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Attitude datives in Lebanese Arabic and the interplay of syntax and pragmatics

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Abstract

Lebanese Arabic licenses structures with non-argument dative pronouns that I call attitude datives (ADs). ADs may be co-referential with the subject of the sentence, with the speaker or hearer, or with a topic. ADs do not belong to the thematic grid of predicates, and they do not make truth-conditional contributions to expressions. However, they do make pragmatic contributions in the form of conventional implicatures, triggering an evaluative interpretation of events and depicting speech participants as attitude holders. The main purpose of this article is to provide details about the distribution and interpretation of ADs and to account for their choice of antecedent. I present an analysis within the framework of Accessibility Theory and Context-Linked Grammar to show that an AD is linked to its antecedent as a result of the interplay between syntax and pragmatics. I also address the issue of subject-oriented ADs and explain why they are exempt from Condition B of Binding Theory by adopting a movement approach to binding.

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1. Introduction

It is characteristic of many languages to license structures with non-arguments in the form of applicative (dative) pronouns. Sentences (1) and (2) are examples from Southern American English and French respectively. The applicative pronouns – in boldface – do not belong to the thematic grid of the predicates, but they make a pragmatic contribution to the content of the expressions in which they occur. For example, the speaker in (1) assumes that “the action expressed has or would have a positive effect on the subject” (Horn, 2008:181) or “adds a pragmatic nuance of the agent’s pleasure” (Boneh and Nash, 2010:4). (Examples (1) and (2) are respectively from Webelhuth and Dannenberg, 2006:36, (6b), and Boneh and Nash, 2010:5, (14i).)

- (1) Southern American English
They cut **them** some logs.

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- (2) French
 Jeanne **s'**est couru trente km.
 Jeanne **her-ran** thirty km
 'Jeanne ran **her** thirty kilometers.'

The main purpose of this article is to describe and analyze structures that contain similar applicatives in the form of dative clitics in Lebanese Arabic (LA). LA licenses five types of dative pronouns: subject co-referential datives, speaker/hearer co-referential datives, topic/affected datives, recipient/beneficiary datives, and possessive datives (see [Al-Zahre and Boneh, 2010](#)). The focus will be on the first three types; I call these attitude datives. The last two types are excluded for reasons that will become clear in section 2.

A subject co-referential dative construction contains a non-argument non-reflexive dative pronoun that refers to the subject, (3a). A speaker/hearer co-referential dative construction, on the other hand, contains a similar dative that refers either to the speaker or to the hearer, (3b).² The main function of both types of datives is to express a speaker-oriented evaluation of events, depicting the speaker as an attitude holder.

- (3) a. Subject co-referential dative construction
 Na:dya štaɣalit-**la:** ši nis' se:ʕa
 Nadia worked-**her.DAT** some half hour
 'Nadia worked [**her**] for about a half hour.'
- b. Speaker/Hearer co-referential dative construction
 Ziya:d biʔad'd'i:-**li/lak** kil waʔt-o ne:yim
 Ziad spend-**me.DAT/you.DAT** all time-his sleeping
 'Ziad spends [**me/you**] all his time sleeping.'

The sentences in (4) are instances of the topic/affected dative construction. They contain a dative pronoun whose referent, the speaker believes, is/was affected physically or emotionally by the event depicted by the predicate. The dative also expresses the speaker's attitude of empathy toward the affectee.

- (4) Topic/Affected dative construction
- a. Na:dya_i ʔibn-a: biʔad'd'i:-**la:**_i kil waʔt-o ne:yim
 Nadia son-her spend-**her.DAT** all time-his sleeping
 'Nadia, her son spends [**her**] all his time sleeping.'
- b. ʒawz-a: byištīyil-**la:** le:l nha:r
 husband-her work-**her.DAT** night day
 'Her husband works [**her**] night and day (all the time).'
- c. Ziya:d kilma: biʔarrir yru:ħ ʔa-l-ʒabal yaʕmil ski
 Ziad whenever he.decide go to-the-mountain do ski
 btiži:-**lo** ʕa:s'fe w-bitsakkir l-t'irʔa:t
 come-**him.DAT** storm and-shut the-roads
 'Every time Ziad decides to go on a skiing trip to the mountains, a storm comes [**him**] and shuts the roads.'

Affected datives look similar to datives functioning as recipients or beneficiaries. The two types are different, however. Recipients and beneficiaries – sometimes also referred to as secondary arguments – are crucially part of the truth condition of a statement, a point that will become clear shortly and that will be revisited in section 3. In addition, their interpretation and distribution are sensitive to the selecting predicate and to the presence of a volitional subject who intends for them to be recipients or beneficiaries (e.g., [Baker, 1988](#); [Bowers and Georgala, 2007](#); [Goldberg, 1995](#)). This is why I will refer to them as argument datives and contrast them with non-argument attitude datives.³

² The English translation may not always sound grammatical in English, as it tries to capture the LA meaning and structure. In the translation of (3a–b) and examples below, I include the datives in square brackets in the order and positions where they occur in LA. I follow this approach throughout except in the examples where I explicitly separate the truth-conditional meaning from the conventionally implicated meaning. Also, LA is a subject pro-drop language in which all finite verbs show agreement with the subject. I include this agreement information in the gloss in the form of pronouns only in those instances where the subject is not pronounced.

³ The name is not innocent, especially as it pertains to beneficiaries. These have been analyzed as arguments and as adjuncts (see [Beck and Johnson, 2004](#) and work cited within). Their syntax deserves its own analysis, a task that I leave for another occasion. However, I do examine their distribution in section 2 in order to explain why I exclude them from the analysis, along with possessive datives, and only include what I call attitude datives.

Observe the sentences in (5). Sentences (5a) and (5b) contain a recipient and a beneficiary respectively. They both require intentionality on the part of the subject. That is, in both sentences Nadia is an intended recipient/beneficiary, a point that may be made more salient by the use of modifiers such as *xs'u:s'i* 'especially', *bas* 'only', and *šaxs'iyyan* 'personally'. According to Rákosi (2008), modificational options like these indicate that the modified elements count for truth conditions. The same observation applies to (5c) and (5d). Both sentences depict a situation in which a husband intentionally works all the time in order to affect his wife. In this case, the wife is a beneficiary, and the dative may equally be replaced by a PP. Note the possible use of *kame:n* 'too' in (5c). Note also that different prepositions may lead to different interpretations.

(5) Constructions with argument datives

- a. Ziya:d baʿat-(**la:**) rise:le (*xs'u:s'i* / *bas*) la-ʔil-a⁴ / la-Na:dya
Ziad sent-(**her.DAT**) letter (especially / only) for-to-her / for-Nadia
'Ziad sent a letter (especially / only) to her / Nadia.'
- b. Ziya:d fatah-(**la:**) l-be:b la-ʔil-a / la-Na:dya (*šaxs'iyyan*)
Ziad opened-(**her.DAT**) the-door for-to-her / for-Nadia (personally)
'Ziad opened the door for her / for Nadia (personally).'
- c. žawz-a: byištiyil-(**la:**) la-ʔil-a: / kirme:l-a: (*kame:n*)
husband-her work-(**her.DAT**) for-to-her / for.sake-her (too)
'Her husband works for her (too).'
- d. žawz-a: byištiyil ʕann-a: / nke:ye fiyy-a:
husband-her work on.behalf.of-her / spite in-her
'Her husband does the work she should do / works to spite her.'

Compare (5) and (4). Sentence (4a) may indicate that Nadia is affected by her son's sleeping all the time without denoting that her son intends to upset her by his behavior. By the same token, the non-argument dative in (4b) depicts a woman who is believed to be affected positively or negatively by her husband's behavior, with the option of not denoting that the husband intentionally works all the time to aggravate her. In both cases, the use of the dative is obligatory.

Now observe the non-argument dative construction in (4c), repeated as (6) with some modification. (6a) and (6b) show that, in a sentence that contains a non-volitional subject that is incapable of intentional behavior, the use of an argument dative in the form of a beneficiary PP or the use of a term like *bas* 'only' that may only be used with argument datives makes the sentence infelicitous unless used humorously (see Goldberg, 1995:chap. 6, for more discussion about volitional subjects with recipients and beneficiaries).

- (6) Ziya:d kilma: biʔarrir yru:h ʕa-l-žabal yaʕmil ski
Ziad whenever he.decide go to-the-mountain do ski
- a. # btiži: ʕa:s'fe la-ʔil-o / kirme:l-o
come storm for-to-him / for.sake-him
- b. # btiži:-lo ʕa:s'fe bas la-ʔil-o
come-him.DAT storm only for-to-him
'Every time Ziad decides to go on a skiing trip to the mountains, a storm comes only for him / for his sake.'

The sentences in (7) show that an utterance may simultaneously contain a non-argument dative, a recipient, and a beneficiary. In both sentences, the speaker believes that Nadia is an unintended affectee. In (7a), the speaker believes that Nadia is aggravated by her husband's behavior. The husband bought a gift for a boy in the neighborhood with the intention of pleasing the boy's mother. In (7b), the speaker believes that the success of Nadia's son must have a positive effect on her, but clarifies that Nadia is not an intended affectee.

- (7) a. Na:dya žawz-a: ra:h štare:-la hdiyye
Nadia husband-her went bought-her.DAT gift
la-ʔibn l-žira:n kirme:l ʔimm-o
for-son the-neighbor for mother-his
'Nadia, her husband went and bought [her] a gift for the neighbors' son for the sake of his mother / in order to get his mother's attention.'

⁴ PPs of the type that replace dative clitics seem to take two prepositions, *la-* and *ʔil-*, when the object is a pronoun; *la-* is sometimes optional.

- b. Na:dya ?ibn-a: ni?i?n-la: bi-l-?imti?na:n bas ma: ni?i?n
 Nadia son-her passed-**her.DAT** in-the-exam but NEG he.passed
la-?il-a: / kirme:l-a:; law byi?dar ke:n sa?at? nke:ye fiyy-a:
for-to-her.DAT; if he.could he.would failed **spite in-her**
 'Her son passed [**her**] the exam, but he didn't pass for her sake. If he could, he would have failed to spite her.'

Finally, sentence (8) is a possessive dative construction, also known as an external possession construction (Payne and Barshi, 1999). Such constructions contain two NPs in a possessor-possessum relation; the possessor is expressed as a dative pronoun, while the possessum is expressed in a separate constituent.

- (8) Possessive dative construction
 ha-l-ma?z'u:z'a Na:dya Ziya:d t'ara?-la: l-ma?al / ma?all-a:
 this-the-lucky Nadia Ziad painted-**her.DAT** the-store / store-her
 'Lucky Nadia, Ziad painted [**her**] the store / her store.'

To put it all together, observe the extended example in (9). This is a compilation of segments of a conversation I had with a friend about his son. The son was a high-school student at the time; he had been giving his parents a hard time with school, thus his father's complaints.⁵

- (9) ya xayy-i hayda l-s'abi byidris-**lo**^{subject} nis' se:fa
 VOC brother-my this the-boy study-**him.DAT** half hour
 w-b?il-lak daras. lamma: ke:n bi-l-s'af l-?awwal
 and-tell-you.DAT he.studied. when he.was in-the-class the-first
 ke:n yidrus ?aktar. huwwe w-?as'ha:b-o byil?abu:-**lak**^{hearer}
 he.used.to study more. he and-friends-his play-**you.DAT**
 games kil l-wa?et. l-?ahr l-ma:d'i ?imm-o ?axdit-**lo**^{possessive}
 games all the-time. the-month the-past mother-his took-**him.DAT**
 l-cellular w-liyyit-**lo**^{topic/affected} l-cable, bas ma: far?et ma?o
 the-cellphone and-canceled-**him.DAT** the-cable, but NEG differ with-him
 'Brother, this boy studies [**him**] for a half hour and says that he's done. When he was in first grade, he used to study more. He and his friends play [**you**] games all the time. Last month, his mother took [**him**] away his cellphone and canceled [**him**] the cable TV [so that he would study more], but he didn't care.'

It is worth noting that some instances of non-argument datives may potentially be interpreted in more than one way. In reality, however, their interpretation and pragmatic effect depend on the intention of the speaker and the reality of the situation. For example, the dative *-lo* 'him' on *?axdit* 'took' in (9) is a possessive dative because in this specific context the cellphone belonged to the son. It may also be interpreted as an affected dative because possessive datives allow such an interpretation (O'Connor, 2007). The dative *-lo* 'him' on *liyyit* 'canceled', on the other hand, is not interpreted as a possessive dative in this specific example because, unlike the cellphone, the cable TV belonged, not to the son, but to the whole family—at least, when I asked him, the father said (and I translate), 'The cable is not for him; I wish I could include a password so he wouldn't be able to watch! The cable is for the rest of us.' Context and the speaker's and hearer's common ground may resolve ambiguity. If ambiguity still arises, it is the responsibility of the speaker to clarify (see, e.g., (7b)) and of the hearer to seek clarification.

In the rest of the article, I concentrate on structures like (3a–b) and (4a–c). I call these attitude dative constructions (ADCs). I refer to subject co-referential attitude datives as SUBJ ADs, to speaker/hearer co-referential attitude datives as SP/H ADs, and to topic/affected attitude datives as TOP/AFF ADs. The non-argument datives in these structures are conventional implicature contributors; they trigger an evaluative interpretation and depict the speaker as an attitude holder. I provide a syntactic-pragmatic analysis of these ADs in order to explain how they are linked to their antecedent as subject, speaker, hearer, or topic.

The syntactic analysis focuses primarily on SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs. TOP/AFF ADs are structurally similar enough to fit within the same analysis, which is why I include them here. At the same time, they are not identical to SUBJ ADs and

⁵ Example (9) and other examples in this article were collected during fieldwork in summer 2012. The examples have been slightly modified to protect the privacy of the speakers. Most examples in this work were elicited, and some are based on my intuition. All the examples were double-checked for grammaticality and felicity against the intuition of multiple (four to seven) speakers of LA.

SP/H ADs and therefore they may deserve a separate or additional analysis, a task that I defer for future research. As for possessive datives, they may also qualify as ADs that express the speaker's empathy toward the possessor or depict that person as an affectee (O'Connor, 2007). I exclude them here, along with argument datives, because their distribution is significantly different from the distribution of other ADs, as we will see shortly.

The article contains four additional sections and a conclusion. In section 2, I provide examples of the five types of dative constructions licensed in LA and delineate the distribution of each type on the basis of six properties. I also explain why I include TOP/AFF ADs in the syntactic-pragmatic analysis to the exclusion of possessive and argument datives. In section 3, I present the conventional implicatures that SUBJ ADs, SP/H ADs, and TOP/AFF ADs contribute to the meaning of ADCs.

In section 3, I show that the choice of an AD referent as subject, topic, or speech participant (speaker/hearer) depends on the pragmatic meaning that these datives express. At the same time, ADs are primarily pronouns that are linked to an overt or covert antecedent. From a syntactic perspective, this link to an antecedent may be considered random. However, recent work (e.g., Collins and Postal, 2012; Sigurðsson, 2004; Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010, 2012) suggests that the phenomenon is not random and that it may be captured syntactically. My purpose is to analyze ADs as the outcome of interplay between syntax and pragmatics. In section 4, I discuss the issue of choice of antecedent from a pragmatic perspective within the framework of Accessibility Theory (Ariel, 1988, 1991, 2001). I also try to bridge the syntax-pragmatics divide by exploring the possibility of an analysis within Minimalist Context-Linked Grammar (Sigurðsson, 2004, 2012; Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010, 2012), providing in the process the derivational history of ADs as event-applicative adjuncts, or evaluative adjuncts that attach to events in the form of high applicatives.

The derivation of ADCs as presented in section 4 shows that ADs are subject to binding conditions. This issue is especially relevant to SUBJ ADs. These are problematic because they are co-referential with a c-commanding antecedent within the same clause. This means that SUBJ ADs violate Condition B of Binding Theory and thus should be ungrammatical, contrary to fact. In section 5, I show that locality, c-command, and co-referentiality do not pose a problem for SUBJ ADs if the choice between free and reflexive pronouns is analyzed as the outcome of movement and anti-locality à la Grohmann (2003).

2. The distribution of attitude datives

In terms of their distribution, ADs may be distinguished from possessive and argument datives on the basis of a number of properties (Horn, 2008; Jouitteau and Rezac, 2007; Leclère, 1976). Here I focus on six properties that tease LA ADs apart from other datives.

2.1. Property 1: ADs must be clitics

Sentences (10a) and (11a) contain SUBJ and SP/H ADCs respectively. Their ungrammatical counterparts in (10b) and (11b) show that SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs may not be realized as PPs. The PPs in these sentences may only be interpreted as intended beneficiaries. In addition, they may not co-occur with a co-referential PP. That is, SUBJ and SP/H ADCs may not be instances of clitic-doubling constructions; see, for example, (10c) and (11c).

(10) SUBJ ADC

a. Na:dya štayalit-**la:** nis^ʕ se:ʕa

Nadia worked-**her.DAT** half hour

'Nadia worked [**her**] for a half hour.'

b. Na:dya štayalit **la-ʔil-a:** nis^ʕ se:ʕa

Nadia worked **for-to-her** half hour

*SUBJ AD interpretation: 'Nadia_i worked [**her**]_i for a half hour.'

Beneficiary Interpretation: 'Nadia_i worked [**for her**]_k for a half hour.'

c. Na:dya štayalit-(**la:**_i) nis^ʕ se:ʕa **la-ha-l-mahz^ʕuuz^ʕa:**_i

Nadia worked-(**her.DAT**) half hour **for-this-the-lucky**

*SUBJ AD interpretation: 'Nadia_i worked [**her, this lucky woman**]_i for a half hour.'

Beneficiary interpretation: 'Nadia_i worked [**for the sake of this lucky woman**]_k for a half hour.'

(11) SP/H ADC

a. Ziya:d ʕimil-**li/lak** ʕaflet xitbe bitžannin

Ziad made-**me.DAT/you.DAT** party engagement stunning

'Ziad threw [**me/you**] an excellent engagement party.'

- b. Ziya:d ṡimil ḥaflet xitbe bitžannin **la-ʔil-i/-ak**
 Ziad made party engagement stunning **for-to-me/-you**
 *SP/H AD interpretation: 'Ziad threw **[me/you]** an excellent engagement party.'
 Beneficiary interpretation: 'Ziad threw an excellent engagement party **[for me/you]**.'
- c. *Ziya:d ṡimil-**li**_i ḥaflet xitbe bitžannin **la-ha-l-maḥzʕuuzʕa_i**
 Ziad made-**me.DAT** party engagement stunning **for-this-the-lucky**
 'Ziad threw **[me, the lucky one]** an excellent engagement party.'

It is worth noting that, despite the similarities, the two types of ADCs in (10a) and (11a) are different in one way: Only SUBJ ADCs require some material in the VP (a PP, an adverb, etc.). This observation was made by Al-Zahre and Boneh (2010), who analyze structures similar to (10a) in Syrian Arabic. They call them co-referential dative constructions. They observe that the VPs in these constructions obligatorily contain an indefinite object or an adverb in the form of vague measures, such as *kam tiffe:ḥa* 'some apples' and *šway* 'a little', which "denote small quantities of the lower part of a scale" (Al-Zahre and Boneh, 2010:10).

I will not go into the details of the restrictions on VPs in ADCs here. I would like to briefly point out, however, that the requirement is that there be some material in the VP (e.g., PP, an indefinite DP, an adverb), but it does not have to take the form of a vague measure or denote small quantities. For example, Nadia in (10a) could work for two or three hours. As we will see in section 2.2, the event could still be evaluated as insignificant or unexpected by the speaker on the basis of her knowledge and expectations of Nadia. As for SP/H ADCs, although they commonly contain some material in their VP, structures like (12) in which the speaker is criticizing Ziad's lifestyle are also readily available.

- (12) xayy-i Ziya:d ma bikaffi bidaxxin:-**li** kame:n byiṡrab
 brother-my Ziad NEG it.suffice he.smoke-**me.DAT** also he.drink
 'Brother, it is not enough that Ziad smokes **[me]**, he also drinks.'

Property 1 applies only in part to TOP/AFF ADs. Sentence (13a) shows that a TOP/AFF AD may not be replaced by a PP. If only a PP is used, the sentence is no longer interpreted as an ADC; Nadia becomes a beneficiary, and the sentence means that the son intentionally sleeps all the time to please Nadia. Nevertheless, TOP/AFF ADCs may be realized as clitic-doubling constructions, as (13b) and (13c) illustrate.⁶ That is, a TOP/AFF AD may be associated with a co-referential PP within the same structure. Crucially, the PP must be headed by the preposition *la-*. No other preposition may be used.

- (13) TOP/AFF ADC
- a. Na:dya ʔibn-a: biʔadʕdʕi: kil waʔt-o
 Nadia son-her spend all time-his
 ne:yim ʔ**la-ʔil-a** / **kirme:l-a**:
 sleeping **for-to-her/ for.sake-her**
 *TOP/AFF AD interpretation: 'Nadia, her son spends **[her]** all his time sleeping.'
 Beneficiary interpretation: 'Nadia, her son spends all his time sleeping for her sake / in order to please her.'
- b. Ziya:d byihtamal-**la**: bi-ḥa:l-o **la-Na:dya**
 Ziad take.care-**her.DAT** in-self-his **for-Nadia**
 'Ziad takes care **[her]** of himself for Nadia.'
- c. Layla Sami:r / žawz-a byidʕhar-**la** kil yo:m
 Layla Samir / husband-her go.out-**her.DAT** every day
 maṡ wiḥde **la-ha-l-mṡatra**
 with one.FEM **for-this-the-poor**
 'Poor Layla, Samir / her husband goes out **[her]** with a different woman every day.'

Note that while (13b) may have a beneficiary/argument-dative interpretation, denoting that Ziad takes care of himself in order to please Nadia, the same reading is not available in (13c). That is, (13c) may not mean that Layla's husband goes

⁶ This difference between SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs on the one hand and TOP/AFF ADs on the other may only be a matter of covert vs. overt antecedent. See Sportiche (1995), and section 4 in this article.

out with other women in order to upset her. Unlike in TOP/AFF ADCs, where a PP headed by *la-* 'for' may be used with events that have a positive or a negative effect, *la-* in argument dative constructions may only be used with events that have a positive effect on the object of the preposition.

I consider PPs like *la-ha-l-mʕatra* 'for this poor woman' in (13c) as right-dislocated PPs (Jouitteau and Rezac, 2007). Ward and Birner (2001) hold that right-dislocated elements are salient elements in the sense that they refer to topics and elements mentioned earlier in discourse. This observation matches the intuition of LA native speakers. I presented native speakers with sentences like (13b–c) in a gossip context, with *Na:dya* only realized in a right-dislocated PP. They all interpreted structures with a dative that refers to Nadia to be gossip about Nadia or to involve Nadia as an important element in the narrative.

Property 1 does not apply to possessors. As (14a) shows, a possessor may be realized as a possessive dative or as a PP. If it is realized as a PP, the dative is optional. Note also that while the possessor and the possessum are expressed in separate constituents in (14b–d), the possessor may also be encoded in the same constituent in the form of a possessive pronoun. This encoding is optional if the possessum is alienable, as (14b) illustrates; it is always obligatory if the possessum is an inalienable possession, (14c); and it is often obligatory if the possessor-possessum relation is that of kinship, (14d).

(14) Possessive dative construction

- a. ?Na:dya Ziya:d nadˁdˁaf-(**la**) l-maħal **tabaʕ-a:**
Nadia Ziad cleaned-(**her.DAT**) the-store **of-her**
'Nadia, Ziad cleaned [**her**] the store of her.'
- b. Na:dya Ziya:d nadˁdˁaf-**la:** l-maħal / maħall-**a:**
Nadia Ziad cleaned-**her.DAT** the-store / store-**her**
'Nadia, Ziad cleaned [**her**] the / her store.'
- c. Ziya:d ʔassal-**la** wiżž-**a:** la-bint-o
Ziad washed-**her.DAT** face-**her** for-daughter-his
'Ziad washed his daughter's face.'
- d. Na:dya zaʕʕalit-**lo** mart-**o** / l-mara: /xayy-**o** / *l-xayy la-Ziya:d
Nadia upset-**him.DAT** wife-**his** / the-wife /brother-**his** / the-brother for-Ziad
'Nadia upset Ziad's wife / brother.'

Property 1 does not apply to arguments either. As (15a–b) illustrate, the dative clitic referring to the recipient/beneficiary is optional in the presence of a co-referential PP. Also, terms like *bas* 'only' and *xsˁu:s* 'especially' may be used, making Nadia's intentionality more obvious. Finally, the PPs in these sentences may only depict Ziad as someone who was positively affected by the experience. If Nadia did what she did in order to upset Ziad, a different expression will have to be used: for example, *nke:ye b-Ziya:d* 'to spite Ziad'.

(15) Argument dative construction

- a. Na:dya štarit-(**lo**) hdiyye bas **la-ʔil-o** / **la-Ziya:d**
Nadia bought-(**him.DAT**) gift only **for-to-him** / **for-Ziad**
'Nadia bought a gift only for him / for Ziad.'
- b. Na:dya fathit-(**lo**) l-be:b xsˁu:s **la-ʔil-o** / **la-Ziya:d**
Nadia opened-(**him.DAT**) the-door especially **for-to-him** / **for-Ziad**
'Nadia opened the door especially for him / for Ziad.'

2.2. Property 2: ADs may occur where other clitics cannot

SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs may only cliticize to verbal elements, a property they share with all types of dative clitics whether they are arguments or non-arguments. What makes these ADs different, however, is the fact that they may cliticize to any verb if the sentence contains more than one. For example, consider sentence (16) as a response to the question 'Where is Ziad?' As (16a–c) illustrate, a SUBJ AD and a SP/H AD may cliticize to any of the three available verbs.

- (16) a. bikun-**lo/li** dˁahar ydaxxin sig:ara
he.be-**him.DAT/me.DAT** stepped.outside smoke cigarette
'He may have [**him/me**] stepped outside to smoke a cigarette.'

- b. biku:n d'ahar-**lo/li** ydaxxin sig:ara
 c. biku:n d'ahar ydaxxin-**lo/li** sig:ara

Property 2 is also evident in TOP/AFF ADCs. Some context may help: Let's say Nadia asks Jamil where Ziad is, but Jamil doesn't know. A few minutes later, Jamil runs into Layla, so he tells her that Nadia was wondering where Ziad is and asks her if she happens to know. Layla may give any of the answers in (17).

- (17) a. bikun-**la:** d'ahar ydaxxin sig:ara
 he.be-**her.DAT** stepped.outside smoke cigarette
 'He may have [**her**] stepped outside to smoke a cigarette.'
 b. biku:n d'ahar-**la:** ydaxxin sig:ara
 c. biku:n d'ahar ydaxxin-**la:** sig:ara

Possessive datives, on the other hand, pattern differently with regard to Property 2. Let us assume the same context we had for (17), only this time Layla thinks that Ziad may have stepped out to wash Nadia's car. In this case, only (18a), with the possessive dative cliticized to the verb 'wash', may express what Layla wants to say. Sentences (18b–c) may only be interpreted as TOP/AFF ADCs.

- (18) a. biku:n d'ahar yḡassil-**la:** l-sayya:ra
 he.be stepped.outside wash-**her.DAT** the-car
 'He may have stepped outside to wash [**her**] the car.'
 b. bikun-**la:** d'ahar yḡassil l-sayya:ra
 c. biku:n d'ahar-**la:** yḡassil l-sayya:ra

Argument datives behave similarly to possessive datives. For example, in (19a) and (20a) the dative is cliticized to the main verbs 'bring' and 'cook' respectively. In this case, the dative may be interpreted as an AD. Alternatively, it may be interpreted as an argument dative: the recipient of a cup of coffee in (19a) and a beneficiary of the cooking – or the person for whose sake the cooking is intended – in (20a). If the latter meaning is in fact the speaker's intention, the datives may be replaced by PPs, as (19b) and (20b) show. In (19c) and (20c), the dative is cliticized to the auxiliary. In this case, it may only be interpreted as an AD. The sentences are ambiguous with regard to the recipient/beneficiary, who could be anyone, including the subject himself.

- (19) a. biku:n ṡam-biḡib-**li/lak/la:** finḡe:n ṡahwe
 he.be PROG-bring-**me.DAT/you.DAT/her.DAT** cup coffee
 'He is probably bringing me/you/her a cup of coffee.'
 b. biku:n ṡam-biḡi:b finḡe:n ṡahwe **la-ḡil-i/ak/a:**
 he.be PROG-bring cup coffee **for-to-me/you/her**
 'He is probably bringing a cup of coffee for me/you/her.'
 c. bikun-**li/lak/la:** ṡam-biḡi:b finḡe:n ṡahwe
- (20) a. biku:n ṡam-byit'ḡbux-**li/lak/la:**
 he.be PROG-cook-**me.DAT/you.DAT/her.DAT**
 'He is probably cooking for me/you/her.'
 b. biku:n ṡam-byit'ḡbux **kirme:l-i/ak/a:**
 he.be PROG-cook **for-me/you/her**
 'He is probably cooking for me/you/her.'
 c. bikun-**li/lak/la:** ṡam-byit'ḡbux

2.3. Property 3: ADs remain clitics when they co-occur with other types of datives

Observe sentence (21a) with two arguments: a recipient and a beneficiary. The sentence has two interpretations, indicating that either argument may be realized as a dative clitic (the second reading is more readily available if another PP is used: *kirme:l-on* 'for their sake'). Sentence (21b) shows that SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs may occur with argument datives

as long as they themselves cliticize to the verb. In this case, the argument datives are realized as PPs. In fact, the clitic status of an AD takes priority over any other clitic, including clitics that refer to direct objects, such as *-un* 'them' in (21c). When an AD and a direct object are used simultaneously, (21d), the clitic referring to the direct object attaches to a default host *ye:h-* that the language provides in order to allow the AD to cliticize to the verb.⁷

- (21) a. baʕat-**la:** **la-ʔil-un** rise:le
 he.sent-her.DAT for-to-them letter
 'He sent a letter to them for her sake.'
 'He sent a letter to her for their sake.'
- b. baʕat-**lo/li/lak** **kirme:l-a:** **la-ʔil-un** rise:le
 he.sent-him.DAT/me.DAT/you.DAT for-her for-to-them letter
 'He sent [him/me/you] a letter to them (as a favor) for her.'
- c. Na:dya darrasit-**un** kilimte:n (la-l-wle:d)
 Nadia taught-them two.words (for-the-children)
 'Nadia taught them – the kids – two words (helped them with their studies).'
- d. Na:dya darrasit-**la** ye:h-**un** kilimte:n (la-l-wle:d)
 Nadia taught-her.DAT YE:H-them two.words (for-the-children)
 'Nadia taught [her] them – the kids – two words.'

The same observation applies to TOP/AFF ADs. Thus, sentence (22) may qualify as a TOP/AFF ADC if *-la:* 'her.DAT' is interpreted as an affectee and *la-ʔil-o* 'to him' is interpreted as a recipient. In this case, the sentence means that the speaker sent a man a letter and the event had a positive or negative effect on Nadia. If *-la:* 'her.DAT' is interpreted as a recipient, *la-ʔil-o* 'to him' becomes a beneficiary, and the sentence means that the speaker sent a letter to Nadia in order to please a man or upon his request.

- (22) Na:dya: baʕattil-**la:** la-ʔil-o rise:le
 Nadia I.sent-her.DAT for-to-him letter
 'Nadia, I sent [her] to him a letter.'
 'Nadia, I sent a letter to her for his sake.'

If an AD co-occurs with a possessive dative, it cliticizes to the verb and the possessive is realized as a PP or as a possessive pronoun.

- (23) a. ʔassal-**la:** l-sayya:ra
 he.washed-her.DAT the-car
 'He washed [her] the car.'

⁷ Observations like this, as well as the fact that verbs may show allomorphy when an AD attaches to them, led Al-Zahre and Boneh (2010) to conclude that similar datives in Syrian Arabic are not clitics, but second agreement markers on verbs. I disagree with Al-Zahre and Boneh for three reasons. First, the intimate relation between ADs and verbs and the fact that their clitic status takes priority over other clitics follows from two facts: (i) ADs are cross-linguistically unstressed pronominal elements; (ii) LA, as well as Syrian Arabic, does not allow two clitics to attach to a verb at the same time, which is why other clitics find another host to attach to. Arabic dialects that allow more than one clitic to attach to a verb license ADs on top of other clitics. Egyptian Arabic is one such dialect. Sentence (i) is an example (Usama Soltan, p.c.). If ADs are agreement markers, *-li* 'me.DAT' should not be able to occur on top of the clitic *-hu:* 'it'.

(i) l-murattab kull-u Aḥmad byis'rif-**hu:-li** ʕala ʔas'ḥa:b-u ʕala l-ʔahwa
 the-salary all-it Ahmad spend-it.ACC-me.DAT on friends-his on the-café
 The whole salary, Ahmad spends it [me] on his friends at the café.'

In addition, we will see below that sentences that contain an auxiliary as well as a main verb may have an AD on the auxiliary or the main verb or both. If ADs were agreement markers, they would be more likely to appear consistently on all verbs, on a par with subject agreement.

Finally, concerning the instances of allomorphy of verbs + ADs, which may be evident on the verb (e.g., *biku:n* vs. *bikun* 'he.be' in (17a) and (17b)) or the AD (e.g., the dative marker *-l-* is realized as *-ll-* in (28a)), these spuriously look like the outcome of repair strategies at the word level. Closer examination shows that they are cases of overkill (not necessary at the word level) and that they take place to satisfy paradigm-level constraints that require all the members of a given paradigm (e.g., the paradigm of geminate pattern I verbs with dative clitics or the paradigm of hollow pattern I verbs with accusative clitics) to have uniform stress. Paradigm uniformity of this sort is blind to the status of datives as ADs or selected arguments. See Haddad and Wiltshire (in press) for a detailed account, and see Nevins (2011) for evidence that allomorphy with clitics is cross-linguistically common.

- b. bikun-**la**: baʕat-**li**: **la-ʔi-lo** hdiyye
 he.be-**her.DAT** sent-**me.DAT** for-to-him gift
 'He may have [**her**] sent a gift to me for him / upon his request.'
 'He may have [**her**] sent a gift to him for me / upon my request.'

2.5. Property 5: ADs are not subject to Condition B of Binding Theory

This property is evident for SUBJ ADs, and I will have more to say about it in section 5. For now, it suffices to point out that all the instances of SUBJ ADCs we have encountered contain a free dative pronoun co-referential with a local subject. That is, they contain a free pronoun where a reflexive pronoun is expected, and thus they seem not to be subject to Condition B.

SP/H ADCs are not subject to Condition B either, as sentences (28a) and (28b) show. Although the co-referential dative in this case may qualify as a SUBJ AD in terms of its conventional implicature (see section 3), a reading of the datives as SP/H ADs is equally readily available, depending on the speaker's intention.

- (28) SP/H ADCs
- a. se:ʕadti-**lli** ʕaʕer ʕiyal faʔi:ra bi-l-ʕi:d
 I.helped-**me.DAT** ten families poor in-the-holiday
 'I helped [**me**] ten poor families during the holidays.'
- b. smiʕit ʔinn-ak btiḥki-**lak** xams liḡya:t
 I.heard that-you speak-**you.DAT** five languages
 'I heard that you speak [**you**] five languages.'

TOP/AFF ADs may also be considered exempt from Condition B, but they are a little tricky. Examples of ADCs with a topicalized subject and a subject co-referential AD may be interpreted as SUBJ ADCs. Some context may help resolve the confusion, as (29a) and (29b) illustrate. In both sentences, the dative depicts the subject as an affectee. Both ADs also express the speaker's empathy toward the subject.

- (29) TOP/AFF ADCs
- a. ha-l-mʕatra Na:dya, ʕimlit-**la**: huni:k ʕe:dis
 this-the-poor Nadia, she.did-**her.DAT** such accident
 tʔazzit kti:r (alb-i maʕ-a: walla:)
 she.got.hurt a.lot (heart-my with-her by.God)
 'Poor Nadia, she had [**her**] a serious accident, she got really hurt (she is really in my thoughts / I really feel bad for her).'
- b. ha-l-maḥzu:za Na:dya, ʔadʕit-**la**: firsʕa bitʒannin
 this-the-lucky Nadia, she.spent-**her.DAT** vacation stunning
 bi-Paris re:ʒʕa mkayfe (mbasatʕit-**il-la**: kti:r)
 in-Paris she.returned very.happy (I.feel.happy-her.DAT a.lot)
 'Lucky Nadia, she spent [**her**] a great vacation in Paris; she returned very happy. (I feel very happy for her).'

Two facts, however, make me believe that subject co-referential TOP/AFF ADs are parasitic on SUBJ ADs. That is, they are primarily SUBJ ADs that also function as TOP/AFF ADs. First, such ADCs may not be realized as clitic-doubling constructions, as (30) illustrates.

- (30) *Na:dya, ʕimlit-**la**; huni:k ʕe:dis **la-ha-l-mʕatra**_i
 Nadia, she.did-**her.DAT** such accident **for-this-the-poor**

In addition, recall from section 2.1 that SUBJ ADCs occur with VPs that contain some material, such as an indefinite object or an adverb (Al-Zahre and Boneh, 2010). TOP/AFF ADCs do not have this requirement, as (31a) shows. An equivalent structure in which the affectee is simultaneously the subject is ungrammatical, (31b).

- (31) a. Na:dya Ziya:d bidaxxin-**la**: w-byiʕrab-**la**:
 Nadia Ziad smoke-**her.DAT** and-drink-**her.DAT**
 w-hiyye btimradʕ min xawf-a: ʕle-e
 and-she get.sick from fear-her on-him
 'Nadia, Ziad smokes [**her**] and drinks [**her**], and she is worried sick about him.'

- b. *Na:dya_i l-mʕatra bitdaxxin-**la**;_i w-btišrab-**la**;_i
 Nadia the-poor smoke-**her.DAT** and-drink-**her.DAT**
 w-sʕiħħit-a: btidahwar. ʔallah yse:ʕid-a:
 and-health-her deteriorate. God help-her
 'Nadia, the poor woman smokes [**her**] and drinks [**her**], and her health deteriorates. May God help her.'

Possessive datives are subject to Condition B. They may not be used to refer to the subject without leading to ungrammaticality, as sentence (32) illustrates. The sentence would be grammatical if Nadia upset another woman's son. For the sentence to mean that Nadia upset her own son, the dative needs to be deleted.

- (32) Possessive dative construction
 *Na:dya_i zaʕʕalit-**la**;_i ʔibn-a:
 Nadia upset-**her.DAT** son-her
 'Nadia upset [**her**] her son.'

Argument datives behave similarly to possessive datives, as (33) and (34) illustrate. Sentences (33a) and (34a) are ungrammatical under the designated reading; they should read as (33b) and (34b).

- (33) Argument dative construction
 a. *Na:dya_i baʕtit-**la**;_i hdiyye
 Nadia sent-**her.DAT** gift
 'Nadia sent herself a gift.'
 b. Na:dya_i baʕtit hdiyye **la-ħa:l-a**;_i
 Nadia sent gift **for-self-her**
 'Nadia sent herself a gift.'
- (34) a. *Na:dya_i fataħit-**la**;_i l-be:b
 Nadia opened-**her.DAT** the-door
 'Nadia opened the door for herself.'
 b. Na:dya_i fataħit **la-ħa:l-a**;_i l-be:b
 Nadia opened **for-self-her** the-door
 'Nadia opened the door for herself.'

2.6. Property 6: ADs may occur with all types of predicates

Since ADs are not internal arguments that are subcategorized for by the predicate, they should be free to occur with any predicate, including stative, unergative, and unaccusative predicates (see McGinnis, 2001; Pylkkänen, 2008). Sentences (35a–c) show that this is the case with SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs, and sentences (36a–c) show that the same property applies to TOP/AFF ADs.

- (35) a. Ziya:d bikun-**lo/li/lak** bi-l-ʔahwe
 Ziad be-**him.DAT/me.DAT/you.DAT** in-the-café
 'Ziad may be [**him/me/you**] in the café.'
 b. Ziya:d raʔas-**lo/li/lak** šway bi-l-ʕiris
 Ziad danced-**him.DAT/me.DAT/you.DAT** a.little in-the-wedding
 'Ziad danced [**him/me/you**] a little at the wedding.'
 c. Na:dya waʔaʕit-**la/li/lak** marte:n lyo:m
 Nadia fell-**her.DAT/me.DAT/you.DAT** twice today
 'Nadia fell [**her/me/you**] twice today.'
- (36) a. Ziya:d bikun-**la** bi-l-ʔahwe la-Na:dya
 Ziad be-**her.DAT** in-the-café for-Nadia
 'Ziad may be [**her**] in the café for Nadia.'
 b. Ziya:d raʔas-**la** šway bi-l-ʕiris la-Na:dya
 Ziad danced-**her.DAT** a.little in-the-wedding for-Nadia
 'Ziad danced [**her**] a little at the wedding for Nadia.'

- c. Na:dya waʔaʕit-lo marte:n la-Ziya:d lyo:m
 Nadia fell-him.DAT twice for-Ziad today
 'Nadia fell [him] twice for Ziad today.'

Note that without the dative clitics, sentences (36a–c) would lose the intended meaning. Sentences (36a–b) would mean that Ziad may be in the café or danced at the wedding for Nadia's sake (although *kirme:l* 'for the sake of' would be preferred here). Sentence (36c) would present the bizarre situation of Nadia falling down on purpose for Ziad's sake.

Possessive datives do not have this property. They are contingent on the presence of an internal argument, a possessum. And, of course, argument datives are dependent on the predicates they occur with. As (37a–b) illustrate, PPs with different heads result in different interpretations, and some predicates may occur with some PPs but not others.

- (37) a. me:t ʕann-a: / kirme:l-a: / *la-ʔil-a:
 he.died on.behalf.of-her / for.sake-her / for-to-her
 'He died for her so that she wouldn't have to die herself / for her sake in order to show her how much he loved her.'
- b. fataħ l-be:b la-ʔil-a: / ʕann-a: / kirme:l-a:
 he.opened the-door for-to-her / on.behalf.of-her / for.sake-her
 'He opened the door for her to enter / for her so that she wouldn't have to open it herself / for her in order to please her.'

2.7. Summary

In this section, I examined five types of LA datives – SUBJ ADs, SP/H ADs, TOP/AFF ADs, possessive datives, and argument datives – in the light of six properties. The results are captured in Table 1.

Table 1
 ADs vs. possessors and arguments.

Properties	SUBJ	SP/H	TOP/AFF	Possessors	Arguments
1. ADs must be clitics.	+	+	+	–	–
			<i>but ...</i>	<i>but they may be</i>	<i>but they may be</i>
2. ADs may occur where other dative clitics cannot.	+	+	+	–	–
3. ADs remain clitics when they co-occur with other types of datives.	+	+	+	–	–
4. ADs may occur with other ADs.	+	+	+	–	–
5. ADs are not subject to Condition B of Binding Theory.	+	+	+/?	–	–
6. ADs may occur with all types of predicates.	+	+	+	–	–

The table shows that SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs have all six properties. TOP/AFF ADs stand out as different in one important way: they also must be clitics, *but* they may be realized in clitic-doubling constructions. Unlike other clitic-doubling constructions, however, the PP must be headed with *la-*; no other preposition is grammatical. For the purposes of this article, I will consider PPs in TOP/AFF ADs as right-dislocated topics.

Despite the aforementioned difference, TOP/AFF ADs pattern like SUBJ and SP/H ADs in a number of important ways: the three types are clitics; they may cliticize to any verb; they may occur with any predicate; and they may occur with other ADs. These shared properties, along with their roles as conventional implicature contributors (section 3), make the three types of datives collectively suitable for the syntactic-pragmatic analysis I propose in section 4.

Table 1 also shows that possessors and arguments have none of the six properties. This is why I exclude them from the discussion and analysis in the rest of this article.

Section 3 focuses on ADs as conventional implicature contributors. Two caveats should be stated before we proceed. First, conventional implicatures are often not easy to tap into; this is why all the conventionally implicated meanings I present must be understood as approximations. Second, while collecting data and eliciting judgments from native speakers, I worked with contextualized examples in order to examine how ADs are used. I mainly used gossip events as contexts in which two people are talking about a third party or about themselves (self-gossip). These contexts are not exhaustive but they do capture the common uses of ADs, and as such they are sufficient for the purpose of accounting for an AD's choice of antecedent and the interplay between syntax and pragmatics.

3. The interpretation of ADs

In this section, I carry out a number of standard tests to show that ADs are conventional implicature contributors. I show that they are detachable, non-cancelable, conventional lexical items. I also provide evidence that their conventionally implicated meaning is independent of the truth-conditional meaning of sentences.

3.1. ADs as detachable, non-cancelable conventional implicature contributors

Implicature may be defined as “a component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is **meant** in a speaker’s utterance without being part of what is **said**” (Horn, 2006:3). For example, sentence (38) comprises the truth-conditional meaning or what is said, (38a), and the implicated meaning or what is meant, (38b).

- (38) John is tough but loving.
 a. John is tough. John is loving.
 b. Normally, tough people are not loving.

There is general consensus that the implicated meaning in (38b) is more precisely a conventionally implicated meaning, with *but* as a conventional implicature contributor. A conventional implicature is part of the conventional meaning of a lexical item in a given construction. Its deletion or change results in the deletion or change of the conventional implicature it raises; thus, it is detachable. Also, it may not be denied without leading to a contradiction (Grice, 1991 [1975]; Horn, 2006; Karttunen and Peters, 1979; Potts, 2005). The conventionally implicated meaning in (38) is part of the conventional meaning of *but*. If *but* is canceled, the implicature is also canceled. If *and* is used instead, the conventionally implicated meaning changes into something like ‘Normally, tough people are loving’. In addition, sentence (39) shows that if the conventional implicature of *but* is denied, the outcome is a contradiction.

- (39) John is tough but loving. # Tough people are normally loving.

ADs qualify as conventional implicature contributors. I begin with SUBJ ADs. A speaker of LA normally uses a SUBJ AD to express an evaluative opinion about an event as either (i) insignificant/not worth mentioning or (ii) surprising/unexpected. Both judgments are based on the speaker’s knowledge and expectations of the subject, as well as on her knowledge and expectations of the social group that the subject belongs to (e.g., students, teenagers). Usually, context and common ground (cultural knowledge and beliefs) are sufficient to help the hearer tell which meaning the speaker intends. Often, however, speakers use SUBJ ADCs in tandem with two types of intonations to express their attitude toward a given event or behavior: (i) a falling intonation with a dismissive tone implicating that the event is insignificant/not worth mentioning; (ii) a rising intonation with a surprised tone implicating that the event is surprising/unexpected.⁸

As an illustration, consider the ADCs in (40) and (41). In (40), the speaker evaluates the event as insignificant, which is why the sentence may be uttered in a dismissive tone, (40b). In (41), the speaker judges the event as unexpected, and accordingly the ADC may be said in a surprised tone, (41b). The speakers’ evaluations are based on their knowledge and expectations of Ziad and Samir as students, as (40c) and (41c) state. In other words, the SUBJ AD provides the measuring stick, while tone, context, and/or common ground provide the measure. (In the examples that follow, *TC* = *truth condition*, *CI* = *conventional implicature*.)

- (40) Ziya:d daras-lo nis[°] se:ʕa la-l-ʔimtiħa:n
 Ziad studied-**him.DAT** half hour for-the-exam
 a. TC: ‘Ziad studied for a half hour for the exam.’
 b. Tone: Dismissive → The event was insignificant.
 c. AD CI: Ziad (as a high-school student, a low-achieving student, etc.) needed more than a half hour to prepare for the exam.
- (41) Sami:r daras-lo se:ʕte:n la-l-ʔimtiħa:n
 Samir studied-**him.DAT** two.hours for-the-exam
 a. TC: ‘Samir studied for two hours for the exam.’
 b. Tone: Surprised → The event was unexpected.
 c. AD CI: Samir (as a low-achieving student, an uncommitted student, etc.) normally does not prepare for exams at all.

⁸ Intonational meaning may be considered as another conventionally implicated meaning or, as Potts (2007:487) puts it, “a means for invoking additional non-at-issue content.” However, apart from stating the intonational facts in order to separate their contribution from the contribution of ADs, I will have little to say about intonation. In addition, there may be body language and gestures involved in these sentences. Tapping into these goes beyond the scope of this article.

A point is in order before we proceed. As we will see below, each type of AD expresses specific meanings and attitudes. These meanings and attitudes hold of an AD independently of the tones or gestures that accompany it. And while a tone or a gesture alone may convey the speaker's intended attitude, this attitude will be implicit rather than explicit, and the speaker may easily deny it if confronted. For example, if the speaker in (41) chooses to employ the same tone without using the SUBJ AD *-lo* 'him.DAT', it will not be clear whether she believes the event to be unexpected because she has low expectations of Samir or whether she believes that it is simply surprising that any student – not only Samir – would study for two hours these days. If the hearer understands the speaker's utterance as a criticism of Samir and confronts her, she may opt for the second interpretation (i.e., no student studies for two hours these days) even if criticizing Samir was in fact her intention. The difference between using an AD and not using one resembles the difference between sentences (42a) and (42b) (from Langacker, 2009:145, (44a–b)). In both cases, the speaker is responsible for what is being said and for the conveyed attitude. However, she expresses this responsibility more explicitly in (42b). In (42a), she may mean – or pretend to mean – that anyone who hears the jokes would arrive at the same conclusion. See Langacker (2009:116, 135–145) and Haddad (2013) for more discussion.

- (42) a. His crude jokes are {embarrassing / surprising / amusing}.
b. His crude jokes {embarrassed / surprised / amused} me.

Equally important is the fact that ADs may be used with other independent intonations and/or gestures; that is, an AD may be used with intonations or gestures that are not meant to be associated with the AD itself. For example, sentence (40) may be uttered as a question with a rising intonation, (43). The AD does not lose its meaning, as (43c) illustrates. If the speaker wishes to be even more explicit or expressive, she may accompany the SUBJ ADC in (43) with a dismissive chuckle. That said, I will continue to list tone in the description of the examples as a substitute for context.

- (43) *daras-lo* *Ziya:d nis^ˁ se:ʕa la-l-ʔimtiħa:n?*
studied-him.DAT Ziad half hour for-the-exam?
a. TC: 'Did Ziad study for a half hour for the exam?'
b. Tone: Rising intonation → Question
c. AD Cl: Even if he did, Ziad (as a high-school student, a low-achieving student, etc.) needs more than a half hour to prepare for an exam.

While SUBJ ADs are anchored to the subject as a measuring stick against which the speaker evaluates an event, SP/H ADs are anchored to the speaker's (and hearer's) values, beliefs, and what she considers culturally acceptable or unacceptable. A speaker normally uses a SP/H AD to express an evaluative opinion about an event as either (i) culturally unacceptable or (ii) culturally laudable. The two meanings are teased apart by context and common ground. In addition, or when these are not enough, speakers employ two types of intonations: (i) a falling intonation with a sneering tone, implicating that the event is unacceptable; (ii) a rising intonation with an enthusiastic tone, implicating that the event is laudable.

Observe the ADCs in (44) and (45) about Nadia and Ziad respectively. Apart from the subject, the two sentences share the same truth condition in (44a) and (45a). Sentence (44) is said in a sneering tone, implicating that the behavior is unacceptable, (44b). Sentence (45) is said in an enthusiastic tone, implicating that the behavior is admirable, (45b). The use of SP/H ADs is a clear indication that the judgments are based on the speaker's beliefs and values, (44c) and (45c), rather than on the speaker's knowledge or expectations of Nadia and Ziad as individuals. For example, the speaker of (44) may be a more conservative, more religious person who believes in love and monogamous relations. The speaker of (45) is quite the opposite.

- (44) *Na:dya btid^ˁhar-li/lak* *kil yo:m maʕ šab šikil*
Nadia go.out-me.DAT/you.DAT every day with young.man different
a. TC: 'Nadia goes out with a different man every day.'
b. Tone: Sneering → The behavior is unacceptable.
c. AD Cl: Nadia's behavior is inconsistent with the speaker's beliefs and values and what she considers culturally acceptable.
- (45) *Ziya:d byid^ˁhar-li/lak* *kil yo:m maʕ binit šikil*
Ziad go.out-me.DAT/you.DAT every day with girl different
a. TC: 'Ziad goes out with a different woman every day.'
b. Tone: Enthusiastic → The behavior is laudable/admirable.
c. AD Cl: Ziad's behavior is in conformity with the speaker's beliefs and values and what she considers culturally acceptable.

The acceptability or unacceptability of an event or a behavior from the perspective of the speaker is not completely independent from the subject and the group or category that the subject belongs to, as (44) and (45) may indicate. For example, a speaker who does not believe in gender equality may say the ADC in (44) only when talking about a woman and say the ADC in (45) only when talking about a man.

Another point is in order. When the speaker uses an AD that refers to her, she expresses her evaluation of the event on the basis of her cultural perspective and what she considers acceptable or unacceptable. At the same time, she tacitly invites the hearer to accept her judgment, or at least she makes it difficult for the hearer to disagree with her without challenging her belief system or making her lose face. Alternatively, the speaker may use an AD that refers to the hearer; in this case, she attributes her judgment to the hearer as well, making it even more difficult for the hearer to disagree with her. For a more detailed discussion of the function of SP/H ADs, see [Haddad \(2013\)](#).

TOP/AFF ADs are anchored to an affectee, a person who the speaker believes is positively or negatively affected, physically or emotionally, by an event. They may also express the speaker's attitude of empathy toward the affectee, whereby empathy is understood as benevolence (feeling happy for someone's happiness or sad for that person's sadness) or malevolence (feeling happy for someone's misfortune or sad for that person's success/good luck). In both cases, the speaker is also aware of how she would feel if she were the affectee.

The tones associated with TOP/AFF ADs are a little more diverse: (i) a compassionate tone, implicating that the speaker feels sorry for the affectee's plight; (ii) an applauding tone, implicating that the speaker feels happy for the affectee's good fortune; (iii) a tone of resentment, implicating that the speaker feels sad or bitter for the affectee's good fortune; or (iv) a tone of malice, implicating that the speaker feels happy for the affectee's plight. In all four cases, the AD is anchored to the affectee as the measuring stick against which the attitude is expressed.

Observe the TOP/AFF ADCs in (46) and (47). Sentence (46) is about Nadia, whose son is a teenager; he spends most of his time sleeping instead of studying. The tone and the AD depict Nadia as negatively affected by the behavior; they also express the speaker's attitude of compassion toward Nadia. Sentence (47) is about Layla, who has a six-month-old son; he sleeps through the night, which gives his mother the chance to rest. In this case, the tone and the AD depict Layla as positively affected by the behavior; they also express the speaker's positive attitude toward Layla's good luck.

- (46) Na:dya ʔibn-a: binam-**la:** kil l-waʔet
Nadia son-her sleep-**her.DAT** all the-time
a. TC: 'Nadia's son sleeps a lot.'
b. Tone: Compassionate → The behavior is bad.
c. AD CI: Nadia must feel horrible. The speaker feels bad for Nadia.
- (47) Layla ʔibn-a: binam-**la:** kil l-le:l
Layla son-her sleep-**her.DAT** all the-night
a. TC: 'Layla's son sleeps all night.'
b. Tone: Applauding → The behavior is good.
c. AD CI: Layla must feel satisfied. The speaker feels happy for Layla.

If the speakers of (46) and (47) do not like Nadia and Layla very much, they can still depict them as affectees, while at the same time celebrating the plight of the former and lamenting the good fortune of the latter. In both cases, the attitude of the speaker is contingent on at least three factors: (i) her knowledge of the affectee and of how the affectee would feel in a given situation, (ii) her feelings toward the affectee, and (iii) her knowledge of herself and how she would feel if she were the affectee.

In all three types of ADCs, the conventionally implicated meanings are contingent on the presence of the ADs. If an AD is deleted, the implicated meaning associated with it is deleted or underspecified at best. If the AD changes, the conventional implicature associated with it also changes. That is, conventional implicatures contributed by ADs are detachable. A minimal set of ADCs can further illustrate this point. Sentences (48) through (50) share the same truth condition but not the same AD. They express different conventional implicatures.

- (48) Ziya:d byaʕmil-**lo** shopping ʔarbaʕ marra:t bi-l-šahar
Ziad do-**him.DAT** shopping four times in-the-month
a. TC: 'Ziad goes shopping four times per month.'
b. Tone: Surprised → The behavior is unexpected.
c. AD CI: As a teenager who lives in an average-income household and does not hold a job, Ziad's shopping is more frequent than expected.

- (49) Ziya:d byaʕmil-li/lak shopping ʔarbaʕ marra:t bi-l-šahar
 Ziad do-me.DAT/you.DAT shopping four times in-the-month
 a. TC: 'Ziad goes shopping four times per month.'
 b. Tone: Sneering → The behavior is unacceptable.
 c. AD Cl: Ziad's behavior is inconsistent with the speaker's beliefs and values; for example, the speaker is against consumerism.
- (50) Ziya:d byaʕmil-la: shopping ʔarbaʕ marra:t bi-l-šahar la-ʔimm-o
 Ziad do-her.DAT shopping four times in-the-month for-mother-his
 a. TC: 'Ziad goes shopping four times per month.'
 b. Tone: Compassionate → The behavior is bad.
 c. AD Cl: Ziad's mother, who is an average-income person, must feel burdened. The speaker feels bad for the mother.

In addition to being detachable, conventional implicatures contributed by ADs are non-cancelable in the sense that denying them leads to a contradiction. For example, in (51) the speaker dismisses the fact that Layla ate about four pieces of baklava as insignificant, (51b). The SUBJ AD implicates that the judgment is based on the speaker's familiarity with Layla, say, as an active adult who may tolerate the calorie intake, (51c). If the speaker also says (51d), the outcome is a contradiction. (51d) denies the implicature in (51c) by indicating that Layla overate.

- (51) Layla ʔakalit-la: tlet ʔarbaʕ ʔitaʕ baʔle:wa
 Layla ate-her.DAT three four pieces baklava
 a. TC: 'Layla ate three or four pieces of baklava.'
 b. Tone: Dismissive → The behavior is insignificant.
 c. AD Cl: Layla didn't overeat. She is an adult who can tolerate the calories.
 d. # fiʕʕa:ne
 gluttonous

Note that using the dismissive tone without the AD in (51) may render (51d) acceptable. In this case, the speaker may mean that eating three or four pieces of baklava in itself is not a big deal; there was a lot of baklava for everyone. However, Layla should not have eaten that much.

Sentence (52) is a SP/H ADC. In this case, the speaker expresses a negative attitude toward Layla's behavior as unacceptable, (52b), an attitude based on the speaker's values and beliefs and what she considers acceptable or unacceptable in general terms, (52c). Therefore, saying (52d), in which the speaker condones smoking, denies the implicature in (52c) and leads to a contradiction.

- (52) Layla bitdaxxin-li/lak ʕašr swe:gi:r bi-l-yo:m
 Layla smoke-me.DAT/you.DAT ten cigarettes in-the-day
 a. TC: 'Layla smokes ten cigarettes per day.'
 b. Tone: Sneering → The behavior is unacceptable.
 c. AD Cl: Layla's behavior is inconsistent with the speaker's values and beliefs; for example, the speaker is against smoking.
 d. # ʔanna miš dʕid l-tadxi:n
 I NEG against smoking
 'I am not against smoking.'

As expected, things are a little more complex with TOP/AFF ADCs. As (53) illustrates, a TOP/AFF ADC depicts the referent of the dative as an affectee, while also expressing the speaker's attitude of empathy toward the affectee. In this case, the speaker judges the behavior as bad, (53b); she depicts the father as someone who is negatively affected by the behavior, while also implicating that she feels bad for him. Interestingly, the speaker may say (53d), indicating that the father is not affected, without contradicting herself. According to the native speakers I consulted, the dative, along with the co-referential PP *la-bayy-a*: 'for her father' if needed, makes the father the topic of discussion. Also, the sentence, along with the contradiction in (53d), expresses how the speaker would feel if she were the father. This means that even saying something like (53e), which native speakers judge as acceptable, makes the AD an expression of empathy.

- (53) Layla bitdaxxin-**lo**: ʔaʃr swe:gi:r bi-l-yo:m la-bayy-a:
 Layla smoke-**him.DAT** ten cigarettes in-the-day for-father-her
 a. TC: 'Layla smokes ten cigarettes per day.'
 b. Tone: Compassionate → The behavior is bad.
 c. AD CI: Layla's father must feel bad. The speaker feels bad for Layla's father.
 d. bayy-a: ma: btifro? maʃ-o
 father-her NEG differ with-him
 'Her father doesn't care.'
 e. ʔana law bayy-a: ma: btifro? maʃ-i
 I if father-her NEG differ with-me
 'If I were her father, I wouldn't care.'

I suggest that the availability of multiple implicatures in TOP/AFF ADCs is the reason why one or more of the interpretations/implicatures may be canceled. Stated differently, an AD is required to contribute at least one conventional implicature; this is its *raison d'être*. If two implicatures are associated with an AD, one of them may seem cancelable because it was not intended by the speaker in the first place.

This optionality of a conventionally implicated meaning is also possible with SUBJ and SP/H ADs when they are used as potential contributors of more than one implicature. For example, the SP/H ADC in (54) may also – or alternatively – be a TOP/AFF ADC if the sentence is said by Ziad's mother, addressing her husband.

- (54) Ziya:d byidʔhar-**li/lak** kil yo:m maʃ binit ʃikil
 Ziad go.out-**me.DAT/you.DAT** every day with girl different
 'Ziad goes out [**me/you**] with a different woman every day.'

Context may limit these possibilities one way or the other. Consider the exchange between Samir's parents in (55). The father's response clearly indicates that he understands the dative used by the mother as a TOP/AFF AD that depicts him as an affectee. His response, along with his use of the PPs *ʔil-i*: 'for me' and *la-ħa:l-o* 'for himself', indicates that even if he is an affectee, he is not the beneficiary; Samir is. Alternatively, the mother may be using the dative as both a SP/H AD and a TOP/AFF AD, contributing two implicatures simultaneously. The father may choose to address one of the implicatures only, even if he understands both.

- (55) Mother: Sami:r daras-**lak** ʃi: se:ʃte:n baʃd l-ɣada:
 Samir studied-**you.DAT** some two.hours after the-lunch
 TC: 'Samir studied for about two hours after lunch.'
 Tone: Enthusiastic / Applauding → The event is laudable.
 Father: daras-**li** la-ʔil-i:? daras la-ħa:l-o
 he.studied-**me.DAT** for-to-me? he.studied for-self-his
 '(Are you suggesting that) He studied for me? He studied for himself.'

The implicature in (55), whether it expresses an attitude of empathy or a judgment of the behavior measured against the interlocutor's cultural backdrop, is still part of the conventional meaning of the dative and is thus detachable. For instance, the father's response in (55) would be infelicitous if the mother said (56) instead. In this case, the mother evaluates the behavior against Samir's traits. The father could comment on these traits and provide the answer in (57) and reaffirm the implicature.

- (56) Sami:r daras-**lo** ʃi: se:ʃte:n baʃd l-ɣada:
 Samir studied-**him.DAT** some two.hours after the-lunch
 a. TC: 'Samir studied for about two hours after lunch.'
 b. Tone: Surprised → The behavior/event was unexpected.
 c. AD CI: Samir doesn't normally study this long.

- (57) ma: ʔil-o bi-l-ʃa:de
 NEG to-him in-the-habit
 'This is unusual for him.'

In section 2, we saw examples of ADCs that contain multiple ADs. In this case, the ADs may be used for emphatic purposes or they may be used to contribute multiple conventional implicatures. Let us take a closer look at the structures in

(24), repeated here as (58)–(60). Let us assume that these are answers to the question ‘Where is Ziad?’ or ‘What is Ziad doing?’ Let us also assume that the speaker in (58)–(60) is not an affectee and that she knows that Ziad should be, but in fact is not, attending to a task (writing a report, studying, etc.). In (58) and (59), the use of two ADs, as compared to the use of only one, is equivalent to the multiple occurrences of *very* in *He is very very happy*.

- (58) bikun-lo ʕam-bye:kul-lo liʔme
 he.be-**him.DAT** PROG-eat-**him.DAT** bite
 a. TC: ‘He may be grabbing a bite.’
 b. Tone: Dismissive → The event is insignificant
 c. AD Cl: He is not normally gone for so long. He will be back soon.
- (59) bikun-li/lak ʕam-byilʕab-li/lak maʕ ʔasʕha:b-o
 he.be-**me.DAT/you.DAT** PROG-play-**me.DAT/you.DAT** with friends-his
 a. TC: ‘He may be playing with his friends.’
 b. Tone: Sneering → The event/behavior is unacceptable.
 c. AD Cl: This behavior is inconsistent with the speaker’s beliefs and values. No one should be playing when they are supposed to be studying.

The speaker’s stance in (58) is contingent on her knowledge of Ziad. She probably knows that he is a responsible person and thus the fact that he is not on task will not last long; therefore, the behavior should not be considered as a big deal. This is different from the attitude the speaker has in (59); although the speaker is familiar with Ziad and his work ethic, which is why she is passing the judgment, she also uses the event to reinforce or even redefine a cultural value, namely, that it is unacceptable to shun one’s work or studies and go play instead.

Sentence (60) contains two types of ADs: two SUBJ ADs linked to the event of stepping outside and one SP/H AD linked to the event of smoking. When asked about when they would use this sentence, two speakers I consulted jointly provided the following scenario: Ziad stepped outside for a short break; he is a teenager who smokes behind his parents’ backs. The optional material was added by the speakers when I asked them to elaborate.

- (60) bikun-lo dʕahar-lo (xams dʔa:yiʔ)
 he.be-**him.DAT** stepped.outside-**him.DAT** (five minutes)
 ydaxxin-li sig:ara (bala: ma: yʕu:f-o bayy-o)
 smoke-**me.DAT** cigarette (without that see-him father-his)
 a. TC: ‘He may have stepped outside (for five minutes) to smoke a cigarette (behind his father’s back).’
 b. Tone: Dismissive → Taking a break is not a big deal.
 Sneering → Smoking is unacceptable.
 c. SUBJ AD Cl: He is not normally gone for so long. He will be back soon.
 SP/H AD Cl: Teenage smoking is inconsistent with the speaker’s values.

When I switched the order, as in (61), the same speakers provided the following scenario: Ziad is an employee in a company; he takes so many breaks, which is disruptive in the workplace; he smokes but he is not a heavy smoker.

- (61) biku:n dʕahar-li (la-ra:biʕ marra lyo:m)
 he.be stepped.outside-**me.DAT** (for-fourth time today)
 ydaxxin-lo sig:ara (ʔaw siga:rte:n)
 smoke-**him.DAT** cigarette (or two.cigarettes)
 ‘He may have stepped outside [**me**] for the fourth time today to smoke [**him**] a cigarette or two.’

Sentences (62) and (63) are repetitions of (25a–b); they involve TOP/AFF ADs. The conventionally implicated meanings, (62c) and (63c), reflect the scenarios suggested by my consultants. In both cases, they thought of Ziad as a teenager and *-la*: ‘her.DAT’ as referring to his mother.

- (62) bikun-la: ʕam-byilʕab-la: maʕ ʔasʕha:b-o
 he.be-**her.DAT** PROG-play-**her.DAT** with friends-his
 a. TC: ‘He may be playing with his friends.’
 b. Tone: Compassionate → The behavior is bad.
 c. AD Cl: She – the referent of *-la*: – must feel really upset. The speaker feels bad for her.

- (63) bikun-lo d'ahar-la: ydaxxin-li sig:ara
 he.be-him.DAT stepped.outside-her.DAT smoke-me.DAT cigarette
 a. TC: 'He may have stepped outside to smoke a cigarette.'
 b. Tone: A mixture of dismissive and sneering tone → The event of taking a break is insignificant, but the event of smoking is unacceptable. Overall, the behavior is bad.
 c. SUBJ AD CI: He is not normally gone for so long. He will be back soon.
 TOP/AFF AD CI: She – the referent of *-la:* – doesn't like it, probably because she knows he smokes.
 SP/H AD CI: Teenage smoking is inconsistent with the speaker's values.

It is important to note that ADC examples with three ADs like (63) are very rare. Speakers accept them as grammatical, but I have not come across naturally occurring ones. Similar ADCs with two ADs are more common. In both cases, part of what is described here as tone was expressed via intonation and part (e.g., dismissive tone) was expressed via a gesture (e.g., the forearm and hand were held up at the chest level with the palm facing toward the speaker; the hand and fingers were then waved and curled away from the speaker).

Multiple ADs may also be used in coordinate structures like (64). The speaker is complaining about Jamil, who is excessively involved with nightlife. The datives are all SP/H ADs. They do not necessarily indicate separate attitudes in relation to separate predicates; rather, they mean that the speaker has strong feelings about the event or behavior.

- (64) ya xayy-i žami:l kil layle byid'har-li
 VOC brother-my Jamil every night go.out-me.DAT
 w-byishar-li w-byišrab-li w-byis'rif-li
 and-stay.out.late-me.DAT and-drink-me.DAT and-waste.money-me.DAT
 a. TC: 'Jamil goes out every night, stays out all night, and spends a lot of money.'
 b. Tone: Sneering → The behavior is unacceptable.
 c. AD CI: Jamil's behavior is inconsistent with the speaker's beliefs and values.

Different types of datives are also possible, as (65) illustrates. As expected, the SP/H ADs express the speaker's attitude toward Jamil's behavior as culturally reprehensible. The SUBJ AD is linked to a hypothetical situation in which Jamil only has a couple of drinks; the AD implicates that the event in this case would be insignificant and that no one would blame Jamil for it. Finally, the TOP/AFF AD depicts Jamil's wife as someone who is negatively affected by Jamil's behavior, and it expresses the speaker's empathy toward her.

- (65) ya xayy-i žami:l kil layle byidhar-li^{SP/H}.
 VOC brother-my Jamil every night go.out-me.DAT.
 w-miš ?inno byišrab-lo^{SUBJ} ke:se:n. byišrab-li^{SP/H}
 and-NEG that he.drink-him.DAT two.drinks. he.drink-me.DAT
 ?anni:ne w-byiržaŋ-la:^{TOP/AFF} la-mart-o ŋa-l-be:t sikra:n
 bottle and-he.return-her.DAT for-wife-his to-the-house drunk
 'Brother, Jamil goes out [me] every night. And it's not like he has [him] a couple of drinks; he drinks [me] a whole bottle, and he comes [her] back home to his wife drunk.'

In all of the examples (40)–(65), the speaker employs an AD, along with the intonation and body language associated with it, as a conventional implicature contributor in order to communicate her stance toward an event or a behavior. In the process, she determines the measuring stick (the subject, her own and the hearer's beliefs and values, and/or the affectee) against which the event or behavior is being evaluated. The evaluation and especially the measuring stick against which the evaluation is made will be left unspecified or underspecified if no AD is used.

By using an ADC, the speaker expresses her (tacit or explicit) familiarity not only with the subject or topic and with her own feelings, expectations, attitudes, and beliefs, but also with the hearer's expectations, attitudes, and beliefs. She also uses an ADC to convey this information to the hearer. By so doing, the speaker puts the hearer in a position whereby the latter has to deal not only with what is said but also with what is meant (see Haddad, 2013 for more details). The hearer may then choose to accept or challenge the implicature. As we will see in the next section, conventionally implicated meanings may be challenged independently from the truth-conditional meaning.

3.2. ADs and truth-conditional meanings

One of the main properties of conventional implicatures is that they are independent of the truth conditions of sentences. Evidence comes from the fact that the truth condition of a sentence may be questioned or negated without

questioning or negating its conventional implicature. The opposite is also true: a hearer may challenge the conventional implicature of a sentence although she accepts without challenge its truth condition.

Observe the sentence in (66). This sentence may be considered a statement or a question depending on the intonation. As the translations show, only the truth condition or what is said in (66) may be questioned. The conventional implicature of the SUBJ AD remains intact.

- (66) nižhit-la Na:dya bi-ʔimtiħa:n ha-l-fasʕel. / ?
 passed-her.DAT Nadia in-exam this-the-term. / ?
 a. TC: 'Nadia passed an exam this semester.'
 Q: 'Did Nadia pass an exam this semester?'
 b. Tone: Surprised → The event was / would be unexpected.
 c. CI: Given what the speaker knows about Nadia, she does not expect her to pass an exam.

At the same time, a hearer may accept the truth condition in (66) but decide to challenge the conventional implicature, as (67) illustrates. In this case, the hearer isolates the conventional implicature contributor and challenges the meaning it expresses, using the template *AD? What do you mean AD?* (Potts, 2011). However, since an AD in LA is a clitic that necessarily attaches to a verb, the verb appears in the challenge as well.

- (67) nižhit-la:ʔ šu: btiʔsʕud nižhit-la:ʔ
 she.passed-her.DAT? what you.mean she.passed-her.DAT?
 kil ʕimr-a: btinžaħ
 all life-her she.passes
 'Wait a minute! Passed [her]? What do you mean passed [her]? She always passes (her exams).'

The same applies to SP/H ADs. Sentence (68) may be uttered as a statement or as a question, with different intonations. Let us assume that both the statement and the question are accompanied by a tone of derision, which is often the case in statements like this. The conventional implicature is not questioned; in both cases, the speaker considers the behavior culturally unacceptable.⁹

- (68) baʕd-o Ziya:d ʕam-byihrib-li min l-madrase. / ?
 still-him Ziad PROG-escape-me.DAT from the-school. / ?
 a. TC: 'Ziad still runs away from school.'
 Q: 'Does Ziad still run away from school?'
 b. CI: Ziad's behavior, whether it persists or not, is culturally unacceptable.

A hearer may challenge the conventional implicature independently of the truth condition. She may say (69a), in which she questions the cultural norm that the speaker assumes and adds that unfortunately the norms are different these days. At the same time, the hearer may challenge the speaker's self-appointment as a cultural guardian and say (69b). The latter normally happens if the hearer happens to know the subject, Ziad, and to care about him. Note that the hearer does not question the truth condition of the speaker's original statement.

- (69) a. yihrib-lak? ħa:ž yihrib-lak.
 he.escape-you.DAT? enough.with he.escape-you.DAT.
 li-l-ʔasaf mi:n ma: ʕam-byihrib ha-l-ʔiyye:m
 for-the-sorrow who NEG PROG-he.escape these-the-days
 'He escapes [you]? Enough with that. Unfortunately, everybody runs away (from school) these days.'
 b. le:š mi:n-ak inta la-yihrib-lak?
 why who-you you.EMPH for-he.escape-you.DAT?
 'Who are you for him to escape [you]?'

Sentence (70) is a TOP/AFF ADC. Again, the truth condition of the sentence may be questioned, but the attitude of empathy and thus the conventional implicature remains intact.

⁹ The word *baʕd-o* 'still-he' is also a conventional implicature contributor; it implicates that the subject ran away from school in the past. However, here and in the rest of the article, I focus only on ADs.

- (70) baʕd-o Ziya:d ʕam-byihrib-**la** min l-madrise la-ʔimm-o. / ?
 still-him Ziad PROG-escape-**her.DAT** from the-school for-mother-his. / ?
 a. TC: 'Ziad still runs away from school.'
 Q: 'Does Ziad still run away from school?'
 b. CI: Ziad's behavior, whether it persists or not, must make his mother feel horrible.

A hearer may challenge the affectedness of the mother or the attitude of empathy toward her without questioning or challenging the truth condition. In (71a), the hearer believes the mother to be someone who does not care for her children; accordingly, the hearer challenges the speaker's implicature that the mother is an affectee. In (71b), the hearer does not like the mother; she cruelly challenges the speaker's positive empathy toward her.

- (71) a. yihrib-**la**? le:š min ʔe:mta hiyye btifru? maʕ-a:
 he.escape-**her.DAT**? why since when she it.differ with-her
 'He escapes [**her**]? Why, since when does she care?'
 b. xalli-i yihrib-**la**: . btiste:hil
 let-him escape-**her.DAT** . she.deserve
 'Let him escape [**her**]. She deserves (what she's getting).'

Note that the use of a modifier like *bas* 'only' or *kame:n* 'too' would make the structure in (70) an argument dative construction, as (72) illustrates. In this case, the dative is part of the truth condition of the sentence and may be questioned. Nadia in (72) is not depicted as an affectee. The speaker does not mean to say that Nadia is affected positively or negatively by Ziad's behavior. The speaker may not even know whether Nadia is aware of what Ziad does for her.

- (72) a. baʕd-o Ziya:d ʕam-byihrib(-**la**) min l-madrise
 still-him Ziad PROG-escape(-**her.DAT**) from the-school
 bas la-s'a:ħibt-o / kirme:l s'a:ħibt-o Na:dya?
 only for-girlfriend-his / for.sake girlfriend-his Nadia?
 'Does Ziad still run away from school only for his girlfriend Nadia (to please her, to be with her, etc.)?'
 b. laʔ, s'a:r yihrob kirme:l wiħde te:nye kame:n
 no, he.become escape for one another too
 'No, he now runs away for another one too.'

The same observations apply to negation. Consider the SUBJ ADC in (73) and its negative counterpart in (74). Only the truth-conditional meaning is negated in (74). The conventional implicature brought about by the AD is the same in both sentences.

- (73) kil wa:ħad raʔas-**lo** raʕsa bi-l-h'afle
 every one danced-**him.DAT** dance in-the-party
 a. TC: 'Everyone danced one dance at the party.'
 b. Tone: Dismissive → The event was insignificant.
 c. CI: The guests at the party (a group of healthy young people) could have danced more or tried to be more fun.
- (74) ma: ħada: raʔas-**lo** raʕsa bi-ha-l-h'afle
 no one danced-**him.DAT** dance in-the-party
 a. TC: 'No one danced (even) one dance at the party.'
 b. CI: The guests at the party (a group of healthy young people) could have danced or tried to be more fun.

This is also true of SP/H ADs, as (75) and its negative counterpart in (76) illustrate. Whether Ziad goes out every night or no longer does, the behavior itself is still marked as culturally unacceptable from the perspective of the speaker via her use of a SP/H AD.

- (75) Ziya:d byid'har-**li** kil layle
 Ziad go.out-**me.DAT** every night
 a. TC: 'Ziad goes out every night.'
 b. CI: Going out every night is inconsistent with the speaker's beliefs and values.

- (76) Ziya:d ma: baʕa yidʕhar-li kil layle
 Ziad NEG still go.out-**me.DAT** every night
 a. TC: 'Ziad no longer goes out every night.'
 b. CI: Going out every night is inconsistent with the speaker's beliefs and values.

If the SP/H ADs in (75) and (76) are replaced by TOP/AFF ADs, the result is (77) and (78). The two sentences illustrate that only the truth-conditional meaning may be negated in a TOP/AFF ADC; the conventionally implicated meaning remains intact.

- (77) Ziya:d byidʕhar-la kil layle la-Na:dya
 Ziad go.out-**her.DAT** every night for-Nadia
 a. TC: 'Ziad goes out every night.'
 b. CI: Nadia must feel upset about Ziad's behavior. The speaker feels bad for Nadia.

- (78) Ziya:d ma: baʔa yidʕhar-la kil layle la-Na:dya
 Ziad NEG still go.out-**her.DAT** every night for-Nadia
 a. TC: 'Ziad no longer goes out every night.'
 b. CI: Nadia would still feel upset if Ziad continued to behave this way. The speaker would feel bad for Nadia.

Again, if a dative is interpreted as an argument as in (79), it is interpreted within the scope of negation and as a part of the truth condition of the sentence; thus, it may be negated.

- (79) Ziya:d ma: baʔa yitʕbux-la la-Na:dya bas
 Ziad NEG still cook-**her.DAT** for-Nadia only
 sʕa:r yitʕbux-lo la-ʒami:l kame:n
 happen he.cook -**him.DAT** for-Jamil too
 'Ziad no longer cooks for Nadia only (to please her, give her food, etc.); he now cooks for Jamil too.'

The examples in this section are evidence that ADs contribute a non-truth-conditional, conventionally implicated meaning that is independent of the truth-conditional meaning of a sentence. Facts like these have been used by researchers – for example, [Bosse et al. \(2012\)](#), [Karttunen and Peters \(1979\)](#), [Potts \(2005\)](#) – to argue that structures like the ADCs presented here semantically project on two tiers that operate independently: a truth-condition tier and a non-truth-condition tier. I agree with this argument, but I do not provide a semantic account of ADCs here. My main goal is to provide a syntactic-pragmatic account of ADCs or, as [Levinson \(1979:218\)](#) would put it, to explain how pragmatics and principles of language usage interact with aspects of language structure. More specifically, my purpose is to explain how an AD chooses its referent as subject, speaker, hearer, or topic, and whether this choice of referent is solely pragmatic or whether it also takes place in the syntax as a pronoun-antecedent relationship.

4. How do ADs determine their antecedent?

We saw in the previous section that ADs in LA are non-arguments that may occur with all types of predicates, including unergative predicates that only select for an external argument. Stated differently, ADs do not take on thematic roles, such as recipient/beneficiary. In fact, ADs may occur in structures that already contain a recipient or a beneficiary, as (80a–c) illustrate. The recipients/beneficiaries are *l-wle:d* 'the kids', *ʒawz-a* 'her husband', and *ʔibn-a* 'her son' respectively.

- (80) a. Na:dya xabazit-la: kam ff'i:re la-l-wle:d
 Nadia baked-**her.DAT** some pies **for-the-kids**
 'Nadia baked [**her**] some pies **for the kids**.'
 b. Layla ŕtaret-lak hidiyye bitʒannin la-ʒawz-a:
 Layla bought-**you.DAT** gift stunning **for-husband-her**
 'Layla bought [**you**] a great gift **for her husband**.'
 c. Na:dya, Ziya:d ŕimmil-la: ʕaffle bitʒannin la-ʔibn-a: bi-ŕi:d mile:d-o
 Nadia, Ziad did-**her.DAT** party stunning **for-son-her** in-birthday-his
 'Nadia, Ziad threw [**her**] a great party **for her son** on his birthday.'

We also saw that ADs are cancelable conventional implicature contributors whose implicated meaning is independent of the truth conditions of the sentences in which they occur. For example, deleting the dative clitics in (80a–c) would not

alter the truth conditions of these sentences. Nadia would still have baked some pies for the kids, Layla would still have bought a great gift for her husband, and Ziad would still have thrown a great party for Nadia's son.

The above discussion indicates that an AD is more likely to merge as a non-argument outside vP or the thematic domain of ADC predicates. Similar facts and others have led several researchers to conclude that similar datives in other languages merge as high applicatives above vP, taking the whole vP event as their argument (Boneh and Nash, 2010; Buell, 2003; Cuervo, 2003; Jouitteau and Rezac, 2007; McGinnis, 2001; Roberge and Troberg, 2009:251).

Further evidence comes from structures with *marra te:nye* 'again' like sentences (81a–c) (after Beck and Johnson, 2004; see also Bosse et al., 2012). Other expressions that mean 'again' in LA are *kame:n marra* 'another time' and *min jdi:d* 'for a new (time)'. In (81), each sentence means that the same event with the same subject happened previously. This is an indication that *marra te:nye* 'again' adjoins above vP, taking scope over the whole event. The sentences may also mean that the attitudes expressed by the different ADs are attitudes that the speakers previously had about the same events and their subjects. For example, the TOP/AFF AD in (81a) may express the speaker's belief that Nadia was affected by her son's behavior previously. The SP/H AD in (81b) may be an expression of the speaker's belief that Ziad's previous failure in math was also unacceptable. The SUBJ AD in (81c) expresses the speaker's attitude that the event of the baby's walking a few steps was unexpected (or insignificant) the last time it happened as well. These readings are an indication that *marra te:nye* 'again' adjoins, not only above vP, but also above the ADs under examination. See Beck and Johnson (2004) for more discussion.

- (81) a. ʔibn Na:dya harab-la: min l-madrise marra te:nye
son Nadia escaped-her.DAT from the-school second time
'Nadia's son ran away [her] from school again.'
- b. Ziya:d s`aʔat-li/lak bi-ʔimtiħa:n l-ma:t marra te:nye
Ziad failed-me.DAT/you.DAT in-exam the-math second time
'Ziad failed [me/you] the math exam again.'
- c. l-bebe miše:-lo kam fašxa marra te:nye w-wiʔiħ
the-baby walked-him.DAT few steps second time and-fell
'The baby walked [him] a few steps again and fell down.'

What is important for our purposes is that each of the sentences in (81) also has another reading. The sentences in (82) provide some context. As in (81), *marra te:nye* 'again' in (82a–c) presupposes that the events took place before, each with the same subject. This repetitive reading of the events indicates that the adjunction site of 'again' is higher than vP. At the same time, (82a–c) show that a non-repetitive reading of the attitude expressed by the ADs is possible. In all three sentences, the attitude holds for the first time. That is, Nadia in (82a) is believed to be affected by her son's most recent episode of running away only; the speaker in (82b) believes that Ziad's failing the math exam again is unacceptable; and the speaker in (82c) only considers the latest event of walking a few steps by the baby as insignificant.¹⁰ The availability of the repetitive reading of events and the non-repetitive reading of attitudes means that 'again' may adjoin above vP but below ADs, and that ADs are high applicatives that attach above vP.

- (82) a. ʔibn Na:dya harab min l-madrise mbe:riħ,
son Nadia escaped from the-school yesterday,
ma: htammet liʔanno ʔawwal marra. lyo:m
NEG she.care because first time. today
harab-la: marra te:nye, jannit
escaped-her.DAT second time, she.flipped
'Nadia's son ran away from school yesterday, but she didn't think it was a big deal; it was his first time. Today he ran away [her] again; she flipped.'
- b. Ziya:d s`aʔat bi-ʔimtiħa:n l-ma:t l-šahr l-ma:di,
Ziad failed in-exam the-math the-month the-last,
ʔilna: mni:ħ, ʔawwal marra. ha-l-šahr
we.said OK, first time. this-the-month

¹⁰ Examples of SUBJ ADCs with 'again' were hard to come by. They all involved an individual who has been practicing for a while (e.g., for a marathon). The speaker would maintain that the individual started well (e.g., the individual was able to run 5 miles at the start of practice) but did not improve over time as the speaker expected (e.g., the individual was still able to run only 5 miles after a month of practice).

sʻaʔat-li/lak marra te:nye
he.failed-me.DAT/you.DAT second time

'Ziad failed the math exam last month, we thought it was OK; it was his first time. This month, he failed [me/you] again.'

- c. l-šahr l-ma:di l-bebe miše kam fašxa. kilna:
the-month the-last the-baby walked few steps. we.all
zaʔafne:-lo. lyo:m miše:-lo kam fašxa
applauded-him.DAT. today he.walked-him.DAT few steps
marra te:nye w-wiʔiʃ. ftakart-o raḥ yballiṣ yirkodʻ!
second time and-fell. I.thought-him will start run!

'Last month, the baby walked a few steps; we all cheered for him. Today, he walked [him] a few steps again and fell down. I thought he would start running already!'

This conclusion is supported by the observation that ADs as conventional implicature contributors are linked, not to internal arguments, which is typical of low applicatives, but to the events depicted by the ADC predicates. That is, they are what McGinnis (2001) calls E(vent)-applicatives.

Further evidence comes from LA dialects that license a sentential negation NegP that involves two discontinuous parts, *ma-* and *-š*. In these dialects, all negated verbs are sandwiched between *ma-* and *-š*: for example, *ma-bitnam-š* 'she doesn't sleep' and *ma-bitnam-li-š* 'she doesn't sleep-me.DAT'. Assuming that NegP projects above *vP*, this suggests that verbs in LA move out of *vP* (see Aoun et al., 2010:28–33) and that ADs merge above *vP*.

The non-argument high-applicative status of ADs has also been used as a sufficient reason why datives like the ADs I examine here – or, more specifically, SUBJ ADs – are not subject to Condition B of Binding Theory (Horn, 2008; Joutteau and Rezac, 2007). I agree with this conclusion, and I will have more to say about it in section 5. If ADs are optional pronominal elements that are not subject to binding conditions, the following questions arise: Does this mean that an AD's choice of antecedent is subject to pragmatic constraints? If yes, can these pragmatic constraints be explained syntactically? The short answer is that ADs, by their very nature as simultaneously evaluative and referential, are relevant to both pragmatics and syntax.

To elaborate, the datives under examination, whether SUBJ ADs, SP/H ADs, or TOP/AFF ADs, are primarily pronominal. Normally, a pronominal element fulfills a clause-internal role that needs to be linked to a clause-internal or clause-external referent (see Huang, 2000; Sigurðsson, 2012; Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010). For example, in a statement like *I wrote a letter*, the pronoun fulfills the clause-internal role of a writer that needs to be linked to a clause-external referent, the speaker; "and linking reference and role is obviously the job of the grammar," a task that Sigurðsson and Maling (2010) call context linking.

This is not the whole story, however. As we saw above, although ADs are not part of the argument structure of ADC predicates, they do fulfill an internal role; they relate – or anchor – the ADC predicate to an attitude holder present in the speech event, and by so doing, they assume a role that goes beyond the referential role normally attributed to pronouns. One way to explain this multi-functional role of ADs is through the theory of (inter)subjectivity as proposed by Traugott (2003, 2009). Lyons (1982:102) defines subjectivity as "the way in which natural languages . . . provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitude and beliefs." Building on Lyons's work, Traugott (2003) holds that intersubjectivity is the way a language allows its speakers to express their awareness of their own and the addressee's attitudes and beliefs.¹¹ When examined from the perspective of this definition, ADs may be defined as linguistic markers that index (inter)subjectivity (Traugott, 2009:32). They may be considered as the result of what Traugott calls semantic polysemy, whereby an element acquires a pragmatic (inter)subjective meaning in addition to – on top of or in place of – its original meaning. In the case of the dative pronouns under examination, the two meanings they have are (i) a purely referential meaning, and (ii) a pragmatic meaning as attitude holders.¹²

Now we return to the main question of this section: How do ADs choose their referent as the subject, speaker, hearer, or topic? In section 4.1, I suggest that an answer may be found in Accessibility Theory as proposed by Ariel (1988, 1991) and in

¹¹ From the standpoint of psychology, intersubjectivity – or the intentional stance, as Dunbar calls it – is the ability to understand other people's minds and to interpret other people's behavior "in terms of the belief states of the mind that is behind the behavior" (Dunbar, 2004:100; see also Sinha and Rodriguez, 2008).

¹² Alternatively, it may be argued that the two meanings are not the result of polysemy; rather, they are the outcome of the low vs. high merging sites of these pronouns. If a dative merges in the thematic domain, it assumes a purely referential meaning. If, on the other hand, it merges high, above *vP*, the pragmatic meaning comes into play. See Hacquard (2010) for a similar distinction in relation to epistemic modals. In section 4.2, I present an analysis of ADs along these lines. I argue that ADs are adjuncts that start out in a separate plane, a characteristic that makes context linking to an antecedent possible.

the interplay between the referential and pragmatic roles. In section 4.2, I explore the possibility of accounting for an AD's choice of referent syntactically within Context-Linked Grammar (Sigurðsson, 2012; Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010, 2012).

4.1. ADs and Accessibility Theory

According to Ariel (2001), Accessibility Theory “offers a procedural analysis of referring expressions” (p. 29), such as r-expressions, regular pronouns, and reflexive pronouns; Ariel argues that the choice of a referring expression depends on the degree of salience of its referent or antecedent, whereby salience may be linguistic and sentential or extra-linguistic, discursal, and extra-sentential. Ariel further argues that shorter and less stressed referring expressions are higher-accessibility markers in the sense that they take salient entities – that is, entities with a high degree of accessibility, such as discourse topics – as referents or antecedents. Ariel (1991, 2001:31) puts forth an accessibility marking scale, according to which the following elements rank as the highest-accessibility markers: unstressed pronoun > cliticized pronoun > verbal personal inflections > zero.¹³

ADs are clitics. This makes them high-accessibility markers that require a salient antecedent. Salience is related to the status of the referent as a topic; “most High Accessibility markers refer to unmarked, contextually salient entities (especially discourse topics)” and sentential subjects (Ariel, 1988:71, 82–83; 2001:32). Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007:118) hold that “subjects . . . share an interpretive property of topics, the ‘aboutness’ relation linking subjects and predicates as well as topics and comments.” (See also Halmari, 1996.) This means that subjects make good candidates as antecedents for unstressed, cliticized pronouns like ADs.

Other salient discourse elements are the speaker and the addressee (Ariel, 2001:32). This may be the case because they are constantly available in the speech event and because the pronouns used to refer to the speaker and hearer, namely, *I/me* and *you* and their counterparts in other languages, are normally only sensitive to speech roles; they are dissociated from their referent. In other words, *I/me* typically refer to the person speaking regardless of that person's identity. This is why languages tend to use appositives for identifying the referents of *I/me* and *you*: for example, *I, Jane Do, . . .* (Bhat, 2004:10, 38–40). This characteristic of *I/me* and *you* makes them salient discourse elements. In addition to subjects and speech participants, research on the left periphery tells us that topics are also salient discourse elements.

The choice among subject, speech participants, or topic as antecedent of an AD depends on the salience of these entities as sentential or extra-sentential elements. At the same time, the choice depends on the pragmatic meaning that these datives express. When a speaker uses a SUBJ AD, she assumes a dismissive or surprised attitude toward the depicted event based on her knowledge and expectations of the subject. For example, in (83) the speaker's attitude toward the event as insignificant is crucially based on her familiarity with Ziad and the fact that Ziad can hold his liquor. The same number of drinks might be considered just enough if someone else drank them, in which case no AD would be used.

- (83) Ziya:d širib-lo ke:se:n
 Ziad drank-him.DAT two.drinks
 TC: ‘Ziad had a couple of drinks.’
 CI: Not much considering how much he can drink.

On the other hand, when speakers use SP/H ADs, the attitude they express depends on their values and beliefs as well as their familiarity with the culture of the community and what is considered acceptable or unacceptable. By using a dative that refers to one of the speech event participants, as in (84), speakers appoint themselves and their addressees as representatives of the culture and as judges of what may be considered laudable or reprehensible regardless of the agent as an individual.

- (84) Ziya:d byišrab-li/lak ?anni:net whiskey kil layle
 Ziad drank-me.DAT/you.DAT bottle whiskey every night
 TC: ‘Ziad drinks a bottle of whiskey every night.’
 CI: This behavior is inconsistent with the speaker's values and beliefs.

¹³ A word is in order about reflexive pronouns within Accessibility Theory. Ariel (2001), building on some of her earlier work, holds that a reflexive pronoun (as a longer form compared to a regular pronoun) in a sentence like *The king killed himself* is a lower-accessibility marker although it refers to a salient entity: the subject. This is so because the subject is an unexpected antecedent; the subject is not expected to kill himself. Ariel adds that such a pragmatic, extra-linguistic condition may undergo grammaticization and become a linguistic rule of the language. Reflexive pronouns are a case in point. Ariel (2001:57) holds that the grammaticization of reflexive pronouns “obliterate[d] the originally pragmatically motivated distribution” and made them subject to local binding and limited to a defined syntactic context (see Comrie, 1983, 1988). Still, in Ariel's approach, reflexive pronouns may be used to satisfy the aforementioned linguistic criterion, but they may also be used to satisfy a pragmatic context. In the latter case, “they can be used without a sentential antecedent at all, when they are the subject of consciousness” (2001:55–58) See also Huang (2000:215–225).

And finally, if speakers use a TOP/AFF AD, they express an attitude of empathy toward an affectee who is at the same time a salient discourse topic, as in (85).

- (85) (ha-l-mʕatra) Layla Sami:r / ʒawz-a byidʕhar-la (la-ha-l-mʕatra)
 (this-the-poor) Layla Samir / husband-her go.out-her.DAT (for-this-the-poor)
 kil yo:m maʕ wiħde w-hiyye ya ʕe:fil ʔilak ʔalla:
 every day with one.FEM and-she has.no.idea
 TC: 'Poor Layla, Samir / her husband goes out with a different woman every day and she has no idea.'
 CI: She would feel upset if she knew.
 The speaker feels bad for her.

Thus far, the discussion seems to suggest that there is cooperation as well as a division of labor between syntax and pragmatics. By merging as high applicatives outside the thematic domain of the expressions in which they occur, ADs are free from constraints that normally apply to pronouns that merge vP-internally. In addition, their merging site licenses them as non-thematic, non-truth-conditional, and crucially pragmatic elements anchoring events to salient discourse elements: subject, speaker, hearer, or topic. This conclusion is in line with the following statement by Huang (2000:213):

What I have been arguing is that syntax interacts with pragmatics to determine many of the anaphoric processes that are thought to be at the very heart of grammar. If this is the case, then a large portion of linguistic explanation concerning anaphora which is currently sought in grammatical terms may need to be shifted to pragmatics, hence the interaction and division of labor between syntax and pragmatics.

Now the question is whether an AD's pragmatic choice of antecedent may be explained syntactically. A growing body of literature suggests that this is possible, even necessary. I explore this possibility in the next section.

4.2. ADs and Context-Linked Grammar

Like Huang (2000), Ariel (2001:53–60) maintains that Accessibility Theory may be understood as a division of labor or a correlation between syntax and pragmatics. More specifically, she argues that "referential choice and interpretation is partly governed by grammatical principles and partly by extragrammatical accessibility considerations" (Ariel, 2001:60). This approach to referential choice as "grammar-internal/external division of labor," as Ariel describes it, has recently been adopted by researchers who work within the Minimalist framework of generative grammar, most notably by Collins and Postal (2012), Sigurðsson (2004, 2012), and Sigurðsson and Maling (2010, 2012), among others. Sigurðsson (2012) dubs this approach Minimalist Context-Linked Grammar.

4.2.1. Context-Linked Grammar

I begin with a statement by Sigurðsson (2012:5):

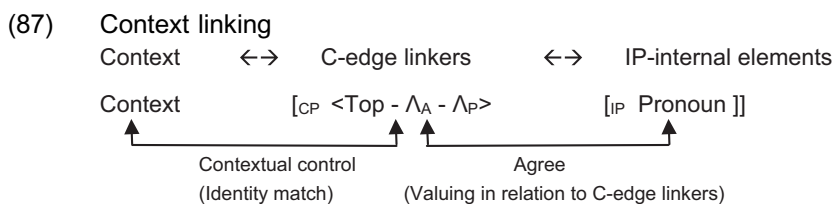
Mainstream formal approaches to syntax (Chomsky, 1995 and related work) distinguish sharply between clausal computation and the relationship between clauses and their context, presupposing that clauses can be meaningfully analyzed in isolation. There is indeed no question that many properties of clauses are context-independent. However, indexical items, including pronouns, prove that grammar is not only about clause-bounded computation but also about clause-context relations.

Context-Linked Grammar "accommodates this 'bipolar' view of language" (Sigurðsson, 2012:5); its main claim is that the left edge of phases – for example, CPs – contains linking features or edge linkers. These linkers are features or feature bundles that are usually phonologically covert – yet they are syntactically active. They include the speaker as a logophoric agent (Λ_A), the hearer as a logophoric patient (Λ_P), and a topic (Top) (Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010). Focusing on CP and building on Rizzi (1997), Sigurðsson and Maling (2010:61, (6)) state the following generalization:

- (86) Context-Linking Generalization
 a. Context-linking features of the C-domain include at least Λ_A , Λ_P and Top.
 b. Any referential pronoun, overt or silent, positively matches a context-linking C-feature.

According to Sigurðsson and Maling, pronominal reference is a linguistic phenomenon. For example, if someone tells John *You won the jackpot*, the syntax must be able to link the vP event participant, the winner, to the speech event participant, the hearer or logophoric patient, and determine that both refer to John. This process of context linking means linking clause-internal participants to clause-external referents and it happens "indirectly, by means of intra-clausal computation (syntax) + context scanning (pragmatics)" (Sigurðsson, 2012:4–5; see also Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010:61). Intra-clausal

computation is a valuing relation between C-edge linkers (e.g., Λ_A , Λ_P , Top) in CP and IP-internal elements (e.g., pronouns). Context scanning, on the other hand, is an identity relation or what Sigurðsson (2012) calls contextual control between context and the C-edge linkers in CP. Both processes and their interrelations are presented in (87); the brackets <> indicate that C-edge linkers are silent (adapted from Sigurðsson, 2012:6–8, and Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010:61).



Sigurðsson and Maling (2012:371) maintain that

[i]f this is on the right track, the CP domain contains a number of **heads** that are themselves **silent** but enter a matching or an Agree relation with IP internal grammatical features (which in turn enter a matching relation with contentful vP internal features). Silent CP domain heads include not only Force and information structure features (in the spirit of Rizzi, 1997), but also features of the speech event, such as Λ_A and Λ_P . Features of this sort are commonly assumed to belong to pragmatics or some other non-syntactic subsystem of language or mind.

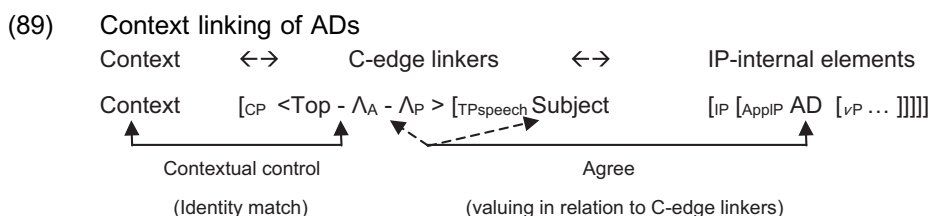
In this system, pronouns start out in the syntax with unvalued phi features (Kratzer, 1998); they acquire their phi values when they enter an Agree relation with silent but syntactically active C-edge linkers (Sigurðsson, 2012:10–14; Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010:68–69). In the next section, I present the derivational history of ADs as context-linked pronominal elements. I will treat ADs as elements that start out in the syntax with unvalued phi features [Phi:___] and with an edge feature that is valued for a specific edge linker. I will refer to the edge feature as [Discourse], which may be valued as SUBJ, SP/H, or TOP. As a reviewer reminds me, the referent of the AD depends on the pragmatic meaning intended by the speaker; this means that the exact linker (speaker/hearer, subject, topic/affectee) must be specified in the meaning of each type of AD. The role of the syntax is to make sure that each AD is linked to the appropriate C-edge element.

4.2.2. ADs as context-linked elements

At the beginning of section 4, I mentioned that ADs are E(vent)-applicatives that merge above vP. That is, an ADC structure looks like (88). I reached this conclusion on the basis of evidence from sections 2 and 3 and of similar evidence and conclusions about non-arguments in other languages (e.g., Boneh and Nash, 2010; Buell, 2003; Cuervo, 2003; Jouitteau and Rezac, 2007; McGinnis, 2001; Roberge and Troberg, 2009:251).



If the details of Context-Linked Grammar as presented in the previous section are on the right track, I suggest that ADs are context-linked E-applicatives. As (89) illustrates, an AD undergoes first merge as a clitic with unvalued phi features [Phi:___] and a valued discourse feature [Discourse]. It enters an Agree relation with a C-edge linker with a matching discourse feature.¹⁴ Four options are available: (i) subject, (ii) speaker, (iii) hearer, or (iv) topic. This relation results in the valuation of the AD's phi features.



Note that the subject occupies Spec,TP^{speech} in the C-edge in (89). Sigurðsson and Maling (2012), building on Reichenbach (1947), divide tense into speech time, event time, and reference time. They argue that T^{speech} belongs in the

¹⁴ A reviewer asks where the AD gets its dative case marking from when none of the antecedents is dative. I assume that dative in LA is an inherent case similar to Spanish dative (Cuervo, 2010). In this instance, inherent case overrides any structural case that the AD may check via Agree with an edge linker.

C-domain, and Sigurðsson (2013:5) further argues that it is “under contextual control as identical or simultaneous with speaker NOW.” I suggest that the subject in SUBJ ADCs raises to Spec,TP^{speech}. This suggestion is based on the observation that SUBJ ADs reflect what the speaker knows about the subject at the speech time.¹⁵ For example, if a speaker says (90), the implicature that the event is insignificant or unimpressive is based on the speaker’s knowledge of Nadia and her abilities at the speech time. Evidence that this is the case comes from the fact that the hearer may accept the truth condition in Nadia’s statement but challenge the conventional implicature by saying (91). The challenge comes in the form of an update to the speaker’s knowledge about Nadia.

(90) Na:dya štare^t-la: sayya:ra zy:re la-ʔibn-a
 Nadia bought-her.DAT car small for-son-her
 ‘Nadia bought [her] a small car for her son.’

(91) Na:dya ma: baʔa mirte:ħa me:diyyan mitil ʔabel.
 Nadia NEG still comfortable financially like before.
 tdayyanet la-štare^t-lo sayya:ra
 she.took.a.loan to-buy-him.DAT car
 ‘Nadia is no longer well-off like before. She took a loan to buy him a car.’

The structure in (89) looks like a good marriage between syntax and pragmatics. On closer examination, however, we detect a problem. Let us assume that the C-edge linkers speaker/hearer (logophoric agent/patient), topic, and subject hierarchically project in this order, and that at least speaker/hearer and subject project in every structure. The question then arises: How is Agree established between a higher C-edge linker (e.g., speaker) and an IP-internal AD in the presence of a lower C-edge linker (e.g., topic or subject)? In principle, a lower/closer C-edge linker should create an intervention effect.

Intervention is a problem under the assumption that ApplPs merge cyclically. No such problem arises, however, if ApplPs in LA merge counter-cyclically. In the rest of this section, I entertain this possibility; I argue that ApplPs of the type analyzed in this article are adjuncts that form in a separate dimension or plane (for a similar approach to adjuncts, see for example Chomsky, 2004; Gallego, 2010; Irtuzun and Gallego, 2007; Uriagereka, 2003).

Five pieces of evidence support the adjunction approach. First, adjuncts are not thematically linked to predicates and seem to assume a modification role rather than an argument role (see Adger, 2003:111; Gallego, 2010). This characteristic readily applies to ADs. They are not assigned a thematic role by the predicate. Instead, they resemble sentential or speaker-oriented adverbs (Jackendoff, 1972), such as (*un*)*fortunately* and *frankly* in (92).

(92) a. (Un)Fortunately, he will be here tomorrow.
 b. Frankly, your performance was unsatisfactory.

Second, structures with adjuncts behave as if the adjunct “isn’t there apart from semantic interpretation” (Chomsky, 2004:117). Similarly, ADCs behave as if the ADs/AppIPs are not there apart from pragmatic interpretation.

Third, we saw in section 2 that apart from the fact that an AD, just like any dative clitic, is required to cliticize to a verb, there is no restriction on the type of verb (e.g., stative, unergative) an AD may cliticize to or on its location within an ADC. As a reminder, observe the ADCs in (93). The sentences are answers to the question ‘Where is Jamil?’ They each contain a verb phrase consisting of an auxiliary and a main verb; (93a) contains a SUBJ AD, (93b) a SP/H AD, and (93c) a TOP/AFF AD. The AD may cliticize to the main verb or to the auxiliary. As (94) illustrates, the same is not true when the dative is a beneficiary or a recipient. In this case, it must cliticize to the main verb.

(93) a. bikun-lo ʃam-bye:kul-lo liʔme
 he.be-him.DAT PROG-eat-him.DAT bite
 ‘He may be [him] grabbing [him] a bite.’
 b. bikun-li/lak ʃam-byilʃab-li/lak maʃ ʔasħa:b-o
 he.be-me.DAT/you.DAT PROG-play-me.DAT/you.DAT with friends-his
 ‘He may be [me/you] playing [me/you] with his friends.’
 c. bikun-la: ʃam-byilʃab-la: games la-ʔimm-o
 he.be-her.DAT PROG-play-her.DAT games for-mother-his
 ‘He may be [her] playing [her] games, to his mother’s dissatisfaction.’

¹⁵ In this sense, they are similar to epistemic modals as analyzed in Hacquard (2010) and work cited.

- (94) a. biku(:)n-*(li/lak) ʕam-biʒib-*(li/lak) finʒe:n ʔahwe
 he.be-(**me.DAT/you.DAT**) PROG-bring-(**me.DAT/you.DAT**) cup coffee
 'He is probably bringing a cup of coffee for me/you.'
- b. biku(:)n-*(la:) ʕam-byiftaħ-*(la:) l-be:b
 he.be-(**her.DAT**) PROG-open-(**him.DAT**) the-door
 'He is probably opening the door for her.'

Fourth, there is generally no restriction on the number of adjuncts that may undergo merge in a given structure. Normally, one or two ADs occur in a mono-clausal ADC in LA; however, as many ADs as there are verbs may occur in a clause. Sentences (93a–c) show that ADs behave like adjuncts in this respect (see also section 2). While (93a–c) each contain identical ADs, (95) contains three different ADs. The sentence is again an answer to the question 'Where is Jamil?' Practically any order is acceptable.

- (95) bikun-**lo** d`ahar-**li** ydaxxin-**lak** sig:ara
 he.be-**him.DAT** stepped.outside-**me.DAT** smoke-**you.DAT** cigarette
 'He may be [**him**] stepped outside [**me**] to smoke [**you**] a cigarette.'

In a context where (95) is uttered by Jamil's colleague during work hours, the use of the SUBJ AD indicates that the speaker believes that the event is insignificant: Jamil will be back from his smoking break in a couple of minutes. At the same time, by using a SP/H AD, the speaker evaluates the behavior as unacceptable in a work culture, probably because Jamil's smoking breaks are too frequent (see section 3).

Finally, evidence that the adjunction approach – more specifically, the separate-plane approach – to ADs/AppIPs is on the right track comes from clausal ellipsis or stripping. Huang (2000:5) defines stripping as "an elliptical construction in which the ellipsis clause contains only one constituent." An example is (96) (Huang's (1.8a)); see also Merchant (2003).

- (96) John donated a bassoon to Oxfam, and Bill, too.

I assume that stripping is subject to the syntactic identity condition that requires deletion to take place under an identity relation with an antecedent. In other words, the elided part in the second conjunct in (96) must syntactically match its antecedent in the first conjunct. This idea is not without controversy, but it has also received support; see, for example, Merchant (2013) and Tanaka (2011) and works cited within.

To elaborate, one of the strong arguments against the syntactic identity condition comes from mismatches in voice, whereby a passive elided VP has an active VP antecedent, as in (97). Merchant (2013) argues that the voice mismatch is the result of the voice head's being external to the elided VP, and he presents evidence that such mismatches are not detected in other kinds of ellipsis, including instances of stripping like (98). Stripping is also allowed in LA. And, as (99a–b) show, voice mismatches are not allowed. Sentence (99b) may only mean that both the meal and Nadia were prepared by Ziad, which is either awkward or, depending on the context, may be used humorously. (Examples (97) and (98) are respectively from Kehler, 2002:53, in Merchant, 2003:80, (2j), and from Merchant, 2013:83, (11a).)

- (97) This problem was to have been looked into, but nobody did. <look into this problem>

- (98) *Max brought the roses, not by **AMY!**

- (99) a. Ziya:d ʔad`dar ʔummus^c, w-Na:dya kame:n
 Ziad prepared hummus, and-Nadia too
 'Ziad prepared hummus, and Nadia too.'
- b. l-t`abxa ʔad`d`aret ʕala ʔi:d Ziya:d, w-Na:dya kame:n
 the-meal was.prepared on hand Ziad, and-Nadia too
 'The meal was prepared by Ziad, and Nadia too (was prepared by Ziad).'
 **The meal was prepared by Ziad, and by Nadia too.'

Instances of stripping that are of interest to us involve the ellipsis of the whole clause except the subject constituent. Observe the exchanges in (100) and (101), along with the circumstances under which they take place.

- (100) Context: Speaker A is an employee in a company. She is complaining about how busy she is (or she is faking a complaint in order to brag). She adds that she is so busy she has hardly had time to eat today. The AD is a SP/H AD, and the implicature is that the situation is unacceptable; an employee should have time to eat. Speaker B is a colleague. Her answer may be interpreted as B' or B'', depending on intonation and body language.

- A: ma fi: waʔt. lyo:m bilke:d ʔakalti-lli liʔme
 NEG there time. today hardly I.ate-me.DAT bite
 ‘There is no time. I hardly had [me] a bite to eat today. *This is unacceptable.*’
- B’: w-ʔana nafs l-ši: (bilke:d ʔakalti:-lli liʔme)
 and-I same the-thing (hardly I.ate-me.DAT bite)
 ‘Me too. *Your complaint reminds me of my plight/situation, so I am going to complain about this situation too.*’
- B’’: w-ʔana nafs l-ši: (bilke:d ʔakalit liʔme)
 and-I same the-thing (hardly I.ate bite)
 ‘Me too. *You are not the only one; this is the norm, so stop complaining or bragging.*’

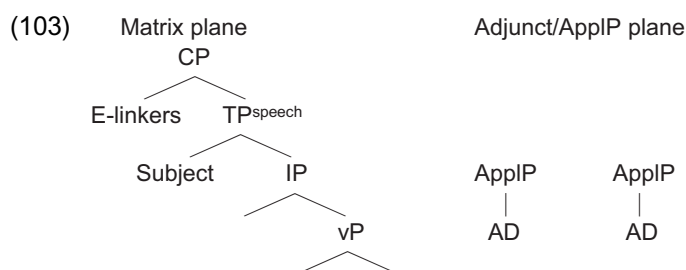
(101) Context: Speaker A and Speaker B are talking about a neighbor’s son who is not studying as much as a student is expected to study and is thus giving his parents a hard time. Speaker A initiates the conversation. Speaker B’s answer can take at least two forms. She can take the opportunity to complain about another boy in the neighborhood, Ziad, in which case she is enforcing the unacceptability of the behavior. Or she can try to convince Speaker A that she should not criticize the behavior because it is the norm these days.

- A: ha-l-sʔabi ma byidris-li
 this-the-boy NEG study-me.DAT
 ‘This boy doesn’t study [me]. *This is unacceptable.*’
- B’: w-Ziya:d nafs l-ši: (ma byidris-li)
 and-Ziad same the-thing (NEG study-me.DAT)
 ‘Ziad too. *Ziad doesn’t study either, which is also unacceptable.*’
- B’’: kil l-wle:d nafs l-ši: (ma byidirsu)
 all the-children same the-thing (NEG study)
 ‘All kids are like that. *This behavior has become the norm these days, so maybe we should just accept it.*’

Speaker B’s possible responses in each of (100) and (101) indicate that an AD/AppIP may or may not be part of the elided constituent. If ADs/AppIPs are strictly a part of Speaker A’s statements – that is, if the AppIPs occupy the same plane as the rest of the structures – the (B’’) responses should not be possible. The (B’’) responses are only possible if the AppIPs in Speaker A’s statements occupy a separate plane. In this case, Speaker B may decide to share the attitude and use a new AppIP with a new, albeit implied, AD – for example, (B’). Alternatively, Speaker B may choose not to adopt Speaker A’s attitude; thus, (B’). This again reminds us of sentential or speaker-oriented adverbs that may occur in stripping, as (102) (Merchant, 2013:2, (15)) illustrates.¹⁶

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

Now we turn to the derivation of AppIPs as adjuncts that occupy a separate plane. I mentioned briefly in section 3 that ADCs are semantically distributed on two tiers, a truth-conditional tier and a non-truth-conditional one, and that ADs belong to the latter, which is why they may not be questioned or negated (Bosse et al., 2012; Potts, 2005). I have not pursued a semantic analysis in this article, but I suggest that the two-tier semantic characteristic of ADCs may also be available syntactically, as (103) illustrates.

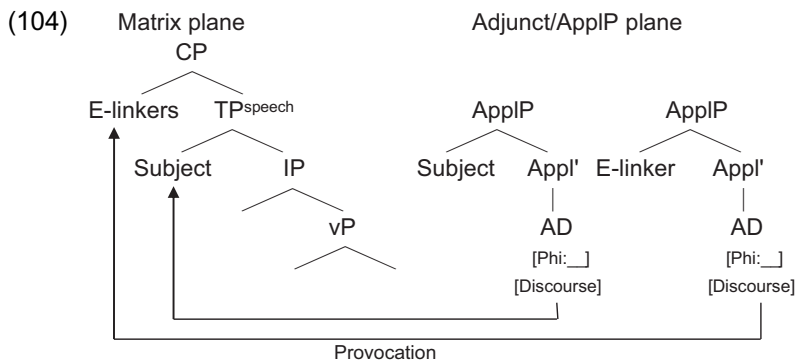


¹⁶ Hornstein and Nunes (2008) provide evidence that adjuncts merge or concatenate without necessarily forming a syntactic constituent with the object they merge with. Hornstein and Nunes describe this behavior of adjuncts as “dangling,” defined as concatenation without labeling. Here I adopt the separate-plane approach.

I also mentioned that ADs enter the computation with unvalued phi features and a valued discourse feature. The former need to be valued against an element with valued phi features and a matching discourse feature in the left periphery.

Now the question arises: How does feature valuation take place? A possible answer may be found in Branigan's (2011) recent approach to movement as provocation, an approach that is similar but not identical to Nunes's (2004) sideward movement. According to Branigan, provocation "occurs in the course of feature valuation when certain probes seek a value for their unvalued features by identifying a goal to supply what they lack" (2011:5). The probe may seek a goal internally (within the same phrase structure) or externally (e.g., from the numeration). If the probe's features are provocative, they force the generation of a copy of the goal, which in turn generates a new position for the copy to merge into (e.g., a specifier position).

This means that (103) progresses as in (104). The unvalued phi features on an AD make it a probe. Accordingly, it seeks a goal with a matching discourse feature and valued phi features in the computational workspace. This includes the matrix plane. The subject in TP^{speech} and the other edge linkers in CP are available candidates. Since we are dealing with disconnected phrasal structures, Agree without movement is not a viable way for feature valuation to take place. This is why the features on an AD need to be provocative in the sense that they trigger movement. Provocation leads to sideward movement of the goal to the specifier position of ApplP. The AD enters specifier-head agreement with the goal in order to value its features. Note that, according to Branigan, the specifier position of ApplP is created because a match is found and because the features on the probe are provocative. In other words, this type of movement is not driven by the EPP.



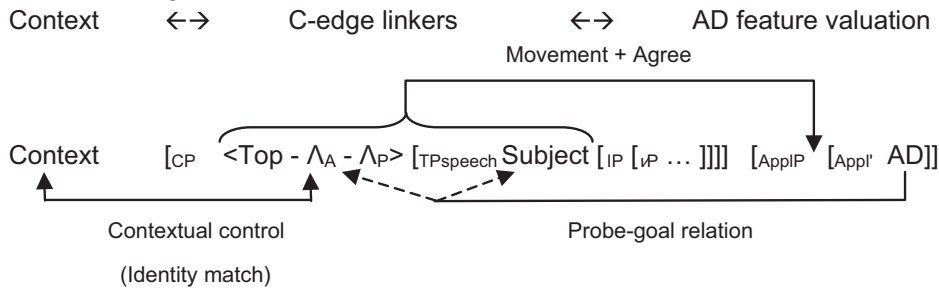
If the derivation in (103) and (104) is on the right track, a higher edge linker may value the features on an AD without the intervention of a lower edge linker. After all structure-building operations take place, the two planes collapse, allowing the AD to cliticize to the verb if there is only one, or to a verb or all verbs if there are more than one.¹⁷ Collapse may be understood as late merge (Stepanov, 2001) or as counter-cyclic merge (Wurmbbrand, 2014). Counter-cyclic merge is only possible after transfer and before spell-out, whereby two unconnected syntactic objects "undergo a 'last minute' Merge after the two structures have been transferred (after syntactic structure building is complete), but before they are spelled-out" (Wurmbbrand, 2014:21). Unlike speaker-oriented or evaluative adverbs of the type presented in (92), which can merge sentence-initially or sentence-internally (Jackendoff, 1972), ADs show less flexibility because of a morphological constraint that they be cliticized to a verb.

¹⁷ A reviewer asks how it is possible for multiple copies of the same type of AD to occur in an ADC without violating linearization restrictions on multiple copy spell-out. Two possibilities are available:

- (i) The multiple copies of an AD are not necessarily identical copies derived by movement (copy plus merge) and as such should not create a problem for linearization. For example, the two occurrences of *John* in *John loves John* are not a problem if the two instances of *John* are two separate lexical items rather than copies. We can assume that this is the case with the multiple occurrences of *very* in *I am very very tired* and with the ADs under examination.
- (ii) Even if the ADs are copies of each other, as clitics they undergo fusion with the verb they cliticize to. Linearization is blind to multiple copies that hide within other words (Nunes, 2004).

If this is on the right track, then the context linking of ADs in (89) may be presented schematically as in (105).

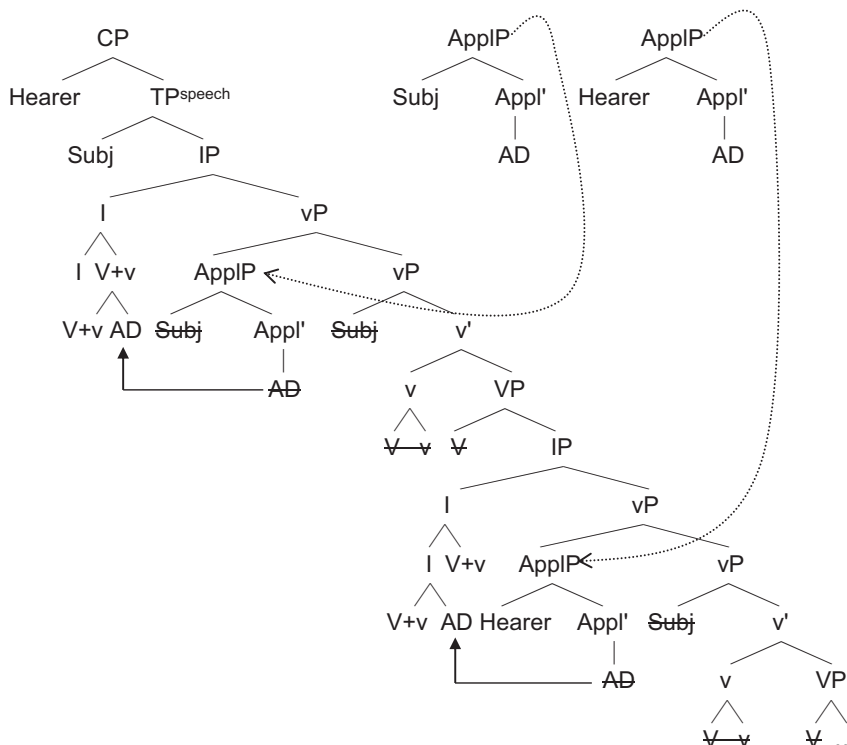
(105) Context linking of ADs



A structure like (106) looks like (107) after collapse, transfer, and spell-out. The structure in (107) treats (106) as a control structure. Assuming the movement approach to control (Hornstein, 1999), the subject undergoes first merge in the embedded clause before it moves to the matrix clause. The two ADs in (106) start out as adjuncts in a separate plane, as in (104). After provocative movement and the valuation of their phi features, they collapse as AppIPs with the matrix structure, each adjoining to the vP it targets. Each AD cliticizes to a verb via head movement. Finally, linearization takes place. If an AD enters a probe-goal relation that results in multiple copies of an edge linker, two copies of the same element will be available at PF. PF linearization restrictions allow no more than one copy to be pronounced.

- (106) Ziya:d d'ahar-lo ydaxin-lak siga:ra
 Ziad went.out-him.DAT some-you.DAT cigarette
 'Ziad went out [him] to smoke [you] a cigarette.'

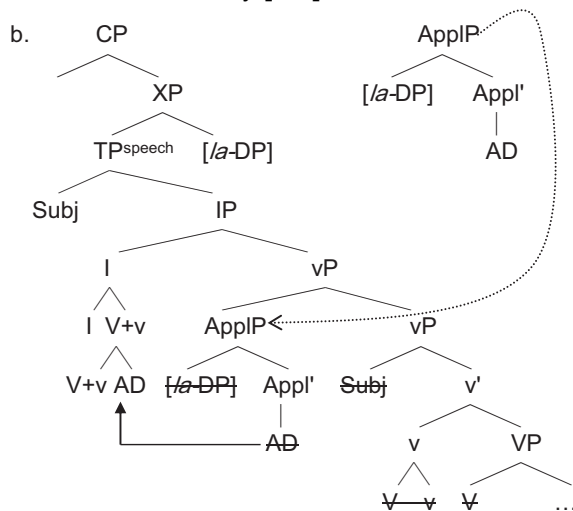
(107)



A TOP/AFF ADC with a sentence-initial affectee would have a structure similar to the one in (107); in this case, the affectee would occupy TopP in CP à la Rizzi (1997). For TOP/AFF ADCs in which the AD is co-referential with a

right-dislocated element, I assume a “clause-external analysis” à la [Cardinaletti \(2002\)](#). The right-dislocated phrase, [*la*-DP], occurs outside the ADC, (108a–b) (cf. [Cardinaletti, 2002:32](#), (5)).

- (108) a. [_{XP}[_{IP} Ziya:d harab-**la** min l-madrase] X° [_{DP} la-Na:dya]]
 [_{XP}[_{IP} Ziad escaped-**her.DAT** from the-school] X° [_{DP} for-Nadia]]
 ‘Ziad ran away [**her**] from school, to Nadia’s dissatisfaction.’



If the approach presented here is on the right track, it will be in line with [Sportiche’s \(1995\)](#) analysis of clitics. Sportiche maintains that all clitics enter an agreement relation with a phrasal structure XP. XP moves to “the specifier position of the projection headed by the clitic, where agreement between CI [the clitic] and XP is sanctioned.” XP may be overt or covert; this means that “(true) clitic doubled constructions differ from non-doubled constructions in that XP is overt in the first ones and covert in the second ones” ([Sportiche, 1995:237](#)).

Some elaboration about counter-cyclic merge as applied to the derivation of ADCs is in order. I follow [Wurmbbrand \(2014\)](#) by assuming that this kind of merge takes place after transfer and before spell-out as a last-minute merge. “Last minute Transfer Merge should be seen as a way to combine two independent syntactic constructs into a single unit which feeds into PF and LF as a single Spell-out domain” ([Wurmbbrand, 2014:21](#)). Evidence from variable binding indicates that this is the case. Sentence (73), repeated here as (109), is an example. In (109), the SUBJ AD *-lo* ‘him.DAT’ receives a bound variable interpretation as a result of quantificational binding. The acceptability of (110) with a negative quantifier shows that the AD may not be interpreted as an E-type pronoun ([Evans, 1980](#)).

- (109) kil wa:ħad raʔas-**lo** raħsa bi-l-hʔafle
 every one danced-**him.DAT** dance in-the-party
 ‘Everyone danced [**him**] a dance at the party.’

- (110) ma: ħada: ma: byiħlatʔ-**lo** marra
 no one NEG make.mistake-**him.DAT** once
 ʔaw marte:n bi-ha-l-ħimir
 or twice in-this-the-life
 ‘No one doesn’t make [**him**] a mistake once or twice in this/his life.’

The same observation applies to SP/H ADs. Sentence (111) contains an embedded ADC; *-la*: ‘her.DAT’ may be interpreted as a SP/H AD referring to the speaker of the embedded clause. The AD receives a bound variable interpretation. Note that the speakers or logophoric agents of the embedded clauses in (111a–b) are co-referential with *kil / wala: mħalme* ‘every / no teacher’ and *kil / wala: ʔimm* ‘every / no mother’ in the root clauses.

- (111) a. kil / wala: mħalme ʔa:let la-l-mudi:r ʔinno l-tle:mi:z
 every / no teacher.FEM said to-the-principal that the-students
 ma: ʔam-byidirsu:-**la**: mitil ma: le:zim
 NEG PROG-study-**her.DAT** as that should
 ‘Every / No teacher told the principal that the students are not studying [**her**] as they should.’

- b. kil / wala: ʔimm ʔa:let -li ʔinno ʔibn-a:
 every / no mother said-me.DAT that son-her
 ʕam-byihrib-**la:** min l-madrise
 PROG-escape-**her.DAT** from the-school
 'Every / No mother told me that her son is running away [**her**] from school.'

Things are not as straightforward with TOP/AFF ADs. Quantifiers, especially negative quantifiers, do not qualify as topics, as a reviewer points out. At the same time, with enough context (e.g., (112a)), a structure like (112b) is acceptable with the dative interpreted as an affectee but not a beneficiary – that is, to the exclusion of the interpretation that each son runs away from school in order to please or upset his mother.

- (112) a. Context: l-ʔimme:t bi-ha-l-ʕayy (miš) maʕzu:zi:n
 the-mothers in-this-the-neighborhood (not) lucky
 'The mothers in this neighborhood are lucky / unlucky.'
 b. kil / wala: ʔimm ʔibn-a: byihrib-**la:** min l-madrise
 every / no mother son-her escape-**her.DAT** from the-school
 'Every / No mother her son runs away [**her**] from school.'

I do not have a good mechanism to explain how a negative quantifier may function as a topic. While topics make good affectees, it may be the case that they are not the only ones; any salient discourse element, including a focus, may also be considered as a good candidate. And while speaker, hearer, and topic make good context linkers, they are not necessarily the only ones. "Context-linking features of the C-domain include **at least** Λ_A , Λ_P and Top [my emphasis]" (Sigurðsson and Maling, 2010:61).

A reviewer asks: "How can there be variable binding if the datives are claimed not to have a truth-conditional contribution?" The reviewer's assumption, as I understand it, is that in a system where truth-conditional and non-truth-conditional contributions are in two different dimensions, variable binding across these dimensions should not be possible. This is a valid assumption. However, as I mentioned earlier, last-minute Transfer Merge, as adopted from Wurmbrand (2014) and used here, combines the matrix clause and AppIPs into a single unit, which feeds into PF and LF as a single spell-out domain. That is, an AD is c-commanded by its antecedent at LF. Assuming that c-command is a sufficient requirement for variable binding to obtain (Reinhart's Generalization; Grodzinsky and Reinhart, 1993; Reinhart, 1983), if the antecedent is a quantifier, the AD is interpreted as a bound variable. In addition, recall that an AD enters a spec-head relation with its antecedent in AppIP before AppIP and the matrix clause collapse into a single structure.

If the above is on the right track, the ADCs in (109) through (112) raise an important question: How can a SUBJ AD be locally c-commanded by a co-referential antecedent and not be realized as a reflexive pronoun? I address this question next.¹⁸

5. Subject-oriented ADs and Condition B

Condition B of Binding Theory states that a pronoun should be locally free. Therefore, by allowing a pronoun to be co-referential with a local, c-commanding antecedent, SUBJ ADCs violate Condition B. In this section, I show that this violation is only apparent. It follows from approaches to binding that consider reflexive pronouns as the result of the presence of a local c-commanding antecedent. If we adopt an alternative approach to binding in which reflexive pronouns are the outcome of movement and anti-locality restrictions (Grohmann, 2003), SUBJ ADs will no longer be expected to be realized as reflexive pronouns.

Before I present the movement approach to binding, it is worth noting that Horn (2008) and Joutteau and Rezac (2007) attribute the pronominal rather than reflexive nature of SUBJ ADs – and thus their exemption from Condition B – to their status as non-arguments. I agree with this observation, and I try to account for it derivationally in what follows.¹⁹

Since the advent of the Minimalist Program and its reductionist agenda, several propositions have been put forth with the purpose of eliminating superfluous components of the grammar. One proposition that has received attention in the last decade or so is Hornstein's (2001) reduction of all construal to movement; this includes binding and the relation between reflexive pronouns and their antecedents in structures like (113a). This means that (113a) looks roughly like (113b): *John*

¹⁸ Recently, Barker (2012) has questioned Reinhart's Generalization, holding that scope rather than c-command is required for quantificational binding in English (see also Carminati et al., 2002). Barker remains agnostic, however, about the cross-linguistic implications of his analysis. Testing Barker's argument in LA goes beyond the scope of this article. For present purposes, I assume that Reinhart's Generalization holds for LA, while bearing in mind that if it doesn't, then the discussion in section 5 becomes irrelevant.

¹⁹ The analysis in this section was originally proposed for Southern American English in Haddad (2011).

starts out as the object of *loves* before it moves to Spec,vP and occupies the subject position. Details aside, the lower copy is realized as a reflexive pronoun. See Hornstein (2001) for more details and Kayne (2002) for a similar approach.

- (113) a. John loves himself.
 b. [CP[IP John [vP John^{theta-role2} [vP loves John^{theta-role1}]]]]

Movement is assumed to be restricted, which normally means that it is subject to locality constraints or the maximum distance a syntactic object may move. No such constraints are violated in (113). According to Grohmann (2003), however, (113) violates other constraints. Grohmann adopts Hornstein's reductionist approach to construal as movement and argues that movement is subject, not only to locality constraints, but also to anti-locality constraints or the minimal distance an object is allowed to move. In Grohmann's approach, a clause is divided into three Prolific Domains: (i) the Thematic Domain or vP, which is responsible for thematic relations; (ii) the Phi Domain or IP, which is responsible for agreement information; and (iii) the Discourse Domain or CP, which is in charge of discourse information. Grohmann holds that movement may not take place within a single Prolific Domain, a restriction that he calls the Condition on Domain Exclusivity (CDE).

It is readily apparent that the movement of *John* in (113b) violates the CDE since it takes place within the Thematic Domain. According to Grohmann, such movement is allowed only if it results in the spell-out of a copy, not only in the final landing site, but also in the launching site (2003:108). That is, (113b) must be phonologically realized as (114), whereby both occurrences of *John* have the same referent.

- (114) John loves John.

One problem with the above proposal is that multiple copy spell-out is restricted by Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom and Nunes's (2004) conditions on linearization. According to Kayne, linear order in a structure is a precedence relation that is regulated by hierarchical structure. The Linear Correspondence Axiom states that if a non-terminal X c-commands a non-terminal Y, this means that X – as well as every terminal that is dominated by X – precedes Y and the terminals that are dominated by Y. This means that two copies x^a and x^b of the same syntactic object x may not both be pronounced if they are in a c-command relation, or if they are dominated by non-terminal nodes X and Y that are in a c-command relation. If both copies are phonologically realized, the structure cannot be mapped into a linear order at PF. This is the case of the two copies of *John* in (114).

One way to salvage the derivation in (114) is through deletion of the lower copy, assuming that this is the copy with fewer checked features (Nunes, 2004). The deletion of the lower copy, however, violates the CDE. This is so because the movement of *John* takes place within the same Prolific Domain: the Thematic Domain. In this case, the CDE requires multiple spell-out of the moving object. According to Grohmann, the computational system may circumvent this problem by replacing the lower copy with “an item from the inventory” of the language – “a (default) filler” (2003:107–108) – that looks phonologically different but is interpreted as the original copy. Reflexive pronouns, Grohmann suggests, are such fillers; “they are treated as the Copy Spell Out of the moving element . . . repair[ing] an otherwise illicit movement,” thus satisfying the CDE (2003:112).

Therefore, according to Grohmann, sentence (113a) has the derivation in (115). The derivation starts with the numeration in (115a). *John* and *love* undergo first merge, (115b). In (115c), vP projects, but there is no item in the numeration that can merge in Spec,vP. This is why *John* moves to Spec,vP and the lower copy is marked for deletion. Notice that this movement violates the CDE because it takes place within the same Prolific Domain. This is when the *self* anaphor is inserted as a default filler in order to repair an otherwise illicit movement, (115d). The structure converges as (115e).

- (115) a. LA = {*John*, *love*, *v*, *V*, *I*}
 b. [vP loves John]
 c. [vP John [vP loves ~~John~~]]
 d. [vP John [vP loves himself]]
 e. [CP[IP John [vP ~~John~~ [vP loves himself]]]]

Now we return to ADCs, to observe them in the light of the movement approach to binding. In section 2, we saw that ADs do not belong to the thematic grid of the predicate. This means that they merge outside vP or the Thematic Domain. In section 4, we saw that ADs start out as adjuncts in a separate plane before they collapse with the main clause at transfer.²⁰

²⁰ A reviewer points out that since ADs are adjuncts, it should not matter whether they merge above or below vP. In principle, this is correct. At the same time, some types of adjuncts (e.g., evaluative adverbs) are known to be arranged hierarchically and merge above or below certain projections. Since ADs are event or E-applicatives, as McGinnis (2001) names them, I suggest that they become relevant after events project. Also, [Discourse] should direct an AD toward the left periphery, targeting the edge of CP.

If this is correct, it means that although a SUBJ AD is co-referential with the subject in an ADC, it is not related to that subject via movement within the same prolific domain. This is why SUBJ ADs are realized as free pronouns without inducing a violation of Condition B of Binding Theory and thus without leading to ungrammaticality. Therefore, a structure like (116) contains two pronouns that are co-referential with the subject: a SUBJ AD and a reflexive pronoun. Only the reflexive pronoun is related to the subject through movement within the same prolific domain. The AD ends up in a c-command relation with the subject, which explains why a bound variable interpretation of ADs is possible, but the AD and the subject are not copies of the same element.

- (116) žami:l štare:-lo sayya:ra zy:re la-hʿa:l-o
 Jamil bought-him.DAT car small for-self-his
 'Jamil bought [him] a small car for himself.'

Note that this approach also accounts for other types of ADs that are co-referential with the subject. The AD in (117) may be a SUBJ AD or a SP/H AD. In either case, the AD is not derivationally related to the subject via movement and thus is not required to be realized as a reflexive pronoun.

- (117) ʔinta štarayt-illak ...
 you bought-you.DAT ...

Once ADs are freed from binding restrictions, the choice of antecedent as the subject or any other DP becomes a pragmatic decision shaped by context. As section 4 has shown, this decision may also be explained syntactically by referring to the relation between ADs and the left periphery.

6. Conclusion

In this article, I presented structures I called attitude dative constructions or ADCs that are licensed in Lebanese Arabic. An ADC contains a non-thematic, dative pronominal clitic – an AD – that may be co-referential with the subject, the speaker or hearer, or a topic/affectee. The task of an AD is to express the attitude of the speaker toward the event depicted by the predicate in relation to the subject, the topic, or the cultural backdrop of the speaker and hearer and their community. I presented the distribution of ADs and analyzed them as conventional implicature contributors whose choice of antecedent is the outcome of interplay between syntax and pragmatics. I also provided an explanation for SUBJ ADs' apparent violation of Condition B of Binding Theory.

What is next? One issue that I did not address here but that certainly deserves attention is the topic of LA possessive datives, along with their distribution, interpretation, and derivation. I also did not take up the issue of embedded ADCs. Conventional implicatures tend to be speaker-oriented, even when the lexical item that gives rise to the implicated meaning is in an embedded clause (Potts, 2005). This, however, is not necessarily always the case (see also Levinson, 1979:212). Examining the conventional implicatures of ADs in embedded contexts and how they interact with different types of root verbs (e.g., 'say' vs. 'claim' vs. 'forget') in LA is a topic for future work.

Finally, TOP/AFF ADs proved quite elusive. I showed that they qualify as ADs, and I tried to analyze them in the shadow of SUBJ ADs and SP/H ADs. At the same time, they display characteristics that make them stand out as different; as such, they probably deserve their own article.

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