticise to the verb in PDCs, where it immediately follows the verb. In DOCs, the intervening Recipient blocks this cliticisation. However, the Theme can still be pronominalised in that context by attaching to the particle *ʔiyya*, which serves as an alternative clitic host when the verb is inaccessible due to morphosyntactic constraints.

5.6. Clitic doubling in ditransitive constructions in JA.

In JA, clitic doubling is more limited than basic pronominalisation. With lexical arguments, only the Recipient can be doubled with a clitic, while the Theme cannot be doubled if a clausemate lexical Recipient is present. The presence of the lexical Recipient prevents clitic doubling of the Theme (77). This contrasts with monotransitive constructions, where doubling the Theme is more acceptable, as in (35), repeated in (78). (79) shows that doubling the Theme in the DOC if the Recipient is lexical is unacceptable. When the Recipient is pronominal, and the Theme is lexical, the Theme can be doubled by the aid of *ʔyya*, where the Theme cliticises to *ʔyya*, as in (80) and (81). To clarify which object is being doubled in the examples discussed in this section, both the clitic and its corresponding full DP are written in bold and italics. This emphasises the specific argument targeted by clitic doubling in each case.

77- ʔaʃʔeɪ-t- <i>hə</i>	lɪ-ktaab	lə	<i>Samia</i>
gave-1SG-her	the-book	to	Samia
‘I gave her the book, Samia.’		(Recipient doubling in DOC)	
78- zur-it- <i>hə</i>	lə	<i>Samia</i>	
visited-1SG-her	to	Samia	
‘I visited her, Samia’		(Theme doubling in monotransitive)	
79- *ʔaʃʔeɪ-t- <i>u</i>	Samia	<i>lɪ-ktaab</i>	
gave-1SG-it	Samia	the-book	
‘I gave it to Samia, the book.’ (Theme doubling with lexical arguments in DOC)			
80- ʔaʃʔeɪ-t- <i>hə</i>	lɪ-ktaab		
gave-1SG-her	the-book		
‘I gave her the book.’			
81- ʔaʃʔeɪ-t- <i>hə</i>	ʔyya- <i>h</i>	(lə) <i>lɪ-ktaab</i>	
gave-1SG-her	ʔyya-it	(to) the-book	
‘I gave it to her, the book.’		(Theme doubling in DOC)	

The ungrammaticality of (79) results from the cliticisation of the Theme to the verb in a DOC. Consequently, clitic doubling of the Theme is also prevented in this construction. However, when the Theme clitic is attached to *ʔyya*, doubling the Theme becomes acceptable, as shown in (81). An intriguing contrast emerges in PDCs, where the Theme can still undergo clitic doubling

with lexical arguments. In these cases, pronominalisation of the Theme without doubling is also permissible. Notably, the Recipient does not act as an intervener in PDCs, neither for pronominalisation nor for clitic doubling. The primary factor allowing Theme doubling in PDCs is surface adjacency between the Theme and the clitic host, which suffices to license doubling, as in pronominalisation.

Additionally, in PDCs, the preposition *lə* is illicit before the doubled Theme when the clitic is hosted by the verb (84). However, it remains optional when the clitic is attached to *ʔɪyya* (89). The presence of the preposition *lə* is also optional in DOCs, as in (81). This indicates that the Differential Object Marking in JA does not consistently follow Kayne's Generalisation as discussed by Anagnostopoulou (2003:16), which claims that clitic doubling typically involves a preposition before the doubled DP. The optional use of *lə* before the doubled Theme in DOCs and its illegitimacy before the doubled Theme in PDCs demonstrate a deviation from this generalisation, revealing greater syntactic flexibility in JA. First, let us examine Theme doubling in PDCs with verbs that accept DOCs. Consider the following example.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|-------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 82- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t | lɪ-ktaab | lə | Samia | (Theme-Goal PDC) |
| gave-1SG | the-book | to | Samia | |
| 'I gave the book to Samia.' | | | | |
| 83- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t | lə | Samia | lɪ-ktaab | (Goal-Theme PDC) |
| gave-1SG | to | Samia | the-book | |
| 'I gave the book to Samia.' | | | | |
| 84- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t- u | lə | Samia | (*lə) lɪ-ktaab | (Theme doubling in PDC) |
| gave-1SG-him | to | Samia | (*to) the-book | |
| 'I gave it to Samia, the book.' | | | | |

The following examples illustrate the same results regarding Theme doubling for verbs that resist DOC.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|----|-------|------------------|
| 85- baʃaθ-it | lɪ-ktaab | lə | Samia | (Theme-Goal PDC) |
| sent-1SG | the-book | to | Samia | |
| 'I sent the book to Samia.' | | | | |

86- baʕaθ-ɪt	lə	Samia	lɪ-ktaab	(Goal-Theme PDC)
sent-1SG	to	Samia	the-book	
‘I sent the book to Samia.’				
87- baʕaθ-ɪt- u	lə	Samia	(*lə) lɪ-ktaab	(Theme doubling in PDC)
sent-1SG-him to	Samia	(*to) the-book		
‘I sent it to Samia, the book.’				

The Theme can also be cliticised to *ʔɪyya* when the Recipient is pronominal cliticised to the preposition *lə*. In this case, the Theme can be doubled in two ways. First, the Theme can double, and the corresponding clitic is hosted by *ʔɪyya*.

88- baʕaθ-ɪt	l-ək	ɪl-kutub	
sent-1SG	to-you	the-books	
‘I sent the books to you.’			
89- baʕaθ-ɪt	l-ək	ʔɪyya- him	(lə) ɪl-kutub
sent-1SG	to-you	ʔɪyya-them	(to) the-books
‘I sent them to you, the books.’			

Second, the Theme can be doubled, and the verb hosts the corresponding clitic.

90- baʕaθ-ɪt- him	ʔɪl-ək	(*lə) ɪl-kutub
sent-1SG-them	to-you	(to) the-books
‘I sent them to you, the books.’		

Regarding the doubling of the Recipient in PDCs, the Recipient can indeed be doubled; however, the corresponding clitic is hosted by the preposition rather than the verb. This phenomenon is only seen with verbs that resist DOC, as in (91).

91- baʕaθ-ɪt	ɪl- hə .	lɪ-ktaab	lə	Samia	(Recipient doubling in PDC)
sent-1SG	to-her.	the-book	to	Samia	
‘I sent the book to her, Samia.’					

The facts above align with the generalisation in (50), which states that only the Recipient can be cliticised to the verb in DOCs, while only the Theme can be cliticised to the verb in PDCs. Furthermore, the clitic doubling facts suggest other generalisations as follows:

Clitic doubling constraint in JA

92- In JA, in DOC, only the Recipient can be doubled, with the corresponding clitic hosted by the verb. If the Recipient is pronominal in DOC, the lexical Theme can also be doubled, with the corresponding clitic hosted by *ʔɪyya*.

93- In PDC, only the Theme can be doubled, and the verb hosts the corresponding clitic. When the Recipient is pronominal and cliticised to *lə*, the Theme can be doubled, and the corresponding clitic is hosted by either the verb or *ʔɪyya*. The Recipient may be doubled in PDC with verbs that resist DOC, but only if the preposition *lə* hosts the clitic.

5.7. V- *lə*-Goal-Theme is not a DOC: evidence from clitic doubling.

We have observed that with *give*-type verbs (verbs that accept DOC), only the Recipient can be cliticised to the verb and doubled. When the Recipient is cliticised to the verb and the Theme is lexical, this Theme can be doubled, and the corresponding clitic is hosted by *ʔɪyya*. The cliticisation of the Recipient to the verb licenses the Theme to be doubled with the help of *ʔɪyya* in the DOC.

94- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t	Samia	lɪ-ktaab	
gave-1SG	Samia	the-book	
'I gave Samia the book.'			
95- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t- <i>hə</i>	lɪ-ktaab	lə	<i>Samia</i>
gave-1SG-you	the-book	to	Samia
Lit: 'I gave her the book to Samia.'			
96- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t- <i>hə</i>	ʔɪyya- <i>h</i>	(lə)	<i>lɪ-ktaab</i>
gave-1SG-her	ʔɪyya-3SGM.it	(to)	the-book
Lit: 'I gave her it, the book.'			

Note that in (95) and (96), we have the Differential Object Marker *lə*, which is obligatory with the doubled Recipient and optional with the doubled Theme in DOCs when the clitic is hosted by *ʔɪyya*.

We have also observed that with *send*-type verbs (verbs that resist DOC), only the Theme can be cliticised to the verb and doubled. When we have a pronominal Recipient cliticised to the

preposition *la*, and a lexical Theme, this Theme can be doubled in two ways: either the corresponding clitic is hosted by *layya* or by the verb.

97- waffar-it	lə	Sami	lɪ- <i>ktaab</i>	ʔimbaareh
made available-1SG	to	Sami	the-book	yesterday
'I made the book available for Sami yesterday.'				
98- waffar-it- <i>u</i>	lə	Sami	(*lə) <i>lɪ-ktaab</i>	ʔimbaareh
made available-1SG.it	to	Sami	(*to) the-book	yesterday
'I made it available, the book, to Sami yesterday.'				
99- waffar-it- <i>u</i>	(*lə)	<i>lɪ-ktaab</i>	lə	Sami ʔimbaareh
made available-1SG-it	(*to)	the-book	to	Sami yesterday
'I made it available, the book, to Sami yesterday.'				
100- waffar-it- <i>u</i>		ʔɪl-u	(*lə) <i>lɪ-ktaab</i>	ʔimbaareh
made available-1SG-3SGM-it		to-him	(*to) the-book	yesterday
'I made it available, the book for him, yesterday.'				
101- waffar-it	l-u	ʔɪyya- <i>h</i>	(lə) <i>lɪ-ktaab</i>	ʔimbaareh
made available-1SG	to-him	ʔɪyya-it	(to) the-book	yesterday
'I made it available, the book for him, yesterday.'				

The Recipient can be doubled in PDC, but the preposition *la* hosts the corresponding clitic.

102- waffar-it	l- <i>u</i>	li- <i>htaab</i>	*(lə)	<i>Sami</i>
made available-1SG	to-him	the-book	*(to)	Sami
'I made it available for him, the book to Sami.'				

The above facts show that the Differential Object Marker *la* is obligatory with the doubled Recipient in both DOCs and PDCs.

Clitic doubling in JA is also sensitive to the relative order of the Recipient and Theme in DOCs and PDCs. The following facts will show that **V-*la*-Goal-Theme** behaves exactly like **V-Theme-*la*-Goal** in this respect.

With *give*-type verbs, in the DOC, when the Recipient is cliticised to the verb and doubled, the doubled Recipient cannot follow its associated clitic, which is hosted by the verb.

- 103- Sami $\gamma a\gamma t^{\epsilon}\partial-\emptyset-h\partial_k$ l₁-ktaab l_ə **Samia_k** (DOC)
 Sami gave-3SGM-her the-book to Samia
 ‘Sami gave her the book to Samia.’
- 104- *Sami $\gamma a\gamma t^{\epsilon}\partial-\emptyset-h\partial_k$ l_ə **Samia_k** l₁-ktaab(DOC)
 Sami gave-3SGM-her to Samia the-book
 ‘Sami gave her the book to Samia.’

This becomes more apparent when we have two feminine arguments, as shown in the following example.

- 105- Sami $\gamma a\gamma t^{\epsilon}\partial-\emptyset-h\partial_i/*_k$ l_ə **Samia_k** *s-sayyarah_i* (DOC)
 Sami gave-3SGM-her to Samia the-car
 ‘Sami gave her the car to Samia.’

The evidence in the examples above shows that the *lə*-phrase in the V-*lə*-DP-DP construction is the result of an A-bar movement. According to the DP-hypothesis, because this *lə*-phrase is in an A-bar derived position, its associated clitic is stuck inside the PP and cannot access the verb.

In PDC, *give* verbs permit the doubled Theme to follow its associated clitic or appear at the end of the string.

- 106- $\gamma a\gamma t^{\epsilon}e\gamma t-u_k$ ***l-ktaab_k*** l_ə Samia (PDC)
 gave-1SG-it the-book to Samia
 ‘I gave the book to Samia.’
- 107- $\gamma a\gamma t^{\epsilon}e\gamma t-u_k$ l_ə Samia ***l-ktaab_k*** (PDC)
 gave-1SG-it to Samia the-book
 ‘I gave the book to Samia.’

With *send* verbs, only the Theme can be cliticised to the verb and doubled. It is always the case that the doubled Theme can follow its associated clitic or appear at the end of the string.

- 108- waddei-t-***u_k*** ***l-ktaab_k*** l_ə Samia (PDC)
 sent-1SG-it the-book to Samia
 ‘I sent the book to Samia.’

109- wadder-t- <i>u_k</i>	lə	Samia	<i>l-htaab_k</i>	(PDC)
sent-1SG-it	to	Samia	the-book	
'I sent the book to Samia.'				

These facts further indicate that *send* verbs cannot occur in DOCs in Arabic. The alternation of internal arguments demonstrates that the PDC can take two forms in JA: Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme.

5.8. Pronominal and lexical arguments with ditransitives in JA

Having discussed the morphosyntax of personal pronouns, cliticisation and clitic doubling in ditransitives in JA, this section will now examine the strategies employed by JA's speakers and investigate potential lexical and pronominal arguments with ditransitives in JA, along with the combinations of these argument types in such constructions.

5.8.1. Pronominal arguments

JA employs specific strategies to combine the elements of a ditransitive construction. These strategies differ in the order of the arguments and the number of arguments included. The verb form, which always appears first and indicates the agent, consistently begins the construction and will not be further discussed. From this point onwards, the focus will be only on the object elements, namely the direct and indirect objects, emphasising the object components within the verbal structure.

Strategy 1

In this strategy, verbs that resist DOC take the indirect object marker *lə*, followed by the pronominal affix, then the direct object marker *ʔyya*, which hosts a clitic, as shown in the example below.

110- wadder-t	lə-k	ʔyya-hə
sent-1SG	to-you	ʔyya-3SGF
'I sent it to you.'		

In this construction, the indirect object functions as a clitic attached to the preposition *lə*. An independent pronoun does not represent the direct object; instead, its presence is signified only

by the occurrence of the direct object marker *ʔyya* followed by a clitic. The direct object can also be indicated by a clitic hosted by the verb, followed by *lə*+clitic.

111- wadder-t- hə	ʔil-ək	(Jordanian Arabic)
sent-1SG-it	to-you	
'I sent it to you.'		

112- dazzer-t- hə	lə-k	(Kuwaiti Arabic)
sent-1SG-it	to-you	
'I sent it to you.'		

It is worth noting that the verbs which accept DOC also accept this configuration with lexical indirect objects, but not with pronominal ones.

113- ʔaʔʔer-t	lə	Sami	l-kutub
gave-1SG	to	Sami	the-books
'I gave the books to Sami.'			

114- ʔʔʔaʔʔer-t	l-u	l-kutub
gave-1SG	to-him	the-books
Intended: 'I gave the books to him.'		

The examples above support my claim that the construction V-*lə* Goal-Theme is not a DOC, contrary to Hallman (2018) and Al-Janabi (2019), who assert that it is. Instead, this construction is a PDC resulting from the *lə*-Goal moving around the Theme (see chapter 6).

Strategy 2

In the second strategy, with verbs that accept DOC, the direct and indirect objects form two separate phonological words. The indirect object clitic is suffixed to the verb in the first word, while the direct object clitic attaches to the particle *ʔyya* in the second. Note that this configuration is only applicable to verbs that accept DOC, as we mentioned in the previous section, where only the indirect object (Recipient) is eligible to cliticise to the verb.

115- ʔaʔʔer-t-ək	ʔyya-hin
gave-1SG-2GM	ʔyya-3PLF
'I gave them to you.'	

Strategy 3

In this strategy, the direct object attaches to the verb, while the indirect object links to the stressed form of the preposition *lə*, specifically *ʔl*. This arrangement results from an information-structure operation: the focus of *lə*+clitic (PP). It applies to all verbs that accept Theme-Goal PDC, as discussed earlier, since only the Theme can cliticise to the verb in these constructions. However, it appears that verbs that accept DOC can also allow Theme-Goal PDC in focus constructions.

116- dʒɪb-ɪt-hɪn	ʔl-U
brought-1SG-them	TO-HIM
'I have brought them to him.'	
117- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-hɪn	ʔl-U
gave-1SG-them	TO-HIM
'I gave them to him.'	

5.8.2. Lexical arguments and a mixture of lexical and pronominal arguments

Having discussed the ditransitive constructions with pronominal arguments in JA in the previous section, the discussion now turns to lexical arguments and the combination of lexical and pronominal arguments. JA speakers employ specific strategies in this context.

Strategy 1

Both arguments are full DPs with all ditransitive diatheses. The ditransitive constructions with full DPs can appear in three alignments.

118- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t	Sami	ктааб	(DOC)
gave-1SG	Sami	book	
'I gave Sami a book.'			
119- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t	ктааб	lə	Sami (Th-G PDC)
gave-1SG	book	to	Sami
'I gave a book to Sami.'			
120- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t	lə	Sami	ктааб (G-Th PDC)
gave-1SG	to	Sami	book
'I gave a book to Sami.'			

In the PDC, the heavier DP is preferred to be placed last. In the following example, the Goal-Theme PDC is preferred (see Chapter 3).

121- radʒdʒaŋ-it lə ʔuxt-i lɪ-blunuzeh ʔilli ʔaxað-it-hə min-hə
 returned-1SG. to sister-my the-blouse that took-1SG-it from-her
 ‘I returned to my sister the blouse I took from her.’ (S 1)

Strategy 2

The combination of a pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme in DOC: note that the object clitic must attach to the verb, as in (122), as discussed in section 5.3, followed by the full DP Theme. Reversing the order results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (123).

122- ʔaŋtʰeɪ-t-hə ktaab
 gave-1SG-her book
 ‘I gave her a book.’
 123- *ʔaŋtʰeɪ-t ktaab hə
 gave-1SG book her
 ‘I gave her a book.’

Strategy 3

The combination of a pronominal Theme and a full DP Goal in PDCs. The Theme must cliticise to the verb in this case (124) (see 5.3), and the preposition *lə* encodes the Recipient. Switching the order of the internal arguments results in ungrammaticality (125).

124- ʔaŋtʰeɪ-t-hə lə Sami
 gave-1SG-it to Sami
 ‘I gave it to Sami.’
 125- *ʔaŋtʰeɪ-t lə Sami hə
 gave-1SG to Sami it
 ‘I gave it to Sami.’

Note that the construction in (124) does not accept a Goal-Theme PDC when the Theme is pronominalised because *-hə* must cliticise to the verb. This rule applies to all verbs that accept

DOC. For verbs that resist DOC in JA, it is acceptable to use an object clitic attached to the preposition *la* after the verb, followed by a lexical Theme argument, as in (126).

126- baʕθ-əʔ	l-u	ktaab
sent-3SGF	to-him	book
‘She sent him a book.’		

5.9. Conclusion

This chapter shows that pronominal objects are always realised as enclitics. It is also demonstrated that constraints govern the choice of internal arguments in ditransitive constructions. It has also been shown that cliticisation in ditransitive constructions is systematic and constrained. Furthermore, the facts of clitic doubling are consistent with cliticisation rules.

Cliticisation and clitic doubling are also consistent with passive within ditransitive constructions. In DOCs, in JA, only the Recipient can be passivised, cliticised to the verb, doubled, and have its associated clitic hosted by the verb. In Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs, only the Theme can be passivised, cliticised to the verb, doubled, and have its associated clitic hosted by the verb.

Clitic doubling also shows that Goal-Theme PDCs cannot be DOCs in Arabic, since they behave syntactically like the typical Theme-Goal PDC. Moreover, evidence from clitic doubling suggests that the *la*-phrase in the construction V-*la*-DP-DP results from an A-bar movement. Under the “big DP-hypothesis”, since this *la*-phrase is in an A-bar derived position, its associated clitic remains inside the PP, preventing it from reaching the verb. In the next chapter, the syntax of ditransitives in JA is analysed. This chapter explores the structure of ditransitives within the chosen frameworks, namely Larson (1988) and a modified version by Pylkkänen (2002, 2008).

Chapter Six: The Syntax of Ditransitive Constructions in JA and Beyond

The current chapter examines how ditransitive constructions are formed in JA, focusing on theta roles and Case assignment to the two internal arguments of ditransitive predicates. It also explores the syntactic properties of the functional heads involved in these constructions, as well as the syntactic and semantic relationships between the objects. As noted earlier, the analysis of Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs) will follow Larson's (1988) framework, while a modified version of Pytkänen's (2002/2008) high/low applicative approach will be applied to Double Object Constructions (DOCs).

6.1. An overview of the data

Ditransitive constructions in languages such as English have been thoroughly examined. These studies show that the DP-DP and DP-PP frames can alternate. However, little or no focus has been given to JA's ditransitive constructions, which differ from those in English by dividing the DP-PP frame into two distinct types: the default Theme-Goal PDC and the reverse Goal-Theme PDC. This difference uncovers a structural variation not seen in English. The following examples illustrate the ditransitive constructions in JA.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|---------------------------|
| 1- | Sami | ʔaŋtʰə-Ø | Rami | lɪ-ktaab | (DOC) |
| | Sami | gave-3SGM | Rami | the-book | |
| | 'Sami gave Rami the book.' | | | | |
| 2- | Sami | ʔaŋtʰə-Ø | lɪ-ktaab | lə | Rami (Theme-Goal PDC) |
| | Sami | gave-3SGM | the-book | to | Rami |
| | 'Sami gave the book to Rami.' | | | | |
| 3- | Sami | ʔaŋtʰə-Ø | lə | Rami | lɪ-ktaab (Goal-Theme PDC) |
| | Sami | gave-3SGM | to | Rami | the-book |
| | 'Sami gave the book to Rami.' | | | | |

What is the relationship between the constructions discussed earlier? Note that not all ditransitive verbs allow all three of these constructions. In chapter 4, the ditransitive predicates in JA were categorised into two main types: verbs that accept DOCs and those that do not. It has been observed that verbs which do not accept DOCs are more numerous than those that do. Therefore,

it is reasonable to suggest that the unmarked ditransitive construction in JA is the PDC. An example of such predicates is the verb *waddə*, *baʕaθ* ‘send’, as in the following examples:

- 4- Sami baʕaθ-Ø resaaleh lə Rami
 Sami sent-3SGM letter to Rami
 ‘Sami sent a letter to Rami.’
- 5- Sami baʕaθ-Ø lə Rami resaaleh
 Sami sent-3SGM to Rami letter
 Intended, ‘Sami sent a letter to Rami.’
- 6- *Sami baʕaθ-Ø Rami resaaleh
 Sami sent-3SGM Rami letter
 Intended, ‘Sami sent Rami a letter.’

The syntactic, semantic properties, and presentation of constructions (1) to (6) above remain debated. There is no consensus on whether PDCs and DOCs share the same underlying structure or differ in syntax or semantics. Recent studies (e.g., Baker 1988; Larson 1988; Aoun and Li 1989; den Dikken 1995; Hallman 2015) argue that PDCs and DOCs are semantically related; therefore, they are also syntactically related. Extensive research treats (1) and (2) as distinct both in syntax and semantics (Pesetsky, 1995; Bruening, 2001; Pytkänen, 2002, 2008; Harley, 2002).

6.1.1. Two underlying structures

Proponents of the view that two distinct underlying structures are involved argue that the PDC and the DOC are both syntactically and semantically different (e.g., Green, 1974; Oehrle, 1976; Pesetsky, 1995; Harley, 2002; Bruening, 2001; Pytkänen, 2002/208). They contend that the PDC and DOC originate from separate underlying structures and should not be analysed as variants of a single form. Each construction has a unique semantic interpretation, and the structural difference reflects a change in the predicate's meaning rather than a surface variation of the same underlying representation. Consider (7) and (8).

- 7- To cause Y to have X (DOC)
 8- To cause X to go to Y (PDC)

Based on (7) and (8), shifting from a PDC to a DOC indicates a semantic change from “goal” to “possessor.” In (8), Y functions as a goal, while in (7), Y is regarded as a possessor.

Proponents of this view argue that the indirect object Y in the DOC must be a recipient or possessor, whereas in PDC, it signifies an endpoint of motion (e.g., Green, 1974; Oehrle, 1976). Furthermore, the indirect object in the PDC can be either animate or inanimate, as shown in (9) and (10); however, it must be animate in the DOC, as demonstrated in (11) and (12). This is entirely accurate in genuine transfer of possession constructions for JA. However, in DOCs, when the direct object is the core of the construction's primary semantics, such as in light verbs in double object constructions, like English, in JA, it is possible to have an inanimate Goal, as in (13).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------|----------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 9- | ʔaʃtʰer-t | lɪ-ktaab | lə | Sami | (PDC, animate indirect object) |
| | gave-1SG | the-book | to | Sami | |
| | 'I gave the book to Sami.' | | | | |
| 10- | ʔaʃtʰer-t | lɪ-ktaab | lə | l-maktabeh | (PDC, inanimate indirect object) |
| | gave-1SG | the-book | to | the-library | |
| | 'I gave the book to the library.' | | | | |
| 11- | ʔaʃtʰer-t | Sami | lɪ-ktaab | | (DOC, animate indirect object) |
| | gave-1SG | Sami | the-book | | |
| | 'I gave Sami the book.' | | | | |
| 12- | *ʔaʃtʰer-t | lɪ-maktabeh | lɪ-ktaab | | (DOC, inanimate indirect object) |
| | gave-1SG | the-library | the-book | | |
| | 'I gave the library the book.' | | | | |
| 13- | ʔaʃtʰer-nə | s-sayyaaarah | | daffeh | (DOC, inanimate indirect object) |
| | gave-1PL | the-car | | push | |
| | 'We gave the car a push.' | | | | |

According to Bruening (2018), supporters of treating the two constructions as separate often cite semantic differences to justify their view (e.g., Green 1974; Oehrle, 1976). For example, the DOC requires the first object to be a recipient or possessor, whereas the PDC allows for broader interpretations, such as an endpoint of motion. These semantic differences are used to argue against a derivational link between the two structures.

- 14- I kicked {her/*the goal line} the ball. (recipient or possessor)
 15- I kicked the ball to {her/the goal line}. (endpoint of motion)
 16- I took {him/*the windowsill} a cup of coffee. (recipient or possessor)
 17- I took a cup of coffee to {him/the windowsill}. (endpoint of motion)

(Bruening 2018:123-124).

The fact that some verbs in JA do not alternate and many verbs resist DOCs is consistent with this approach.

- 18- *dzib-t* *iktaab* *lə* Sami
 brought-1SG book for Sami
 ‘I brought a book for Sami.’
 19- **dzib-t* Sami *iktaab*
 brought-1SG Sami book
 ‘I brought Sami a book.’

There is no rule governing the subcategorisation of verbs in JA. In derived ditransitives, some verbs subcategorise for [(NP)-NP], while others are for [NP-(PP)]. For example, the verb *baaf* ‘sell’ subcategorises as follows.

baaf ‘sell’ [(NP)-NP]

[NP-(PP)]

- 20- Sami *baaf-∅* *bert-u*
 Sami sold-3SGM house-his
 ‘Sami sold his house.’
 21- Sami *baaf-∅* Rami *bert-u*
 Sami sold-3SGM Rami house-his
 ‘Sami sold Rami his house.’
 22- Sami *baaf-∅* *bert-u* *lə* Rami
 Sami sold-3SGM house-his to Rami
 ‘Sami sold his house to Rami.’

ʔiftarə ‘buy’ [NP-(PP)]

- 23- Sami ʔiftarə-Ø bert
 Sami bought-3SGM house
 ‘Sami bought a house.’
- 24- Sami ʔiftarə-Ø bert lə Rami
 Sami bought-3SGM house to Rami
 ‘Sami bought a house for Rami.’
- 25- *Sami ʔiftarə-Ø Rami bert
 Sami bought-3SGM Rami house
 ‘Sami bought Rami a house.’

Most verbs that subcategorise for a second internal argument usually also subcategorise for an optional PP. Therefore, they do not alternate with [(NP)-NP] subcategorisation.

Some verbs in JA that subcategorise for [(NP)-NP] do not alternate with [NP-(PP)].

ðʕarab ‘hit’ [NP-(NP)]

- 26- Sami ðʕarab-Ø Rami
 Sami hit-3SGM Rami
 ‘Sami hit Rami.’
- 27- Sami ðʕarab-Ø Rami bukɪs
 Sami hit-3SGM Rami box
 ‘Sami hit Rami a box.’
- 28- *Sami ðʕarab-Ø bukɪs lə Rami
 Sami hit-3SGM box to Rami
 ‘Sami hit a box at Rami.’

Even causative verbs in JA vary in this respect. Causative verbs derived from intransitive and monotransitive verbs resist PDCs, while verbs derived from ergative verbs resist DOCs²⁴.

²⁴ This issue requires further investigation

- 29- Sami xassar-Ø Rami ʕifreen deenaar
 Sami caused to lose-3SGM Rami twenty dinars
 ‘Sami caused Rami to lose twenty dinars.’
- 30- *Sami xassar-Ø ʕifreen deenaar lə Rami
 Sami caused to lose-3SGM twenty dinars to Rami
 ‘Sami caused Rami to lose twenty dinars.’
- 31- Sami waggaʕ-Ø il-kurah lə Rami bi-l-beer
 Sami caused to drop-3SGM the-ball for Rami in-the-well
 ‘Sami caused the ball to drop in the well for Sami.’

The idiom facts dispute the derivational approach to ditransitive constructions; idioms are found in the DOC but not in the PDC (Green, 1974; Harley, 2002).

32- The lighting here gives me a headache.

33- *The lighting here gives a headache to me.

(Bresnan et al, 2007:71)

However, Bresnan et al. (2007:72) provided counterevidence, arguing that idioms can indeed appear in both ditransitive structures.

34- She found it hard to look at the Sage’s form for long. The spells that protected her identity also *gave a headache to anyone trying to determine even her size*; the constant bulging and rippling of her form gave Sarah vertigo.

The idiomatic ʔaʕtʔə ‘give’ in JA retains its idiomatic meaning in both DOCs and PDCs, but this alone is insufficient to establish a relationship between the two structures or to claim they share the same underlying form, since the passive does not always preserve the idiomatic meaning (see section 4.4.9). Consider (35) and (36).

- 35- Rami ʔaʕtʔə-Ø Sami ʕaazug
 Rami gave-3SGM Sami pole
 ‘Rami gave Sami a pole.’ (Rami deceived Sami)

- 36- Rami ʔaʃtʰə-Ø ʒaazug lə Sami
 Rami gave-3SGM pole to Sami
 ‘Rami gave a pole to Sami.’ (Rami deceived Sami)

This section presents two main arguments from supporters of the two underlying structures for ditransitive constructions. First, they emphasise that the indirect object serves different semantic roles in each construction: in DOCs, it functions as a recipient or possessor, whereas in PDCs, it serves as the endpoint of motion or the goal. Second, they argue that certain verbs occur exclusively in one structure —either the DOC or the PDC — indicating that the two constructions are not derivationally related but rather reflect distinct underlying meanings.

6.1.2. One underlying structure

Much of the earlier research on dative alternation suggests that DOCs and PDCs have two distinct underlying structures. However, more recent studies have started to question this view, indicating that the two constructions share a single underlying structure and convey the same meaning (Baker 1988, 1997; den Dikken, 1995; Bresnan, 2007; Bresnan et al., 2007; Bresnan & Nikitina, 2009; Ormazabal & Romero, 2007, 2010; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2008). Baker (1988, 1997), for example, argues that both constructions originate from a single structure, citing their “identical thematic relations.” In examples like (37) and (38), the noun phrases perform the same thematic roles: one as the theme and the other as the recipient.

37- I gave the candy (theme) to the children (recipient).

38- I gave the children (recipient) the candy (theme).

(Baker, 1997:86)

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008) challenge the multiple-meaning approach by emphasising the importance of a verb’s core meaning, or “root,” and the way specific event schemas are linked to that root. They reject broad, generalised interpretations of dative verbs and instead advocate for a “verb-sensitive analysis,” where a verb’s meaning plays a central role in determining its argument realisation. Their analysis, focusing on *give*-, *throw*-, and *send*-type verbs, demonstrates that this approach provides a more accurate interpretation of both PDCs and DOCs.

In their “verb-sensitive” analysis of PDCs and DOCs, Rappaport Hovav and Levin argue that both constructions involving *give*-type verbs reflect a “caused possession” schema. In contrast,

throw-type verbs may align with either a “caused possession” or a “caused motion” schema. This view opposes the multiple-meaning approach, which assumes that all PDCs express “caused motion” while DOCs express “caused possession.” Rappaport Hovav and Levin contend that, for *give*-type verbs in PDCs, the change occurs within the “possessional field,” as there is no shift in the theme’s spatial location. They further argue that the “*to* phrase” in *give*-type constructions can only select “possessional goals.” In contrast, with *throw*- and *send*-type verbs, the goals may be either “possessional” or “spatial,” depending on the specific semantics and event structure supported by the verb.

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008) link the syntactic realisation of a verb’s arguments to its underlying “event schema.” For instance, verbs like *give*, *rent*, and *lend* exemplify a caused possession schema in both DOCs and PDCs. Conversely, *throw*- and *send*-type verbs encode a caused possession schema in DOCs but can signify either caused possession or caused motion in PDCs. This shows that the choice between DOCs and PDCs depends on the verb’s “core meaning,” rather than on a consistent interpretation across all verbs.

6.1.3. Conclusion

The above sections demonstrate that whether the PDC and the DOC share the same underlying structure or differ in semantics or syntax remains a matter of debate. Since JA has many verbs that resist alternation with the DOC, I will employ different approaches for each type of ditransitive in the following sections. For DOCs, I will adopt a modified approach based on Pytkänen’s (2002/2008), which is consistent with the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (Baker, 1988, p. 46). To analyse PDCs in JA, I will follow Larson’s (1988) approach, which fully complies with the UTAH.

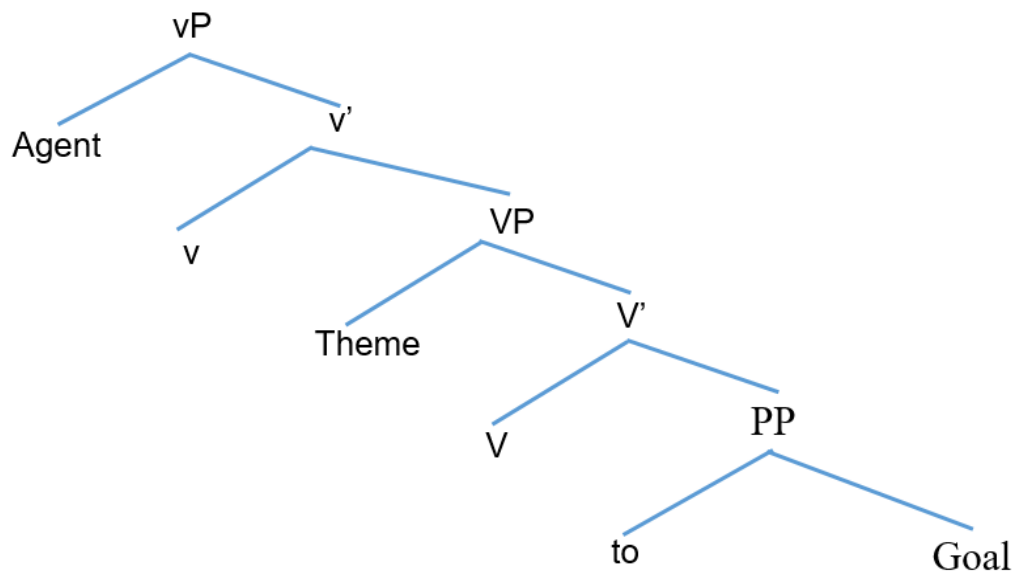
6.2. The syntax of PDC in JA

In the previous chapters, I argued that JA exhibits a pattern of ditransitive constructions similar to those in English, and that its inventory exceeds that of English. I observe that JA has two types of Prepositional Dative Constructions: the canonical Theme-Goal PDC and the reverse Goal-Theme PDC. Many syntactic tests (presented in section 6.2.2.1) from earlier chapters demonstrate that both types of PDC behave syntactically in exactly the same way. In the following sections, I will analyse the syntax of each type separately.

6.2.1. The syntax of the canonical Theme-Goal PDC in JA

In his proposed structure, Larson (1988) discusses syntactic asymmetries between the Theme and the Recipient in the PDC and proposes a hierarchical VP structure with two VP shells. According to his analysis, the Theme is generated as the specifier of the lower VP, and the PP Goal as its complement. Consider the following structure:

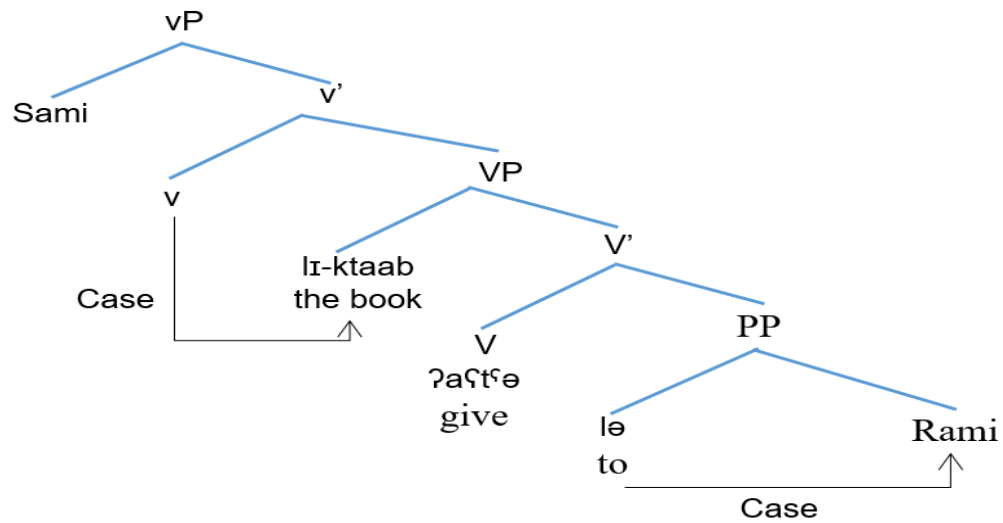
39-



In (39), the Theme functions as a specifier of VP, which, in turn, takes the PP as its complement. Regarding Case assignment, the Theme receives Case from v, while the Goal receives Case from the preposition ‘to’. Using the above structure, Case assignment in the PDC in JA could be as shown in (41):

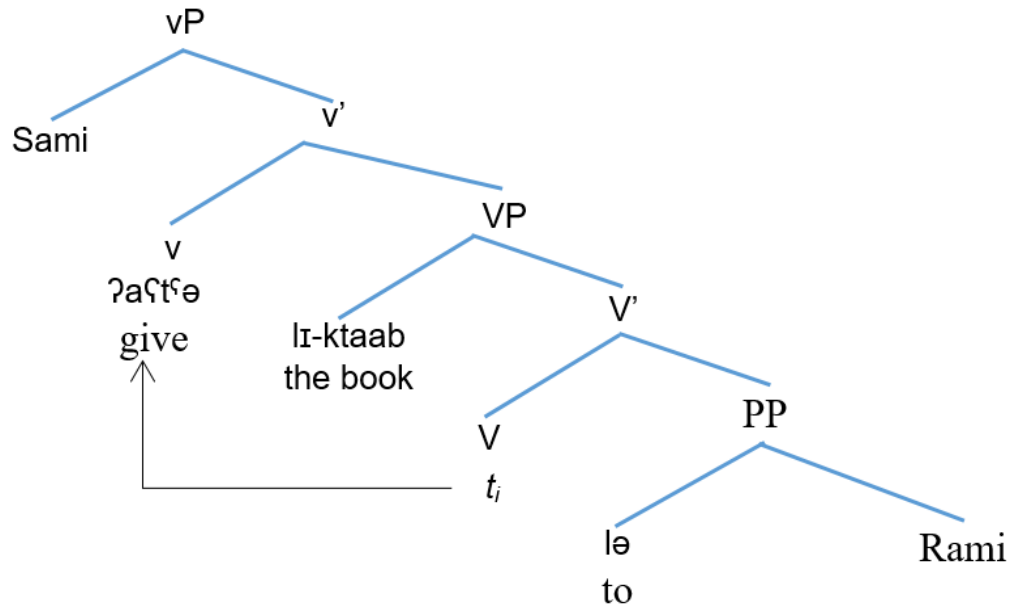
40- Sami	ʔaɬtʰə-Ø	lɪ-ktaab	lə	Rami
Sami	gave-3SGM	the-book	to	Rami
‘Sami gave the book to Rami.’				

41-



In (41), the Theme *lɪ-ktaab* ‘the book’ receives the accusative case, while the Recipient *Rami* receives the genitive case from the preposition *lə* ‘to’. Through head-to-head movement, where the verb *ʔaɬtʰə* ‘give’ moves to the *v* position, this movement is driven by case and agreement requirements. It allows the verb to be governed by *I*, receive tense and agreement information, and assign an accusative case to the Theme *lɪ-ktaab* ‘the book’. Consider (42).

42-



In (42), we derive the correct word order through head-to-head movement of V to v. Note that in JA, the morphological case is visible on pronouns. The recipient, *Rami*, does not display any morphological case, but when we use the 1SG pronoun, it becomes easy to identify the genitive case, as in (43) and (44).

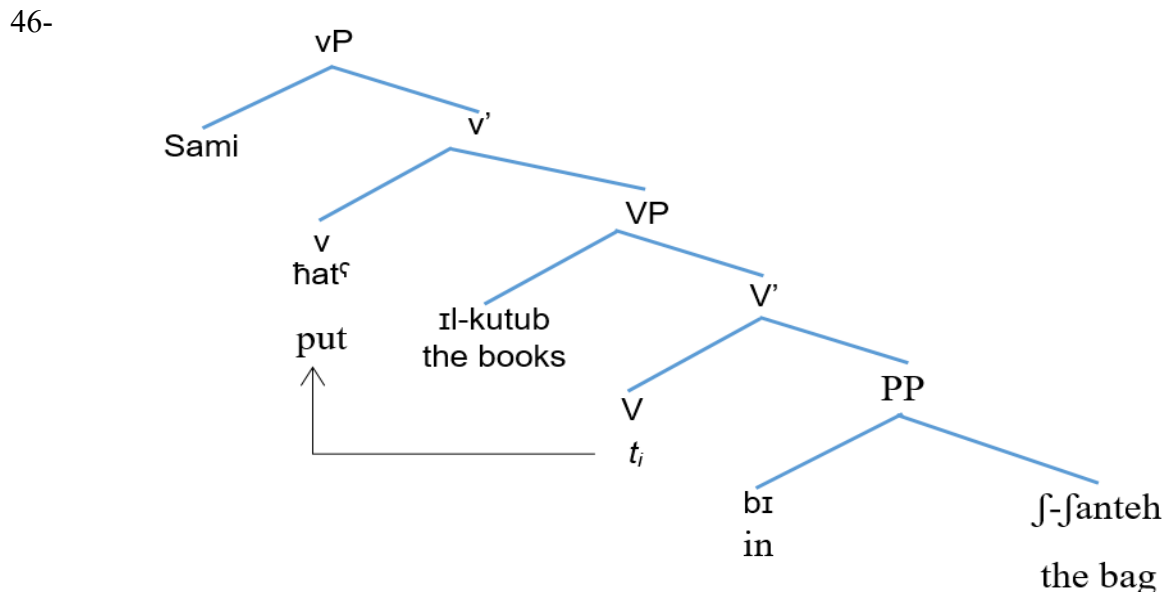
43- Sami ʔaʔtʰə-Ø lɪ-ktaab ʔɪl-ɪ/lə-ɪ
 Sami gave-3SGM the-book to-me
 ‘Sami gave the book to me.’

44- *Sami ʔaʔtʰə-Ø lɪ-ktaab ʔɪl-ɪ
 Sami gave-3SGM the-book to-me
 Intended: ‘Sami gave the book to me.’

In (43), the use of the genitive object clitic is grammatical, while in (44), the use of the accusative object clitic renders the sentence ungrammatical. This suggests that the genitive appears after *lə* in PDCs in JA.

Regarding the location Goal, we follow the same structure as in (39), (41), and (42).

45- Sami ʔatʰ-Ø ɪl-kutub bɪ-ʃ-fanteh
 Sami put-3SGM the-books in-the-bag
 ‘Sami put the books in the bag.’



JA is similar to English and other languages in that the first argument, i.e., the Goal in the DOC, can never be a place name or a location (see Green, 1974; Oehrle, 1976). However, in the PDC, the PP may include a place name (see section 6.1.1).

6.2.2. The syntax of Goal-Theme PDC in JA

In chapters 4 and 5, I argue that the Goal-Theme PDC and the canonical Theme-Goal PDC function identically. I have employed various syntactic tests to support my claim. In the following section, I compiled all these syntactic tests to summarise the claim.

6.2.2.1. The syntactic tests prove that (V-*la* Goal-Theme) is not a DOC

- **Scope interaction**

What differentiates the Goal-Theme PDC from the Theme-Goal PDC in terms of scope is that, in the Theme-Goal PDC, the Goal can only scope over the Theme, whereas in the Goal-Theme PDC, the scope is frozen. What unites the two patterns is that, in surface syntax, the lower object is c-commanded by the higher object in both diatheses. In (47), despite this surface c-command pattern, the lower object can scope over the higher one. There are two possible interpretations of (47): one corresponds to a linear scope reading, in which each student receives a specific book, and the other suggests that each student receives a different book.

47- ʔaʕt̪ʰ-u ktaab lə kull t̪ʰaalɪb (ambiguous) (Th-G PDC)
 gave-3PLM book to every student
 ‘They gave a book to every student.’ (Q 35)

However, when the Theme is a universal QP and the Goal is an existential QP, the story will be different in the Goal-Theme PDC, as in (48).

48- ʔaʕɪ^s-u lə t'aalɪb kull ɪktaab bi-s^s-s^saf (unambiguous) (G-Th PDC)
 gave-3PL to student every book in-the-class
 Lit: 'They gave to a student every book in the class.'

(48) does not permit a distributive interpretation and appears to be similar to an English DOC when the universal QP appears to the right of the existential in the linear sequence. The quantified Theme is frozen in (48). This is a typical characteristic of DP+DP constructions in English, where a universal quantifier Theme cannot have inverse scope over an indefinite

Recipient. As in English, no distributive reading is available in (48) where the universal quantifier distributes over the indefinite, such as in each book going to a different child. In the case of a DP+PP frame as in (47), both the surface scope and the inverse scope readings are available, as in English. However, regarding the scope facts compatible with a DOC treatment of Goal-Theme PDCs, I argue against such a treatment on grounds of passivisation: the DOC analysis predicts failure to promote the Theme to the subject position. In contrast, my analysis predicts success in promoting the Theme to the subject position, supported by the Q-float facts I used to reinforce my prediction. Moreover, I argue that the universal QP in (48) is frozen because the lower PP moves around the Theme to an A-bar position, acting as an intervener that prevents QR from moving to another A-bar position under Relativised Minimality (see section 6.2.2.2).

- **Passivisation**

In chapter four, I demonstrated that in both the Theme-Goal PDC and the Goal-Theme PDC, only the Theme can move to the subject position (i.e., can be passivised). The movement of the Recipient in both constructions results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (52). The passivisation of (49) and (50) is presented in (51).

49- Sami	dʒaab-∅	lɪ-ktaab	lə	Samia (Th-G PDC)
Sami	brought-3SGM	the-book	to	Samia
'Sami brought the book to Samia.'				
50- Sami	dʒaab-∅	lə	Samia	lɪ-ktaab (G-Th PDC)
Sami	brought-3SGM	to	Samia	the-book
'Sami brought the book to Samia.'				
51- lɪ-ktaab	ʔɪn-dʒaab-∅	lə	Samia	(Passive of the Theme)
the-book	passive-brought-3SGM	to	Samia	
'The book was brought to Samia.'				
52- *lə Samia	ʔɪn-dʒaab-ət	lɪ-ktaab		(Passive of the Recipient)
to Samia	passive-brought-3SGF	the-book		
Intended, 'The book was brought to Samia.'				

Since the result of passivisation is identical in both types of PDC, it is difficult to determine whether a passive construction with Theme promotion originates from a Theme-Goal PDC or a Goal-Theme PDC. We cannot establish which type of PDC (51) originates from. I used floating

quantifiers to clarify the source of (51) (i.e., a Theme-Goal PDC or a Goal-Theme PDC), as in the following examples (See also section 4.4.1).

53- Sami dʒaab-Ø il-kutub kull-hin lə Samia mbaareh (**Th-G PDC**)

Sami brought-3SGM the-books all-3PLF to Samia yesterday

‘Sami brought all the books to Samia yesterday.’

54- Sami dʒaab-Ø lə Samia il-kutub kull-hin mbaareh (**G-Th PDC**)

Sami brought-3SGM. to Samia the-books all-3PLF yesterday

‘Sami brought all the books to Samia yesterday.’

When we passivise the Theme, the quantifier reveals the place of its associate before it moves to the subject position, so the passivisation of (53) is in (55), and that of (54) in (56).

55- il-kutub in-dʒaab-in kull-hin lə Samia mbaareh (**Th-G PDC**)

the-books Passive-brought-3PLF all-3PLF to Samia yesterday

‘The books were all brought to Samia yesterday.’

56- il-kutub in-dʒaab-in lə Samia kull-hin mbaareh (**G-Th PDC**)

the-books Passive-brought-3PLF to Samia all-3PLF yesterday

‘The books were all brought to Samia yesterday.’

The facts above show that passivising the Theme in (55) and (56) is legitimate, while passivising the Recipient in both constructions is not legitimate. This indicates that both constructions behave syntactically in the same way.

- **A-bar movement**

In section 4.4.2, I demonstrated that the Theme can be questioned in all ditransitive constructions in JA, whereas the Recipient can only be questioned in PDC diatheses. Consequently, ditransitive constructions in JA resemble standard English ditransitives in terms of A-bar movement. In (49) and (55), the Recipient can be questioned as illustrated in (57).

57- lə miin Sami dʒaab-Ø lɪ-ktaab

to whom Sami brought-3SGM the-book

‘To whom did Sami bring the book?’

Questioning the Recipient in the DOC is illegitimate, as in the following examples.

58- Sami ʔaʕtʕə-Ø Rami lɪ-ktaab (DOC)

Sami gave-3SGM Rami the book

‘Sami gave Rami the book.’

59- * miin Sami ʔaʕtʕə-Ø lɪ-ktaab

whom Sami gave-3SGM the book

Intended: ‘To whom did Sami give a book?’

In section 4.4.2, I demonstrated the source of the questioned Theme (i.e., whether it is questioned in the Theme-Goal or Goal-Theme PDC) by using floating quantifiers. This is shown in (60)-(63). Note that, due to the resumptive strategy, Arabic imposes no restrictions on the syntactic roles that can be relativised (see Herin & Al-Wer, 2025; Keenan & Comrie, 1977) (see Section 4.4.2). Therefore, relative clauses in JA are derived by base-generation rather than A-bar movement, where the referentiality of the resumptive is achieved through binding (Al-Aqraba, 2022). Wh-movement of the Theme in Theme-Goal PDC and Goal-Theme PDC involves pseudo-clefting, a relativisation strategy that includes resumption. The moved-PP occupies an A-bar position that does not prevent the movement of the Theme to an A-position (i.e., the subject position). Because the PP is in the A-bar position, it blocks the Theme from QR and passes it to a higher A-bar position under Relativised Minimality.

60- Rami waddə-Ø l-kutub kull-hɪn lə Sami mbaareh (Th-G PDC)

Rami sent-3SGM t he-books all-3PLF to Sami yesterday

‘Rami sent the books all to Sami yesterday.’

61- Rami waddə-Ø lə Sami l-kutub kull-hɪn ʔimbaareh (G-Th PDC)

Rami sent-3SGM to Sami the-books all-3PLF yesterday

Intended: ‘Rami sent the books all to Sami yesterday.’

When questioning the Theme, the quantifier indicates the position of its associate, as shown in the following examples. (62) demonstrates that the Theme is questioned in the Theme-Goal PDC, while (63) shows that the Theme is questioned in the Goal-Theme PDC.

62- juu yallı Rami waddə-Ø-hın kull-hın lə Sami ʔimbaareh
 what that Rami sent-3SGM-3PLF all-3PLF to Sami yesterday

‘What did Rami send all to Sami yesterday?’

63- juu yallı Rami waddə-Ø-hın lə Sami kull-hın ʔimbaareh
 what that Rami sent-3SGM-3PLF to Sami all-3PLF yesterday

‘What did Rami send all to Sami yesterday?’

The above facts demonstrate that both Theme-Goal and Goal-Theme PDCs behave syntactically in the same way.

In sections 4.4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.5, and 4.4.6, I demonstrated that both types of PDC exhibit the same syntactic behaviour and underlying structure concerning A and A-bar movement. We are dealing with free word order in JA. This supports the claim that **V-lə Recipient-Theme** is not a DOC.

- **Cliticisation**

In Chapter Five, we identified a consistent pattern of cliticisation in ditransitive constructions. If a DP can be promoted to the subject position, it can also be cliticised to the verb. In both types of PDC, only the Theme can be promoted to the subject position, as demonstrated in Chapter 4 and the previous section; therefore, only the Theme can be cliticised in either construction. This provides further strong evidence that **V-lə Goal-Theme** is a PDC, not a DOC. The floating quantifier also serves us well in this respect. When the Theme is cliticised to the verb, the quantifier indicates the place of its associate (i.e., the cliticised Theme).

64- Sami dzaab-Ø il-kutub kull-hın lə Rami mbaareh (Th-G PDC)

Sami brought-3SGM the-books all-3PLF to Rami yesterday

‘Sami brought all the books to Rami yesterday.’

65- Sami dzaab-Ø lə Rami il-kutub kull-hın mbaareh. (G-Th PDC)

Sami brought-3SGM. to Rami the-books all-3PLF yesterday

‘Sami brought all the books to Rami yesterday.’

When we cliticise the Theme *il-kutub* ‘the books’, the quantifier stays in its place, indicating the source of the cliticised Theme, as in the following examples.

66- Sami dʒaab-*Ø-hm* kull-*hm* lə Rami mbaareh (Th-G PDC)

Sami brought-3SGM-3PLF.them all-3PLF to Rami yesterday

‘Sami brought all of them to Rami yesterday.’

67- Sami dʒaab-*Ø-hm* lə Rami kull-*hm* mbaareh (G-Th PDC)

Sami brought-3SGM-3PLF.them to Rami all-3PLF yesterday

‘Sami brought all of them to Rami yesterday.’

- **Clitic doubling**

In sections 5.6 and 5.7, we concluded that in both types of PDC, only the Theme can be doubled, and the verb hosts the related clitic. This aligns with the Theme being promoted to the subject position and cliticised to the verb. If we cliticise the Theme in the following examples and double the resulting clitic, we get the following result.

68- Sami dʒaab-*Ø* lɪ-*ktaab* lə Rami (Th-G PDC)

Sami brought-3SGM the-book to Rami

‘Sami brought the book to Rami.’

69- Sami dʒaab-*Ø-u* *lɪ-ktaab* lə Rami

Sami brought-3SGM-3SGM the-book to Rami

‘Sami brought it to Rami, the book.’

70- Sami dʒaab-*Ø* lə Rami lɪ-*ktaab* (G-Th PDC)

Sami brought-3SGM to Rami the-book

‘Sami brought the book to Rami.’

71- Sami dʒaab-*Ø-u* lə Rami *lɪ-ktaab*

Sami brought-3SGM-3SGM to Rami the-book

‘Sami brought it to Rami, the book.’

The examples above demonstrate that the PP can move around the doubled Theme to create the Goal-Theme PDC, further emphasising that V-*lə*-Goal-Theme is not a DOC.

With *give*-type verbs (verbs that accept DOC), when they are in the DOC, and the Recipient is cliticised to the verb and doubled, the doubled Recipient cannot follow its associated clitic, which is hosted by the verb.

- 72- Sami $\text{ʔaʕtʕə-}\emptyset\text{-}hə_k$ lɪ-ktaab lə ***Samia_k***
 Sami gave-3SGM-her the-book to Samia
 ‘Sami gave her the book to Samia.’
- 73- Sami $\text{ʔaʕtʕə-}\emptyset\text{-}hə_i/*_k$ lə ***Samia_k*** ***s-sayyarah_i***
 Sami gave-3SGM-her to Samia the-car
 ‘Sami gave her the car to Samia.’

The evidence in the above examples shows that the *lə*-phrase in the construction V-*lə*-DP-DP is a result of an A-bar movement. Following the “big DP-hypothesis”, because this *lə*-phrase is in a derived position, its associated clitic is stuck inside the PP. That clitic cannot access the verb (i.e., the PP is opaque because it is in an A-bar derived position).

Six syntactic tests have been employed to demonstrate that the construction **V-*lə* Goal-Theme** is not a DOC, as claimed by Hallman (2018) and Al-Janabi (2019).

- **Depictive secondary predicate**

Williams (1980) proposes an account of secondary predication. He distinguishes between resultative and depictive secondary predicates. Williams argues that a depictive secondary predicate describes the state of the referent of a DP at the time when the action denoted by the primary predicate occurs. In the following examples, *zaʕlaan* ‘angry’ and *nay* ‘raw’ are depictive secondary predicates, which are predicated of the subject DP *Sami* and the object DP *il-laħım* ‘the meat’ respectively.

- 74- Sami_k tʕɪɪʕ- $\emptyset$ zaʕlaan_k
 Sami left-3SGM angry
 ‘Sami left angry.’
- 75- Sami ʔakal- $\emptyset$ il-laħım_k nay_k
 Sami ate-3SGM the-meat raw
 ‘Sami ate the meat raw.’

A depictive secondary predicate is predicated of an argument of the main verb, subject or object. Williams proposes a small clause structure in which the secondary predicate and its argument form a predicative unit within the VP. The ungrammaticality of (76) shows that the depictive construction works with verbs that can directly select the DP as an argument, *ʔakal ʔala*

‘ate at’ takes a PP complement, not a DP, so the predicative link between *nay* ‘raw’ and *il-laħım* ‘the meat’ cannot be established.

- 76- Sami ʔakal-Ø (*ʔa) il-laħım nay
 Sami ate-3SGM (*at) the-meat raw
 ‘Sami ate (*at) the meat raw.’

Williams argues that depictive predicates are licensed through a syntactic predication relation between the predicate *nay* ‘raw’ and its subject *il-laħım* ‘meat’.

He notes that depictive secondary predicates can be predicated of the subject and the direct object, but not of the indirect object in DOCs.

- 77- Sami ʔatʕam-Ø Rami l-laħım_k nay_k
 Sami fed-3SGM Rami the-meat raw
 ‘Sami fed Rami the meat raw.’
- 78- Sami_k ʔatʕam-Ø Rami l-laħım sakraan_k (Sami but not Rami is drunk)
 Sami fed-3SGM Rami the-meat drunk
 ‘Sami fed Rami the meat drunk.’

Hallman (2018) claims that the accusative recipient of *ʔaʕtʕ* ‘give’ and the dative recipient of *radʒdʒaʕ* ‘return’, *waffar* ‘provide’-type verbs, may not host the secondary predicate *sakraan* ‘drunk’. However, the Theme may host the secondary predicate *mihri* ‘damaged’ in the examples he provided.

- 79- xālīd ʕaʕa Leyla_i l-ktāb_j mihri_j /*sikrān-e_i
 Khalid gave Leyla the-book damaged /*drunk-FS
 ‘Khalid gave Leyla_i the book_j damaged_j / *drunk_i.’
- 80- xālīd raʒʒaʕ la-Leyla_i l-ktāb_j mihri_j /*sikrān-e_i
 Khalid gave DAT-Leyla the-book damaged /*drunk-FS
 ‘Khalid returned Leyla_i the book_j damaged_j / *drunk_i.’ (Hallman, 2018, p 13)

Hallman claims that these facts highlight a general similarity between the DP+DP frame with a dative and an accusative first DP. However, he does not address the fact pointed out by Koizumi (1994) that although indirect objects cannot be modified by depictive secondary

predicates in the active voice, they can when they become the subject of a passive. Consider the examples from Pylkkänen (2008, p 36).

81- He told me the news drunk. (I cannot be the one who is drunk)

82- I was told the news drunk. (I am the one who is drunk)

If we take Hallman's examples in (79) and (80) and convert them into passive voice, we find that the indirect object in (79) can be passivised, whereas in (80) only the theme can be passivised. The retention of *lə* is never expected to be grammatical in the passive. Passive formation involves NP-movement.

83- Leyla_i ʔin-ʕatʕ-ət lɪ-ktaab_j mahɾɪ_j/sakraan-eh_i
 Leyla passive-gave-3SGF the-book damaged/drunk-FS
 'Leyla_i was given the book_j damaged_j/drunk_i.'

84- *lə Leyla_i ʔit-radʒdʒ-ət lɪ-ktaab_j mahɾɪ_j/*sakraan-eh_i
 to-Leyla passive-returned-3SGF the-book damaged/drunk-FS
 'To Leyla was returned the book damaged/drunk.'

85- lɪ-ktaab_j/_i ʔit-radʒdʒ-Ø lə Leyla mahɾɪ_j/*sakraan-eh_i
 the-book passive-returned-3SGM to Leyla damaged/drunk-FS
 'The book_{i/j} was returned to Leyla damaged_i/*drunk_j.'

The above fact indicates that the *lə*-Recipient postverbally is not a DP but a PP that moves around the Theme and sits between the Verb and the Theme. In (84), *lə Leyla* 'to Leyla' cannot host a depictive secondary predicate and cannot be passivised because it is a PP, not a DP. The *lə*-clitic cannot be a DP because it cannot antecede a depictive secondary predicate as in (86).

86- Sami dʒaab-Ø lɪ-ɪ l-ʔayraaðʕ halkaan
 Sami brought-3SGM for-me the-objects tired
 'Sami brought the objects for me.'

In (86), *-ɪ* 'me', the object of P cannot be the one who is tired. *Sami* is the one who is tired of carrying objects. Therefore, *l-ɪ* 'for me' cannot be a DP as discussed in Hallman and Al-Janabi's analyses. It is a PP instead.

6.2.2.2. The derivation of Goal-Theme PDC

While the standard word order is subject-verb-object (SVO) in JA, the language's flexible structure allows for various arrangements depending on the discourse context (see El-Yasin 1985; Al-Sarayreh, 2012; Al-Shawashreh, 2016). In his quantitative study of word order variation in JA, Al-Shawashreh (2016) concludes that distributional and multivariate analyses demonstrate that multiple constraints influence word order variation in vernacular JA. One key finding is the predominant use of SV(O) word order, which competes with the less common VS(O) word order. Another significant result is the existence of minority orders, such as VOS, OVS, OSV, and SOV, whose roles in spoken Arabic have been widely debated and reported inconsistently in the literature. Consider the following examples from Al-Shawashreh (2016, p. 3).

- 87- Haliyyan **T**Taalib *biftaH* l-net yiqra kilmteen 'an lmawDuu'
 Now the student opens internet reads two words about the topic
 'Now, the student searches on the internet and reads about the topic.' **SVO**
- 88- iDa yi'raf **l?**ab waaHad ma yi'raf awlaad-uh
 if know the father someone NEG know kids-his
 'If father has a friend, he does not know his friend's children.' **VSO**
- 89- l-makaan kaan mumayyaz *kanat dgzaam'ih* kuliSSifaat **haDiik rriHlih**
 the place was outstanding was inclusive all characteristics that the trip
 'The place was amazing. That trip was perfect by all measures.' **VOS**

The examples above, from Al-Shawashreh (2016), demonstrate that JA word order is flexible with respect to the subject, verb, and object. They also emphasise the range of naturally occurring word orders in colloquial JA, as observed in spontaneous speech. This supports his argument that word order variation is genuine and diverse rather than fixed to a single canonical form.

In the previous chapters and sections, I argue that the construction V-*la*-DP-DP is not a DOC and behaves syntactically exactly like the canonical PDC, V-DP-*la*-DP, with respect to passivisation, A-bar movement, cliticisation, clitic doubling, and scope interaction.

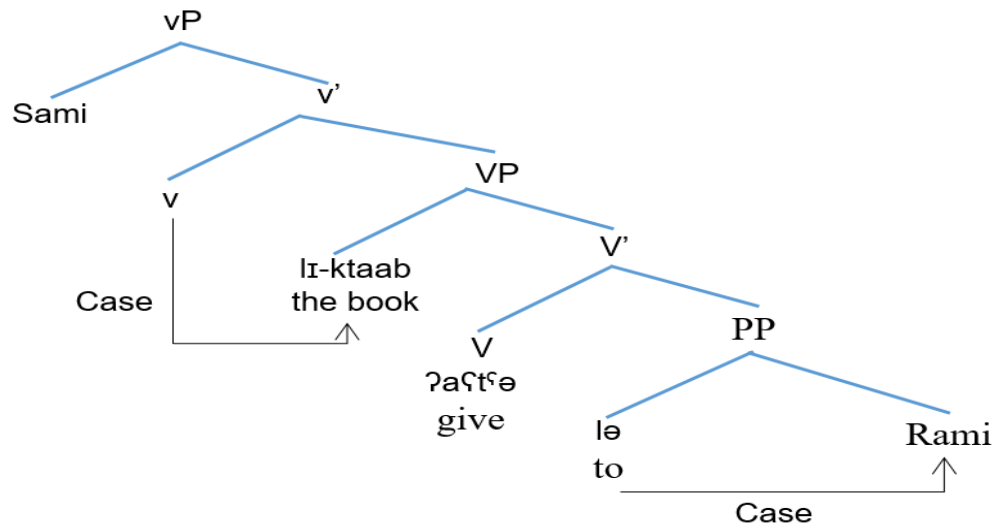
Based on the facts above, I argue that JA has a flexible word order, and the standard explanation for this variation is that it results from this flexibility. In JA, supported by evidence

from quantifier scope, reflexive binding, and other sources, I reject the DOC syntax for V-*lə*-Goal-Theme, because this construction behaves syntactically the same as the Theme-Goal PDC. I maintain that the Theme-Goal order is fundamental, whereas the Goal-Theme order arises from the movement of the PP around the Theme, occupying an A-bar position. The PP moves leftward into a position very close to the verb. The PP attaches to the VP, following the verb after it leaves the VP. The PP's landing site is an adjunct position to the VP, which means it is higher than the Theme. Consequently, we get V-*lə*-Goal-Theme.

The underlying representation of the Goal-Theme PDC is the same as that of the canonical Theme-Goal PDC. Therefore, a sentence like (90) begins where the Theme functions as a specifier of VP, which in turn takes the PP as its complement, as in (91).

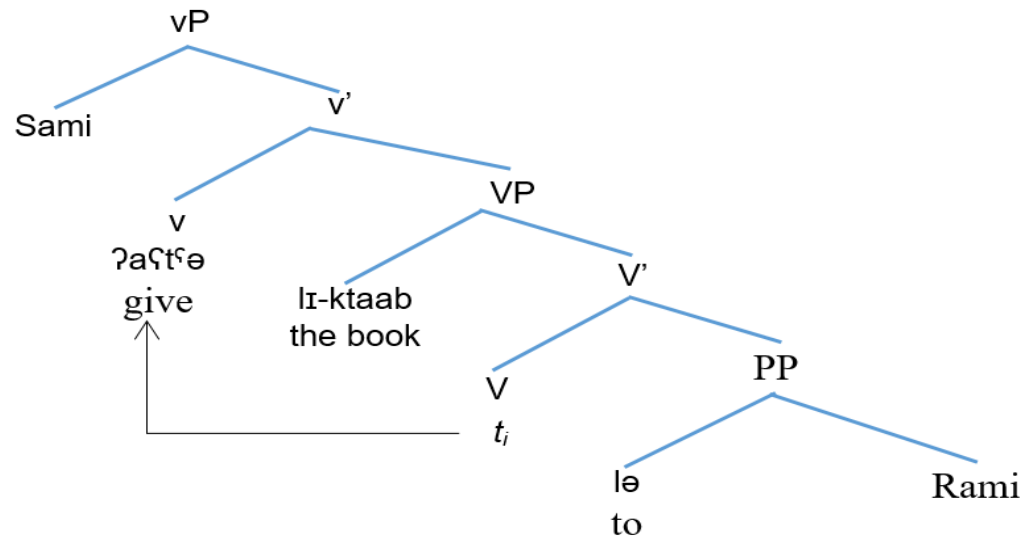
- 90- Sami ʔaʃtə-Ø lə Rami lɪ-ktaab
 Sami gave-3SGM to Rami the-book
 ‘Sami gave the book to Rami.’

91-



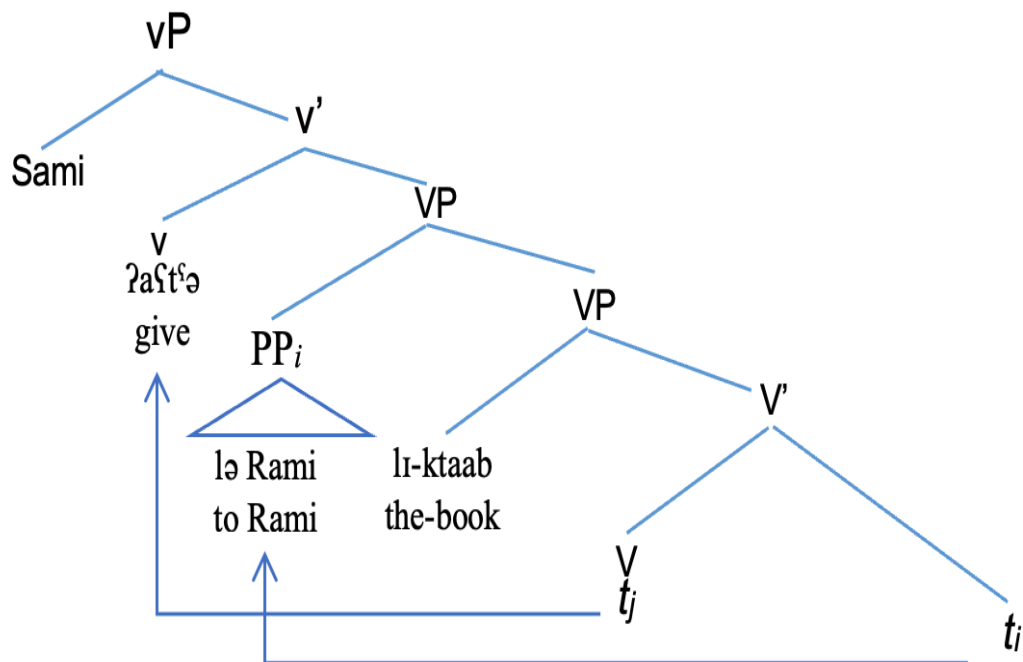
In (91), the Theme *lɪ-ktaab* ‘the book’ receives the accusative case, while the Recipient *Rami* receives the genitive case from the preposition *lə* ‘to’. Through head-to-head movement, where the verb *ʔaʃtə* ‘give’ moves to the v position, this movement is driven by case and agreement requirements. It enables the verb to be governed by I, receive tense and agreement information, and assign an accusative case to the Theme *lɪ-ktaab* ‘the book’.

92-



The PP *lə Rami* ‘to Rami’ moves leftward into a position still very close to the verb and attached to the VP. The PP’s landing site, an adjunct position to the VP, indicates that it is higher than the Theme. This is depicted in (93).

93-



In (93), we observe an adjunction operation that closely resembles scrambling in languages with relatively free VP internal order, such as Dutch. It is clearly not an A-movement operation because PPs generally do not undergo A-movement, so it is an A-bar movement, which aligns with it being an adjunction (see, e.g., Abels 2015: 1415-1416). Being similar to scrambling, this A-bar movement is expected to influence binding possibilities, unlike other A-bar movements, such as wh-movement, which do not.

Typically, A-bar movements do not feed binding, but scrambling is recognised in the literature as a case where an A-bar movement does feed binding; therefore, JA is analogous to Dutch, German, Japanese, and other languages that exhibit scrambling movement (see Müller, 1998; Neeleman & Reinhart, 1997; Haider, 1993; Saito, 1985). Consider the following examples from Dutch (Den Dikken, p.c.).

- 94- *ik denk dat ik zichzelf aan Marie heb getoond
 I think that I REFL to Mary have shown
 95- ik denk dat ik aan Marie zichzelf heb getoond
 I think that I to Mary REFL have shown
 ‘I think that I showed Marie to herself.’

The same phenomenon is attested in JA, as shown in the following examples.

- 96- *wardʒei-t ʔaal-u_k lə Sami_k bI-s^ʕ-s^ʕuurah
 showed-1SG self-his to Sami in-the-photo
 97- wardʒei-t lə Sami_k ʔaal-u_k bI-s^ʕ-s^ʕuurah
 showed-1SG to Sami self-his in-the-photo
 ‘I showed Sami to himself in the photo.’

Like Dutch, condition A effects can be produced for JA, because the interference of the P is very mild with the dative preposition *lə*. This supports the idea that prepositions do not always block the c-command necessary for binding. Referential expressions within PPs often bind anaphors even without standard c-command, as shown in (98).

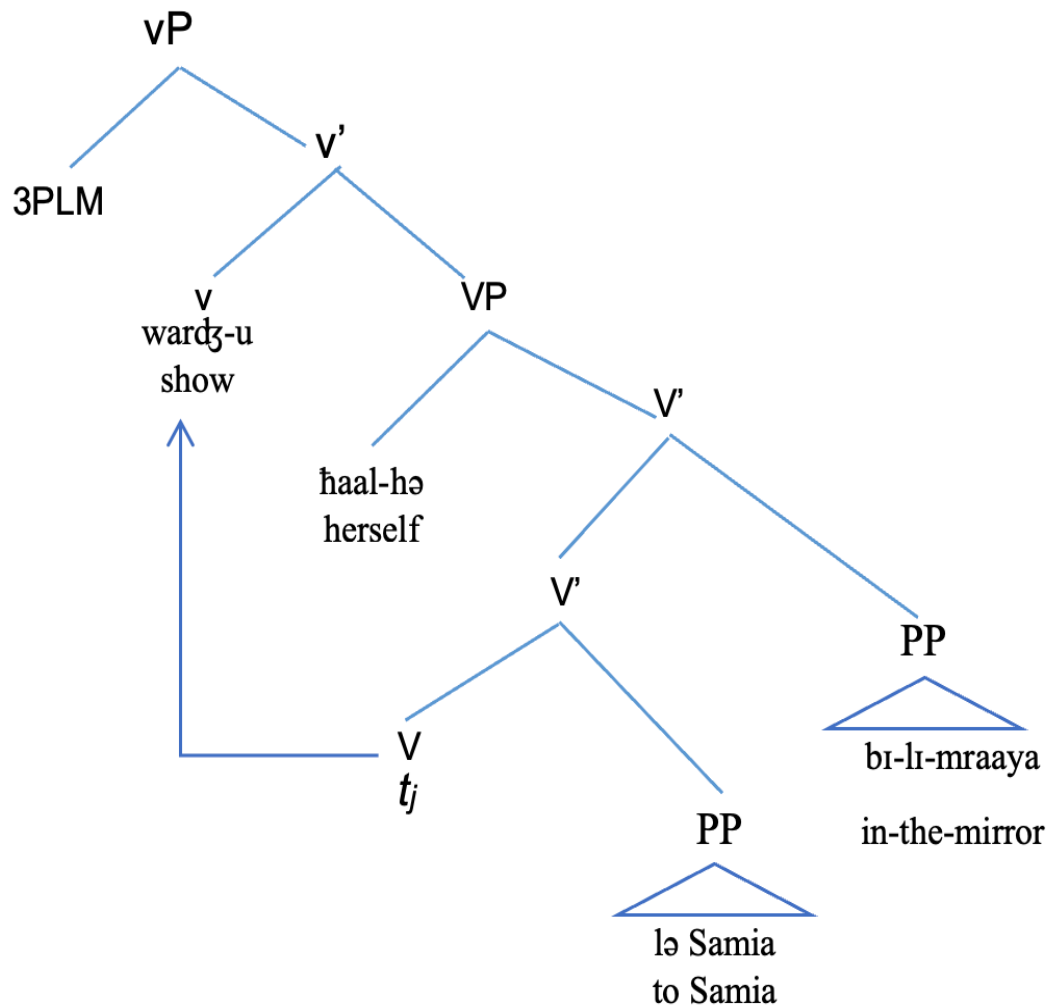
- 98- soolaf-it [_{PP} lə Samia_i] [_{PP} ʕan ʔaal-ʔə_i]
 talked-1SG to Samia about self-her
 ‘I talked to Samia about herself’

The data above indicate that the PP's movement in the Goal-Theme PDC is authentic. Scrambling A-bar movements feed binding in JA. In the questionnaire (see Appendix C, utterance number 26), all the informants accepted an utterance in which the reflexive is bound by the PP preceding it.

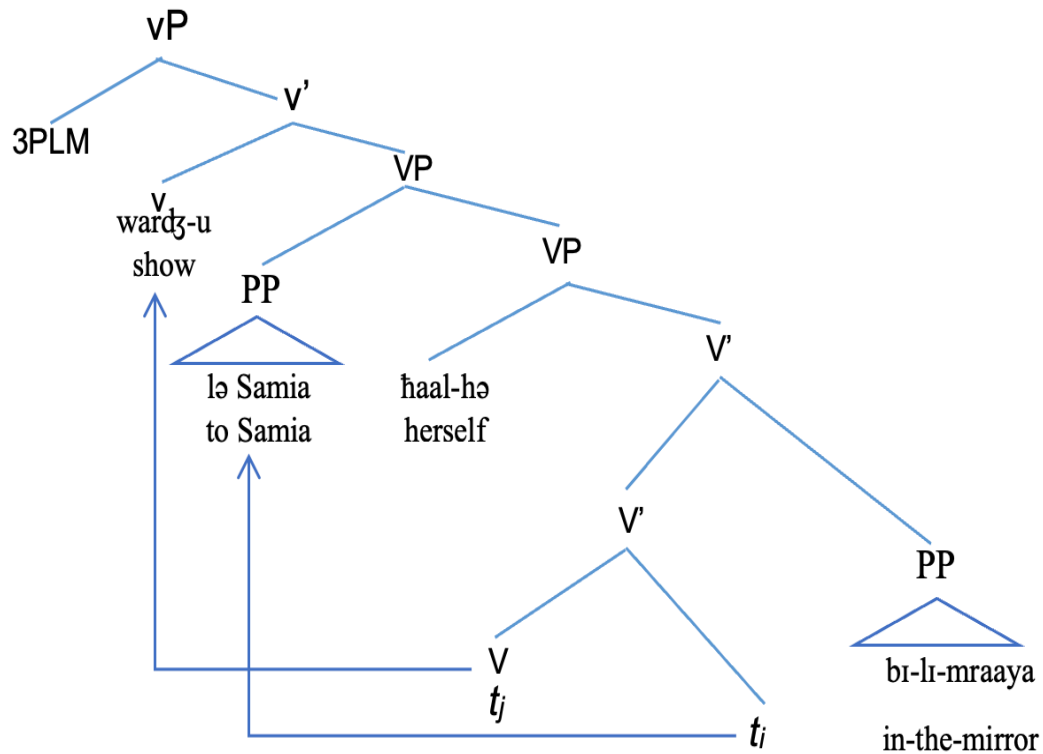
99- wardʒ-u lə Samia ʔaal-hə bɪ-lɪ-mraaya
 showed-3PLM to Samia self-her in-the-mirror
 ‘They showed to Samia herself in the mirror.’

The underlying representation of (99) is the same as for the Theme-Goal PDC, then the PP moves to an A-bar position around the Theme, as depicted in (100) and (101).

100-



101-



The analysis above shows that the scrambled PP is interpreted in its surface position, indicating that the moved PP does not reconstruct for binding. The Dutch examples also show that the scrambled PP does not reconstruct; it feeds binding. Furthermore, scrambling the PP can create new binding relationships. This effect is more evident when the scrambling construction involves variable binding, as in the following examples.

102- wadder-t kull t^ʕaalɪb_i lə mudarres-u_i
 sent-1SG every student to teacher-his
 'I sent every student to his teacher.'

103- * wadder-t lə mudarres-u_i kull t^ʕaalɪb_i
 sent-1SG to teacher-his every student
 Lit: 'I sent to his teacher every student.'

104- wadder-t lə kull t^ʕaalɪb_i mudarres-u_i
 sent-1SG to every student teacher-his
 Lit: 'I sent to every student his teacher.'

(102) shows that a quantified DO can bind a variable in the PP, while the reverse is not possible (103). (104) importantly demonstrates that scrambling the PP with the quantifier across the bound variable results in a well-formed sentence. Even with the *ħatʕ* ‘put’ construction, we can observe the same effect, as in the following examples.

- 105- ħatʕer-t kull tʕaalib_i dʒanb mudarres-u_i
 put-1SG every student next to teacher-his
 ‘I put every student next to his teacher.’
- 106- *ħatʕer-t dʒanb mudarres-u_i kull tʕaalib_i
 put-1SG next to teacher-his every student
 ‘I put next to his teacher every student.’
- 107- ħatʕer-t dʒanb kull tʕaalib_i mudarres-u_i
 put-1SG next to every student teacher-his
 ‘I put next to every student his teacher.’

(105) reveals that a quantified DO can bind a variable in the PP, but the reverse is impossible (106). (107) crucially demonstrates that scrambling the PP with the quantifier across the bound variable results in a well-formed sentence.

The data above show that scrambling the PP across the DO can create new binding relationships and destroy existing ones. It is therefore interpreted in its surface position and does not reconstruct with respect to weak crossover/binding variables, bound anaphora, and quantifier scope.

Hallman (2018) claims that both DOCs with an accusative recipient and those with a dative recipient exhibit frozen scope, a feature typical of a DP+DP frame in English. As I demonstrated in chapters 2 and 4, this is an invalid generalisation because the absence of distributivity and the frozen scope of the Theme are found in other constructions in JA, such as *ħatʕ* ‘put’ constructions, which cannot be analysed within the syntax of the DOC. Hallman provides the following examples.

- 108- Leyla waffar-it la-walad kill kta[̄]b ʕa-r-raff.
 Leyla provided-3FS DAT-child every book on-the-shelf
 ‘Leyla provided a child with every book on the shelf.’

109- Leyla waffar-it kta^hb la-kill walad fi-s.-s.aff.

Leyla waffar-3FS book to-every child in-the-class

‘Leyla provided a book to every child in the class.’

(Hallman 2018:6)

As demonstrated earlier, in other Arabic constructions, we observe the same phenomenon of distributivity, which causes ambiguity, and a lack of distributivity when the quantified Theme is frozen and no longer depends on the syntax of the DOC. For example, with the verb *ḥatʿ* ‘put’, rearranging the order of the Theme and the location can lead to ambiguous interpretations or a lack of distributivity, as shown in the following examples.

110- ḥatʿer-t ṣala raf bi-l-maktabeh kull iktaab dʒadeed

put-1SG on shelf in-the-library every book new

Lit ‘I put on a shelf in the library every new book.’

111- ḥatʿer-t iktaab dʒadeed ṣala kull raf bi-l-maktabeh

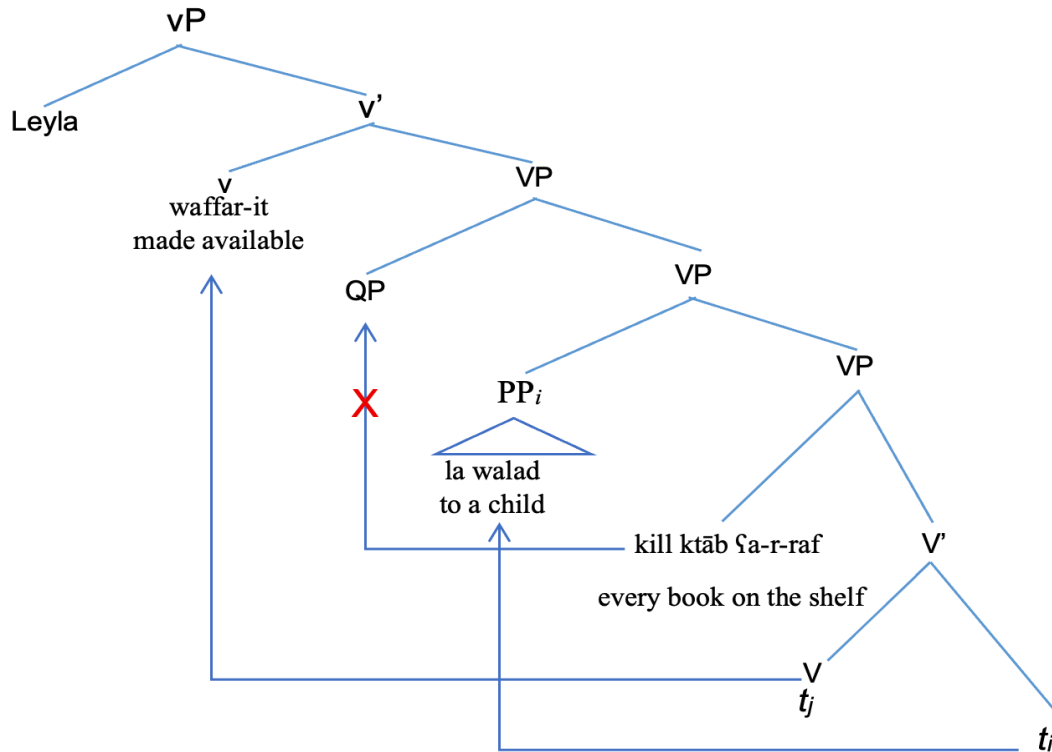
put-1SG book new on every shelf in-the-library

‘I put a new book on every shelf in the library.’

In (110), with the order Location-Theme, there is no distributive reading, whereas in (111), with the order Theme-Location, the distributive reading is available. (110) and (111) demonstrate that *ʔaʕtʿ* ‘give’ and *ḥatʿ* ‘put’ constructions are parallel. What we observe is an alternation between two orders, both for *ʔaʕtʿ* ‘give’ and *ḥatʿ* ‘put’. For *ḥatʿ* ‘put’, it is impossible to appeal to the double object syntactic structure because *ḥatʿ* ‘put’ does not have a V-DP-DP frame in Arabic. There is no way to say “*Sami ḥatʿ-Ø li-ktaab raf*” *Sami put the book a shelf* or “*Sami ḥatʿ-Ø raf li-ktaab*” *Sami put a shelf the book*. Therefore, the behaviour of the order in (110) and (111) for *ḥatʿ* ‘put’ cannot be attributed to the double object syntax, simply because such a structure does not exist for the verb *ḥatʿ* ‘put’.

I argue that the universal quantified Theme remains frozen in Goal-Theme PDCs due to Relativised Minimality, where the PP between the verb and the Theme is in an A-bar position, thus functioning as an intervener in the QR movement of the direct object. This suggests that moving the PP around the Theme and placing it between the verb and the Theme, acting as an intervener, is indeed legitimate, as in (112). It is worth noting that in quantifier scope, the Theme cannot QR above the Goal, but the Goal also cannot reconstruct below the Theme.

112-



The reordering of the *la*-phrase relative to the Theme is information structurally neutral and can happen without affecting information structure. The basic syntactic configuration follows a Theme-Goal order, which can be optionally scrambled, allowing the PP to be reshuffled without constraints from information structure or prosody. For example, monosyllabic nouns like *ktaab* ‘book’ can come after the *la*-phrase without any problems, showing there are no prosodic or information structural restrictions on this kind of rearrangement.

This optional scrambling process does not significantly alter the syntactic structure. It is best understood as an adjunction operation that adds an extra segment to the VP. Any operation the PP undergoes in transitioning from the Theme-Goal PDC to the Goal-Theme PDC does not automatically affect the information structure because the movement of the PP to an adjunct position aligns with this, as A-bar movement is not inherently marked for information structure. In principle, A-bar movements are compatible with various interpretations (see den Dikken, 1995, pp. 38-41). Although adjunction typically does not alter the syntactic hierarchy, it can influence binding. By reshuffling the *la*-phrase relative to the Theme, the Goal can then bind the Theme, a situation that is not possible before this rearrangement. Consequently, this operation feeds binding by moving the Goal to a higher syntactic position than the Theme, enabling it to c-command and

bind the Theme. Similar scrambling in Dutch also supports binding, and this function can similarly be argued for scrambling in JA.

It is important to emphasise that the movement producing V-*l*_θ-Goal-Theme is not a rightward movement of the NP-Theme. The fact that we can reorder the Goal and the Theme and still have the right to promote the Theme to the subject clearly indicates that we are unlikely to be dealing with an A-bar movement operation that moves the NP to the right. This provides a strong empirical argument against the rightward A-bar movement of the Theme. If the Theme were to move rightward via A-bar movement to form the V-*l*_θ-Goal-Theme order, then the Theme would be unable to undergo A-movement later because A to A-bar to A is an invalid movement. The evidence I presented using Quantifier Float in chapter 4, demonstrating that the Theme following the *l*_θ-phrase can be promoted to subject in the passive voice, robustly indicates that the order does not result from rightward A-bar movement of the Theme. This conclusion is consistent with the theoretical framework, rooted in antisymmetry, which states that rightward movement is ungrammatical (Kayne 1994).

The simplest alternative to extraposition of the NP-Theme is intraposition of the PP, which poses no issues for the NP-Theme with respect to passivisation. The NP-Theme remains in an A-position; it has not moved and can still be promoted to the subject. The fact that the *l*_θ-phrase is situated between the structural subject position and the base position of the Theme does not prevent the NP-Theme from moving, as Relativised Minimality is not violated. The PP being in an A-bar position does not interfere with the A-movement of the Theme.

Furthermore, the PP's flexibility to reposition internally within the clause supports the idea that it is the PP that moves leftwards, not the NP that moves rightwards. The *l*_θ-phrase is willing to be repositioned to the edge of the VP, vP, and TP, as shown in the following examples. This is evident for verbs that accept DOC, for verbs that resist DOC, for *load* verbs, which are genuine DOCs in JA (see section 4.5.1), and for *ħatʿ* 'put' constructions, which are undoubtedly not genuine DOCs.

Verbs that accept DOC:

113- Sami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø ktaab lə Rami

Sami gave-3SGM book to Rami

‘Sami gave a book to Rami.’

114- Sami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø lə Rami ktaab

Sami gave-3SGM to Rami book

‘Sami gave a book to Rami.’

115- Sami lə Rami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø ktaab

Sami to Rami gave-3SGM book

‘Sami, to Rami, gave a book.’

116- lə Rami Sami ʔaŋtʰə-Ø ktaab

to Rami Sami gave-3SGM book

‘To Rami, Sami gave a book.’

Verbs that resist DOC

117- Sami waddə-Ø ktaab lə Rami

Sami sent-3SGM book to Rami

‘Sami sent a book to Rami.’

118- Sami waddə-Ø lə Rami ktaab

Sami sent-3SGM to Rami book

‘Sami sent a book to Rami.’

119- Sami lə Rami waddə-Ø ktaab

Sami to Rami sent-3SGM book

‘Sami, to Rami sent a book.’

120- lə Rami Sami waddə-Ø ktaab

to Rami Sami sent-3SGM book

‘To Rami, Sami sent a book.’

Load verbs

121- Sami	ʕabbə-Ø	mɔy	bɪ-d-dalu
Sami	filled-3SGM	water	in-the-bucket

‘Sami filled the water in the bucket.’

122- Sami	ʕabbə-Ø	bɪ-d-dalu	mɔy
Sami	filled-3SGM	in-the-bucket	water

‘Sami filled the bucket with water.’

123- Sami	bɪ-d-dalu	ʕabbə-Ø	mɔy
Sami	in-the-bucket	filled-3SGM	water

‘Sami, in the bucket, filled the water.’

124- bɪ-d-dalu	Sami	ʕabbə-Ø	mɔy
in-the-bucket	Sami	filled-3SGM	water

‘In the bucket, Sami filled the water.’

hatʕ ‘put’ constructions

125- Sami	ħatʕ-Ø	kull	ɪl-kutub	ʔa-tʕ-tʕawleh
Sami	put-3SGM	all	the-books	on-the-table

‘Sami put all the books on the table.’

126- Sami	ħatʕ-Ø	ʔa-tʕ-tʕawleh	kull	ɪl-kutub
Sami	put-3SGM	on-the-table	all	the-books

‘Sami put all the books on the table.’

127- Sami	ʔa-tʕ-tʕawleh	ħatʕ-Ø	kull	ɪl-kutub
Sami	on-the-table	put-3SGM	all	the-books

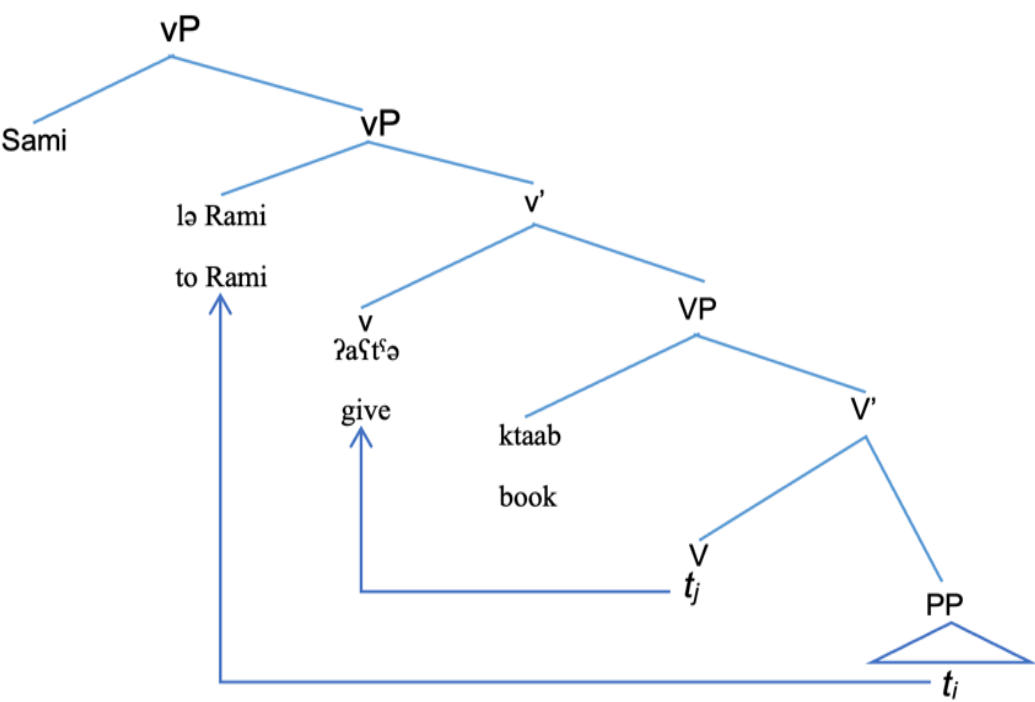
‘Sami, on the table, put all the books.’

128- ʔa-tʕ-tʕawleh	Sami	ħatʕ-Ø	kull	ɪl-kutub
on-the-table	Sami	put-3SGM	all	the-books

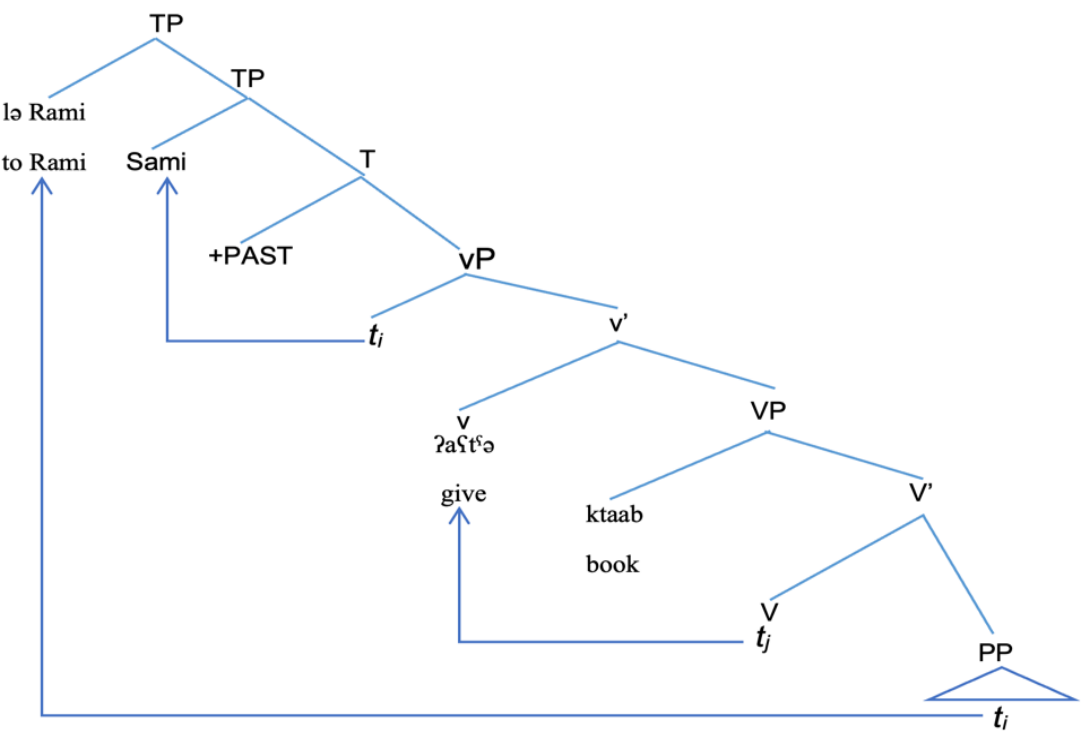
‘On the table, Sami put all the books.’

The above data confirm that the position of the PP in the clause is entirely flexible. However, it is expected to fall within the clause's envelope. It can attach to the VP, vP, and TP, as depicted below.

129-



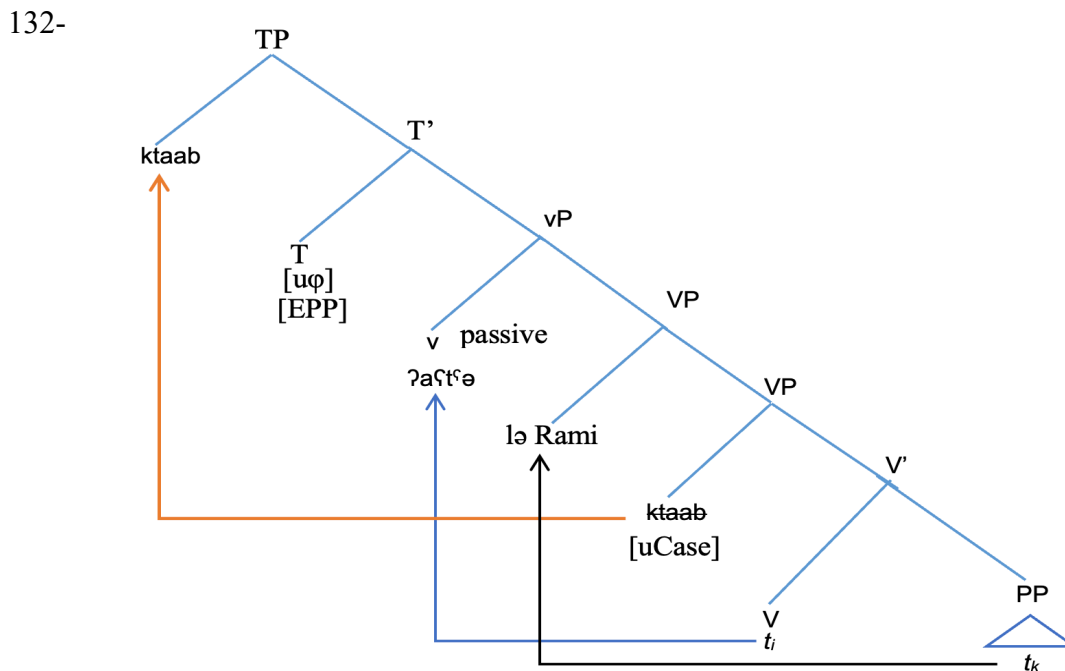
130-



I have argued that the leftward movement of the PP is an A-bar movement, not an A-movement, for the following reasons. First, this optional scrambling process does not significantly alter the syntactic structure. It is best understood as an adjunction operation that adds an extra segment to the VP. Second, PPs generally do not undergo A-movement, so it is an A-bar movement, which is consistent with it being an adjunction (see, e.g., Abels 2015: 1415-1416). Third, the impossibility of Theme-over-Goal scrambling in the JA DOC further supports the claim that scrambling of the PP in the JA PDC cannot be analysed as A-movement. Similar to English, the DOC in JA exhibits a fixed order in which the Theme does not precede the Goal. This parallelism between JA and English DOCs reinforces the analysis that such scrambling is not permitted in JA DOC contexts.

131- *ʔaʃtʰer-t l-ktaab Sami
 gave-1SG the-book Sami
 Intended, ‘I gave Sami the book.’

Fourth, the V-/ə-Goal-Theme construction is the result of A-bar scrambling of the PP. Once the Goal has been scrambled, the Theme can occupy the subject position without violating independently established locality or intervention constraints. Consider (132).



Fifth, the clitic doubling phenomenon indicates that when the PP follows the verb, the associated clitic becomes inaccessible to the verb. This inaccessibility results from the PP occupying a derived A-bar position, which is entirely opaque to the verb. Such opacity is typical of A-bar movement, as elements in A-bar positions typically become inaccessible to certain syntactic operations, including clitic attachment from the verb. Consequently, this observed opacity provides direct evidence that the scrambling of the PP constitutes A-bar movement rather than A-movement, since only movement to A-bar positions produces this effect.

Finally, the possibility of scrambling the PP out of vP and TP, as in (129) and (130), provides independent evidence that the constituent in question is eligible for A-bar scrambling.

It has been demonstrated that there is no unequivocal evidence that the order V-/ə-Goal-Theme is a DOC. The burden of proof lies with those who claim it is a DOC.

6.3. The syntax of double object construction in JA

JA has a set of verbs that can pair two internal arguments within the V-DP-DP frame, as seen in (133) and (134).

133-	Sami	baaʃ-∅	Tamara	ктааб
	Sami	sold-3SGM	Tamara	book
	‘Sami sold Tamara a book.’			
134-	Sami	saʔal-∅	Tamara	суʔаал
	Sami	asked-3SGM	Tamara	question
	‘Sami asked Tamara a question.’			

In DOCs, in (133) and (134), the verbs subcategorise for the [(DP) DP] frame. In the next section, it is essential to demonstrate that we are dealing with genuine DOCs in JA.

6.3.1. The genuine DOC in JA

The cross-linguistic distribution of the verb “have” and the DOC shows that these two phenomena are not inherently connected. For example, JA lacks a verb equivalent to the English “have” but consistently demonstrates the DOC. Conversely, languages like French and Italian have a verb for “have” yet do not allow the DOC. This distributional mismatch indicates that the presence of “have” in a language does not necessarily mean the DOC is available, nor does the absence of

“have” rule it out. Therefore, the existence of the DOC and the verb “have” should be seen as independent features of a language’s grammar. Theoretical accounts that attempt to derive the DOC from the presence of “have,” or vice versa, are challenged by these cross-linguistic observations. Instead, analyses should regard the distribution of “have” and the DOC as separate, reflecting distinct grammatical mechanisms.

Harley (2002) proposes a link between the presence of the prepositional element *Phave*, which underpins the verbal ‘have,’ and the availability of DOCs. She predicts that only languages with *Phave*, and thus the verbal ‘have,’ allow possessors to c-command possessees and, consequently, enable DOCs in which Goals c-command Themes. According to this hypothesis, languages lacking *Phave* and expressing possession through existential or locative constructions, such as JA, Russian, or Irish, should lack DOCs entirely. However, cross-linguistic evidence complicates this predicted correlation.

This mismatch presents a challenge specifically for Harley’s theory, but not for approaches that treat the availability of DOCs and the presence of ‘have’ as independent phenomena. The observed disconnect is consistent with theories that do not derive DOCs from the presence of *Phave* or verbal ‘have,’ but instead attribute DOC availability to other syntactic or semantic properties. Therefore, the cross-linguistic evidence directly challenges Harley’s account and supports a framework in which the distributions of ‘have’ and DOCs are considered unrelated.

I contend that JA has a genuine DOC, although it lacks a verb equivalent to the English “have,” based on the following facts:

- **Scope interaction**

One distinctive feature of the DOC in JA can be understood through the analysis of quantifier scope (Aoun & Li, 1989; Larson, 1990; Bruening, 2001). When both objects in a DOC are quantified, their scope appears fixed, with the first quantifier taking scope over the second. This is evident in (135), where the sentence exhibits “scope freezing,” preventing a distributive interpretation. (see Chapter Four).

135- ʔaʃtʰ-u	tʰaalɪb	bɪ-sʰ-sʰaf	kull	ɪktaab	dʒadeed
gave-3PLM	student	in-the-class	every	book	new
‘They gave a student in the class every new book.’					

(135) implies that there is a single student in the class who receives every new book. In (135), there is no distributive reading that creates ambiguity, whereas the PDC allows distributive readings that do lead to ambiguity (see section 6.2.2.1). This indicates that the DOC in JA is genuine.

- **Passivisation**

Recall that in earlier chapters, we mentioned that JA includes asymmetrical passivisation. In the DOC, only the Recipient can be moved to the subject position in passive constructions. Consider the passivisation of (133) and (134) in (136) and (137), respectively.

136- Tamara	ʔin-baaʕ-ət	iktaab
Tamara	passive-sold-3SGF	book
‘Tamara was sold a book.’		
137- Tamara	ʔin-saʔal-ət	suʔaal
Tamara	passive-asked-3SGF	question
‘Tamara was asked a question.’		

The passivisation of the Theme in (133) and (134) results in ungrammaticality, as demonstrated in (138) and (139) respectively.

138- *ktaab	ʔin-baaʕ-Ø	Tamara
book	passive-3SGM	Tamara
Literally: ‘A book was sold Tamara.’		
139- *suʔaal	ʔin-saʔal-Ø	Tamara
question	passive-asked-3SGM	Tamara
Literally: ‘A question was asked Tamara.’		

The facts above indicate that passivisation in JA is asymmetrical: only the Recipient can be passivised, a property of the genuine DOC.

- **Cliticisation**

What is also consistent with passivisation is cliticisation. In the DOC, only the Recipient can be cliticised to the verb, as in (140) and (141).

- 140- Sami baaʃ-Ø-hə ktaab
 Sami sold-3SGM-her book
 ‘Sami sold her a book.’
- 141- Sami saʔal-Ø-hə suʔaal
 Sami asked-3SGM-her question
 ‘Sami asked her a question.’

- **Clitic doubling**

The facts above show that what can be passivised can also be cliticised. Furthermore, what can be cliticised can also be clitic doubled. Consider (142) and (143).

- 142- Sami baaʃ-Ø-*hə* ktaab lə *Tamara*
 Sami sold-3SGM-her book to Tamara
 ‘Sami sold her a book, Tamara.’
- 143- Sami saʔal-Ø-*hə* suʔaal lə *Tamara*
 Sami asked-3SGM-her question to Tamara
 ‘Sami asked her a question, Tamara.’

This consistency in passivisation, cliticisation, and clitic doubling, along with scope freezing in the DOC, indicates that the DOC in JA is genuine. The question arises: How are the two objects assigned their theta-roles? How are they assigned case?

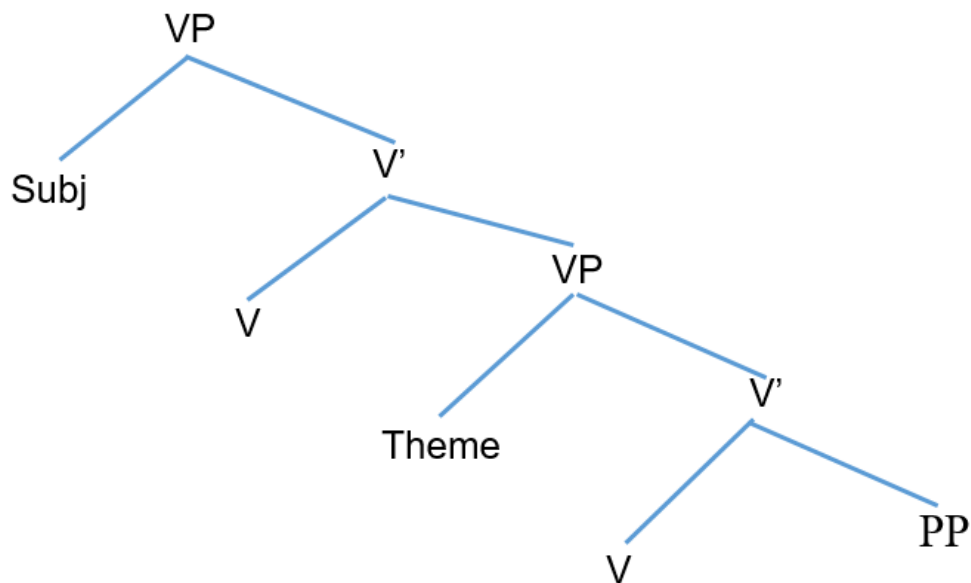
6.3.2. A modified version of Pylkkänen’s (2002/2008) high/low applicative approach

Most languages can add an indirect object to a verb’s argument structure. This is especially common in Bantu languages. In Bantu linguistics, these additional arguments are called applied arguments, and the constructions are known as “applicative constructions” (Pylkkänen, 2008, p. 11). Pylkkänen (2002/2008) proposes ApplP structures for all languages that have double-object constructions. The term “applicative construction” is mainly used in traditional literature to refer to the Bantu family. However, Pylkkänen broadens the term’s application considerably. The applicative construction, primarily found in Bantu languages, features a verb marked by a specific morpheme that adds an extra argument. Without this applicative morpheme, this additional argument would not usually be considered part of the verb’s original argument structure.

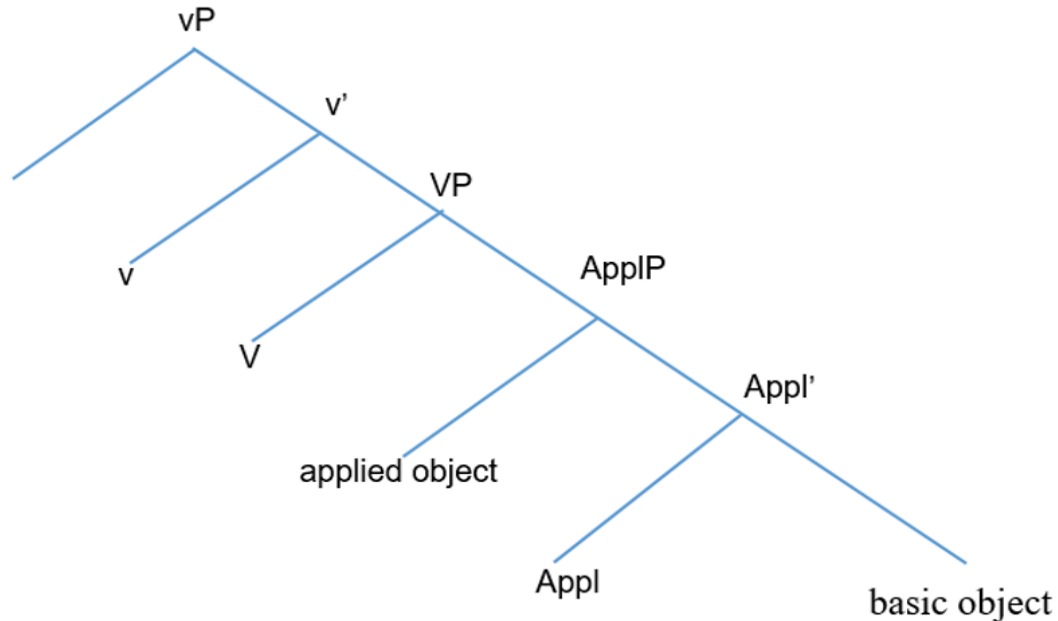
The main idea is that the applicative head introduces the oblique argument. That is, when added to a transitive verb, it can turn the verb into a ditransitive one. Similarly, when applied to an intransitive verb, the applicative morpheme transforms it into a transitive verb by allowing an extra argument that the base verb could not otherwise accommodate.

According to Baker (1988), both DOCs and applicative constructions stem from the same underlying structure. Baker (1988) views sentences such as '*John gave Mary a book*' as applicative constructions formed through Preposition Incorporation, even though they lack an applicative morpheme. Marantz (1993) similarly argues that the English DOC is an applicative construction but involves an invisible applicative marker. In contrast, the prepositional version of ditransitives is considered to have a straightforward verbal structure, in which both internal arguments are generated within the same VP. However, it is assumed that the DOC involves a more complex verbal structure, including an extra layer above VP called Applicative Phrase, which contains a null applicative head (Marantz, 1993; Pylkkänen, 2002/2008). This structural difference is illustrated in (144) and (145). In this study, I follow Marantz (1993) and Pylkkänen (2002/2008), where the DOC in JA has a null Appl head.

144-



145-



In both double object and applicative constructions, the indirect argument is introduced by an applicative head. The main difference lies in the visibility of the applicative head: it is overt in applicative languages but covert in double-object languages.

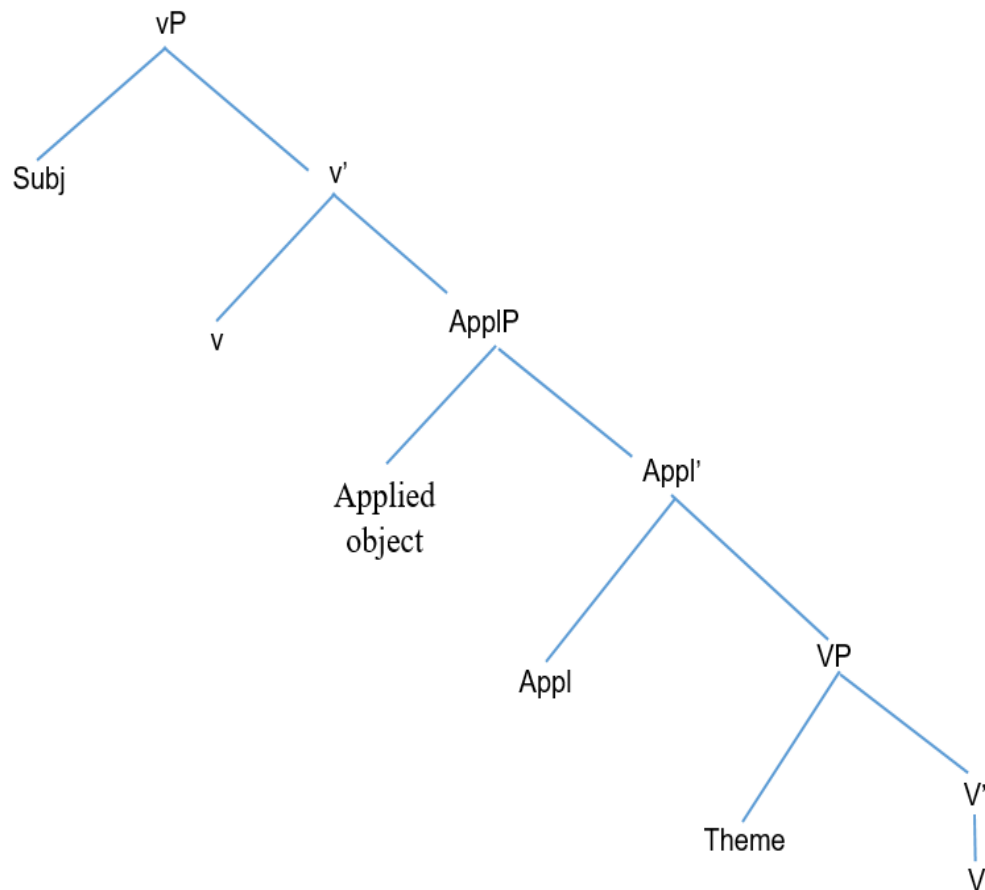
Double-object or applicative constructions are divided into two types: symmetric and asymmetric. In symmetric applicatives (e.g., Norwegian, Swedish), both the applied (indirect) object and the direct object share structural features, such as the ability to be passivised. Conversely, asymmetric applicatives (e.g., American English, Mandarin Chinese, Jordanian Arabic) have structural object properties in only one of the two arguments, usually allowing passivisation of just a single object.

In (144) and (145), the Theme occupies different positions. In (144), it is in the specifier of the VP, whereas in (145), it is in the complement of ApplP. This violates the UTAH. If this hypothesis is our guiding principle in projecting syntactic structures, which it should be if we aim to establish a structure-based definition of thematic relations, we do not want the representations in (144) and (145) to coexist. This is because the Theme's position in (144) and its position in (145) are simply two distinct positions that cannot be reconciled under a unified hypothesis regarding the Theme's role in structure. A viable structural definition of the Theme would be that Themes are always in the specifier position of the VP, even when denoting a state or location. The Theme in

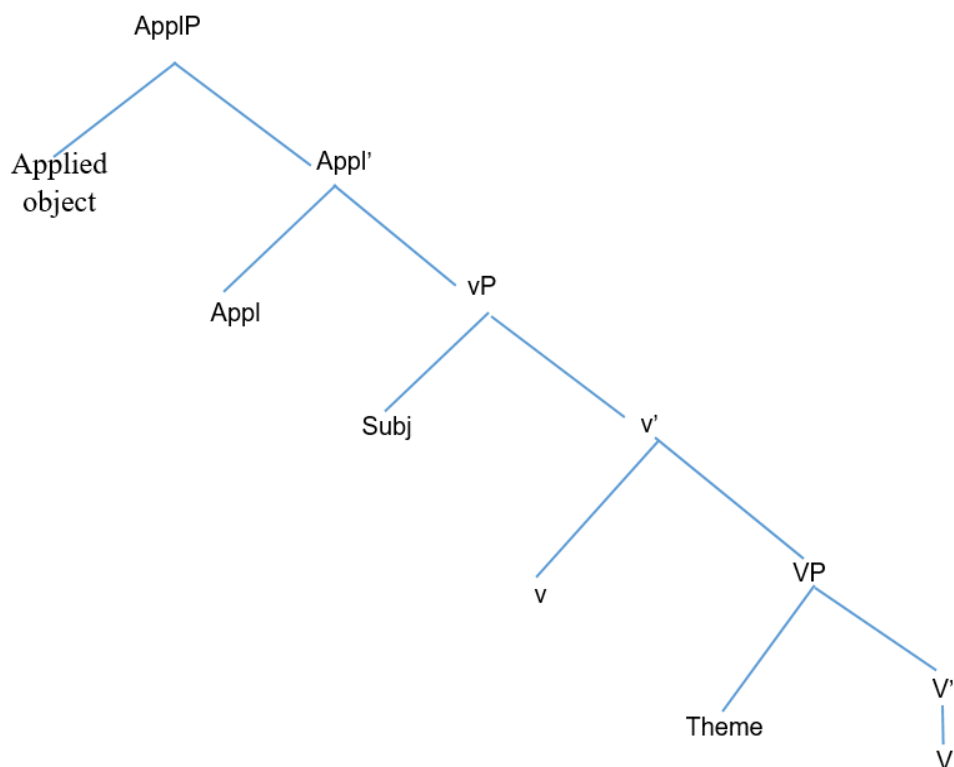
(145) is not in the VP specifier; it is in the deepest embedded position as a complement of ApplP. It has no direct relationship with the verb, which lies outside the ApplP. Therefore, it cannot serve as a direct argument of the verb. Consequently, these two structures cannot serve as underlying representations unless we abandon the UTAH. However, without the UTAH, confusion would arise concerning thematic relations in linguistics.

The simplest way to reconcile the ApplP hypothesis with the UTAH is to elevate Pylkkänen's low/high ApplP analysis by one level within the tree. What is called "low ApplP" has VP as its complement, with the Theme merged in Spec-VP and the low applied object in Spec-ApplP, as shown in (146). The so-called "high ApplP" takes the little vP as its complement, as in (147).

146-



Low Applicative



High Applicative

This modification now makes the low/high ApplP compatible with the UTAH, unifying the thematic structure across languages. In the next section, we will discuss the syntactic derivation of DOC in JA, applying the modified ApplP hypothesis.

Recent studies on DOCs interpret their properties as similar to those of applicative constructions (see Marantz 1993; Pylkkänen 2002/2008, among others). In line with Pylkkänen's analysis, the proposal is that DOC in JA contains a null applicative head that structures its phrase between the VP and vP. In the revised approach, the Spec of ApplP hosts the applied object, while the basic object (Theme) is merged in the specifier of VP.

To license the applied object and the Theme in the revised structure, I adopt Chomsky's (2000 and later) syntactic mechanism, Agree.

148- Agree

Probe P agrees with the closest matching goal in D.

a. Matching is a feature identity.

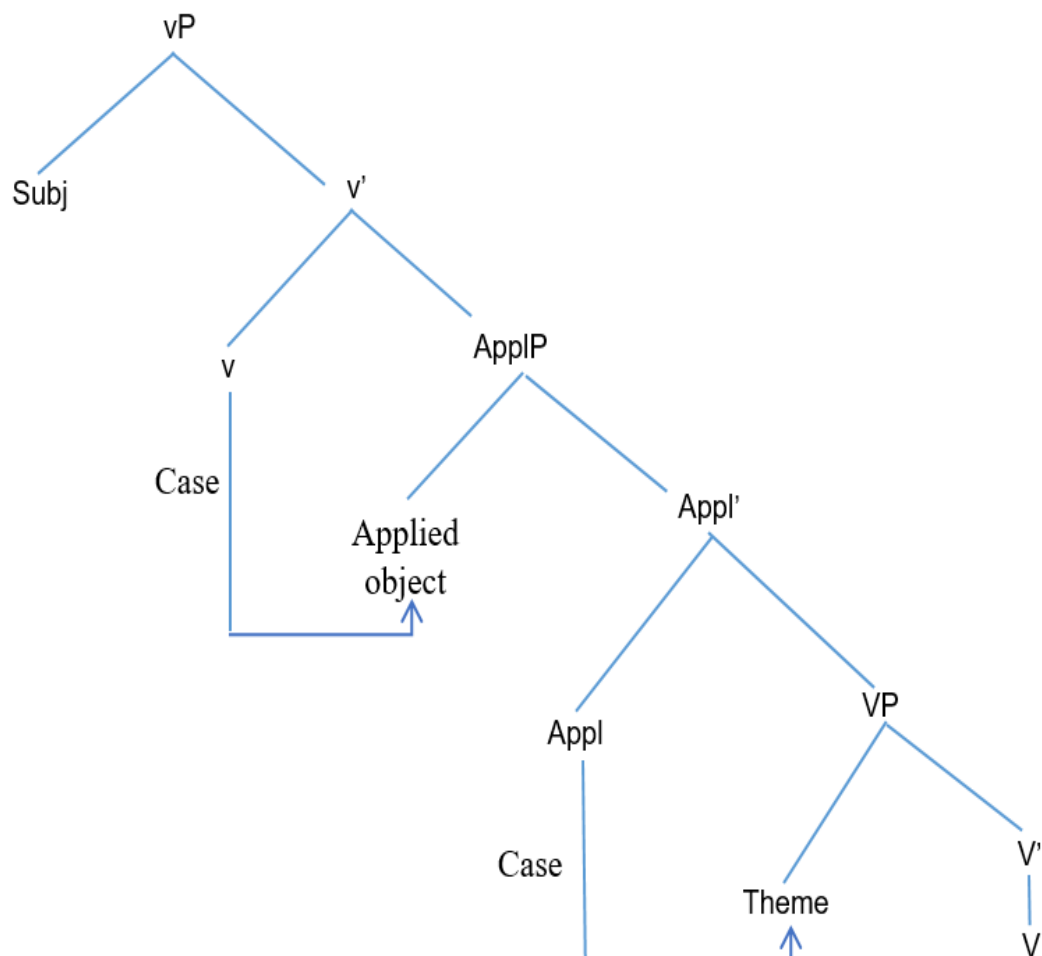
b. D is the sister of P. [D= c-command Domain of P].

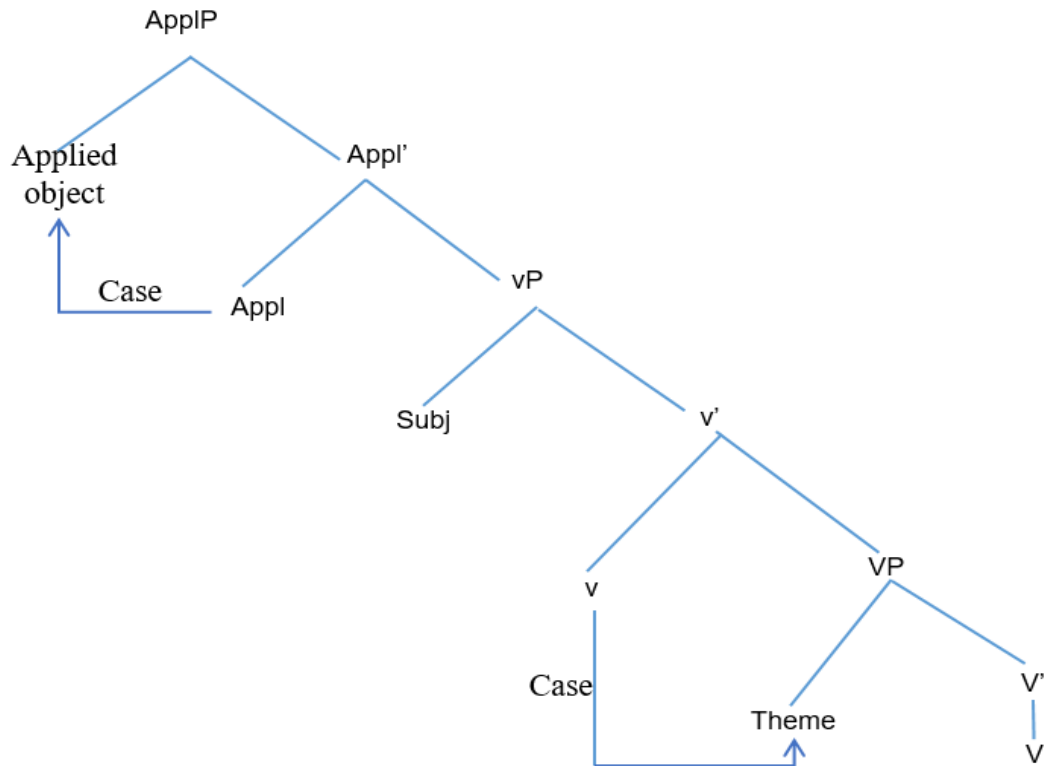
c. Locality reduces to closest c-command.

(Chomsky 2000: 122)

Thus, in low applicatives, I assume that the applied object is assigned the accusative case by little v, and the Theme is assigned the accusative case by the Appl. In high applicative, however, the Appl head assigns the applied object the accusative case, with little v assigning the Theme the accusative case. Anagnostopoulou (2003) refers to this construction as the double accusative construction. Consider (149) and (150).

149-





In both “low” and “high” applicatives, the applied object is generated higher than the Theme. The DP in Spec-VP is assigned the Theme role by V, and the Recipient role is assigned to the applied object in Spec-AppIP by the Appl head. The subject (external argument) is assigned the Agent role by v in Spec-vP.

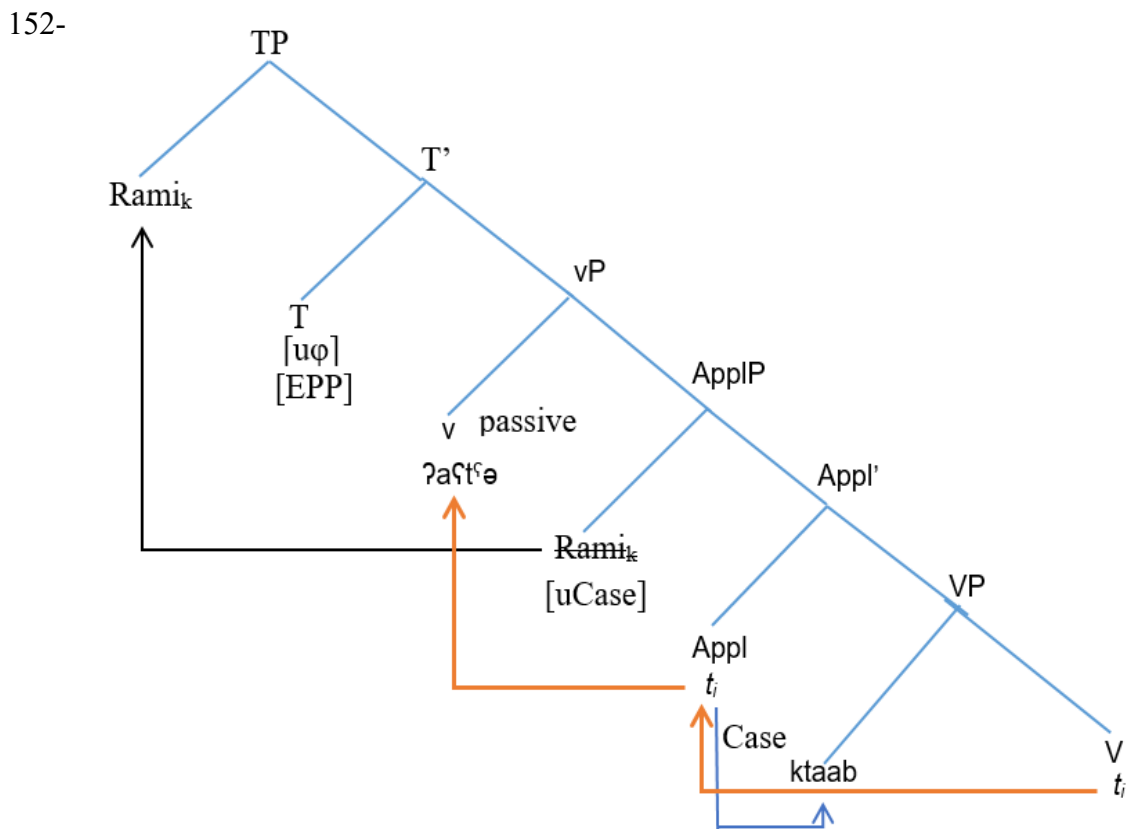
Case assignment in the “low” and “high” applicatives is more complex and varies across languages. This depends on whether the language is asymmetric or symmetric. In JA, which is asymmetric and a low applicative language (see 6.3.3), in the revised structure of the low applicative, the applied object (Recipient) is assigned accusative case by v, and the Theme is assigned accusative case by Appl.

In JA, passivisation patterns resemble those of DOCs in languages where the Recipient alternates with the nominative under passivisation. In the active clause, little v introduces the external argument in the Spec-vP position. This v, with unvalued ϕ -features (uF), probes for a Recipient bearing interpretable ϕ -features (iF) but lacking Case. The Probe assigns accusative Case to the Recipient and has its ϕ -features valued by it. Meanwhile, T probes the external argument

introduced by *v*, values its ϕ -features, assigns nominative Case, and moves it to the Spec-TP to satisfy T's EPP feature. Thus, Case assignment and movement in active clauses determine which argument can surface as the subject under passivisation, enabling the Recipient to appear in the nominative position.

151- Sami $\text{ʔaʕtʰə-}\emptyset$ Rami ktaab
 Sami gave-3SGM Rami book
 ‘Sami gave Rami a book.’

In a passive clause, little *v* neither introduces an external argument nor assigns accusative case to the Recipient. This positioning allows an Agree relation between T and the Recipient, as both have uninterpretable features that require valuation. T bears an uninterpretable ϕ -feature ($u\phi$) and an EPP feature, which demand a goal with an interpretable ϕ -feature ($i\phi$). The Recipient, in turn, has an unvalued Case feature ($u\text{Case}$) that a Probe must check. In JA, such an Agree can only be established between T and the Recipient in the DOC, reflecting the language's asymmetric nature, as illustrated in (152).



In (152), passivisation suppresses *v*'s ability to license an external argument and to assign Case to the Recipient *Rami*. This allows *T* to probe the Recipient, assign it nominative Case, and value its *uF*, leading to the Recipient's movement to Spec-TP. With the nominative Case, the Recipient triggers nominative agreement on the verb. The Theme *ктааб* instead receives its Case from Appl, so it remains in situ and does not move. Consequently, only the Recipient undergoes A-movement in this passive structure, while the Theme stays in its base position.

The advantage of the revised structure above is that it resolves the dilemma faced in generative syntactic theory regarding how the two objects in the DOC are assigned their theta-roles and Case. More importantly, it is fully compatible with the UTAH (Baker, 1988).

6.3.3. JA is a low applicative language

The DOC pattern of JA exhibits low applicative properties, consistent with the main diagnostic tests for low applicatives proposed by Pytkänen (2002/2008). First, low applicatives are incompatible with intransitives or unergatives, as demonstrated in (153) below, since the semantics of a low applicative require the obligatory presence of a Theme.

153- ʔil-bint	ragʂ-ət	*(lə)	ħabeeb-ħə
the-girl	danced-3SGF	for	lover-her
‘The girl danced for her lover.’			

Secondly, low applicatives are also incompatible with stative verbs like *ʔitamanə* ‘wish’. That is, the predicate of a low applicative head indicates possession, which conflicts with the predicate of a stative verb, as (154) demonstrates.

154- ʔitaman-ət	in-najaah	*(lə)	Sami
wished-3SGM	the-success	for	Sami
‘She wished the success for Sami.’			

In (154), the stative predicate is not allowed in the DOC diathesis. Therefore, based on Pytkänen's diagnostics, the DOC in JA is considered a low applicative because it is incompatible with unergative and stative predicates.

The depictive secondary predicate serves as another indicator supporting a low applicative in the DOC in JA. Pytkänen (2008) states that in languages with English-type depictive secondary

predicates, the depictive can modify an applied argument only when that argument is in a structurally high applicative, because high applied arguments are interpreted as external arguments. Depictive secondary predicates can modify subjects and direct objects but cannot modify indirect objects or objects governed by prepositions (see Williams, 1980). The presence of a depictive secondary predicate in JA suggests that the DOC in this language involves a low applicative construction, as the depictive secondary predicate can modify either the subject or the direct object, but not the applied object, as in (155).

155- ʔaʃtʰer-t	Sami _k	l-ʔakıl _i	baarıd * _{k/i}
gave-1SG	Sami	the-food	cold

‘I gave Sami the food cold.’

The depictive secondary predicate in (155) shows that the data in JA support the hypothesis that the direct object can host the depictive, while the indirect object cannot. This suggests that the applicative in JA is low.

The applicative approach is consistent with JA DOCs because it naturally captures their asymmetrical behaviour. The Recipient appears higher than the Theme in the syntactic structure, as predicted by the applicative analysis (Pylkkänen 2002/2008). The Appl head introduces the Recipient and mediates its relation to the Theme. Furthermore, this structure explains Case patterns where the Recipient receives structural Case from higher functional heads, and the Theme receives Case from Appl. The Recipient can move to the subject position in passives, but the Theme cannot. Regarding binding asymmetries, the Recipient c-commands the Theme but not vice versa. In short, JA DOCs pattern like other asymmetric applicatives, and the applicative approach explains these properties clearly.

Other analyses struggle with JA DOCs because they either predict incorrect hierarchies, inaccurate Case-assignment patterns, or improper movement possibilities. JA DOCs are asymmetrical, with only the Recipient able to passivise and c-command the Theme. Only the applicative approach correctly places the Recipient in a higher structural position, assigns Case as observed, with Recipient from T/v and Theme from Appl, and accurately predicts the movement and binding asymmetries seen in JA DOCs.

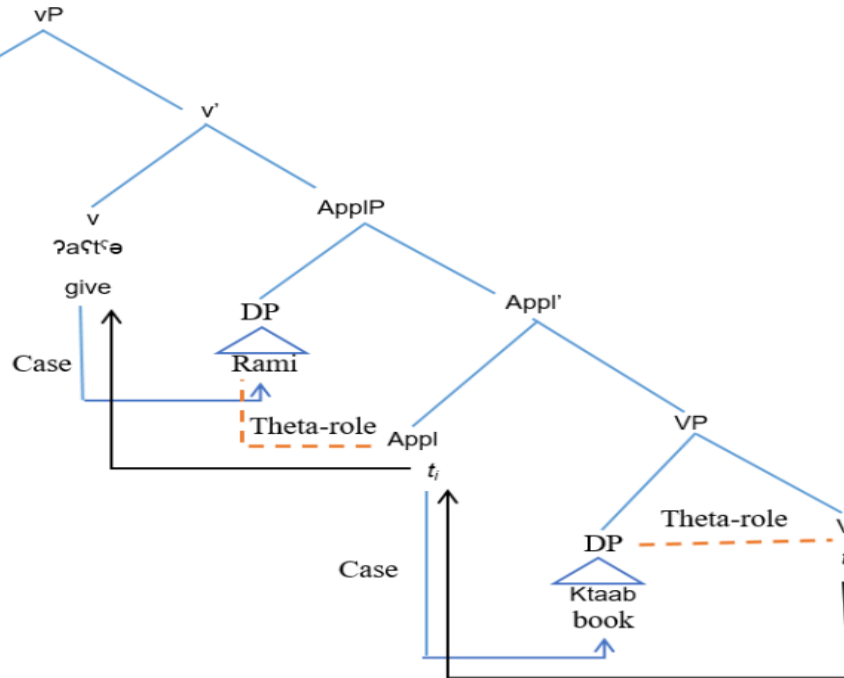
6.3.4. The derivation of DOC in JA

Recall that the non-Theme object in the DOC receives its theta-role from Appl, whereas the non-Theme object in the PDC receives its theta-role from P. If the theta-role of the non-Theme object is identical in both diathesis patterns, this constitutes a UTAH violation. The theta-roles of the non-Theme objects in the two patterns differ. In the following examples, the Appl head assigns the Recipient theta role, while the P head assigns the location theta role.

- 156- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t l-ktaab lə Sami
 gave-1SG the-book to Sami
 ‘I gave the book to Sami.’
- 157- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t Sami l-ktaab
 gave-1SG Sami the-book
 ‘I gave Sami the book.’
- 158- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t l-ktaab lə l-maktabeh
 gave-1SG the-book to the-library
 ‘I gave the book to the library.’
- 159- *ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t ɪl-maktabeh l-ktaab
 gave-1SG the-library the-book
 Literally, ‘I gave the library the book.’

The structure in (149) will be used to demonstrate the derivation of the DOC. In this structure, following Pylkkänen (2002/2008), I assume that the applied object (Recipient) is assigned its role by the Appl head, while the Theme in Spec-VP is given the Theme role by V. Regarding case assignment, the applied object (Recipient) receives the accusative case from little v. In contrast, the Theme object receives the accusative case from the Appl head. Consider (160) and (161).

- 160- Sami ʔaʃtʰə-Ø Rami ktaab
 Sami gave-3SGM Rami book
 ‘Sami gave Rami a book.’



The syntactic derivation of the above structure proceeds as follows: First, the Theme and the V merge to form a VP. The applied object merges in Spec-*ApplP*. Both the applied object and the Theme bear uninterpretable case features. Then the VP merges with the *Appl* head to form the *vP* complement. The *ApplP* merges with the head *v* to form the *vP* above. The external argument occupies the Spec-*vP* position, with *v* assigning it the agent theta role. The lexical verb is displaced through successive head-movement towards the causative head *v*, where it adjoins. During this derivation, *Appl* assigns the Recipient a role, and *V* assigns the Theme. The Recipient receives Case from *v*, and the Theme from *Appl*.

6.4. Conclusion

The chapter begins by examining the structural differences in ditransitive constructions in JA. JA shows variations in verbal predicates associated with ditransitive structures. There are two main types of verbs: those that accept the DOC and those that do not. The predicates that do not accept the DOC outnumber those that do. This clearly indicates that the unmarked ditransitive construction in JA is the PDC.

In JA, I argue that the unmarked ditransitive pattern is the PDC due to a combination of syntactic and morphological factors. The PDC follows the order V-DO-PP, where the preposition

la introduces the PP. This order does not require special case licensing beyond the usual rules for PPs. The DO receives accusative case from *v*. The IO is embedded within a PP, so case is assigned by the preposition, avoiding the need for an additional case or argument structure as seen in the DOC in this language. For this reason, in derived ditransitives, nearly all transitive verbs in JA exhibit the PDC pattern rather than that of the DOC. The PDC maintains the basic SVO word order for transitive verbs, simply adding the PP after the main object. This makes it the default choice in neutral contexts. The PDC can occur with any indirect object, whether animate, inanimate, definite or indefinite. In contrast, the DOC in JA is more restricted. Furthermore, the DOC has two adjacent NPs, which may require more processing effort and are thus marked in terms of production.

The syntactic and semantic properties of ditransitive constructions across different languages remain a subject of debate. There is no consensus on whether PDCs and DOCs share the same underlying structure. Some linguists argue that PDCs and DOCs are both syntactically and semantically distinct (e.g., Green, 1974; Oehrle, 1976; Pesetsky, 1995; Harley, 2002; Bruening, 2001; Pylkkänen, 2002/2008). Others suggest that the two constructions share a single underlying structure and convey the same meaning (Baker 1988, 1997; Larson, 1988; den Dikken, 1995; Bresnan, 2007; Bresnan et al., 2007; Bresnan & Nikitina, 2009; Ormazabal & Romero, 2007, 2010; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2008).

In this chapter, I argue that JA exhibits a pattern of ditransitive constructions similar to those in English, although its inventory appears larger than that of English. I assert that JA has two types of PDC: the canonical Theme-Goal PDC and the reverse Goal-Theme PDC. Larson's VP-shell approach is consistent with JA's Theme-Goal PDC because it accurately predicts the hierarchy, binding relations, and surface orders observed in that construction, and it clearly distinguishes it from DOC without requiring an applicative analysis.

Six syntactic diagnostics, including A and A-bar movement, cliticisation, clitic doubling, *load* verbs, and *put* constructions, have been used to show that the construction V-*la* Recipient-Theme is not a DOC, as Hallman (2018) claimed for Syrian Arabic and Al-Janabi (2019) for Iraqi Arabic. To analyse the syntax of Goal-Theme PDCs, I adopted the scrambling A-bar movement of the PP around the Theme to Spec-VP, since JA allows flexible word order, and this movement does not necessarily affect the information structure of the utterance.

I also argue that JA possesses a genuine DOC. Syntactic diagnostics, such as scope interaction, demonstrate that JA exhibits ‘scope freezing’, a characteristic of the genuine DOC. Features of JA DOCs include passivisation, cliticisation, and clitic doubling, supporting the claim that JA has a genuine DOC. A modified version of Pylkkänen's (2002/208) applicative approach has been used to analyse the syntax of DOCs. This modified approach aims to develop a method consistent with the UTAH (Baker, 1988). The applicative approach is consistent with JA DOCs because it naturally explains their asymmetrical behaviour, case patterns, binding asymmetry, and c-command relations between the Recipient and the Theme. In the following chapter, I will conclude the entire thesis and recommend further studies on specific syntactic issues that have not yet been explored in the syntax of JA.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

7.1.Introduction

This study examines the syntactic and semantic features of ditransitive constructions in JA, focusing on variations involving lexical and pronominal objects. Its main aim is to enhance our understanding of ditransitive structures in modern spoken Arabic dialects, especially the syntactic patterns of JA. A secondary objective is to briefly explore factors such as definiteness, pronominalisation, and animacy, which previous research on dative alternation suggests may influence speakers' preferences for specific constructions. While these factors are not the primary focus and no definitive conclusions have been drawn, their discussion contributes to a more detailed descriptive account and lays the groundwork for future research.

Examining ditransitive constructions in JA is particularly important from a theoretical perspective because they pose significant challenges for generative syntax, particularly with respect to argument structure, theta-role assignment, and case marking. Since JA has not been analysed in this context before, studying its data offers an opportunity to test and refine generalisations about ditransitive formation and argument mapping across languages. Ultimately, this research aims to provide detailed descriptive insights into JA ditransitive constructions while contributing to broader theoretical debates on the syntax and semantics of ditransitive constructions.

Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework for analysing ditransitive and DOCs, placing them within the broader debate about their relationship to PDCs. Two main perspectives shape the derivational approach. Some scholars, such as Aoun and Li (1989) and Hallman (2015), argue that PDCs originate from DOCs, while others, including Larson (1988) and den Dikken (1995), contend that DOCs develop from PDCs through a process called Dative Shift. Larson (1988) posits that this process raises the Recipient to an indirect object position while relegating the Theme to an adjunct within V'. This view is based on the idea that different surface forms can express the same underlying thematic relationships, a concept central to studies on grammatical function changing alternations (e.g., Baker, 1988; Larson, 1988; den Dikken, 1995). These analyses often depend on Baker's (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH). Under the

UTAH, if DOCs and PDCs share the same Goal–Theme relations, then a derivational link between them is expected.

A key theoretical issue concerns argument projection. Some accounts treat both internal arguments as verb arguments (Larson, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995), whereas small clause approaches position the arguments independently of the verb (Kayne, 1984; Aoun & Li, 1989; den Dikken, 1995; Harley, 2002). Another view posits that the second argument is a verb argument, while the first is introduced by a functional applicative head (Marantz, 1993; Bruening, 2010a).

In contrast, the projectional view (Pesetsky, 1995; Harley, 2002; Pytkäinen, 2002, 2008; Bruening, 2010, 2014) treats DOCs as structurally independent from PDCs. Within this framework, DOCs may be headed either by an applicative head, as in Chichewa (Pytkäinen; Bruening), or by a prepositional phrase with a null preposition (Pesetsky; Harley).

7.2. Corpus analysis

The corpus, compiled from interviews and questionnaires (Appendices B and C), offers evidence of how structures naturally occur in language use. This analysis provides empirical, usage-based data on syntactic patterns, rather than relying only on introspection or hypothetical examples, and also highlights which constructions are frequent, marginal, or entirely absent in spoken discourse.

The interview corpus clearly demonstrates dative alternation in JA, revealing two main patterns similar to those observed in the English DOC and PDC. In JA, the equivalent of the English preposition *to* appears as *la*, *ɔl*, *il*, or *l* depending on the phonological context. Alongside these two primary constructions, a third variant also exists: the Goal-Theme PDC. Although its surface order resembles that of the DOC, it functions like the canonical Theme-Goal PDC with respect to A-movement, A-bar movement, cliticisation, and clitic doubling. As a result, JA exhibits two key diathesis patterns—a genuine DOC and a PDC—while the PDC itself manifests in two distinct word orders. This distribution emphasises the structural and interpretive complexity of dative alternation in JA.

7.3. Categorisation of ditransitive verbs in JA

Drawing on data from the interview corpus (Appendix B) and questionnaire (Appendix C), JA ditransitive verbs fall into two categories: verbs that permit DOC, and verbs that reject DOC.

Notably, almost all verbs allowing genuine DOCs also permit PDCs. For instance, the verb *ʔaʕtə* ‘give’ allows DOCs as well as both PDC variants, the Theme-Goal PDC and Goal-Theme PDC. This thesis notes that certain causative verbs permitting DOCs do not permit PDCs. Examples include *rakkað* ‘cause to run’, *maffə* ‘cause to walk’, *saffar* ‘cause to travel’, and *daffaʕ* ‘cause to pay’, which cannot occur in PDC diatheses, a topic which needs more investigation.

This study (in chapter 4) has pursued two main aims. First, it offers a typological overview of ditransitive constructions in JA. Second, it examines descriptive features of JA that are directly relevant to ditransitives, including word-order restrictions, binding asymmetries, scope rigidity, and passive formation. An important observation is that *load* verbs in JA require two internal arguments: a Theme and a Recipient-like participant. Concerning word order, JA enforces a strict constraint within the DOC, preventing the Theme from preceding the Recipient. Passivisation further emphasises the system’s structure, as JA allows either argument—the Theme in PDCs and the Recipient in DOCs—to be passivised. Overall, the study highlights the complex syntactic and semantic properties of JA ditransitives, providing valuable insights into the language’s grammatical architecture.

7.4. Ditransitive constructions with pronominal and lexical objects in JA

The study explores pronominal and lexical arguments in JA ditransitives, emphasising the contrast between full determiner phrases and pronominal objects. It also discusses the morphosyntax of personal pronouns in JA and examines cliticisation and clitic doubling within ditransitive constructions.

This study examines the morphosyntax of JA pronouns, distinguishing between strong pronouns, weak pronouns, affixes, and clitics. It also explores the theoretical question of whether clitics originate as word-level (X^0) or phrase-level (XP) elements. Following Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), the analysis assumes that clitics are X^0 heads in the surface structure, while weak pronouns function as XPs. This distinction provides a framework for understanding the syntactic behaviour of clitics compared to weak pronouns. Applying Cardinaletti and Starke’s diagnostics to pronominal objects in JA supports their classification as clitics. They cannot form phrase-level categories, appear as unstressed free pronouns in XP positions, or coordinate with other DPs. As

X° elements, they must adjoin to another head, since they cannot surface in isolation, serve as base-generated objects, or undergo clefting.

JA data show that clitic pronouns in JA must attach to a suitable host, but an intervention effect restricts their attachment. No potential cliticisation host may intervene between the clitic and the canonical position of its full DP counterpart. As a result, in PDCs, the Theme can cliticise directly to the verb since it immediately follows it. In DOCs, however, the intervening Recipient blocks this process, preventing attachment to the verb. In such cases, the Theme can still be pronominalised by adjoining to the particle *ʔyya*, which serves as an alternative clitic host when the verb is inaccessible.

This study shows that JA does not have weak pronouns, as pronominal objects are always realised as enclitics. It also examines constraints on the choice of internal arguments in ditransitive constructions. Additionally, cliticisation in JA follows systematic and restricted patterns. Evidence from clitic doubling supports these cliticisation rules, strengthening their influence on JA's ditransitive syntax.

7.5. The syntactic analysis of ditransitive constructions in JA

This thesis examines the structural variation of ditransitive constructions in JA, with particular emphasis on the contrast between DOCs and PDCs. JA displays a clear division in its verbal predicates: while some verbs permit DOCs, many others resist them. The prevalence of verbs that do not allow DOCs strongly indicates that the PDC represents the unmarked ditransitive construction in JA.

Several syntactic and morphological considerations support the claim that the PDC is the unmarked ditransitive construction in JA, where the prepositional phrase is introduced by *lə* (realised as *lə*, *ʔil*, *l*, or *il* depending on phonological context). In this structure, the DO receives accusative case from *v*, while the indirect object is embedded within a PP and receives case from the preposition. This arrangement avoids the need for additional case-assignment mechanisms and does not require complex adjustments to argument structure. Consequently, when ditransitives are derived from transitive verbs in JA, they predominantly appear in the PDC form. The PDC maintains the basic SVO order of transitive clauses, simply adding the PP after the direct object, making it the natural or default choice in neutral discourse. Furthermore, the PDC is highly flexible:

it can occur with animate or inanimate Goals, definite or indefinite, further reinforcing its status as the unmarked construction.

In this thesis, I contend that JA aligns with English in exhibiting both DOC and PDC patterns, yet its inventory of ditransitive structures is even more extensive. Specifically, JA presents two types of PDC: the canonical Theme–Goal PDC and the Goal–Theme PDC, a word order variation that nevertheless maintains the syntactic behaviour of the PDC. Larson’s (1988) VP-shell approach offers a suitable analysis of the Theme–Goal PDC in JA, as it captures the observed hierarchy, binding relations, and surface orders.

To demonstrate that the Goal–Theme PDC is not a DOC, six syntactic diagnostics were employed, including A and A-bar movement, cliticisation, clitic doubling, *load* verb constructions, and *put* constructions. These diagnostics show that the V–*la* Recipient–Theme order in JA cannot be analysed as a DOC, contrary to proposals made for related dialects such as Syrian Arabic (Hallman, 2018) and Iraqi Arabic (Al-Janabi, 2019). Instead, the Goal–Theme order is derived through the scrambling A-bar movement of the PP around the Theme to a higher syntactic position (Spec-VP). JA’s flexible word order allows such movement without disrupting information structure.

At the same time, I argue that JA indeed has a genuine DOC, supported by syntactic diagnostics, such as scope interaction. JA DOCs exhibit scope freezing, a hallmark property of genuine DOCs. Further evidence comes from passivisation, cliticisation, and clitic doubling, all of which confirm the DOC’s independent status in JA. To analyse the DOC, I have employed a modified version of Pylkkänen’s (2002/2008) applicative approach, which remains consistent with Baker’s (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis. A straightforward reconciliation of the ApplP hypothesis with the UTAH is to shift Pylkkänen’s low/high ApplP one level higher: low ApplP selects VP, with the Theme in Spec-VP and the applied object in Spec-ApplP, whereas high ApplP selects a little vP as its complement. This applicative analysis accounts for the asymmetric behaviour of the DOC, its case patterns, binding asymmetries, and c-command relations between Recipient and Theme.

In summary, JA unveils a complex system of ditransitive constructions. The PDC is unmarked, productive, and structurally simpler, whereas the DOC is limited but authentic,

exhibiting distinct syntactic features. By integrating evidence from word order, movement, passivisation, and cliticisation, this thesis shows that JA offers valuable data to broader debates in generative syntax.

7.6. Directions for future research

Although this research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of ditransitive constructions in JA, many issues remain unaddressed. First, the Arabic word *ʔayya*, which can change its function depending on context (see 5.4.1), requires careful attention. Its morphosyntactic behaviour demonstrates that it is not merely a phonetic form or a filler. It hosts clitics and adds grammatical meaning rather than lexical content. By examining the functions that *ʔayya* serves in section 5.4.2, *ʔayya* could be fundamentally a P-element, and all its other uses may be derived from that. It is plausible that there is a parallel between *ʔayya* and Hebrew *et*, for which more etymological and diachronic information is available. If *et* traces back to a preposition, perhaps specifically a preposition meaning ‘with,’ this would be significant. Therefore, I suggest further investigation into this chameleon.

A key issue to examine is the syntax of causative constructions in JA. I have observed that causatives derived from transitive verbs behave differently compared to those from intransitive, ergative, or unaccusative verbs. In this context, I am referring to morphological causatives, not to periphrastic or lexical causatives. For instance, the causative derived from unergative verbs is not possible in the PDC, as illustrated by the following examples.

- 1- Samia rags^s-ət bɪ-l-ħafleh
 Samia danced-3SGF at-the-party
 ‘Samia danced at the party.’
- 2- Sami raggas^s-∅ Samia rgs^sah ʔɪsbaniah
 Sami made to dance-3SGM Samia dance Spanish
 ‘Sami made Samia dance a Spanish dance.’
- 3- *Sami raggas^s-∅ rgs^sah ʔɪsbaniah lə Samia
 Sami made to dance-3SGM dance Spanish to Samia
 ‘Sami made Samia dance a Spanish dance.’

Furthermore, some causatives derived from transitives are also not possible in PDCs. For example, the verbs *daffaf* ‘cause to pay’, *xassar* ‘cause to lose’, and *rabbah* ‘cause to win’ do not accept the PDC. The causatives derived from ergative verbs like *waggaf* ‘cause to drop’, *saggat* ‘cause to fall’, *fattah* ‘cause to open’, and *sakkar* ‘cause to close’ do not accept the DOC. Therefore, I propose examining these constructions in relation to the ditransitive verbs in JA.

Moreover, clitic doubling has never been studied in JA, a subject that is very intriguing to explore and understand its behaviour with various types of verbs.

In JA, there is no equivalent word in the language for the verb “to have” to express possession. JA speakers use a preposition with a genitive or possessive pronoun.

- **ʕind= at**

4- ʕind-I ktaab
 at-my book
 ‘I have a book.’

- **maʕ= with**

5- maʕ-I ktaab
 with-my book
 ‘I have a book.’

- **la-ʔil-lei= for**

6- ʔil-I ktaab
 for-my book
 ‘I have a book.’

The fact that JA doesn't have *have*-sentences but does have DOCs is typologically interesting. Cross-linguistic evidence shows that the presence of the verb “have” and the availability of DOCs are separate grammatical features. For instance, JA lacks a verb equivalent to “have” but clearly displays the DOC, whereas French and Italian have a verb for “have” yet do not allow DOCs. This distributional mismatch calls into question theories such as Harley’s (2002) proposal, which links the presence of a prepositional element *Phave* and the verbal “have” to the availability of DOCs. Data from multiple languages indicate that DOCs can occur without “have” and vice versa, challenging the idea that these phenomena must be connected. These patterns

support theories that see “have” and DOCs as unrelated, representing different grammatical mechanisms across languages.

Also, it is interesting that JA uses *with* rather than *to* in its copular possession construction. It seems that neither of the two diathesis types for ditransitives finds its way into the copular expression of possession in JA, which is definitely worth investigating and contemplating. Therefore, there is an important point to note about “have” in JA: (a) the fact that JA lacks *Samia has a car* despite having *Sami gave Samia a car*, and (b) the fact that *with*, not *to*, is used in (null) copular possession sentences corresponding to English “have”.

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Appendix A: Consents





RESEARCH PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

Project: Ditransitive constructions in Jordanian Arabic

Researcher: Rami Alwardat ramiwardat2@student.elte.hu

Supervisor: Professor Marcel den Dikken dmarcel@nytud.hu

Supervisor: Professor Mark Newson newson.mark@btk.elte.hu

Department of Linguistics

Eötvös Loránd University

Project overview

I am a PhD student at Eötvös Loránd University in the Department of Linguistics. I am currently conducting research titled 'Ditransitive Constructions in JA' under the supervision of Professors Mark Newson and Marcel den Dikken. The study aims to examine the structure of ditransitives in Jordanian Arabic.

Description of participation

If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire (grammaticality judgement task). You will also be interviewed to use some verbs in ditransitive constructions. Your utterances must be in your dialect rather than in Standard Arabic. You will not be asked to provide your name or any other personal details in the questionnaire.

Risks

The risk of causing harm or inconvenience to you is considered to be no greater than that which you would encounter in your everyday life.

Confidentiality and anonymity

You do not need to give your name or any personal details for this task. The questionnaire you complete will only be used for research purposes. If any of your responses are included in the research, they will be identified by a code, and your identity will stay confidential. Personal information will never be shared.

Data storage

The questionnaires and the consent forms will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office.

Your participation in this questionnaire is entirely voluntary, and you may decline to take part or withdraw at any time without facing any penalty. To withdraw, inform the interviewer that you no longer wish to continue (no questions will be asked).

If you are willing to participate in this study and fill in the questionnaire, then please complete the section below. Please sign and date this form. Please keep the attached second copy of this consent form for your own information.

I want to thank you for taking the time to read this information.

I have read and understood the request to participate in this study (Ditransitive Constructions in JA). I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty.

☐ I am allowing the researcher to preserve this questionnaire in a secure location with the understanding that it will only be used for research purposes.

Participant's name:- _____

Participant's signature: _____

Researcher's name: Rami Alwardat

Date: _____

نموذج موافقة لاجراء مقابله
المشروع: نحو الأفعال المتعدية لمفعولين في اللهجة العربية الأردنية
الباحث : رامي وليد سالم الوردات

المشرف: الدكتور مارك نيوصن و الدكتور مارسيل دن دكن

قسم اللغويات
جامعة اتفوش لوراند

نظرة عامة عن البحث

أنا طالب دكتوراه في قسم اللغويات في جامعة اتفوش لوراند . انني اقوم بإجراء بحث بعنوان "نحو الأفعال المتعدية لمفعولين في اللهجة العربية الاردنية" تحت إشراف الدكتور مارك نيوصن و الدكتور مارسيل دن دكن. الهدف هو تحليل التراكيب اللغوية للأفعال المتعدية لمفعولين و مميزات هذه التراكيب النحوية.

وصف المشاركة

إذا قررت التطوع سوف يطلب منك أن تشارك في استبيان يحتوي على عدة جمل و تقوم بتقييم قبولك لهذه الجمل من واحد الى خمسة . في المقابلة ستعطى أفعال من اللهجة الأردنية و تقوم بإعطاء جمل تحتوي على مفعولين. بعد اذنك بالسماح للإجابة على الاسئلة في هذا الاستبيان، سأقوم بإعطائك الاستبيان لتقوم بتعبئته. لن يطلب منك أن تذكر اسمك او أي معلومات شخصية تدل على هويتك.

المخاطر

لا تنتطوي المشاركة في هذه المقابلة على اي خطر او ضرر أو إزعاج لك.

السرية وعدم الكشف عن الهوية

لن يتم الطلب من معلومات شخصية تدل على هويتك مثل اسمك او عنوانك و ما شابه . لن يتم استخدام هذا الاستبيان الا لأغراض البحث. في حال أنه سيتم الاقتباس من بعض اجاباتك في البحث فإنه سوف يتم تحديد المصدر حسب الرقم و لن يكشف عن اي معلومات شخصية . لن يتم استخدام معلومات شخصية عنك مطلقا.

تخزين المعلومات

سيتم تخزين التستبيان و نموذج الموافقة على المشاركة في الاستبيان في مكتب الباحث في خزانة مغلقة.

مشاركتك في هذه المقابلة طوعي تماما. يمكنك رفض المشاركة أو الانسحاب من المقابلة دون أي عقوبة. تستطيع الانسحاب عن طريق إبلاغ الباحث أنك لم تعد ترغب في المشاركة (وسوف لن يتم توجيه أية أسئلة) .

إذا كنت على استعداد للمشاركة في هذه المقابلة التي سيتم تسجيلها ، الرجاء تعبئة المعلومات أدناه . الرجاء كتابة الاسم والتاريخ والتوقيع في المكان المخصص في نهاية هذا النموذج. يمكنك الاحتفاظ بالنسخة الثانية من نموذج الموافقة هذا.

أود أن أشكرك على وقتك لقراءة هذه المعلومات .

□ لقد قرأت وفهمت طلب المشاركة في هذه الدراسة (نحو الأفعال المتعدية الى مفعولين في اللهجة الاردنية). لقد تم الاجابة على جميع أسئلتي ، و أنا موافق طوعا للمشاركة في هذه الدراسة . وأنا أفهم أنني حر في أن انسحب في أي وقت دون تكبد أي عقوبة.

أسمح للباحث الاحتفاظ بهذا الاستبيان في موقع آمن على أساس أنه لن يستخدم إلا لأغراض البحث العلمي فقط .

اسم المشارك : _____
توقيع المشارك : _____
اسم الباحث : _____
التاريخ: _____

Appendix B: interviews

Speaker (1)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰer-t ʔumm-i lɪ-skarf laʔɪn-hə kanat bardan-eh
gave-1SG mother-my the-scarf because-she was cold-3SGF
'I gave my mother the scarf because she was cold.'

Buy

- ʔɪʃtər-ert ʃulbɪt tunah lə bɪst-i
bought-1SG can tuna for cat-my
'I bought a can of tuna for my cat.'

Sell

- bɪʃ-it sayyaart-i lə dʒaar-nə
sold-1SG car-my to neighbour-our
'I sold my car to our neighbour.'

Send

- baʃaθ-it lə sitt-i²⁵ ʔɪl-ʔayraadʰ
sent-1SG to grandma-my the-objects
'I sent the objects/things to my grandma.'

Bring

- dʒɪb-it lə ʔuxt-i hadiya bɪ-ʃeed melaad-hə
brought-1SG for sister-my gift in- birthday-her
'I brought a gift for my sister on her birthday.'

Hand

- naawal-it xalt-i kaasɪt mɔy
handed-1SG aunt-my glass water
'I handed my aunt a glass of water.'

Ask

- saʔal-it ʔɪmm-i ʃuu yadaa-nə ʔɪl-yoom

²⁵ *sitt-i* and *dʒiddat-i* mean grandma, but *dʒiddat-i* is more used.

asked-1SG mother-my what lunch-our the-day

‘I asked my mother what our lunch is today.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔuxt-ɪ ʕarabɪ laʔɪnnu kaan ʕand-hə ʔɪmtɪhaan
taught-1SG sister-my Arabic because was at-3SGF exam

‘I taught my sister Arabic because she had an exam.’

Tell

- ɸak-ert lə ʔɪmm-ɪ l-ʔɪsʕa kaamleh
told-1SG to mother-my the-story whole

‘I told the whole story to my mother.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t ʔuxt-ɪ zaʕeereh baskoot
fed-1SG sister-my little biscuits

‘I fed my little sister biscuits.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒar-nə l-maxaazɪn lə ʕamm-ɪ
rented-1PL the-stores to uncle-my

‘We rented the stores to my uncle.’

Fill

- ʕabbeɪ-nə l-beer mɔyɪt matʕar
filled-1PL the-well water rain

‘We filled the well with rainwater.’

Show

- wardʒ-ert ʔahl-ɪ sʕuwar lə dʒamɪʕt-ɪ
showed-1SG family-my photos of university-my

‘I showed my family photos of my university.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-ɪt lə ʔuxt-ɪ lɪ-bluuzech ʔɪllɪ ʔaxað-ɪt-hə mɪn-hə

returned-1SG to sister-my the-blouse that took-1SG-it from-her
 ‘I returned to my sister the blouse I took from her.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-it bɪ-masʕaarɪ lə l-fageer
 donated-1SG with-money to the-poor
 ‘I donated money to the poor.’

Lend

- dayyan-it ʔaxu-ɪ masʕarɪ ʔaʕaan dɪraast-u
 lent-1SG brother-my money for study-his
 ‘I lent my brother money for his study.’

Bequeath

- dʒadd-ɪ warraθ-Ø-nə ʔaraðʕɪ kθɪ:reh
 grandfather-my bequeathed-3SGM-us lands many
 ‘My grandfather bequeathed us many pieces of land.’

Speaker (2)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕə-Ø t-talɪfoon lə ʔuxt-u
 gave-3SGM the-mobile to sister-his
 ‘He gave the mobile to his sister.’

Buy

- ʔɪʔtərə-Ø lɪ-ktaab mɪn l-maktabeh
 bought-3SGM the-book from the-library
 ‘He bought the book from the library.’

Sell

- baaʕ-Ø ɪt-talefoon lə sʕaahb-u
 sold-3SGM the-mobile to friend-his
 ‘He sold the mobile to his friend.’

Send

- waddeɪ-t ɪtʕ-tʕandʒarah lə dʒaart-ɪ

sent-1SG the-cooking pot to neighbour-my

‘I sent the cooking pot to my neighbour.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ɪl-malaabis lə ʔax-u
brought-3SGM the-clothes to brother-his

‘He brought the clothes to his brother.’

Hand

- naawal-Ø ɪt-talefoon lə xt-u
handed-3SGM the-mobile to sister-his

‘He handed the mobile to his sister.’

Ask

- saʔal-Ø suʔaal wa d-daktoor dʒaawab-Ø ʕal-eɪh
asked-3SGM question and the-professor answered-3SGM on-it

‘He asked a question, and the professor answered it.’

Teach

- darras-Ø ʔingleezi xams sneen
taught-3SGM English five years

‘He taught English for five years.’

Tell

- ʔakə-Ø l-ɪ l-gɪsʕah ʔɪmbareh
told-3SGM to-me the-story yesterday

‘He told me the story yesterday.’

Feed

- ʔatʕam-it l-mɪhtadʒeen Mansaf

fed-1SG the-needy Mansaf²⁶

‘I fed the needy Mansaf.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒar-Ø sayaart-u lə sʕaahb-u lə mudɪt ʃahur
rented-3SGM car-his to friend-his for period month

‘He rented his car to his friend for a month.’

Fill

- ʕabbə-Ø s-sayaarah banzeen
filled-3SM the-car benzine

‘He filled the car with benzine.’

Show

- wardʒer-t-u l-noots ʔillɪ bɪ-d-daftar
showed-1SG-him the-notes which in-the-notebook

‘I showed him the notes in the notebook.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-Ø l-ɪ l-mablay
returned-3SGM to-me the-mount of money
- ʔillɪ stalaf-Ø-u min-ɪ
which borrowed-3SGM-it from-me

‘He returned to me the money he borrowed from me.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʕ-Ø ɪb-dam-u lə l-mareeðʕ lɪ-sbooʕ l-maaðʕɪ
donated-3SGM with-blood-his to the-sick the-week the-past

‘He donated his blood to the sick last week.’

Lend

- dayyan-Ø sʕaahb-u xams leirraat

²⁶ A traditional dish in Jordan

lent-3SGM friend-his five liras²⁷

‘He lent his friend five dinars.’

Bequeath

- baba warraθ-Ø-nə beit ikbeer
father bequeathed-3SGM-us house big

‘Our father bequeathed us a big house.’

Speaker (3)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕei-t ʔuxt-i li-ктааб
gave-1SG sister-my the-book

‘I gave my sister the book.’

Buy

- ʔiʕtərə-Ø l-i ʔaxu-i ʔawaʕi
bought-3SGM for-me brother-my clothes

‘My brother bought clothes for me.’

Sell

- biʕ-it il²⁸-hə kтааб
sold-1SG to-her book

‘I sold a book to her.’

Send

- wadder-t lə ʔuxt-i l-moobarl
sent-1SG to sister-my the-mobile

‘I sent the mobile to my sister.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø l-i xu-i kaasit mpy

²⁷ Most people in Jordan still use the *lira* instead of the *dinar* although the official currency is the *dinar* in the country

²⁸ Another phonological variant of *lə*

brought-3SGM for-me brother-my glass water
 ‘My brother brought a glass of water for me.’

Hand

- naawal-it ʔxu-ɪ kaasit mɔy
 handed-1SG brother-my glass water
 ‘I handed my brother a glass of water.’

Ask

- saʔal-it-hə kam ɪsaaʃah
 asked-1SG-her what hour
 ‘I asked her what time it was.’

Teach

- darras-it ʔuxt-ɪ ʔingleezi
 taught-1SG sister-my English
 ‘I taught my sister English.’

Tell

- ʔaker-t l-hə kul l-ʔɪsʰah
 told-1SG to-her whole the-story
 ‘I told the whole story to her.’

Feed

- tʰaʃmeɪ-t ʔaxu-ɪ ʔɪlu
 fed-1SG brother-my candy
 ‘I fed my brother candy.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒar-ɪt-hum ʔs-sayyaarah
 rented-1SG-them the-car
 ‘I rented them the car.’
 - ʔadʒdʒar-ɪt-l-hum ʔs-sayyaarah²⁹

²⁹ This informant says that the sentence with *lə* or without *lə* had the same meaning until I explained the difference to her. She says, “I never thought of it like that.”

rented-1SG-for-them the-car

‘I rented the car for them.’

Fill

- ሩabber-t il-maፍluumaat ሩa-l-waragah
filled-1SG the-information on-the-paper

‘I filled the information in the document.’

Show

- fardʒer³⁰-t-hə s-surah
showed-1SG-her the-photo

‘I showed her the photo.’

Return

- radʒdʒəፋ-ət l-l l-ʔawaaፋ₁
returned-3SGF to-me the-clothes

‘She returned the clothes to me.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraፋ-it b-l-l-ʔawaaፋ₁ lə l-fugarah
donated-1SG with-the-clothes to the-poor

‘I donated the clothes to the poor.’

Lend

- dayyan-t-hə mablay bas^ፋeet^ፋ
lent-1SG-her amount of money simple

‘I lent her a simple amount of money.’

Bequeath

- ሩamm-l warraθ-Ø ʔawlaad-u mas^ፋaari kθeer

³⁰ *fardʒə* is another variant of *wardʒə*, both mean to show

uncle-my bequeathed-3SGM sons-his money a lot
 ‘My uncle bequeathed his sons a lot of money.’

Speaker (4)

Give

- ʔaɪtʰeɪ-t sʰaaħibt-ɪ l-ʔayraadʰ
 gave-1SG friend-my the-objects
 ‘I gave my friends the objects.’

Buy

- ʔɪftər-ət mama l-ʔakɪl
 bought-3SGF mother the-food
 ‘My mother bought the food.’

Sell

- bɪʔ-ɪt sʰaaħibt-ɪ l-ʔayraadʰ
 sold-1SG friend-my the-objects
 ‘I sold my friend the objects.’

Send

- wadd-ət ʔuxt-ɪ l-ʔayraadʰ lə ʔumm-ɪ
 sent-3SGF sister-my the-objects to mother-my
 ‘My sister sent the objects to my mother.’

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt lə sʰaaħibt-ɪ l-ktaab
 brought-1SG for friend-my the-book
 ‘I brought the book for my friend.’

Hand

- naawal-ət-nɪ t-talefoon
 handed-3SGF-me the-mobile
 ‘She handed me the mobile.’

Ask

- saʔal-Ø-nɪ baba ʃan ɪs-saaʃah

asked-3SGM-me father about the-time

‘My father asked me the time.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ ɪz-zayeer ʕa-l-ɪmtɪhaan
taught-1SG brother-my the-little on-the-exam

‘I taught my little brother for the exam.’

Tell

- ɸak-ət l-ɪ juu sʕaar maɸ-hə ʔɪmbaareɸ
told-3SGF to-me what happened with-her yesterday

‘She told me what happened to her yesterday.’

Feed

- tʕaɸmeɪ-t bint ʔuxt-ɪ ɪt-tufaahah
fed-1SG girl sister-my the-apple

‘I fed my niece the apple.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒar-Ø baba ʃ-ʃagah
rented-3SGM father the-flat

‘My father rented the flat.’

Fill

- ʕabba-Ø baba banzeen lə s-sayyaarah
filled-3SGM father benzene for the-car

‘My father filled benzene for the car.’

Show

- fardʒ-ət-nɪ sʕaahɪbt-ɪ sʕ-sʕuurah
showed-3SGF-me friend-my the-photo

‘My friend showed me the photo.’

Return

- radʒdʒaɸ-ət l-ɪ sʰaaħɪbt-ɪ l-ʔalam
returned-3SGF to-me friend-my the-pen
‘My friend returned the pen to me.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraɸ-ət ʔumm-ɪ bɪ-mablay lə l-faʔeer
donated-3SGF mother-my with-sum of money to the-poor
‘My mother donated a sum of money to the poor.’

Lend

- dayyan-ət mama sʰaaħbɪt-hə fluus³¹
lent-3SGF mother friend-her money
‘My mother lent her friend money.’

Bequeath

- xaal-ɪ³² warraθ-Ø ʔaraadʰɪ lə ʔawlaad-u
uncle-my bequeathed-3SGM lands for sons-his
‘My uncle bequeathed lands for his sons.’

Speaker (5)

Give

- ʔaɸtʰeɪ-t ɪl-galam lə ħmad
gave-1SG the-pen to Ahmed
‘I gave the pen to Ahmed.’

Buy

- ʔɪftərə-Ø ʔaħmad tuffaaħ
bought-3SGM Ahmed apples
‘Ahmed bought apples.’

Sell

³¹ ʔɪfluus, maal and masʰaari mean money in JA. When we say mablay, we mean a sum of money.

³² Xaal is the maternity uncle and ɸam is the paternity uncle.

- baaf-Ø tabaʕ ʔidokaneh lə Mhammad duxaan
sold-3SGM owner shop to Mohammad cigarettes
‘The owner of the shop sold cigarettes to Mohammad.’

Send

- wadder³³-t ʕabdallah ʔaxu-i lə l-madraseh
drove-1SG Abdullah brother-my to the-school
‘I drove my brother, Abdullah, to the school.’

Bring

- dʒib-it il-miftaah min il-yurfah
brought-1SG the-key from the-room
‘I brought the key from the room.’

Hand

- naawal-t-u l-miftaah
handed-1SG-him the-key
‘I handed him the key.’

Ask

- saʔal-t-u ʕan il-mauḏʕuuʕ
asked-1SG-him about the-matter
‘I asked him about the matter.’

Teach

- darras-it ʔaxu-i l-maadeh
taught-1SG brother-my the-material
‘I taught my brother the material.’

Tell

- ʔaker-t l-u ʕan il-ʔimtīhaan

³³ *waddə* in Arabic could mean *send, deliver and drive someone to a certain place.*

told-1SG to-him about the-exam

‘I told him about the exam.’

Feed

- tʰaŋmei-t ɪl-ʔakɪl lə dʒ-dʒaadʒeh
fed-1SG the-food to the-chicken

‘I fed the food to the chicken.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒar-Ø-u l-maħal b-sɪŋɪr yaalɪ
rented-3SGM-him the-store for-price expensive

‘He rented him the store for an expensive price.’

Fill

- ʃabbə-Ø ʔaħmad ʔɪs-sayyaarah ʔayraaðʕ
filled-3SGM Ahmed the-car objects

‘Ahmed filled the car with objects.’

Show

- wardʒer-t sʰadeeg-ɪ l-makaan
showed-1SG friend-my the-place

‘I showed my friend the place.’

Return

- radʒdʒaŋ-Ø ɪl-talefoon lə sʰaahb-u³⁴
returned-3SGM the-mobile to friend/owner-his/its

‘He returned the mobile to his friend.’ ‘He returned the mobile to its owner.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraŋ-ɪt bɪ-mablay lə l-fugarah

³⁴ This sentence has two meanings.

donated-1SG with-sum of money to the-poor
 ‘I donated a sum of money to the poor.’

Lend

- dayyan-it ʔaħmad masʕaari
 lent-1SG Ahmed money
 ‘I lent Ahmed money.’

Bequeath

- dʒaar-nə warraθ-Ø marat-u beit ikbeer
 neighbour-our bequeathed-3SGM wife-his house big
 ‘Our neighbour bequeathed his wife a big house.’

Speaker (6)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕer-t miftaah is-sayyaarah lə xu-i
 gave-1SG key the-car to brother-my
 ‘I gave the car key to my brother.’

Buy

- ʔɪʔtəreɪ-t keelo xubɪz
 bought-1SG kilo bread
 ‘I bought a kilo of bread.’

Sell

- bɪʕ-it sayyaarit mħammad lə waahad min ʕadʒluun
 sold-1SG car Mohammad to someone from Ajlune
 ‘I sold Mohammad’s car to someone from Ajlune³⁵.’

Send

- waddei-t miftaah is-sayyaarah lə xu-i Mħammad

³⁵ A city in the north of Jordan

sent-1SG key the-car to brother-my Mohammad
 ‘I sent the car key to my brother, Mohammad.’

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt keloo xubɪz
 brought-1SG kilo bread
 ‘I brought a kilo of bread.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt Muʕaað lɪ-ktaab
 handed-1SG Muaath the-book
 ‘I handed Muaath the book.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt ʕan ʔxbaar Mhammad
 asked-1SG about circumstances Mohammad
 ‘I asked about Mohammad's circumstances.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ lɪ-zyeer taareex
 taught-1SG brother-my the-little history
 ‘I taught my little brother history.’

Tell

- ɥaker-t lə Mhammad ʕan Muʕaað
 told-1SG to Mohammad about Muaath
 ‘I told Mohammad about Muaath.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t ɪl-fugarah w-l-masaakeen ʔakɪl
 fed-1SG the-poor and-the-miserable food
 ‘I fed the poor and the miserable food.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒar-ɪt ɪl-maħal lə Mhammad
 266

rented-1SG the-store to Mohammad

‘I rented the store to Mohammad.’

Fill

- ʕabber-t ʕasʕeer bi-l-kaaseh
filled-1SG juice in-the-glass

‘I filled juice in the glass.’

Show

- wardʒer-t sayyaart-i lə Muʕaað
showed-1SG car-my to Muaath

‘I showed my car to Muaath.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-it mafaateeh is-sayyaarah lə Muʕaað
returned-1SG keys the-car to Muaath

‘I returned the car keys to Muaath.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-it bi-d-dəm lə l-mareeðʕ
donated-1SG with-the-blood to the-sick

‘I donated blood to the sick person.’

Lend

- dayyan-it Sameer xamis meet denaar
lent-1SG Sameer five hundred dinar

‘I lent Sameer five hundred dinars.’

Bequeath

- dʒadd-i warraθ-Ø-nə ʔaraaðʕi waasʕah
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM-us lands vast

‘My grandpa bequeathed us vast lands.’

Speaker (7)

Give

- ʔantʕer-t ʔxu-ɪ d-daftar
gave-1SG brother-my the-notebook
'I gave my brother the notebook.'

Buy

- ʔɪʔərə-Ø ʔabu-ɪ lə ʕamm-ɪ ʃ-ʃagah
bought-3SGM father-my for uncle-my the-flat
'My father bought the flat for my uncle.'

Sell

- bɪʕ-ɪt lɪ-ktaab ʕala³⁶ xawɪ³⁷-ya
sold-1SG the-book on friend-my
'I sold the book to my friend.'

Send

- ʔabu-ɪ waddə-Ø xu-ɪ ʕa-l-madreseh
father-my drove-3SGM brother-my on-the-school
'My father drove my brother to the school.'

Bring

- ʔabu-ɪ dʒaab-Ø xu-ɪ min ɪl-madreseh
father-my brought-3SGM brother-my from the-school
'My father brought back my brother from school.'

Hand

- ʔabu-ɪ naawal-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ l-miftaah
father-my handed-3SGM brother-my the-key
'My father handed my brother the key.'

Ask

- ʔabu-ɪ saʔal-Ø ʕan ʔaxu-ɪ bi-l-madrased
father-my asked-3SGM about brother-my in-the-school

³⁶ Some Bedouin Jordanian Arabic speakers use the preposition ʕala instead of lə with *baaʔ* 'sell'.

³⁷ xawɪ, sʕaahib and sʕadeeg mean friend.

‘My father asked about my brother in the school.’

Teach

- ʔabu-ɪ darras-∅ ʔɪbn axu-ɪ ʕarabɪ
father-my taught-3SGM son brother-my Arabic

‘My father taught my nephew Arabic.’

Tell

- ʔabu-ɪ gaal-∅ lə xu-ɪ ʕan ɪs-sayyaarah
father-my told-3SGM to brother-my about the-car

‘My father told my brother about the car.’

Feed

- ʔatʕam-∅ ʔabu-ɪ lə l-ħalaal ʔɪl-ʕalaf
fed-3SGM father-my for the-cattle the-fodder

‘My father fed the fodder for the cattle.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-∅ ʔabu-ɪ ʃ-ʃagah lə l-ʕaamel
rented-3SGM father-my the-flat to the-worker

‘My father rented the flat to the worker.’

Fill

- ʕabbə-∅ ʔabu-ɪ bɪ-s-sayyaarah banzeen
filled-3SGM father-my in-the-car benzine

‘My father filled the car with benzine.’

- ʕabber-t banzeen bɪ-s-sayyaarah
filled-1SG benzine in-the-car

‘I filled the car with benzine.’

Show

- wardʒə-∅ ʔabu-ɪ lə ʔamm-ɪ ʃ-ʃagah
showed-3SGM father-my to uncle-my the-flat

‘My father showed the flat to my uncle .’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-∅ ʔaxu-i lə ʔabu-i l-mafaateeh
returned-3SGM brother-my to father-my the-keys

‘My brother returned the keys to my father.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-∅ ʔabu-i lə la-jnet iz-zakaah
donated-3SGM father-my to the-committee the-zakaah³⁸

‘My father donated to the committee of Zakaat.’

Lend

- dayyan-∅ ʔabu-i lə xu-i masʕaari
lent-3SGM father-my to brother-my money

‘My father lent money to my brother .’

Bequeath

- dʒadd-i warraθ-∅ ʔabu-i ħalaal u masʕaari
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM father-my cattle and money

‘My grandpa bequeathed my father cattle and money.’

Speaker (8)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕei-t ʔaxu-i li-ktaab
gave-1SG brother-my the-book

‘I gave my brother the book.’

Buy

- ʔiftərə-∅ ʔaxu-i s-sayyaarah
bought-3SGM brother-my the-car

³⁸ The obligatory tax that every Muslim must give to the poor.

‘My brother bought the car.’

Sell

- baaʕ-Ø ʔabu-ɪ ʔil-ʔarðʕ lə ʕamm-ɪ
sold-3SGM father-my the-land to uncle-my

‘My father sold the land to my uncle.’

Send

- waddei-t ʔaxu-ɪ lə l-madrased
drove-1SG brother-my to the-school

‘I drove my brother to school.’

Bring

- ʔabu-ɪ dʒaab-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ min il-madrased
father-my brought-3SGM brother-my from the-school

‘My father brought my brother from school.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔumm-ɪ lɪ-ɣraaðʕ
handed-1SG mother-my the-objects

‘I handed my mother the objects.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt ʕan ʔaxu-ɪ bi-l-madrased
asked-1SG about brother-my in-the-school

‘I inquired about my brother in school.’

Teach

- ʔabu-ɪ darras-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ d-dares
father-my taught-3SGM brother-my the-lesson

‘My father taught my brother the lesson.’

Tell

- ʔaker-t lə xuu-ɪ ʕaylah
told-1SG to brother-my something

‘I told my brother something.’

Feed

- tʰaŋmeɪ-t bɪnt axuu-ɪ l-ɣada
fed-1SG girl brother-my the-lunch

‘I fed my niece the lunch.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ʔabu-ɪ ʃ-ʃagah lə Sami
rented-3SGM father-my the-flat to Sami

‘My father rented the flat to Sami.’

Fill

- ʃabbeɪ-t ɪl-xazaanaat mɒy mbaareh
filled-1SG the-tanks water yesterday

‘I filled the tanks with water yesterday.’

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t axu-ɪ sʰuwar-ɪ
showed-1SG brother-my photos-my

‘I showed my brother my photos.’

Return

- radʒdʒaŋ-ɪt lɪ-ктаab lə l-maktabeh
returned-1SG the-book to the-library

‘I returned the book to the library.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraŋ-ɪt bɪ-meet deenaar lə l-masɗɗɪd
donated-1SG with-hundred dinars for the-mosque

‘I donated one hundred dinars for the mosque.’

Lend

- dayyan-ɪt Mansʰuur xamseen deenaar
lent-1SG Mansoor fifty dinars

‘I lent Mansoor fifty dinars.’

Bequeath

- ʔabu-ɪ warraθ-Ø-nɪ beɪt
father-my bequeathed-3SGM-me house

‘My father bequeathed me a house.’

Speaker (9)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t ʃobaadah lɪ-ktaab
gave-1SG Obada the-book

‘I gave Obada the book.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t talefoon dʒadeed
Bought-1SG mobile new

‘I bought a new mobile.’

Sell

- bɪʃ-ɪt kutb-ɪ lə ʰmad
sold-1SG books-my to Ahmad

‘I sold my books to Ahmed.’

Send

- waddeɪ-t l-ɣraaðʃ lə sʰaahb-ɪ
sent-1SG the-objects to friend-my

‘I sent the objects to my friend.’

Bring

- dʒɪb-t kul kutb-ɪ mɪn ɪl-maktabah
brought-1SG all books-my from the-library

‘I brought all my books from the library.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔumm-ɪ lɪ-ɣraaðʃ
handed-1SG mother-my the-objects

‘I handed my mother the objects.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt suʔaal bɪ-l-muħaaðˤarah
asked-1SG question in-the-lecture

‘I asked a question in the lecture.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔɪbn ʔaxu-ɪ ʕarabɪ
taught-1SG son brother-my Arabic

‘I taught my nephew Arabic.’

Tell

- ħaker-ɪt lə sˤaahb-ɪ kul l-maʕluumaat ʔɪllɪ
told-1SG to friend-my all the-information that
- ʔaxð-ɪt-ħə bɪ-l-muħaaðˤarah ʔɪmbaareħ
took-1SG-it in-the-lecture yesterday

Intended: ‘I told my friend the information I took in the lecture yesterday.’

Feed

- tˤaʕmeɪ-t kul l-fuqaraaʔ ʔɪl-mawdʒoodeen
fed-1SG all the-poor the-existent
- bɪ-l-ħay ʕɪn-nə
in-the-district at-our

‘I fed all the poor who are in our district.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ɪt ɪf-ʃagah ʔɪllɪ ʕɪn-daar dʒadd-ɪ
rented-1SG the-flat which at-house grandpa-my

‘I rented the flat at my grandpa's house.’

Fill

- ʕabber-ɪt kul l-xazaanaat mɔyah ʔɪmbaareħ
filled-1SG all the-tanks water yesterday

‘I filled all the tanks with water yesterday.’

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t kul sʰuwar-ɪ lə sʰaahb-ɪ
showed-1SG all photos-my to friend-my

‘I showed my photos to my friend.’

Return

- radʒdʒaɣ-ɪt kul ɪd-dem ʔɪllɪ ʕal-ayɪ
returned-1SG all the-debt that on-me

‘I paid all my debts.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraɣ-ɪt b-masʰaari lə l-mɪhtaadʒeen
donated-1SG with-money to the-needy

‘I donated money to the needy.’

Lend

- dayyan-ɪt sʰaahb-ɪ xamseen leɪra
lent-1SG friend-my fifty liras

‘I lent my friend fifty liras.’

Bequeath

- ʔumm-ɪ warraθ-ət-nə ðahab
mother-my bequeathed-3SGF-us gold

‘My mother bequeathed us gold.’

Speaker (10)

Give

- ʔaɣtʰə-Ø lɪ-mʕalem ʔd-dares lə tʰ-tʰullaab
gave-3SGM the-teacher the-lesson to the-students

‘The teacher explained the lesson to the students.’

Buy

- ʔɪftərə-Ø ʔabu-ɪ xubuz
bought-3SGM father-my bread

‘My father bought bread.’

Sell

- baaʕ-Ø ʔaħmad ʔis-sayyaarah lə mħammad
sold-3SGM Ahmed the-car to Mohammad

‘Ahmed sold the car to Mohammad.’

Send

- waddə-Ø ʔaxu-i ʔumm-i lə l-mustaffah
sent-3SGM brother-my mother-my to the-hospital

‘My brother delivered my mother to the hospital.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ʔabu-i sayyaarah dʒadeedeh
brought-3SGM father-my car new

‘My father brought a new car.’

Hand

- naawal-Ø ʔaxu-i ʔil-mıftaah lə bu-i
handed-3SGM brother-my the-key to father-my

‘My brother handed the key to my father.’

Ask

- ʕamm-i saʔal-Ø ʔaxu-i suʔaal
uncle-my asked-3SGM brother-my question

‘My uncle asked my brother a question.’

Teach

- darras-it ʔid-dares lə xu-i zayeer
taught-1SG the-lesson to brother-my little

‘I taught the lesson to my little brother.’

Tell

- ħaker-t lə sʕaahb-i gisʕah
told-1SG to friend-my story

‘I told a story to my friend.’

Feed

- tʰaŋmeɪ-t ʔaxu-ɪ sandweeʃeh
fed-1SG brother-my sandwich

‘I fed my brother a sandwich.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ʔiħmad ʔis-sayyaarah lə mħammad
rented-3SGM Ahmed the-car to Mohammad

‘Ahmed rented the car to Mohammad.’

Fill

- ʃabbə-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ l-xazaanaat mɔyah
filled-3SGM brother-my the-tanks water

‘My brother filled the tanks with water.’

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t ʔaxu-ɪ sʰ-sʰuurah
showed-1SG brother-my the-photo

‘I showed my brother the photo.’

Return

- radʒdʒaɸ-Ø ʔaħmad ɪl-mɪftaah lə bu-ɪ
returned-3SGM Ahmed the-key to father-my

‘Ahmed returned the key to my father.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraɸ-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ b-masʰaari lə l-masdʒed
donated-3SGM brother-my with-money for the-mosque

‘My brother donated money for the mosque.’

Lend

- ʔabu-ɪ dayyan-Ø ʃamm-ɪ masʰaari
father-my lent-3SGM uncle-my money

‘My father lent my uncle money.’

Bequeath

- dʒaar-na warraθ-Ø ʔulaad-u bert Kabeer
neighbour-our bequeathed-3SGM sons-his house big

‘Our neighbour bequeathed his sons a big house.’

Speaker (11)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰer-t ʔabu-i ʃɪfreen deenaar
gave-1SG father-my twenty dinars

‘I gave my father twenty dinars.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtərə-Ø ʔabu-i sayyaarah
bought-3SGM father-my car

‘My father bought a car.’

Sell

- baaʃ-Ø ʔabu-i lə xu-i l-ʔariðʃ
sold-3SGM father-my to brother-my the-land

‘My father sold the land to my brother.’

Send

- waddaa-Ø-nɪ ʔabu-i ʃa-d-dukkaneh
sent-3SGM-me father-my to-the-shop

‘My father sent me to the shop.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ʔaxu-i xubɪz
brought-3SGM brother-my bread

‘My brother brought bread.’

Hand

- sʰaahb-i naawal-Ø-nɪ lɪ-ktaab
friend-my handed-3SGM-me the-book

‘My friend handed me the book.’

Ask

- ʔabu-ɪ saʔal-∅ lɪ-staað ʕan ʔaxu-ɪ
father-my asked-3SGM the-teacher about brother-my

‘My father asked the teacher about my brother.’

Teach

- darras-ət ʔumm-ɪ ʔaxu-ɪ d-dares
taught-3SGF mother-my brother-my the-lesson

‘My mother taught my brother the lesson.’

Tell

- ħakə-∅ ʔabu-ɪ lə ʔaxu-ɪ ʔan ɪl-madrasah
told-3SGM father-my to brother-my about the-school

‘My father told my brother about school.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t ʔaxu-ɪ mansaf
fed-1SG brother-my mansaf

‘I fed my brother mansaf.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-∅ ʔabu-ɪ ʃ-ʃagah lə waahad soorɪ
rented-3SGM father-my the-flat to one Syrian

‘My father rented the flat to someone Syrian.’

Fill

- ʕabbə-∅ ʔabu-ɪ l-xazaan mɔy
filled-3SGM father-my the-tank water

‘My father filled the water in the tank.’

Show

- wardʒer-t lə sʕaahb-ɪ sʕ-sʕuurah
showed-1SG to friend-my the-photo

‘I showed the photo to my friend.’

Return

- radʒaʃ-Ø s^ʕaahb-ɪ lɪ-ктаab lə l-maktabeh
returned-3SGM friend-my the-book to the-library

‘My friend returned the book to the library.’

Donate

- ʔabu-ɪ tbarraʃ-Ø lə l-madrased bɪ-meet deenaar
father-my donated-3SGM to the-school with-one hundred dinars

‘My father donated one hundred dinars to the school.’

Lend

- ʔabu-ɪ dayyan-Ø ʃamm-ɪ xamɪs meet leira
Father-my lent-3SGM uncle-my five hundred lira

‘My father lent my uncle five hundred lira.’

Bequeath

- dʒadd-ɪ warraθ-Ø-nə beɪt gadeem
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM-us house old

‘My grandpa bequeathed us an old house.’

Speaker (12)

Give

- ʔaʃtʕə-Ø Sami lə ʃalɪ lɪ-ктаab
gave-3SGM Sami to Ali the-book

‘Sami gave the book to Ali.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtərə-Ø Sami talefoon dʒadeed
bought-3SGM Sami mobile new

‘Sami bought a new mobile.’

Sell

- Mans^ʕuur baaf-Ø sayyaart-u
Mansoor sold-3SGM car-his

‘Mansoor sold his car.’

Send

- waddə-Ø bu-ɪ rɪsaaleh lə ʕamm-ɪ
sent-3SGM father-my letter to uncle-my

‘My father sent a letter to my uncle.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ sʕaħm rɪz
brought-3SGM brother-my plate rice

‘My brother brought a plate of rice.’

Hand

- ʔaħmad naawal-Ø-nɪ sʕaħm rɪz
Ahmed handed-3SGM-me plate rice

‘Ahmed handed me a plate of rice.’

Ask

- saʔal-Ø ʕamm-ɪ ʕan ʔaħwaal dʒaddat-ɪ
asked-3SGM uncle-my about conditions grandma-my

‘My uncle asked about my grandma’s condition.’

Teach

- darras-Ø ʔabu-ɪ fɪɪ madrasət ɪl-ħamrah xams ɪsneen
taught-3SGM father-my in school Al-Hamrah five years

‘My father taught in Al-Hamrah school for five years.’

Tell

- ħakaa-Ø l-ɪ sʕaħb-ɪ juu sʕaar maʕ-u mbaareħ
told-3SGM to-me friend-my what happened with-him yesterday

‘My friend told me what happened to him yesterday.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t ʔaxu-ɪ mɪn wadʒbɪt-ɪ
fed-1SG brother-my from meal-my

‘I fed my brother from my meal.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ʕamm-I daar-u lə mistaʔdʒer soori
 Rented-3SGM uncle-my house-his to tenant Syrian
 ‘My uncle rented his house to a Syrian tenant.’

Fill

- ʕabbə-Ø ʔaxu-I l-beer mɔy
 filled-3SGM brother-my the-well water
 ‘My brother filled the well with water.’

Show

- wardʒə-Ø-nɪ xu-I s^ʕuurt-u
 showed-3SGM-me brother-my photo-his
 ‘My brother showed me his photo.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-Ø lɪ-ya s^ʕaaħb-I lɪ-ктаab
 returned-3SGM to-me friend-my the-book
 ‘My friend returned the book to me.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʕ-Ø ʔaxu-I bɪ-mablay lə dʒamʕiyah l-xayrɪa
 donated-3SGM brother-my with-sum to organisation the-charitable
 ‘My brother donated an amount of money to the charitable organisation.’

Lend

- waald³⁹-i dayyan-Ø ʕamm-i xams meet deenaar
father-my lent-3SGM uncle-my five hundred dinars
- ‘My father lent my uncle five hundred dinars.’

Bequeath

- ʔil-xityaar warraθ-Ø ʔawlaad-u binayah kabeereh
the-old man bequeathed-3SGM sons-his building big
- ‘The old man bequeathed his sons a big building.’

Speaker (13)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕə-Ø-ni baba kitaab miʕaan ʔqraʔ-u
gave-3SGM-me father book to read-it
- ‘My father gave me a book to read it.’

Buy

- ʔiʕtərə-Ø ʔaxu-i xuðʕrah
bought-3SGM brother-my vegetables
- ‘My brother bought vegetables.’

Sell

- Sami baaʕ-Ø ʔis-sayyaarah lə ʕali
Sami sold-3SGM the-car to Ali
- ‘Sami sold the car to Ali.’

Send

- baʕat⁴⁰-it resaaleh lə d-daktoor
sent-1SG letter to the-professor
- ‘I sent an email to the professor.’

Bring

³⁹ Another word for father.

⁴⁰ In certain environments, the /θ/ sound in Urban Jordanian Arabic could be pronounced [t] or [s].

- dʒaab-Ø d-daktoor ʔasʔilah sʕaʕbah bi-l-ɪmtiħaan
brought-3SGM the-professor questions difficult in-the-exam
'The professor brought difficult questions to the exam.'

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ t-talefoon miʃaan yeʃħan l-ɪ yaa-h
handed-1SG brother-my the-mobile to charge for-me yaa-it
'I handed my brother the mobile to charge it for me.'

Ask

- saʔal-Ø-nɪ baba juu sʕaar bi-l-minħah
asked-3SGM-me father what happened in-the-scholarship
'My father asked me what happened to the scholarship.'

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ ʕa-l-ɪmtiħaan
taught-1SG brother-my on-the-exam
'I taught my brother for the exam.'

Tell

- ħak-ət l-ɪ ʔirfeeʔt-ɪ ʔɪnnu l-ʕalaameh waatʕyah
told-3SGF to-me friend-my that the-grade low
'My friend told me that the grade was low.'

Feed

- tʕabax-nə wə tʕaʕmeɪ-nə l-dʒeeraan
cooked-1PL and fed-1PL the-neighbours
'We cooked and fed the neighbours.'

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø baba l-bert ʔilli ʕand-u
rented-3SGM father the-house that at-his
'My father rented the house that he has.'

Fill

- ʕabbeɪ-t lɪ-stɪbaanah lə tʕaalɪb ɪl-maadʒɪsterr
filled-1SG the-questionnaire for student the-master
'I filled out the questionnaire for the master student.'

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t mama ʔsʕ-sʕuwar ʔɪllɪ ʔɪtsʕwar-nə-hum ʔɪllyom
showed-1SG mother the-photos that took-1PL-them today
'I showed my mother the photos that we took today.'

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-ɪt ɪl-bantʕaloon lə sʕaahb ɪl-maħal
returned-1SG the-trousers to owner the-store
'I returned the trousers to the store.'

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʕ-ɪt bɪ-kutb-ɪ lə tʕ-tʕulaab
donated-1SG with-books-my to the-students
'I donated my book to the students.'

Lend

- dayyan-nə dʒaarɪt-nə masʕaari laʔɪn-hə kaan-ət mɪħtaadʒeh
lent-1PL neighbour-our money because-she was-3SGF in need
'We lent our neighbour money because she was in need.'

Bequeath

- dʒaddat-ɪ warraθ-ət-nɪ ħalaʔ dahab
grandma-my bequeathed-3SGF-me earring gold
'My grandma bequeathed me a golden earring.'

Speaker (14)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕeɪ-t ɪl-walad ʔɪlyom ʃɪlm
gave-1SG the-boy today shilling
'I gave the boy a shilling today.'

Buy

- ʔɪʔərə-Ø ʔabu-ɪ ʔilyom mooz
bought-3SGM father-my today bananas
'My father bought bananas today.'

Sell

- baaʃ-Ø-nɪ ʔaxu-ɪ ʔalam⁴¹
sold-3SGM-me brother-my pen
'My brother sold me a pen.'

Send

- terta⁴² wadd-ət ʔuxt-ɪ ʃa-s-sooʔ
grandma sent-3SGF sister-my to-the-market
'My grandma sent my sister to the market.'

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ ʔilyom maʃ-ah mooz
brought-3SGM brother-my today with-him bananas
'My brother brought bananas with him today.'

Hand

- naawal-ət-nɪ ʔimm-ɪ tʃ-tʃandʒarah bɪ-l-matʃbax
handed-3SGF-me mother-my the-cooking pot in-the-kitchen
'My mother handed me the cooking pot in the kitchen.'

Ask

- saʔl-ət-nɪ sʃaʔɪbt-ɪ ʃan tʃalab ɪl-waðʃeefeh
asked-3SGF-me friend-my about application the-employment
'My friend asked me about the employment application.'

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔilyom ʔuxt-ɪ ʃa-l-imtihaan

⁴¹ Another phonological variant for *galam* 'pen'. In some words, the /g/ sound is pronounced /ʔ/ in urban regions.

⁴² Another word for grandma.

taught-1SG today sister-my on-the-exam

‘I taught my sister for the exam today.’

Tell

- ʔuxt-ɪ ɸak-ət l-ɪ sɪr muɸɪm
sister-my told-3SGF to-me secret important

‘My sister told me an important secret.’

Feed

- tʰaɸmeɪ-t ʔuxt-ɪ ʔɪlyom mɪn l-ʔaɸyaaʔ
fed-1SG sister-my today from the-things
ʔɪzaakɪah ʔɪllɪ ʃtərəɪ-t-hə
delicious that bought-1SG-it

Intended: ‘I fed my sister from the delicious things I bought today.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ət ʔum Sameeh ʔɪl-bert ʔɪllɪ dʒanɪb-nə
rented-3SGF mother Sameeh the-house that next-us

‘The mother of Sameeh rented the house next to us.’

Fill

- ʔaxu-ɪ ɸabbə-Ø t-tənk mɔy
brother-my filled-3SGM the-tank water

‘My brother filled the tank with water.’

- ɸabbeɪ-t ɪs-satʰɪl mɔy
filled-1SG the-bucket water

‘I filled the bucket with water.’

Show

- wardʒ-ət-nɪ ʔɪlyom ʔuxt-ɪ ɪsʰ-sʰuurah
showed-3SGF-me today sister-my the-photo

ʔɪllɪ ʔɪtsʰawar-ət-hə

That took-3SGF-it

‘My sister showed me the photo that she took today.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-it il-bandoorah ʔilli ʔiftərəi-t-hə
returned-1SG the-tomatoes that bought-1SG-it
'I returned the tomatoes I bought.'

Donate

- ʔitbarraʃ-it bi-fluus lə dʒ-dʒamʃiyah l-xayria
donated-1SG with-money to the-organisation the-charitable
'I donated money to the charity.'

Lend

- ʔilyom ʔaxu-i dayyan-Ø ʔabu-i masʕaari
today brother-my lent-3SGM father-my money
'Today, my brother lent my father money.'

Bequeath

- ʔilyom ʃirif-nə ʔinnu dʒadd-i warraθ-Ø-nə
today knew-1PL that grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM-us
ʔaridʕ fi ʃammaan
land in Amman
'Today, we know that my grandpa bequeathed us land in Amman.'

Speaker (15)

Give

- ʔaʃʔer-t dʒanah li-ktaab
gave-1SG Janah the-book
'I gave Janah the book.'

Buy

- ʔiftərəi-t ktaab il-ʃarabi lə ħmad
bought-1SG book the-Arabic for Ahmed
'I bought the Arabic book for Ahmed.'

Sell

- baaf-Ø ʔħmad sayyaart-u
sold-3SGM Ahmed car-his
‘Ahmed sold his car.’

Send

- wadder-t lı-ктаab lə ħmad
sent-1SG the-book to Ahmed
‘I sent the book to Ahmed.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø lı-ктаab min ʕind ʕalı
brought-3SGM the-book from at Ali
‘He brought the book from Ali.’

Hand

- dʒuud naawal-ət Leıla d-daftar
Jood handed-3SGF Laila the-notebook
‘Jood handed Laila the notebook.’

Ask

- saʔal-it Rayad suʔaal
asked-1SG Raghad question
‘I asked Raghad a question.’

Teach

- ʔıl-ʔum darras-ət ʔaulaad-hə ʕarabı
The-mother taught-3SGF sons-her Arabic
‘The mother taught her sons Arabic.’

Tell

- ħaker-t lə sʕaahıbt-ı ʔıʕah
told-1SG to friend-my story
‘I told a story to my friend.’

Feed

- tʰaʃmeɪ-t sʰaʰɪbt-ɪ mɪn ɪl-keɪk ʔɪllɪ ʃamal-t-u
fed-1SG friend-my from the-cake that made-1SG-it
'I fed my friend from the cake I made.'

Rent

- ʔabu Mħammad ʔadʒdʒər-Ø-nə ʃ-ʃaʔah
Abu Mohammad rented-3SGM-us the-flat
'Abu Mohammad rented us the flat.'

Fill

- ʃabbeɪ-t ɪd-dalu mɔy
filled-1SG the-bucket water
'I filled the bucket with water.'
- ʃabbeɪ-t ʔɪl-mɔy bɪ-d-dalu
filled-1SG the-water in-the-bucket
'I filled the water in the bucket.'

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t ɪħmad ɪl-ħadeeʔah
showed-1SG Ahmed the-garden
'I showed Ahmed the garden.'

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-Ø ʔɪħmad ɪl-kurah lə sʰaʰb-u
returned-3SGM Ahmed the-ball to friend-his
'Ahmed returned the ball to his friend.'

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʃ-ət Leɪla bɪ-mablay lə l-mɪħtaadʒeen
donated-3SGF Laila with-sum of money to the-needy
'Laila donated a sum of money to the needy.'

Lend

- ʔamm-ɪ dayyan-Ø ʔabu-ɪ meet-eɪn deenaar
uncle-my lent-3SGM father-my hundred-two dinars
- ‘My uncle lent my father two hundred dinars.’

Bequeath

- dʒaarɪt-nə warraθ-ət ʔafeedaat-hə xawaatɪm dahab
neighbour-our bequeathed-3SGF granddaughters-her rings gold
- ‘Our neighbour bequeathed her granddaughters golden rings.’

Speaker (16)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t ʔuxt-ɪ ktaab-eɪn
gave-1SG sister-my books-two
- ‘I gave my sister two books.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t tufaah ʔaxðʕar lə ʔumm-ɪ
bought-1SG apples green for mother-my
- ‘I bought green apples for my mother.’

Sell

- baaʕ-Ø ʔabu-ɪ ɡɪtʕɪt ʔaraðʕ lə ʕamm-ɪ
sold-3SGM father-my piece land to uncle-my
- ‘My father sold a piece of land to my uncle.’

Send

- wadder-t baħθ-ɪ lə l-maktabeh
sent-1SG research-my to the-library
- ‘I sent my research to the library.’

Bring

- dʒɪb-nə ʔɪlyom laabtob dʒadeed
brought-1PL today laptop new
- ‘We brought a new laptop.’

Hand

- naawal-it baba nað^əaaraat-u
handed-1SG father glasses-his
'I handed my father his glasses.'

Ask

- saʔal-it ʔauxt-i ʔiðə haab-eh tɪ-tʰlaʕ maʕ-nə ʔilyom
asked-1SG sister-my if like-3SGF 3SGF-go out with-us today
'I asked my sister if she wants to go out with us today.'

Teach

- darras-it ʔaxu-i zayeer maadit il-ʔimtihaan
taught-1SG brother-my little material the-exam
'I taught my little brother the exam material.'

Tell

- haker-t lə ʔuxt-i juu s^əaar maʕ-i ʔilyom
told-1SG to sister-my what happened with-me today
'I told my sister what happened to me today.'

Feed

- tʰaʕmei-t ʔuxt-i wadʒbat il-ʔada
fed-1SG sister-my meal the-lunch
'I fed my sister the lunch meal.'

Rent

- ʔilyom gaabal-nə naas dʒudud mɪʃaan
today met-1PL people new to
ʔin-ʔadʒdʒir-hum ɪʃ-ʃagah
1PL-rent-them the-flat
'Today, we met new people to rent them the flat.'

Fill

- ʕabber-t is-salleh fawakeh
filled-1SG the-basket fruit
'I filled the basket with fruit.'
- ʕabber-t fawakeh b-is-salleh

filled-1SG fruit in-the-basket

‘I filled fruit in the basket.’

Show

- fardʒer-t ʔuxt-ɪ ʃantɪt-ɪ dʒ-dʒadeedeh
showed-1SG sister-my handbag-my the-new

‘I showed my sister my new handbag.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-ɪt ɪʃ-ʃantah lə l-maħal laʔɪn-hə
returned-1SG the-handbag to the-store because-3SGF

ma ʃadʒb-ət-nɪ

Neg please-3SGF-me

‘I returned the handbag to the store because I did not like it.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʃ-ɪt ɪb-ʃantɪt-ɪ lə waħad-eh mɪħtaadz-eh
donated-1SG with-handbag-my to someone-3SGF needy-3SGF

‘I donated my handbag to a needy one.’

Lend

- dayyan-ɪt ʃɪʃreen deenaar lə sʰaħb-ɪ
lent-1SG twenty dinars to friend-my

‘I lent twenty dinars to my friend.’

Bequeath

- dʒadd-ɪ warraθ-θ-nə ʔɪʃwayɪt masʰaari
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM-us little money

‘My grandpa bequeathed us a little money.’

Speaker (17)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰə-θ l-ʔab masʰaari lə bn-u
gave-3SGM the-father money to son-his

‘The father gave money to his son.’

Buy

- ʔiftərə-Ø l-walad hīlu mīn id-dukaneh
bought-3SGM the-boy sweets from the-shop
'The boy bought sweets from the shop.'

Sell

- bɪf-ɪt ʔis-sayyaarah lə bɪn ʕamm-ɪ
sold-1SG the-car to son uncle-my
'I sold the car to my cousin.'

Send

- waddə-Ø l-ʔab ʔayraaðʕ lə bn-u
sent-3SGM the-father objects to son-his
'The father sent objects to his son.'

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø lɪ-mʕalem hadaayah lə tʕullab-u
brought 3SGM the-teacher gifts to students-his
'The teacher brought gifts to his students.'

Hand

- naawal-ɪt kaasɪt ɪf-ʃaay lə sʕaahb-ɪ
handed-1SG cup the-tea to friend-my
'I handed the cup of tea to my friend.'

Ask

- saʔal-Ø ʔɪl-walad zameel-u suʔaal
asked-3SGM the-boy colleague-his question
'The boy asked his colleague a question.'

Teach

- darras-Ø lɪ-mʕalem ʔɪngleezɪ lə tʕullab-u
taught-3SGM the-teacher English to students-his
'The teacher taught English to his students.'⁴³

⁴³ To most of my informants, this utterance means the same as 'The teacher taught his students English.'

Tell

- ħakə-Ø tʰ-tʰaaleb gisʰah lə l-mʰalem
told-3SGM the-student story to the-teacher

‘The student told a story to the teacher.’

Feed

- tʰaʰmeɪ-t ɪl-besseh ʔakɪl
fed-1SG the-cat food

‘I fed the cat food.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø dʒaar-nə bert-u lə sooryeen
rented-3SGM neighbour-our house-his to Syrians

‘Our neighbour rented his house to Syrians.’⁴⁴

Fill

- ʕabbə-Ø l-ʔab ʔɪθ-θalaadzah ʔakɪl
filled-3SGM the-father the-fridge food

‘The father filled the fridge with food.’

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t yurfɪt-ɪ lə sʰaahɪbt-ɪ
showed-1SG room-my to friend-my

‘I showed my room to my friend.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-ɪt ɪl-masʰaari lə sʰaahɪb-hə
returned-1SG the-money to owner-its

‘I returned the money to its owner.’

⁴⁴ Due to the wave of displacement of Syrians to Jordan, most of the tenants are of Syrian nationality.

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-it masʕaari⁴⁵ lə l-mihtaadʒeen
donated-1SG money to the-needy

‘I donated money to the needy.’

Lend

- dayyan-Ø-ni sʕaahb-i ʔalf-em deenaar
lent-3SGM-me friend-my thousand-two dinars

‘My friend lent me two thousand dinars.’

Bequeath

- ʕamm-i warraθ-Ø ʔawlaad-u bert hīlu
uncle-my bequeathed-3SGM sons-his house beautiful

‘My uncle bequeathed his son a beautiful house.’

Speaker (18)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕer-t zameelt-i ktaab
gave-1SG colleague-my book

‘I gave my colleague a book.’

Buy

- ʔiʕtərer-t ktaab lə zameelt-i
bought-1SG book to colleague-my

‘I bought a book for my colleague.’

Sell

- biʕ-it keelu xubiz lə l-falaah
sold-1SG kilo bread to the-farmer

‘I sold a kilo of bread to the farmer.’

⁴⁵ The first case where the Theme is not coded with a preposition with the verb *ʔitbaraʕ* ‘donate’. Definiteness plays a role here. With definite nouns the preposition is a must.

Send

- baʕaθ-ɪt ɪl-malafaat lə l-ʔɪdaarah
sent-1SG the-files to the-administration

‘I sent the files to the administration.’

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt baʕðʕ ɪl-ʔayraaðʕ lə sʕ-sʕaf
brought-1SG some the-objects to the-class

‘I brought some objects to the class.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt lə ħmad ktaab
handed-1SG to Ahmed book

‘I handed a book to Ahmed.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt dukoor ɪl-maadeh ya-ʕtʕee-nə
asked-1SG professor the-course 3SGM-give-us
wagɪt lə l-waadʒɪb
time for the-homework

‘I asked the course professor to give us time for the homework.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ɪl-walaad ʔɪngleezɪ
taught-1SG the-boys English

‘I taught the boys English.’

Tell

- ħaker-t lə l-ʔɪdaarah ʕan haaða l-mawgɪf
told-1SG to the-administration about this the-situation

‘I told the administration about this situation.’

Feed

- ʔatʕam-ɪt bagaaya l-laħɪm lə l-besseh
fed-1SG leftover the-meat to the-cat

‘I fed the leftover meat to the cat.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ɪt ɪl-ɣurfah ʔɪllɪ foog lə tʃullaab dʒaamʃah
rented-1SG the-room that upstairs to students university

‘I rented out the room upstairs to university students.’

Fill

- ʃabbeɪ-t ɪt-tənk mɔy
filled-1SG the-tank water

‘I filled the tank with water.’

Show

- fardʒə-Ø-nɪ baʃðʃ ʔɪsʃ-sʃuwar
showed-3SGM-me some the-photos

‘He showed me some photos.’

Return

- radʒdʒaf-ɪt ɪl-ktaab lə l-maktabeh
returned-1SG the-book to the-library

‘I returned the book to the library.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʃ-ɪt bɪ-maal lə sʃandooq ʔɪz-zakaah
Donated-1SG with-money to box Zakaat

‘I donated money to the Zakaat Fund.’

Lend

- dayyan-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ sʃaahb-u ʔalf deenaar
lent-3SGM brother-my friend-his thousand dinars

‘My brother lent his friend one thousand dinars.’

Bequeath

- waald-ɪ warraθ-Ø-nɪ ʃagah zayeereh
father-my bequeathed-3SGM-me flat small

‘My father bequeathed me a small flat.’

Speaker (19)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕer-t hadiyah lə sʕaahibt-ɪ
gave-1SG gift to friend-my
‘I gave a gift to my friend.’

Buy

- ʔɪʔərəɪ-t lə Hɪba fustian
bought-1SG for Hiba dress
‘I bought a dress for Hiba.’

Sell

- bɪʕ-ɪt ɪs-sayyaarah lə bɪn ʕamm-ɪ
sold-1SG the-car to son uncle-my
‘I sold the car to my cousin.’

Send

- waddeɪ-t lə dʒaar-t-ɪ tʕabxah
sent-1SG to neighbour-my cooked food
‘I sent cooked food to my neighbour.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ʔabu-ɪ l-gahweh lə l-bert
brought-3SGM father-my the-coffee to the-house
‘My father brought the coffee to the house.’

Hand

- naawal-Ø-nɪ l-mɪʔtaah
handed-3SGM-me the-key
‘He handed me the key.’

Ask

- saʔal-Ø ʔɪtʕ-tʕaaleb ɪd-daktoor suʔaal
asked-3SGM the-student the-professor question
‘The student asked the professor a question.’

Teach

- darras-ıt ʔuxt-ı rıyaaðʕiyaat
taught-1SG sister-my maths
‘I taught my sister maths.’

Tell

- ʔaker-t ıhkaayah lə ʔahfaad-ı
told-1SG story to grandchildren-my
‘I told a story to my grandchildren.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmei-nə l-besas ʔaleeb
fed-1PL the-cats milk
‘We fed the cats milk.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-nə beıt-nə b-θalaθ meet deenaar
Rented-1PL house-our for-three hundred dinars
‘We rented our house for three hundred dinars.’

Fill

- ʕabbei-nə l-məy mın ıl-beer
filled-1PL the-water from the-well
‘We filled the water from the well.’

Show

- fardʒ-ət Sarah matʕbax-hə lə dʒaarıt-hə
showed-3SGF Sara kitchen-her to neighbour-her
‘Sara showed her kitchen to her neighbour.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-ət ʔuxt-ı l-ɡıtʕah lə l-maħal
returned-3SGF sister-my the-piece to the-store
‘My sister returned the piece of clothes to the store.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-nə b-mablay lə l-fuqaraaʔ
donated-1PL with-sum of money to the-poor
'We donated money to the poor.'

Lend

- dayyan-it sʕaahb-i meet-em deenaar
lent-1SG friend-my hundred-two dinars
'I lent my friend two hundred dinars.'

Bequeath

- ʔabu-i warraθ-Ø-nə kul waahad daar
father-my bequeathed-3SGM-us every one house
'My father bequeathed every one of us a house.'

Speaker (20)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕeɪ-t ʔaxu-i l-kaaseh
gave-1SG brother-my the-glass
'I gave my brother the glass.'

Buy

- ʔiftərəɪ-t ʃ-ʃanteh ʔimbaareh
bought-1SG the-handbag yesterday
'I bought the handbag yesterday.'

Sell

- baaʕ-Ø il-xuðʕardʒɪ bandoorah lə z-zabaayin
sold-3SGM the-greengrocer tomatoes to the-customers
'The greengrocer sold tomatoes to the customers.'

Send

- waddeɪ-t il-walad ʕa-l-ʔalʕaab
sent-1SG the-boy to-the-theme park
'I sent the boy to the theme park.'

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø l-ɪ ʔabu-ɪ ktaab
brought-3SGM for-me father-my book

‘My father brought a book for me.’

Hand

- naawal-ət-nɪ l-mɪftaaħ
handed-3SGF-me the-key

‘She handed me the key.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt ʔumm-ɪ ʃan wasʕfɪt ɪl-tʕabxah
asked-1SG mother-my about recipe the-meal

‘I asked my mother about the recipe of the meal.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ maadɪt ɪd-deen
taught-1SG brother-my material the-religion

‘I taught my brother the religion course material.’

Tell

- ʔakeɪ-t lə sʕaahɪbt-ɪ ʃaʃaan nɪ-tʕlaʃ ʔɪlyom
told-1SG to friend-my to 1PL-go out today

‘I told my friend to go out together today.’

Feed

- tʕaʃmeɪ-t terta waraʔ ʃɪnab
fed-1SG grandma leaves grape

‘I fed my grandma grape leaves⁴⁶.’

⁴⁶ A famous dish in the Levant.

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ʔabu-ɪ l-bert lə sooryeen
rented-3SGM father-my the-house to Syrians
'My father rented the house to Syrians.'

Fill

- ʕabber-t bɪ-d-dalu mɔy
filled-1SG in-the-bucket water
'I filled water in the bucket.'

Show

- ʔaxu-ɪ wardʒə-Ø-nɪ ktaab-u l-dʒadeed
brother-my showed-3SGM-me book-his the-new
'My brother showed me his new book.'

Return

- radʒdʒaf-ɪt lə sʕaahɪbt-ɪ masʕaaree-hə
returned-1SG to friend-my money-her
'I returned her money to my friend.'

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʕ-ɪt ɪb-meet deenaar lə l-ʔaytaam wa l-mihtaadʒeen
donated-1SG with-hundred dinars to the-orphans and the-needy
'I donated one hundred dinars to the orphans and the needy.'

Lend

- dayyan-Ø ʔabu-ɪ masʕaari lə ʕamm-ɪ
lent-3SGM father-my money to uncle-my
'My father lent money to my uncle.'

Bequeath

- warraθ-Ø dʒadd-ɪ lə wlaad-u masʕaari
bequeathed-3SGM grandpa-my to sons-his money
'My grandpa bequeathed money to his son.'
-

Speaker (21)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰee-nɪ d-daftar
give-Imperative-me the-notebook
'Give me the notebook.'

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t mpy
bought-1SG water
'I bought a bottle of water.'

Sell

- bɪʃ-ɪt lɪ-ктаab
sold-1SG the-book
'I sold the book.'

Send

- waddeɪ-t l-u l-kursɪ
sent-1SG to-him the-chair
'I sent him the chair.'

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt l-hə d-daftar
brought-1SG to-her the-notebook
'I brought the notebook to her.'

Hand

- naawal-Ø-nɪ t-talafoon
handed-3SGM-me the-mobile
'He handed me the mobile.'

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt-hə ʃan ɪd-daftar
asked-1SG-her about the-notebook
'I asked her about the notebook.'

Teach

- darras-t-ək ʔimbaareh
taught-1SG-you yesterday
'I taught you yesterday.'

Tell

- haker-t l-hə ʕan film ʔimbaareh
told-1SG to-her about film yesterday
'I told her about yesterday's film.'

Feed

- tʕaʕmei-t il-walad iz-zayeer baskoot
fed-1SG the-boy the-little biscuits
'I fed the little boy biscuits.'

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ɪt-u ʃ-ʃaʔah
rented-1SG-him the-flat
'I rented him the flat.'

Fill

- ʕabbei-t banzeen lə s-sayyaarah
filled-1SG benzine for the-car
'I filled benzine for the car.'

Show

- wardʒə-Ø-nɪ sʕuurah
showed-3SGM-me photo
'He showed me a photo.'

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-Ø l-ɪ l-mɪftaah
returned-3SGM to-me the-key
'He returned the key to me.'

Donate

- ʔitbarraʃ-it lə l-maytam bɪ-mablɪy maadɪ
donated-1SG to the-orphanage with-amount financial

‘I donated a financial amount to the orphanage.’

Lend

- dayyan-it sʃaahɪbt-ɪ fluus lə ʔɪdʒaar ɪs-sakan
lent-1SG friend-my money for rental fee the-accommodation

‘I lent my friend money for the accommodation rental fee.’

Bequeath

- warraθ-Ø ɪl-dʒaar lə wlaad-u l-bert
bequeathed-3SGM the-neighbour to sons-his the-house

‘The neighbour bequeathed the house to his sons.’

Speaker (22)

Give

- ʔaʃtʃeɪ-t ʔɪmm-ɪ t-talefoon
gave-1SG mother-my the-mobile

‘I gave my mother the mobile.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtərə-Ø l-walad tɪfaah
bought-3SGM the-boy apples

‘The boy bought apples.’

Sell

- baaf-Ø ɪl-bayaaʃ ʔɪl-xuðʃrah
sold-3SGM the-seller the-vegetables

‘The greengrocer sold the vegetables.’

Send

- baʃaθ-Ø ɪd-diktoor ɪsaaleh lə tʃ-tʃulaab
sent-3SGM the-professor letter to the-students

‘The professor sent a letter to the students.’

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø ɪl-ʔayraaðʕ mɪn ɪd-dukaneh
brought-3SGM the-objects from the-shop
'He brought the objects from the shop.'

Hand

- naawal-Ø ɪl-walad ʔab-u l-miftaah
handed-3SGM the-boy father-his the-key
'The boy handed his father the key.'

Ask

- saʔal-Ø ɪtʕ-tʕaaleb ʔan ɪl-ktaab
asked-3SGM the-student about the-book
'The student asked about the book.'

Teach

- darras-Ø ɪl-walad ʔuxt-u ʕarabi
taught-3SGM the-boy sister-his Arabic
'The boy taught his sister Arabic.'

Tell

- ʔakə-Ø l-ʔab lə ʔɪbn-u ʕan ʔayaam zaman
told-3SGM the-father to son-his about days past
'The father told his son about the past days.'

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t ɪl-besas laħɪm
fed-1SG the-cats meat
'I fed the cats meat.'

Rent

- baba ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ɪʃ-ʃaʔah lə tʕulaab
father rented-3SGM the-flat to students
'My father rented the flat to students.'

Fill

- ʕabber-t il-qaroorah mɒy
filled-1SG the-flask water

‘I filled the flask with water.’

Show

- wardʒer-t ʔuxt-ɪ sʕ-sʕuurah
showed-1SG sister-my the-photo

‘I showed my sister the photo.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʕ-Ø ʔaxu-ɪ talefoon-u lə ʔumm-ɪ
return-3SGM brother-my mobile-his to mother-my

‘My brother returned his mobile to my mother.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-ɪt bɪ-d-dam lə l-mustaffah
donated-1SG with-the-blood to the-hospital

‘I donated blood to the hospital.’

Lend

- dayyan-Ø ʔabu-ɪ lə dʒaar-nə xamɪs-meet deenaar
lent-3SGM father-my to neighbour-our five-hundred dinars

‘My father lent our neighbour five hundred dinars.’

Bequeath

- warraθ-Ø-nɪ dʒadd-ɪ ɡɪtʕɪt ʔarðʕ
bequeathed-3SGM-me grandpa-my piece land

‘My grandpa bequeathed me a piece of land.’

Speaker (23)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕer-t ʔimm-ɪ kaasɪt mɒy
gave-1SG mother-my glass water

‘I gave my mother a glass of water.’

Buy

- ʔɪftərəi-t ɪbluuzeh mɪn ɪl-maħal
bought-1SG blouse from the-store

‘I bought a blouse from the store.’

Sell

- baaf-Ø ʔabu-ɪ sayyaart-u
sold-3SGM father-my car-his

‘My father sold his car.’

Send

- wadd-ət ʔimm-ɪ ʔɣraaðʕ lə xaalt-ɪ
sent-3SGF mother-my objects to aunt-my

‘My mother sent objects to my aunt.’

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt ʔayraaðʕ lə ʔahl-ɪ
brought-1SG objects for family-my

‘I brought objects for my family.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔimm-ɪ tʕ-tʕundʒarah
handed-1SG mother-my the- cooking pot

‘I handed my mother the pot.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt ɪd-daktoor ʕan ʒee muu faahm-Ø-u
asked-1SG the-professor about something Neg understand-1SG-it
bi-l-maadeh
in-the-material

‘I asked the professor about something I do not understand in the course material.’

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔuxt-ɪ maadɪt ɪl-qawaʔɪd
taught-1SG sister-my material the-grammar

‘I taught my sister the grammar material.’

Tell

- ʰakeɪ-t lə mama l-ʔisʰah ʔilli sʰaar-ət maʃ-ɪ
told-1SG to mother the-story that happened-3SGF with-me
‘I told my mother the story that happened to me.’

Feed

- tʰaʃmeɪ-t ʔuxt-ɪ ʰabbɪt baskoot
fed-1SG sister-my one biscuit
‘I fed my sister a biscuit.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ɪt ɣurfɪt-ɪ lə sʰaahɪbt-ɪ
rented-1SG room-my to friend-my
‘I rented my room to my friend.’

Fill

- ʃabber-t ʃantɪt-ɪ kutub
filled-1SG bag-my books
‘I filled my bag with books.’

Show

- fardʒer-t ʔuxt-ɪ lɪbsɪt-ɪ dʒ-dʒadeedeh
showed-1SG sister-my clothes-my the-new
‘I showed my sister my new clothes.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-ɪt lɪ-bluuzeɪ lə l-maʰal
returned-1SG the-blouse to the-store
‘I returned the blouse to the store.’

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʃ-ɪt bɪ-fluus lə l-mɪhtaadʒeen
donated-1SG with-money to the-needy
‘I donated money to the needy.’

Lend

- dayyan-it ʔuxt-I masʕaari
lent-1SG sister-my money

‘I lent my sister money.’

Bequeath

- warraθ-ət-ni sitt-I swaarah
bequeathed-3SGF-me grandma-my bracelet

‘My grandma bequeathed me a bracelet.’

Speaker (24)

Give

- ʔaʕtʕei-t ʔuxt-I t-talefoon
gave-1SG sister-my the-mobile

‘I gave my sister the mobile.’

Buy

- ʔiftərei-t ʕabit ʃukalatah lə ʔuxt-I
bought-1SG bar chocolate for sister-my

‘I bought a bar of chocolate for my sister.’

Sell

- biʕ-it ʃantah lə sʕaahibt-I
sold-1SG handbag to friend-my

‘I sold a handbag to my friend.’

Send

- baʕaθ-it riisaaleh lə d-duktoor
sent-1SG letter to the-professor

‘I sent a letter to the professor.’

Bring

- dʒib-it kombuter dʒadeed
brought-1SG computer new

‘I brought a new computer.’

Hand

- naawal-it ʔimm-i s-sikeeneh
handed-1SG mother-my the-knife

‘I handed my mother the knife.’

Ask

- saʔal-it id-duktor ʕan il-waadžib ʔilli ʔaʕtʕə-Ø-h
asked-1SG the-professor about the-homework that gave-3SGM-it

‘I asked the professor about the homework that he gave.’

Teach

- darras-it ʔixt-i ʔingleezi
taught-1SG sister-my English

‘I taught my sister English.’

Tell

- ʔaker-t lə sʕaħbaat-i ʕan illi sʕaar maʕ-i
told-1SG to friends-my about what happened with-me

‘I told my friends about what happened to me.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmei-t ʔixt-i z-zayeereh isʕ-sʕubih
fed-1SG sister-my the-little the-morning

‘I fed my little sister in the morning.’

Rent

- ʔaɖɖɖar-it sayyaarit baba lə sʕaahibt-i
rented-1SG car father to friend-my

‘I rented my father’s car to my friend.’

Fill

- ʕabber-t ʔaneenit il-mɔy
fille-1SG bottle the-water

‘I filled the water bottle.’

Show

- wardʒer-t ʔixt-i l-fustaan
showed-1SG sister-my the-dress

‘I showed my sister the dress.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-it bluuzit ʔixt-i lə xzaanit-hə
returned-1SG blouse sister-my to wardrobe-her

‘I returned my sister’s blouse to her wardrobe.’

Donate

- ʔitbarraʃ-it bɪ-d-dəm lə l-mustafʃah
donated-1SG with-the-blood to the-hospital

‘I donated blood to the hospital.’

Lend

- dayyan-it ʔaxu-i ʃaʃar leiraaat
lent-1SG brother-my ten liras

‘I lent my brother ten liras.’

Bequeath

- warraθ-Ø dʒidd-i lə baba ʔardʃ
bequeathed-3SGM grandpa-my to father land

‘My grandpa bequeathed my father a land.’

Speaker (25)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰer-t iktaab-i lə sʰaahibt-i
gave-1SG book-my to friend-my

‘I gave my book to my friend.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t lanʃbox imbaareh
bought-1SG lunch box yesterday

‘I bought a lunch box yesterday.’

Sell

- baba baaʕ-Ø gitʕit ʔardʕ
father sold-3SGM piece land

‘My father sold a piece of land.’

Send

- baʕaθ-it massidʒ lə ʔixt-i ʔinni
sent-1SG message to sister-my 1SG

kamal-it muhaadʕarah

finished-1SG lecture

‘I sent a message to my sister that I finished the lecture.’

Bring

- dʒib-it iktaab-i maʕ-i ʕa-l-muhaadrah
brought-1SG book-my with-me on-the-lecture

‘I brought my book with me to the lecture.’

Hand

- naawal-it it-talefoon lə ʔixt-i
handed-1SG the-mobile to sister-my

‘I handed the mobile to my sister.’

Ask

- saʔal-it id-daktoor ʕan muhaadʕarit ʔimbaareh
asked-1SG the-professor about lecture yesterday

‘I asked the professor about yesterday’s lecture.’

Teach

- darras-it axu-i ʕa-li-mtihaan
taught-1SG brother-my on-the-exam

‘I taught my brother for the exam.’

Tell

- haker-t lə mama juu sʕaar maʕ-i bi-l-dʒaamʕah
told-1SG to mother what happened with-me in-the-university

‘I told my mother what happened to me at university.’

Feed

- tʰaʃmer-t baskoot lə xu-ɪ
fed-1SG biscuits to brother-my
'I fed biscuits to my brother.'

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ɪt ɪl-beɪt lə sʰaahɪbt-ɪ
Rented-1SG the-house to friend-my
'I rented the house to my friend.'

Fill

- ʃabber-nə l-beer mɔyɪt matʰar
filled-1PL the-well water rain
'We filled the well with rainwater.'

Show

- wardʒer-t ɪsʰ-sʰuwar lə sʰaahɪbt-ɪ
showed-1SG the-photos to friend-my
'I showed the photos to my friend.'

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-ɪt ɪl-boot lə l-maħal
returned-1SG the-boot to the-store
'I returned the boot to the store.'

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʃ-ɪt bɪ-mablay maalɪ lə l-masaakeen
donated-1SG with-sum money to the-needy
'I donated a sum of money to the needy.'

Lend

- dayyan-ɪt sʰaahɪbt-ɪ masʰaari
lent-1SG friend-my money
'I lent my friend money.'

Bequeath

- dʒadd-ɪ warraθ-Ø ʔabu-ɪ ʔitʰɪt ʔardʰ
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM father-my piece land
'My grandpa bequeathed my father a piece of land.'
-

Speaker (26)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t mama dʒakert
gave-1SG mother jacket
'I gave my mother a jacket.'

Buy

- ʔɪftəreɪ-t xudʰaar mɪn ɪl-soog
bought-1SG vegetables from the-market
'I bought vegetables from the market.'

Sell

- bɪʃ-ɪt sʰaahɪbt-ɪ galam
sold-1SG friend-my pen
'I sold my friend a pen.'

Send

- wadder-t lə dʒeeraan-nə sʰahɪn ʔakɪl
sent-1SG to neighbours-our plate food
'I sent a plate of food to our neighbours.'

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt maʃ-ɪ ʔayraaðʰ lə l-bert
brought-1SG with-me objects for the-house
'I brought objects for the house with me.'

Hand

- naawal-ɪt sʰaahɪbt-ɪ lɪ-ktaab
handed-1SG friend-my the-book
'I handed my friend the book.'

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt ʔɪd-dɪktoor ʃan ʔɪʃɪ bɪ-d-dares
asked-1SG the-professor about something in-the-lesson
'I asked the professor about something in the lesson.'

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔɪxt-ɪ z-zayeerah ʃarabɪ
taught-1SG sister-my the-little Arabic
'I taught my little sister Arabic.'

Tell

- ʔaker-ɪt lə sʃaħbaat-ɪ l-gɪsʃah
told-1SG to friends-my the-story
'I told the story to my friends.'

Feed

- tʃaʃmeɪ-t walad ʔɪzyeer ʔɪlu
fed-1SG boy little candy
'I fed a little boy candy.'

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ʔabu-ɪ daar-nə l-gdeemeh
Rented-3SGM father-my house-our the-old
lə naas mɪn ʃamman
to people from Amman
'My father rented our old house to people from Amman.'

Fill

- ʃaber-ɪt ɪl-maʃluumaat ɪl-matʃluubeh lə tʃalab ɪl-dʒaamʃah
filled-1SG the-information the-required for application university
'I filled in the required information for the university application.'

Show

- wardʒer-ɪt ɪxwan-ɪ l-lɪbseh ɪdʒadeedeh
showed-1SG siblings-my the-dress the-new
'I showed my siblings the new dress.'

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-ɪt lə sʰaahɪbt-ɪ lɪ-ktaab ʔɪllɪ xað-t-u
retuned-1SG to friend-my the-book that took-1SG-it
min-hə
from-her
'I returned to my friend the book I took from her.'

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraʃ-ɪt ɪb-malaabs-ɪ l-gadeemeh lə l-fuqaraaʔ
donated-1SG with-clothes-my the-old to the-poor
'I donated my old clothes to the poor.'

Lend

- dayyan-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ xams danaaneer
lent-1SG brother-my five dinars
'I lent my brother five dinars.'

Bequeath

- dʒadd-ɪ warraθ-Ø-nə ɡɪtʰɪt ʔarðʰ
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM-us piece land
'My grandpa bequeathed us a piece of land.'
-

Speaker (27)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t mama lɪ-ɣraadʰ ʔɪllɪ ʃtəreɪ-t-hum
gave-1SG mother the-objects that bought-1SG-them
'I gave my mother the objects that I bought.'

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t dʒakert ʔɪdʒdeed
bought-1SG jacket new
'I bought a new jacket.'

Sell

- baaʕ-Ø ʔxu-ɪ s-sayyaarah
sold-3SGM brother-my the-car
'My brother sold the car.'

Send

- baʕaθ-ɪt l-hə ʃuu badd-ɪ ɣraadʕ
sent-1SG to-her what want-1SG objects
'I sent to her what objects I want.'

Bring

- dʒaab-Ø baba muuneh lə d-daar
brought-3SGM father provisions to the-house
'My father brought provisions to the house.'

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ kaasɪt ɪl-mɔy
handed-1SG brother-my glass the-water
'I handed my brother the glass of water.'

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt sʕaahɪbt-ɪ ʕan maadt ɪl-ʔɪmtɪhaan
asked-1SG friend-my about material the-exam
'I asked my friend about the exam material.'

Teach

- darras-ɪt ʔaxu-ɪ ʕarabɪ
taught-1SG brother-my Arabic
'I taught my brother Arabic.'

Tell

- ɸaker-t lə sʕaahɪbt-ɪ ʕan mawʕɪd ɪl-mtɪhaan
told-1SG to friend-my about date the-exam
'I told my friend about the date of the exam.'

Feed

- tʰaŋmei-t sʰaahibt-ɪ mɪn ɪl-hɪlu ʔɪlli ʕmɪl-t-u
fed-1SG friend-my from the-sweet that made-1SG-it
'I fed my friend from the sweet I made.'

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-Ø baba l-bert lə l-mustaʔdʒreen
rented-3SGM father the-house to the-tenants
'My father rented the house to the tenants.'

Fill

- ʕabber-t mɔy bɪ- l-qaaruurah
filled-1SG water in the-flask
'I filled water in the flask.'

Show

- wardʒer-t sʰaahibt-ɪ tadʒheezaat ɪl-haflah
showed-1SG friend-my arrangements the-party
'I showed my friend the party's arrangements.'

Return

- radʒdʒaŋ-ɪt lə sʰaahibt-ɪ ʃ-ʃantah ʔɪlli xað-ɪt-hə
returned-1SG to friend-my the-handbag that took-1SG-it
mɪn-hə
from-her
'I returned to my friend the handbag I took from her.'

Donate

- ʔɪtbarraŋ-ɪt ɪb-mablay lə l-mihtaadʒeen
donated-1SG with-sum of money to the-needy
'I donated a sum of money to the needy.'

Lend

- dayyan-ɪt sʰaahibt-ɪ mablay mɪn ɪl-maal
lent-1SG friend-my sum from the-money
'I lent my friend a sum of money.'

Bequeath

- warraθ-Ø-nə d̥ɪddu ʔitʰɪt ʔarðʰ
bequeathed-3SGM-us grandpa piece land

‘My father bequeathed us a piece of land.’

Speaker (28)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t ʔaxu-ɪ z-zayeer baskoot
gave-1SG brother-my the-little biscuits

‘I gave my little brother biscuits.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t ʃantah mɪn SHEIN⁴⁷
bought-1SG handbag from SHEIN

‘I bought a handbag from SHEIN.’

Sell

- baba baaf-Ø ɪs-sayyaarah ʔɪmbaareh
father sold-3SGM the-car yesterday

‘My father sold the car yesterday.’

Send

- waddeɪ-t ʔakɪl lə terta
sent-1SG food to grandma

‘I sent food to my grandma.’

Bring

- mama d̥ʒaab-ət ʔakɪl mɪn ɪl-matʰɪam
mother brought-3SGF food from the-restaurant

‘My mother brought food from the restaurant.’

⁴⁷ An online shopping website.

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔɪxt-ɪ l-miftaah
handed-1SG sister-my the-key

‘I handed my sister the key.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt sʕaahɪbt-ɪ ʕan lɪ-ктаab ʔillɪ xð-ət-u
asked-1SG friend-my about the-book that took-3SGF-it

‘I asked my friend about the book that she took.’

Teach

- ruħ-ɪt ʕa-daar ʔɪxt-ɪ mbaareh wə darras-ɪt
went-1SG to-house sister-my yesterday and taught-1SG
ibɪn-hə ngleezi
son-her English

‘I went to my sister’s house yesterday and taught her son English.’

Tell

- mama ɸak-ət l-ɪ ʔisʕɪt-hə maʕ dʒaarɪt-nə
mother told-3SGF to-me story-her with neighbour-our

‘My mother told me her story with our neighbour.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t bisseh zayeereh bɪ-ʃ-ʕaarɪʕ laħmeh
fed-1SG cat little in-the-street meat

‘I fed a little cat in the street meat.’

Rent

- baba ʔadʒdʒar-Ø ɪs-sayyaarah lə dʒeeraan-nə
father rented-3SGM the-car to neighbour-our

‘My father rented the car to our neighbour.’

Fill

- mama ʕab-ət iθ-θalaadzeh fawaakeh laʔin-u
mother filled-3SGF the-fridge fruit because-3SGM
ʔaxu-i z-zayeer bi-ħib-hə
brother-my the-little 3SGM-like-it
'My mother filled the fridge with fruit because my brother likes it.'

Show

- wardʒeɪ-t mama juu sʕaahibt-i ħak-ət
showed-1SG mother what friend-my said-3SGF
ʕann-i bi-l-waatsʌp
about-me on-the-WhatsApp
'I showed my mother what my friend said about me on WhatsApp.'

Return

- ʔaxu-i radʒdʒaʕ-Ø ʔis-sayyaarah ʔil-mi-staʔdʒir-Ø-hə
Brother-my returned-3SGM the-car that-Progressive-rent-3SGM-it
'My brother returned the car that he is renting.'

Donate

- ʔitbarraʕ-nə ib-mawaad tamweeniah lə l-miħtaadʒeen
donated-1PL with-provisions to the-needy
'We donated provision to the needy.'

Lend

- xaal-i dayyan-Ø mama meet deenaar laʔan-hə
uncle-my lent-3SGM mother hundred dinars because-3SGF
kaan-ət miħtaadʒ-ət-hum
was-3SGF need-3SGF-them
'My uncle lent my mother one hundred dinars because she needed them.'

Bequeath

- seed-i warraθ-Ø baba mazraʕah
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM father farm
'My grandpa bequeathed my father a farm.'

Speaker (29)

Give

- ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t lə sʰaahɪbt-ɪ ʔalam
 gave-1SG to friend-my pen

‘I gave a pen to my friend.’

Buy

- ʔɪʃtəreɪ-t lə ʔɪmm-ɪ ʔayraadʰ
 bought-1SG for mother-my objects

‘I bought objects for my mother.’

Sell

- baba baaʃ-Ø sayyaart-u
 father sold-3SGM car-his

‘My father sold his car.’

Send

- baʃaθ-ɪt lə xt-ɪ ʔakal bɪ-ʃ-fuyul
 sent-1SG to sister-my food at-the-work

‘I sent food to my sister at work.’

Bring

- ʔaxu-ɪ dʒaab-Ø xubɪz
 brother-my brought-3SGM bread

‘My brother brought bread.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt ʔɪmm-ɪ kaas ɪl-mɔy
 handed-1SG mother-my glass the-water

‘I handed my mother the glass of water.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt sʰaahɪbt-ɪ ʃan ʃee ma fɪɪm-t-u
 asked-1SG friend-my about something Neg understand-1SG-it
 bɪ-d-dares
 in-the-lesson

‘I asked my friend about something I did not understand in the lesson.’

Teach

- darras-ıt lə xu-ı ngleezi
taught-1SG to brother-my English

‘I taught English to my brother.’

Tell

- haker-t lə Faraḥ ʔana bukra mdawmeh
told-1SG to Farah 1SG tomorrow working

‘I told Farah I am working tomorrow.’

Feed

- tʰaŋmei-t axu-ı baskoot
fed-1SG brother-my biscuits

‘I fed my brother biscuits.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ıt ʃagah lə bint xaalt-ı
Rented-1SG flat to daughter aunt-my

‘I rented a flat to my cousin.’

Fill

- ʃabber-t banzeen bɪ-s-sayyaarah
filled-1SG benzene in-the-car

‘I filled benzene in the car.’

Show

- fardʒei-t ʔimm-ı juu bad-ı ʔalbas bukra
showed-1SG mother-my what want-1SG wear tomorrow

‘I showed my mother what I want to wear tomorrow.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-ıt lɪ-ktaab lə l-maktabeh
returned-1SG the-book to the-library

‘I returned the book to the library.’

Donate

- ၵတိဘရာၼ်-ိတ ဝိၼ-မာၼာၼိၼ လၢ လ-မိၼ်တၢၼ်ဒၼ်
Donated-1SG with-clothes to the-needy
'I donated clothes to the needy.'

Lend

- dayyan-ိတ ၵိၼတ-ိ ဖလူၼ
lent-1SG sister-my money
'I lent my sister money.'

Bequeath

- sitt-ိ warraθ-ၼတ-ိၼ swaarah
grandma-my bequeathed-3SGF-me bracelet
'My grandma bequeathed me a bracelet.'
-

Speaker (30)

Give

- ၵၢၼ်တံၼ-ဝ-ိၼ လ-ၵၢၼမ်
gave-3SGM-me the-pen
'He gave me the pen.'

Buy

- ၵိၼတၢၼ်-တ ဃလူၼ ၵိၼမာၼာၼ်
bought-1SG blouse yesterday
'I bought a blouse yesterday.'

Sell

- ဃိၼ-ိတ ဝိၼမာၼာၼ ဟာၼေၼ ဝိၼယမ်
sold-1SG bracelet that the-day
'I sold a bracelet that day.'

Send

- ဃၢၼာθ-ိတ မၢၼိၼ လၢ ဝိၼမာၼိၼ-ိ ၵိၼဝၢ မၼၢၼမ်-ေ
sent-1SG message to friend-my if working-3SGF
'I sent a message to my friend if she is working.'

Bring

- dʒɪb-ɪt dʒakert mɪn ɪl-maħal
brought-1SG jacket from the-store

‘I brought a jacket from the store.’

Hand

- naawal-ɪt sʕaahɪbt-ɪ lɪ-ktaab
handed-1SG friend-my the-book

‘I handed my friend the book.’

Ask

- saʔal-ɪt sʕaahɪbt-ɪ ʃan ʔɪʃɪ mɪʃ faahɪm-t-u
asked-1SG friend-my about something Neg understand-1SG-it

‘I asked my friend about something I do not understand.’

Teach

- ʔɪd-daktoor darras-Ø-nə lyom ʔawal dares bɪ-l-gramar
The-professor taught-3SGM-us today first lesson in-the-grammar

‘The professor taught us the first grammar lesson.’

Tell

- ħak-ət l-ɪ sʕaahɪbt-ɪ ʔɪnn-hə ʔɪlyom ʔaaybeh
told-3SGF to-me friend-my that-3SGF today absent

‘My friend told me that she is absent today.’

Feed

- tʕaʕmeɪ-t sʕaahɪbt-ɪ lyom ɪsʕ-sʕubuħ baskoot
fed-1SG friend-my today the-morning biscuits

‘I fed my friend biscuits this morning.’

Rent

- ʔadʒdʒər-ɪt ʃagah lə bɪnt kaan-ət mɪħtaadʒ-eh sakan
Rented-1SG flat to girl was-3SGF needing-3SGF accommodation

‘I rented a flat to a girl was needing an accommodation.’

Fill

- ṡabber-nə banzeen lə s-sayyaarah
filled-1PL benzene to the-car

‘We filled benzene to the car.’

Show

- wardʒer-t sʰaahıbt-ı sʰ-sʰuurah gabil ʔa-nazıl-hə
showed-1SG friend-my the-photo before 1SG-post-it

‘I showed my friend the photo before I posted it.’

Return

- radʒdʒaʃ-it ıl-dʒaker-t lə sʰaahıbt-ı
returned-1SG the-jacket to friend-my

‘I returned the jacket to my friend.’

Donate

- ʔıtbarraʃ-it bı-fluus lə l-mihtaadʒeen
donated-1SG with-money to the-needy

‘I donated money to the needy.’

Lend

- dayyan-it sʰaahıbt-ı masʰaari
lent-1SG friend-my money

‘I lent my friend money.’

Bequeath

- dʒadd-ı warraθ-Ø mama bert
grandpa-my bequeathed-3SGM mother house

‘My grandfather bequeathed my mother a house.’

Appendix C: The questionnaire

عزيزي المشارك\ المشاركة: تهدف هذه الاستبانة لقياس مدى قبول المتحدث باللهجة الأردنية لبعض التراكيب المتعلقة بالأفعال المتعدية إلى مفعولين في اللهجة الأردنية. أرجو التكرم بتعبئة الاستبانة عن طريق اختيار مدى قبولك لكل من الجمل المذكورة. أود التأكيد أن هذه البيانات هي لغايات البحث العلمي فقط. قام الباحث بتصنيف درجات قبول التراكيب إلى فئات حيث إن الرقم:

1 يشير إلى أن الجملة غير مقبولة أبداً

2 يشير إلى أن الجملة غير مقبولة

3 يشير أن الجملة مقبولة نوعاً ما

4 يشير إلى أن الجملة مقبولة

5 يشير إلى أن الجملة مقبولة بشكل كامل

	5	4	3	2	1		
1						أعطيت احمد لكتاب	
2						أعطيت لكتاب ل احمد	
3						أعطيت ل احمد لكتاب	
4						اعطي بابا حزن	
5						اعطي حزن لبابا	
6						اعطي لبابا حزن	
7						اعطي بابا بوسة	
8						اعطي بوسة لبابا	
9						اعطي لبابا بوسة	
10						اعطي السيارة دفشة	
11						اعطي دفشة لسيارة	
12						اعطي لسيارة دفشة قويه	

					ليلى حطت بالشنتنة كل الكتب	13
					ليلى حطت كل الكتب بالشنتنة	14
					وديت رسالة لعللي	15
					وديت لعللي رسالة	16
					الضو وجع لي راسي	17
					الضو وجع راسي	18
					ورجيت سامي انجوم الظهر	19
					ورجيت انجوم الظهر لسامي	20
					اللحمة بتعطي ل الانسان بروتين	21
					اللحمة بتعطي بروتين ل الانسان	22
					اللحمة بتعطي الانسان بروتين	23
					ورجو ساميه حالها بالمراية	24
					ورجو سامية ل حالها بالمراية	25
					ورجو ل ساميه حالها بالمراية	26
					لمعلم درس الطلاب انجليزي	27
					لمعلم درس انجليزي لطلاب	28
					المدير اعطى كل موظف راتبو	29
					المدير اعطى لكل موظف راتبو	30
					المدير اعطى راتبو لكل موظف	31
					علي اجر لسامي غرفة لطالب جديد	32
					علي اجر غرفة سامي لطالب جديد	33
					اعطو لكل طالب اكتاب	34
					اعطو اكتاب لكل طالب	35
					اعطو طالب كل كتاب	36
					اعطو كل كتاب لطالب	37
					حملو الشاحنة تين	38

					حملو تبين بالشاحنة	39
					سامي ودى لسفارة رسايل اكلثيرة	40
					سامي ودى رسالة لسفارة	41
					اعطينا لشرطي طنناش و ظالينا ماشيين	42
					اعطينا طنناش لشرطي و ظالينا ماشيين	43
					اعطينا الشرطي طنناش و ظالينا ماشيين	44
					رجعت الجواز لسفارة	45
					رجعت لسفارة الجواز	46
					وديت كل كتاب لطالب	47
					وديت لطالب كل كتاب	48
					جبتهن ليك	49
					جبتلك اياهن	50
					سامي عبي الدلو مي	51
					سامي عبي مي بالدلو	52
					سامي عبي بنزين لسيارة	53
					سامي عبي لسيارة بنزين	54
					ما اعطو مصاري ل أي عامل	55
					ما اعطو ل أي عامل اشوية مصاري	56
					ما اعطو العمال أي مصاري	57
					اعطيتك لكتاب	58
					أعطيت لكتاب الك	59
					اعطيتك إياه	60
					اعطيتو الك	61

Dear participant, this questionnaire aims to measure the degree of acceptance of Jordanian Arabic speakers of some constructions related to ditransitive verbs in the Jordanian dialect. Please complete the questionnaire by choosing the degree to which you accept each of the mentioned sentences. I want to emphasise that this data is for scientific research purposes only. The researcher classified the degrees of acceptance of the constructions where the number:

A indicates that the sentence is **completely unacceptable**

B demonstrates that the sentence is **unacceptable**

C suggests that the participant is **neutral**

D demonstrates that the sentence is **acceptable**

E indicates that the sentence is **completely acceptable**

		A	B	C	D	E
1	ʔaʕʔeɪ-t ʔaħmad lɪ-ktaab gave-1SG Ahmed the-book 'I gave Ahmed the book.'	-	-	-	83%	17%
2	ʔaʕʔeɪ-t lɪ-ktaab lə ʔaħmad gave-1SG the-book to Ahmed 'I gave the book to Ahmed.'	-	-	-	32%	68%
3	ʔaʕʔeɪ-t lə ʔaħmad lɪ-ktaab gave-1SG to Ahmed the-book 'I gave the book to Ahmed.'	-	-	-	82%	18%
4	ʔaʕʔɪ baba ħuðʕun give dad hug 'Give dad a hug.'	-	-	-	87%	13%
5	ʔaʕʔɪ ħuðʕun lə baba give hug to dad 'Give a hug to dad.'	-	-	-	64%	36%
6	ʔaʕʔɪ lə baba ħuðʕun give to dad hug 'Give a hug to dad.'	-	-	-	47%	53%
7	ʔaʕʔɪ baba booseh give dad kiss 'Give dad a kiss.'	-	-	-	77%	23%
8	ʔaʕʔɪ booseh lə baba give kiss to dad 'Give a kiss to dad.'	-	-	14%	57%	29%

9	ᲗᲁᲚᲚᲚ ᲙᲟ ᲑᲁᲑᲁ ᲑᲟᲟᲟᲕ give to dad kiss 'Give a kiss to dad.'	-	-	-	45%	55%
10	ᲗᲁᲚᲚᲚ ᲟᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ ᲑᲁᲑᲟᲕ give the-car push 'Give the car a push.'	-	-	-	86%	14%
11	ᲗᲁᲚᲚᲚ ᲑᲁᲑᲟᲕ ᲙᲟ ᲟᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ give push to the-car 'Give a push to the car.'	-	-	-	78%	22%
12	ᲗᲁᲚᲚᲚ ᲙᲟ ᲟᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ ᲑᲁᲑᲟᲕ ᲑᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ give to the-car push strong 'Give a strong push to the car.'	-	-	-	38%	62%
13	ᲙᲱᲙᲱ ᲕᲁᲚᲚᲚ-ᲱᲟ ᲑᲚᲚᲚᲚᲱᲱᲱ ᲕᲱᲙ ᲙᲟᲕᲱᲑ Laila put-3SGF in-the-bag all the-books 'Laila put all the books in the bag.'	-	4%	12%	84%	-
14	ᲙᲱᲙᲱ ᲕᲁᲚᲚᲚ-ᲱᲟ ᲕᲱᲙ ᲙᲟᲕᲱᲑ ᲑᲚᲚᲚᲚᲱᲱᲱ Laila put-3SGF all the-books in-the-bag 'Laila put all the books in the bag.'	-	-	-	37%	63%
15	ᲱᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲙᲟ ᲙᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ ᲙᲟ ᲚᲱᲙ sent-1SG letter to Ali 'I sent a letter to Ali.'	-	-	-	7%	93%
16	ᲱᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲙᲟ ᲚᲱᲙ ᲙᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ sent-1SG to Ali letter 'I sent a letter to Ali.'	-	-	-	87%	13%
17	ᲗᲙᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲱᲑᲑᲱᲚᲑᲑ ᲙᲟᲱ ᲙᲱᲱᲱᲱ The-light ache-3SGM for-me head-my 'The light aches my head.'	-	-	43%	57%	-
18	ᲗᲙᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲱᲑᲑᲱᲚᲑᲑ ᲙᲱᲱᲱᲱ The-light ache-3SGM head-my 'The light aches my head.'	-	-	-	44%	56%
19	ᲱᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲟᲱᲙ ᲙᲑᲑᲟᲟ ᲙᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ showed-1SG Sami stars the-noon idiom 'I took revenge on Sami.'	-	-	-	69%	31%
20	ᲱᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲙᲑᲑᲟᲟ ᲙᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑᲑ ᲙᲟ ᲟᲱᲙ showed-1SG stars the-noon to Sami idiom 'I took revenge on Sami.'	-	-	-	48%	52%
21	ᲗᲙᲙᲱᲕᲙᲙᲙ ᲑᲙᲱᲚᲚᲚᲚ ᲙᲟ ᲙᲟᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ ᲑᲙᲟᲱᲱᲱ The-meat 3SGF-give to the-human protein 'Meat gives protein to humans.'	-	-	28%	61%	11%
22	ᲗᲙᲙᲱᲕᲙᲙᲙ ᲑᲙᲱᲚᲚᲚᲚ ᲑᲙᲟᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ ᲙᲟ ᲙᲟᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱᲱ The-meat 3SGF-give protein to the-human 'Meat gives protein to humans.'	-	-	23%	77%	-

23	ʔil-laħmeh bt-aŋtʔi l-ʔinsaħn broteen The-meat 3SGF-give the-human protein 'Meat gives humans protein.'	-	-	-	33%	77%
24	wardʒ-u Samia ħaal-ħə bɪ-lɪ-mraaya showed-3PLM Samia self-her in-the-mirror 'They showed Samia herself in the mirror.'	-	-	-	22%	78%
25	wardʒ-u Samia lə nafs-ħə bɪ-lɪ-mraaya showed-3PLM Samia to self-her in-the-mirror 'They showed Samia to herself in the mirror.'	-	33%	67%	-	-
26	wardʒ-u lə Samia ħaal-ħə bɪ-lɪ-mraaya showed-3PLM to Samia self-her in-the-mirror 'They showed to Samia herself in the mirror.'	-	-	12%	88%	-
27	lɪ-mʕalɪm darras-Ø itʔ-tʔullaab ɪŋleezɪ the-teacher taught-3SGM the-students English 'The teacher taught the students English.'	-	-	-	63%	37%
28	lɪ-mʕalɪm darras-Ø ɪŋleezɪ lə itʔ-tʔullaab the-teacher taught-3SGM English to the-students 'The teacher taught English to the students.'	-	-	38%	44%	18%
29	ʔil-mudeer ʔaŋtʔ-Ø kull muwaðʔaf raatb-u The-manager gave-3SGM every employee salary-his 'The manager gave every employee his salary.'	-	-	-	33%	77%
30	ʔil-mudeer ʔaŋtʔ-Ø lə kull muwaðʔaf raatb-u The-manager gave-3SGM to every employee salary-his 'The manager gave to every employee his salary.'	-	-	-	55%	45%
31	ʔil-mudeer ʔaŋtʔ-Ø raatb-u lə kull muwaðʔaf The-manager gave-3SGM salary-his to every employee 'The manager gave his salary to every employee.'	77%	33%	-	-	-
32	ʔalɪ ʔadʒdʒər-Ø lə Sami ɣurfah lə tʔaalɪb dʒadeed Ali rented-3SGM for Sami room to student new 'Ali rented for Sami a room to a new student.'	64%	36%	-	-	-
33	ʔalɪ ʔadʒdʒər-Ø ɣurfɪt Sami lə tʔaalɪb dʒadeed Ali rented-3SGM room Sami to student new 'Ali rented Sami's room to a new student.'	-	-	-	67%	33%
34	ʔaŋtʔ-u lə kull tʔaalɪb ɪktaab gave-3PLM to every student book 'They gave a new book to every student.'	-	-	-	66%	34%
35	ʔaŋtʔ-u ɪktaab lə kull tʔaalɪb gave-3PLM book to every student 'They gave a new book to every student.'	-	-	-	82%	18%
36	ʔaŋtʔ-u tʔaalɪb kull ɪktaab dʒadeed gave-3PLM student every book new 'They gave a student every new book.'	-	-	39%	61%	-
37	ʔaŋtʔ-u kull ɪktaab dʒadeed lə tʔaalɪb gave-3PLM every book new to student 'They gave every book to a student.'	-	-	48%	52%	-

38	hamal-u f-jaahneh tɪbm loaded-3PLM the-truck hay 'They loaded the truck with hay.'	-	-	-	36%	64%
39	hamal-u tɪbm bɪ-f-jaahneh loaded-3PLM hay in-the-truck 'They loaded hay in the truck.'	-	-	-	22%	78%
40	Sami waddə-Ø lə s-safaarah rasaayɪl ʔɪkθeereh Sami sent-3SGM to the-embassy letters many Sami sent many letters to the embassy.'	-	-	54%	46%	-
41	Sami waddə-Ø rɪsaalah lə s-safaarah Sami sent-3SGM letter to the-embassy Sami sent a letter to the embassy.'	-	-	-	44%	66%
42	ʔaɪf'eɪ-nə lə f-furtɪ t'anaaf gave-1PL to the-policeman deaf ear 'We gave a deaf ear to the policeman.'	-	-	-	55%	45%
43	ʔaɪf'eɪ-nə t'anaaf lə f-furtɪ gave-1PL deaf ear to the-policeman 'We gave a deaf ear to the policeman.'	-	-	-	44%	66%
44	ʔaɪf'eɪ-nə f-furtɪ t'anaaf gave-1PL the-policeman deaf ear 'We gave the policeman a deaf ear.'	-	-	-	79%	21%
45	radʒdʒaɪt-ɪt ɪdʒ-dʒawaaz lə s-safaarah returned-1SG the-passport to the-embassy I returned the passport to the embassy.'	-	-	-	43%	67%
46	radʒdʒaɪt-ɪt lə s-safaarah ɪdʒ-dʒawaaz returned-1SG to the-embassy the-passport I returned the passport to the embassy.'	68%	32%	-	-	-
47	wadder-t kull ktaab dʒadeed lə t'aalɪb sent-1SG every book new. to student 'I sent every new book to a student.'	-	-	22%	55%	23%
48	wadder-t lə t'aalɪb kull ktaab dʒadeed sent-1SG to student every book new I sent every new book to a student.'	-	-	56%	44%	-
49	dʒɪb-ɪt-hɪn lɛɪ-k brought-1SG-them to-you 'I brought them to you.'	-	-	11%	66%	33%
50	dʒɪb-ɪt lə-k ʔɪyya-hɪn brought-1SG to-you ʔɪyya-them 'I brought you them.'	-	-	-	26%	74%
51	Sami ʔabbə-Ø d-dalu mɒy Sami filled-3SGM the-bucket water 'Sami filled the bucket with water.'	-	-	-	36%	64%

52	Sami ʕabbə-Ø mɔy bɪ-d-dalu Sami filled-3SGM water in-the-bucket 'Sami filled water in the bucket.'	-	-	-	23%	77%
53	Sami ʕabbə-Ø banzeen lə s-sayyaarah Sami filled-3SGM benzine for the-car 'Sami filled petrol for the car.'	-	-	-	73%	27%
54	Sami ʕabbə-Ø lə s-sayyaarah banzeen Sami filled-3SGM for the-car benzine 'Sami filled petrol for the car.'	-	-	-	66%	34%
55	ma ʔaʃtʰ-u masʰaari lə ʔayya ʔaamel Neg gave-3SGM money to any worker They did not give money to any worker.'	-	-	-	43%	57%
56	ma ʔaʃtʰ-u lə ʔayya ʔaamel masʰaari Neg gave-3SGM to any worker money They did not give money to any worker.'	-	-	-	54%	46%
57	ma ʔaʃtʰ-u ʔɪl-ʔummaal ʔayya masʰaari Neg gave-3SGM the-workers any money They did not give the workers any money.'	-	-	47%	53%	-
58	ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-ək lɪ-ktaab gave-1SG-you the-book 'I gave you the book.'	-	-	-	22%	78%
59	ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t lɪ-ktaab ʔɪl-ək gave-1SG the-book to-you 'I gave the book to you.'	-	-	-	23%	77%
60	ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-ək ʔɪyya-h gave-1SG-you ʔɪyya-it I gave you it.'	-	-	-	11%	89%
61	ʔaʃtʰeɪ-t-u ʔɪl-ək gave-1SG-him to-you 'I gave it to you.'	-	-	-	24%	76%