Possessively Construed Attitude Dative Constructions in Lebanese Arabic*

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Abstract

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

Keywords

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

1   Framing the Problem

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

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

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

Possessive dative constructions are a subcategory of external possession.[1] In this category of possession, a dative-case-marked possessor DP is realized outside the possessum DP, where it behaves as a syntactic dependent of the verb. Possessive dative constructions are licensed in a range of languages and language families. Sentences (3) and (4) show examples from Hebrew and German, respectively.

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

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

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

Lebanese Arabic (hereafter LA) licenses internal possession constructions and, arguably, possessive dative constructions. Sentence (5) is an example of the former. Semantically, *Na:dya:* 'Nadia' and *binit* 'daughter' enter a possessor-possessum relationship. Syntactically, the possessor and possessum form a syntactic constituent. For example, in (6), the whole possessum DP *binit Na:dya:* 'Nadia's daughter' moves as one unit for the purpose of topicalization. Moving only the possessum results in ungrammaticality, as (7) illustrates.[2]

(5) *ʃifna: binit Na:dya: bi-l-masraħ*
we.saw daughter Nadia in-the theater
'We saw Nadia's daughter in the theater.'

(6) *binit Na:dya: ʃifne:-ha: bi-l-masraħ*
daughter Nadia we.saw-her in-the theater
'Nadia's daughter, we saw her in the theater.'

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

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

(7) *binit   ʃifne:-ha: Na:dya: bi-l-masraħ
     daughter we.saw-her   Nadia   in-the theater
     Intended meaning: 'The daughter, we saw her mother Nadia in the the-
     ater.'

Sentences (8) and (9) are LA examples of what looks like possessive dative
constructions. I will refer to these as Possessively Construed Attitude Dative
Constructions—or POSS ADCs—for reasons that will become clear in the
course of this article. In a POSS ADC, a pronominal dative cliticized to a verbal
element is construed as the possessor of a possessum DP.[3] As expected of pos-
sessive dative constructions in general, the mapping between semantics and
syntax in LA POSS ADCs lacks transparency. For example, in (8) -la: 'her' and
l-sayya:ra 'the car' semantically enter a possessor-possessum relationship, but
syntactically they do not behave as a constituent. In the event of topicalization,
the possessum moves without the possessor, as (10) illustrates.

(8) Ziya:d ɣassal-la: l-sayya:ra mbe:riħ
     Ziad   washed-**her.DAT** the-car   yesterday
     Literally: 'Ziad washed her.DAT the car yesterday.'
     Meaning: 'Ziad washed her car yesterday.'

(9) ʔa:l ʃu:, re:hin-la: kil sˤiɣit-a: la-yilˤab bi-l-sabaʔ
     said what, I.pawned-**her.DAT** all jewelry-her to-play   in-the-race
     Literally: 'She claims that I have pawned her.DAT all the jewelry to bet on
     horse racing.'
     Meaning: 'She claims that I have pawned all her jewelry to bet on horse
     racing.' (from nazl l-suruur, a play by Ziad Rahbani)

(10) l-sayya:ra Ziya:d ɣassal-la: yye:ha: mbe:riħ
     the-car   Ziad   washed-**her.DAT** it   yesterday
     Literally: 'The car, Ziad washed her.DAT it yesterday.'
     Meaning: 'Her car, Ziad washed it yesterday.'

Structurally, sentences (8) and (9) look very much like the Hebrew and Ger-
man constructions in (3) and (4). Research on possessive dative construc-

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

tions in the latter languages (Landau 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld 2006) shows that the possessive reading in structures like (3) and (4) is syntactically mediated. More specifically, Landau and Lee-Schoenfeld provide strong evidence that possessive dative constructions in Hebrew and German are derived from internal possession via movement. Hole (2004, 2005) offers an alternative, binding analysis of German possessive dative constructions—or what he refers to as "so-called 'possessor' datives"—within a neo-Davidsonian event semantics. On Hole's binding approach, the dative is base-generated outside the possessum DP; it c-commands the possessum and binds a variable within it. Given the structural resemblance between the LA sentences in (8) and (9) and possessive dative constructions in Hebrew and German, it seems reasonable on first blush to postulate that the possessive construal of LA POSS ADs is also syntactically or semantically mediated. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that, when native speakers are presented with sentences like (8) and (9) without any additional context, their first reaction is to interpret the dative as possessive. That is, they automatically construe the referent of the dative as the possessor of the car in (8) and of the jewelry in (9).

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

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

(11) A: *ki:f riḥit   ʕa-l-ʃɣil   lyo:m*
         how you.went to-the-work today
         'How did you go to work today?'

B':   *ʔaxadit sayya:rit ḥame:t-i:*
        I.took   car   mother-in-law-my
        'I took my mother-in-law's car.'

B":   # *ʔaxadit-**illa:** sayya:rit-a: la-ḥame:t-i:*
        I.took-**her.DAT** car-her   for-mother-in-law-my
        'I took my mother-in-law's car.'

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

(12) Context: B is showing A a family photo:
     A: *mi:n hayde l-mara:*
            who this   the-woman
            'Who is this woman?'

     B: *hayde ḥame:t-i:*
            this   mother-in-law-my
            'This is my mother-in-law.'

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

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

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

(13) A: *ʃifit ḥame:t-ak   na:tˤra taxi taḥt   l-ʃiti*
           I.saw mother-in-law-your waiting taxi under the-rain
           'I saw your mother-in-law waiting for a cab in the rain.'

B':   *yi:!! ʔaxadt-**illa:**   sayya:rit-a: ḷyo:m la-ru:ħ ʕa-l-ʃɣil*
      oh!! I.took-**her.DAT** car-her   today to-go   to-the-work
      'Oh!! I took her car today to go to work.'

B":   # *yi:, ʔaxadit sayya:rit-a: ḷyo:m la-ru:ħ ʕa-l-ʃɣil*
      oh, I.took   car-her   today to-go   to-the-work
      'Oh, I took her car today to go to work.'

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

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

(14) Topicality
     *hayde l-sayya:ra ħada: kabb ħaẓra: ʕlayy-a: w-kasar-**la:***
     this   the-car   someone threw stone on-it   and-he.broke-**it.DAT**
     ʃibbe:k l-ʃofe:r
     window the-driver
     'This car, someone threw a stone at it and broke the driver's window.'

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

(16) Empathy

> *miʃharaːm ya zalame tkassir-**laː**   ʃbeːbik-aː   la-l-sayyaːra*
> what.a.pity VOC man   you.smash-**it.DAT** windows-it for-the-car
> *sˤar-laː: ʕaʃr sniːn bteːxd-ak   w-bitʒiːb-ak?!*
> happened-it.DAT ten   years it.take-you and-it.return-you?!
> 'Man, how could you smash the windows of the car after it had been taking
> you places for ten years.'

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

(17) A: *kiːf-aː   **Naːdya** ha-l-ʔiyyeːm?*
>   how-her **Nadia**   these-the-days?
>   'How is Nadia doing these days?'

>   B: *mniːħa … Ziyaːd baʕd-o   ʔeːʕid-**laː**   balaː: ʃiɣil bas hiyye*
>   well   … Ziad   still-him sitting-**her.DAT** without work but she
>   *maː ʃakl-aː: ʕa-beːl-aː: hamm*
>   NEG appearance-her on-mind-her concern
>   'She's well. Ziad is still [**her**] unemployed, but she doesn't seem to
>   care.'

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

(18) a. *ʒaːrt-o   bitdawwir-**lo**   l-raːdyo ʔasˤid   lammaː:*
>   neighbor-his turn.on-**him.DAT** the-radio on.purpose when

btaʕirf-o   neːyim   la-twaʕʕi-i
she.know-him sleeping to-wake.up-him
'His neighbor turns on [**him**] the radio when she knows that he's sleeping in order to wake him up / interrupt his sleep.'

b. *ʒaːrt-o   maː: bitdawwir-**lo**   l-raːdyo   ɣeːr   huwwe*
neighbor-his NEG turn.on-**him.DAT** the-radio except he
w-neːyim   ... byuːʕa: w-bibatˤtˤil   fi-i   yneːm ...
while-sleeping ... he.wake.up and-he.no.longer able-him sleep   ...
ʔaːl   raħ yiħkiyy-a:
he.said FUT he.talk-her
'His neighbor only turns on [**him**] the radio while he's sleeping, so he wakes up and cannot go back to sleep. He said he would talk to her.'

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

(19) *Ziyaːd biʔadˤdˤiː-**laː:**ᵢ kil waʔt-o neːyim   la- Naːdya w-hiyye*
son-her spend-**her.DAT** all time-his sleeping for-Nadia and-she
l-mʕatra   btiʃtiyil la-ttˤaʕmi-i ... matˤraħ-a: biʃħatˤ-o
the-poor.woman work   to-feed-him ... place-her I.kick.out-him
'Nadia, Ziad spends [**her**] all his time sleeping, and the poor woman works to feed him. If I were her, I would kick him out.'

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

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

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

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

(21) *Layla$_i$ ma: btidˤhar maʕ ħada: ʔiza: sayya:rt-o miʒwiyye*
Leila$_i$ NEG go.out with anyone if car-his dirty
*fa-Na:dya:$_k$ ɣassalit-**la:**$_i$ sayya:rit-a:$_k$ mbe:riħ la-tidˤhar$_i$*
so-Nadia$_k$ washed-**her.DAT**$_i$ car-her$_k$ yesterday to-she.go.out$_i$
maʕ-a:$_k$
with-her$_k$
'Leila does not go out with anyone whose car is dirty, so Nadia washed her (own) car yesterday so that Leila would go out with her.'

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

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

Below, I entertain and ultimately reject the latter hypothesis before adopting the former. Note, incidentally, that the possibility in (ii) is a viable option; languages may have two constructions that look alike on the surface but are structurally different. German is a case in point. Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) distinguishes between possessive dative constructions without an internal possessor,

like (4) above (repeated here as (22)), and structures that contain an internal possessor in addition to the dative, like (23) below (Lee-Schoenfeld's (6a)). The author states that the dative in (23) "can but do[es] not need to coincide with a possessed nominal" (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006: 29; fn 36). Accordingly, she treats 'the mom' as an affectee that is co-indexed with the internal possessor but syntactically independent of it, and she dismisses (23) as a non-possessive dative construction.

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

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

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

2   A Descriptive Overview

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

2.1 *Possessor-Possessum Relations*

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

(24) Alienable possession
     Layla ʒarrabit-lo   sayya:rit-o
     Leila tried-**him.DAT** car-his
     'Leila tried his car.'

(25) Inalienable possession
     Ziya:d masak-la: ʔi:d-a:
     Ziad   held-**her.DAT** hand-her
     'Ziad held her hand.'

(26) Kinship relation
     Layla se:ʔadit-lo   ʕamm-o
     Leila helped-**him.DAT** uncle-his
     'Leila helped his uncle.'

(27) *za:ru:-la:*   *madi:nit-a:*
     they.visited-**her.DAT** city-her
     ✓ 'They visited her city.' (e.g., her city = *madi:nit Layla* 'Leila's city')
     * 'They visited her city.' (e.g., her city = *madi:nit Bayruut* 'the city of Beirut')

(28) *ħabbit-la:*   *ʃo:rbit-a:*
     she.liked-**her.DAT** soup-her/it
     ✓ 'She liked her soup.' (e.g., her soup = *ʃo:rbit Layla* 'Leila's soup')
     * 'She liked its soup.' (e.g., its soup = *ʃo:rbit l-xidˤra* 'vegetable soup')

The opposite is also true; not all POSS ADCs can be felicitously rephrased as internal possession constructions. Specifically, what Landau (1999) and Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) refer to as instances of "transitory" or "temporary" possession are readily expressed in POSS ADCs, but are not necessarily allowed in internal possession constructions. For example, the referent of the dative in (29) has Karim's car in her possession, but she does not own the car. Simi-

larly, the secret in (30) is Karim's; the referent depicted by the dative has been entrusted with the secret, but it is not hers. Therefore, using internal possession, such as *sayya:rit-a:* 'her car' and *sirr-a* 'her secret', would result in infelicity in these cases.

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

(30) *Ziya:d fadˤʕaħ-**la:*** *l-sirr* *yalli ʔamman-a: ʕle-e Kari:m*
Ziad exposed-**her.DAT** the-secret that entrusted-her with-it Karim
'Ziad exposed the secret that was entrusted to her by Karim.'

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

First, note that an LA internal possessor, when it is allowed or required, may not be a lexical DP. Thus, (31) is ungrammatical under the intended reading. This sentence can only mean that Leila ate from Ziad's plate and that a third party (e.g., Karim) was affected by her behavior. To obtain the desired reading, the internal possessor must be a pronominal clitic; the corresponding lexical DP is either dropped/implied or realized as a double DP, as illustrated in (32) and (33).[4] It may also be realized as a clitic-left-dislocated DP, as in (34).

---

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

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

(i)   *Layla ɣassalit sayya:rt-o la-Ziya:d*
Leila washed car-his for-Ziad
'Leila washed Ziad's car.'

(31) *Layla ʔaklit-**lo***   *min saħn **Ziya:d** mbe:riħ   bi-l-ħafle*
Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate **Ziad**   yesterday in-the-party
*'Leila ate from Ziad's plate at the party yesterday.'
✓ 'Leila ate from Ziad's plate at the party yesterday … to the (dis)satisfaction of another man.'

(32) *Layla ʔaklit-**lo***   *min saħn-o   **la-Ziya:d** mbe:riħ   bi-l-ħafle*
Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate-his **for-Ziad** yesterday in-the-party
'Leila ate from Ziad's plate at the party yesterday.'

(33) *Layla ʔaklit-**lo***   *min saħn-o   mbe:riħ   bi-l-ħafle   **la-Ziya:d***
Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate-his yesterday in-the-party **for-Ziad**
'Leila ate from Ziad's plate at the party yesterday.'

(34) ***Ziya:d** Layla ʔaklit-**lo***   *min saħn-o   mbe:riħ   bi-l-ħafle*
Ziad   Leila ate-**him.DAT** from plate-his yesterday in-the-party
'Leila ate from Ziad's plate at the party yesterday.'

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

(35) Alienable possession
    a. *POSS AD minus Internal Possessor*
        *Layla se:ʔit-**lo***   *l-sayya:ra la-bayy-i:*
        Leila drove-**him.DAT** the-car   for-father-my
        'Leila drove my father's car.'

(ii)   *Leila bitdaxxin-lo   la-Ziya:d*
        Layla smoke-him.DAT for-Ziad
        'Leila smokes, and Ziad is affected by her behavior.'

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

b. *POSS AD plus Internal Possessor (Construct-state)*
   *Layla se:ʔit-**lo***   *sayya:rt-o la-bayy-i:*
   Leila drove-**him.DAT** car-his   for-father-my
   'Leila drove my father's car.'

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

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

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

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

(37) a. *ɣassalit*   **l-wiʒʒ / *l-wiʒʒ tabaʕ-i: / wiʒʒ-i:*
      I.washed the-face / the-face FS.POSS-my / face-my
      'I washed my face.'

b. *bisit   ha-l-wiʒʒ   l-ħilo*
   I.kissed this-the-face the-pretty
   'I kissed this pretty face.'

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

(38) a. *ɣassalti-**lla:***   **l-ʔi:d / ʔi:d-a:*
     I.washed-**her.DAT** the-hand / hand-her
     Intended reading: 'I washed her hand.'

   b. *ɣassalti-**lla:***   *l-ʔi:d   l-maʒru:ħa*
      I.washed-**her.DAT** the-hand the-wounded
      'I washed her wounded hand.'

   c. *taʕi: la-ɣassil-**lik***   *ha-l-ʔide:n   l-ħilwi:n*
      come for-I.wash-**you.DAT** these-the-hands the-pretty
      'Come let me wash these pretty hands of yours.'

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

(39) *Layla se:ʕadit **l-ʕamm / ʕamm-a:***
     Leila helped the-uncle / uncle-her
     'Leila helped her uncle.'

(40) *Layla se:ʕadit-**lo***   **l-ʕamm / ʕamm-o*
     Leila helped-**him.DAT** the-uncle / uncle-his
     'Leila helped his uncle.'

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

(41) *ʔimm* 'mother'—*bayy* 'father'—*ʔibin* 'son'—*ʔixit* 'sister'—*xayy* 'son'—
     ʒo:z 'husband'—*sit* 'grandmother'—*ʒidd* 'grandfather'.

In contrast, the terms in (42) may or must occur without a construct-state-style internal possessor, as (43) and (44) show—and consequently, a POSS

ADC without an internal possessor is grammatical in these cases; e.g., (45) and (46).

(42) *l-ma:ma:* 'the-mom'—*l-ba:ba:* 'the-dad'—*l-binit* 'the-girl/daughter'—
l-sˤabi: 'the-boy or the-son'—*l-mara:* 'the woman = the wife'—*l-riʒʒe:l* 'the man = the husband'—*l-te:ta:* 'grandma'—*ʒiddo* 'grandpa'.

(43) *wasˤsˤalit l-te:ta / *te:ta:-yi: ʕa-l-be:t*
     I.took   the-grandma / grandma-my to-the-house
     'I took grandma home.'

(44) *wasˤsˤalit l-binit / bint-i: ʕa-l-be:t*
     I.took   the-daughter / daughter-my to-the-house
     'I took my daughter home.'

(45) *Ziya:d wasˤsˤal-la: l-te:ta / *te:ta:-ha: ʕa-l-be:t*
     Ziad   took-**her.DAT** the-grandma / grandma-her to-the-house
     la-Na:dya
     for-Nadia
     'Ziad took Nadia's grandma home.'

(46) *Ziya:d wasˤsˤal-la: l-binit / bint-a: ʕa-l-be:t*
     Ziad   took-**her.DAT** the-daughter / daughter-her to-the-house
     la-Na:dya
     for-Nadia
     'Ziad took Nadia's daughter home.'

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

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

The above discussion shows that the phenomenon pertaining to the presence vs. absence of internal possessors is subject to structural rather than semantic

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

2.3 Types of Predicates That License POSS ADCs

POSS ADCs are possible with all types of predicates, though not always with the same frequency.[5] They are readily available with transitive predicates, which may be agentive (48)-(49), or perceptual/experiencer (50)-(51).

(48) *Ziya:d nataf-la: ħwe:ʒib-a: la-Na:dya*
     Ziad   plucked-**her.DAT** eyebrows-her for-Nadia
     'Ziad plucked Nadia's eyebrows.'

(49) *Ziya:d saraʔ-la: mafa:ti:ħ-a:*
     Ziad   stole-**her.DAT** keys-her
     'Ziad stole her keys.'

(50) *Na:dya bitħibb-illo*[6]   *ʃaʕr-o   la-Ziya:d*
     Nadia love-**him.DAT**   hair-his for-Ziad
     'Nadia loves/likes Ziad's hair.'

(51) *Ziya:d byaʕrif-la: ʔatˤba:ʕ-a:*
     Ziad   know-**her.DAT**   temperaments-her
     'Ziad knows/is familiar with her temperaments.'

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

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

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

(52) *Ziya:d tabax-**la:***   *bi-tˤanʒart-a:*   *la-Na:dya*
     Ziad   cooked-**her.DAT** in-saucepan-her   for-Nadia
     'Ziad cooked in Nadia's saucepan.'

(53) *Na:dya sˤaffit-**lo***   *la-Ziya:d ʔidde:m*   *bayt-o*
     Nadia   parked-**him.DAT** for-Ziad   in.front.of   house-his
     'Nadia parked in front of Ziad's house.'

(54) *Ziya:d ʔakal-**la:***   *min sˤaḥn-a:*
     Ziad   ate-**her.DAT** from   kitchen-her
     'Ziad ate from her plate.'

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

(55) *dˤaʕ-**la:***   *kaza:*   *ʕwayne:t ʃams ha-l-sine*
     lost-**her.DAT** several glasses   sun   this-the-year
     'Several pairs of sunglasses of hers got lost this year.'

(56) *mat-**la:***   *sˤabi: bi-l-ḥarib*
     died-**her.DAT** boy   in-the-war
     'A son of hers / Her son died during the war.'

Although rare, possessum DPs can also appear as subjects of unergative predicates, as (57) and (58) show. As Tal Siloni observes (in Linzen 2014), these predicates may include theme unergatives (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Reinhart 2002; Levin 1993), which normally take inanimate subjects. Sentences (59) through (62) illustrate.[7]

---

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

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

(57) *harab-**la:***   *kalib mbe:riħ*   *w-miʃ*   *ʕa:rfe tle:ʔi-i*
     ran.away-**her.DAT** dog   yesterday and-NEG   know find-him
     'A dog of hers/Her dog ran away yesterday, and she doesn't seem to be able
     to find him.'

(58) *ʔibn-a:*   *ke:n*   *ʕam-byisʕil-**la:***   *kil l-le:l*
     son-her   was   PROG-cough-**her.DAT** all   the-night
     'Her son was coughing all night.'

(59) *ma: raff-**alla:***   *ʒifin*
     NEG quiver-**her.DAT** eyelid
     'She was not affected at all.'

(60) *ma: ɣimdʕit-**la:***   *ʕe:n*
     NEG shut-**her.DAT** eye
     'She was not able to sleep.' 'She was so worried or vigilant she couldn't
     sleep or snooze.'

(61) *ma: tʕiliʕ-**la:***   *sˤo:t*
     NEG come.out-**her.DAT** voice
     'She was completely silent.'

(62) *ʔiza: ma: btaʕmil seʃwa:r*   *baʕd l-ħimme:m byu:ʔafu:-**la:***
     if   NEG she.do hair.blowing after the-bath   stand-**her.DAT**
     ʃaʕra:t-a: he:k
     hair-her   like.this
     'If she does not do her hair after she takes a bath, her hair looks messy.'

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

(63) *l-taxit*   *ʔaxad-**la:***   *kil l-ʔu:dˤa*
     the-bed   took-**her.DAT** all   the-room
     'This bed occupied/filled all her room.'

(64) *Ziya:d txabbe:-**la:***   *wara:*   *dˤahr-a: / bi-ʔu:dˤit-a: / taħt l-taxt*
     Ziad   hid-**her.DAT** behind back-her / in-room-her / under the-bed
     la-Na:dya
     for Nadia
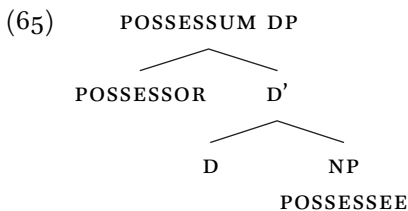   'Ziad hid behind Nadia's back / in Nadia's room / under Nadia's bed.'

The following two sections develop an explanation for the interpretation of LA POSS ADCs.
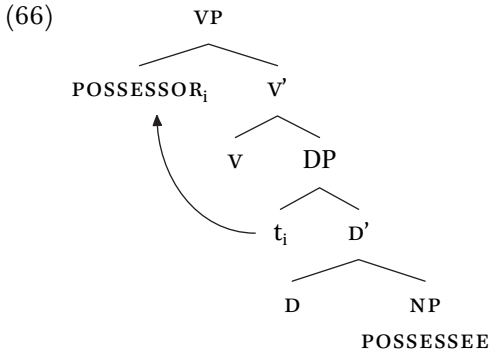
3   LA POSS ADCs: Movement or Binding?

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

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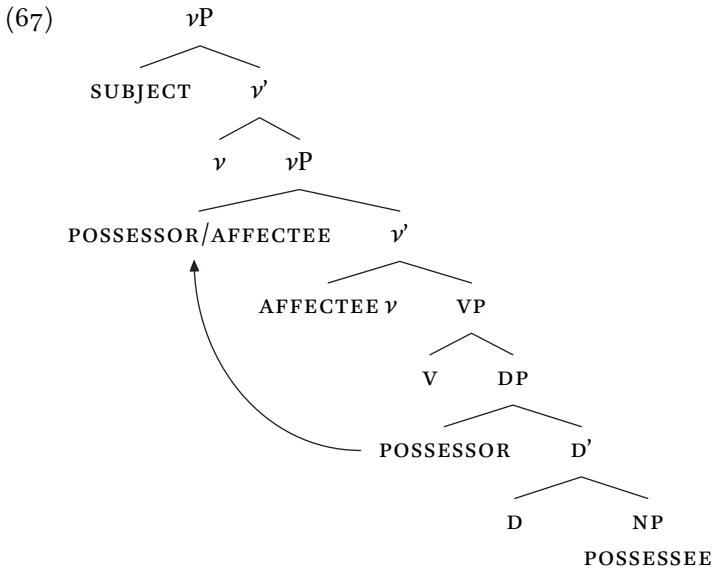On the movement approach to external possession, the possessum DP starts out as in (65). The possessor undergoes first-merge into a caseless Spec,DP, and then raises to Spec,VP to check its case feature, as in (66) (Landau 1999). Crucially, this movement is case-driven.
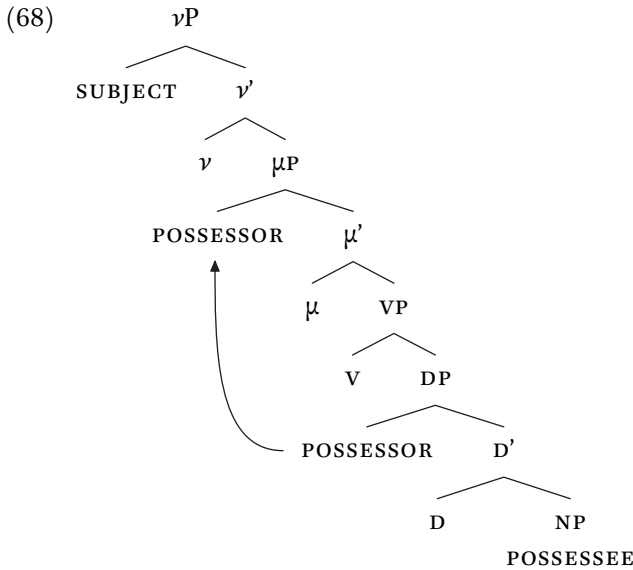
(65)   POSSESSUM DP

        POSSESSOR   D'

                   D   NP
                         POSSESSEE

(66)
```
                    VP
            ┌───────┴───────┐
      POSSESSOR_i          V'
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                      V          DP
                            ┌─────┴─────┐
                          t_i         D'
                                ┌──────┴──────┐
                                D            NP
                                          POSSESSEE
```

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

(67)
```
                    vP
            ┌───────┴───────┐
      SUBJECT              v'
                      ┌─────┴─────┐
                      v          vP
                            ┌─────┴─────────┐
            POSSESSOR/AFFECTEE             v'
                                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                              AFFECTEE v           VP
                                            ┌───────┴───────┐
                                            V              DP
                                                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                                              POSSESSOR           D'
                                                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                            D            NP
                                                                      POSSESSEE
```

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

(68)

```
                     vP
           ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        SUBJECT                  v′
                          ┌───────┴───────┐
                          v              μP
                                  ┌────────┴────────┐
                             POSSESSOR             μ′
                                            ┌───────┴───────┐
                                            μ              VP
                                                     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                                     V            DP
                                                          ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                     POSSESSOR             D′
                                                                    ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                                    D              NP
                                                                              POSSESSEE
```
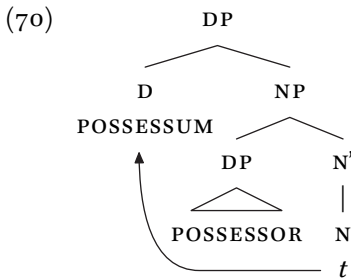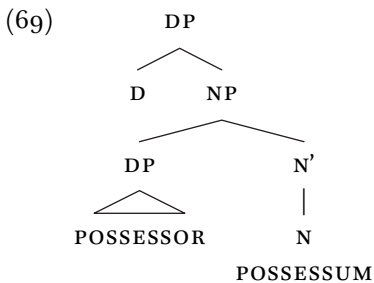
The movement analysis sketched here does not work for LA, for a number of reasons. First, if the possessor is to begin its syntactic existence in a caseless position, it cannot—at least on Landau's and Lee-Schoenfeld's analyses—be pronounced as part of the possessum DP as well. If the possessor receives case internally, it should remain trapped in its original position, unable to raise out of the possessum DP to seek case elsewhere. This problem is Lee-Schoenfeld's main motivation for dismissing (23) above as a non-possessive dative construction.
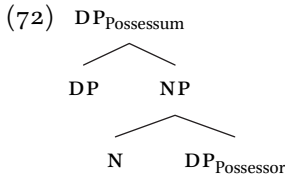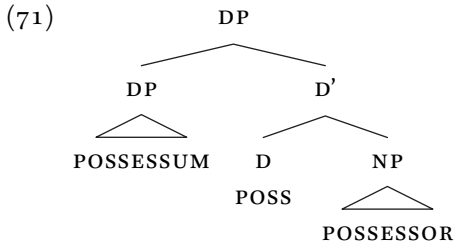
If this reasoning is correct, all instances of POSS ADC that contain an internal possessor phrase constitute counterevidence to the movement approach. Of course, it could be argued that LA POSS ADCs are instances of copy control that involve multiple case checking and multiple copy pronunciation (see Haddad 2011). Under such an analysis, the possessor would have to raise for reasons other than case. It is not clear, however, what these reasons could be. I set aside this option here.

Recall that possessum phrases in LA may be realized as construct-state genitives or free-state genitives. Drawing on Ritter (1988), it can be fairly assumed that construct-state genitives start out as in (69), and that N-to-D movement of the possessum follows (70). (For more recent analysis of construct-state genitives, see Benmamoun 2000 and Shlonsky 2004. See Hoyt 2007 for an overview.) What is important for our purposes is that the possessum, rather than the possessor, is at the edge of the DP, and should thus be the better candidate for movement. Proponents of the movement approach (be it raising or control)

consider Spec,DP to be the only viable escape position for movement out of a possessum DP. As Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) explicitly states, "the relation between the PD [Possessive Dative] and its associated possessor position may not extend into the DP (into the domain of its head), but rather may access only its highest (outermost) specifier position" (113). Movement from a deeper position constitutes a violation of the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995; see Deal 2013: 403 for a more recent incarnation), which states that movement of an element X to a position Y is disallowed if there is another element Z of the same type which is closer to Y.

(69)

```
                    DP
                   ╱‾‾‾
              D        NP
                      ╱‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
             DP              N'
           ╱‾‾‾‾╲             |
     POSSESSOR              N
                        POSSESSUM
```

(70)

```
                      DP
                    ╱‾‾‾‾‾
               D          NP
          POSSESSUM      ╱‾‾‾‾
                     DP         N'
                   ╱‾‾‾‾╲        |
            POSSESSOR    N
                            t
```

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

(71)

```
                          DP
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
             DP                       D'
          ┌───┴───┐           ┌───────┴───────┐
      POSSESSUM            D                  NP
                          POSS            ┌────┴────┐
                                          POSSESSOR
```

(72)

```
        DP_Possessum
      ┌──────┴──────┐
     DP             NP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
              N          DP_Possessor
```

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

(73) *tˤaraft-**illa:*** *be:t* *xayy-a:*
     I.painted-**her.DAT** house brother-her
     'I painted her brother's house.'

(74) *tˤaraft-**illa:*** *l-be:t* *tabaʕ* *xayy-a:*
     I.painted-**her.DAT** the-house FS.POSS brother-her
     'I painted the house of her brother.'

(75) tˤaraʃt-**illa:**   be:t   ʔixt   ʒawz-a:
     I.painted-**her.DAT** house sister husband-her
     'I painted the house of her husband's sister's.'

(76) tˤaraʃt-**illa:**   be:t   l-sˤabi:
     I.painted-**her.DAT** house the-boy/son
     'I painted her son's house.'

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

(77) ħatˤtˤit-**lo**   l-sayya:ra bi-l-gara:ʒ   la-l-tisˤli:ħ
     she.put-**him.DAT** the-car   in-the-garage for-the-repair
     Literally: 'She put for him the car in the garage for repair.'
     a. Possible meaning 1: 'She put her car in his garage for repair.' [in this
        case, "he" is a mechanic who owns a car repair shop (a "garage")].
     b. Possible meaning 2: 'She took his car to a garage because it needed
        repair.'

(78) sˤaffit-**lo**   l-sayya:ra ʔidde:m   l-be:t
     she.pared-**him.DAT** the-car   in.front.of the-house
     Literally: 'She parked the car in front of the house.'
     a. Possible meaning 1: 'She parked his car in front of his house.'
     b. Possible meaning 2: 'She parked her car in front of his house.'
     c. Possible meaning 3: 'She parked his car in front of her house.'

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

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

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

(80) *maħatˤtˤit l-televizyo:n   ʕaradˤit-**ilna:**   taħdˤi:ra:t-na*
      station   the-televison broadcasted-**us.DAT** preparations-our
      la-l-ħafle   bi-l-tafsˤi:l
      for-the-party in-the-detail
      'The TV station broadcasted our preparations for the party in detail.'

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

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

3.2   *Against Dative Binding*

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

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

> I propose that the semantics of possession or, more generally, of relationality of the more deeply embedded argument in extra argument constructions [our POSS ADCs] should be modeled in terms of binding: The (index of the) extra argument binds the unsaturated variable of the c-

commanded relational noun within the DP that denotes the possessum
or (body-)part of the referent of the extra argument.

HOLE 2004, Section 4.1

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

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

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

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

(83) a. *Ed hat **ihr**ᵢ   die Wäsche*ᵢ *gewaschen*
    Ed has **her.DAT** the laundry washed
    'Ed did her laundry for her.'

   b. *Ed hat* (***ihr***) *gewaschen*
    Ed has **her.DAT** washed.laundry
    'Ed did the laundry (*for her).'

Consider the LA sentences in (84). All these sentences contain a possessum DP; in each case, the dative is understood as a POSS AD. At the same time, LA licenses similar POSS ADCs with implied possessum DPs, as (85) illustrates. The implicit nature of these possessums does not make the possessive reading less salient.[8] The grammaticality of sentences like (85) in LA is a problem for an approach that requires binding to apply non-vacuously.

(84) a. *btismaʕ-**lo:**   ʔaɣa:ni-i la-hayda l-mutˤrib?*
    you.listen-**him.DAT** songs-his for-this   the-singer?
    'Do you listen to this singer's songs?'

   b. *safwart-**illa:**[9]   ʃaʕr-a:*
    I.blow.dried-**her.DAT** hair-her
    'I blow-dried her hair.'

   c. *ru:ħ   ʕind l-ħella:ʔ   xalli-i   yʔisˤsˤ-**illak** ʃaʕr-ak*
    you.go to   the-barber let-him cut-**you.DAT** hair-your
    *w-yiħliʔ-**lak**   daʔn-ak*
    and-shave-**you.DAT** beard-your
    'Go to the barber's and ask him to cut your hair and shave your beard.'

(85) a. *btismaʕ-**lo:**   la-hayda l-mutˤrib?*
    you.listen-**him.DAT** for-this   the-singer?
    Understood meaning: 'Do you listen to songs for this singer?'

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

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

9 From the French word *séchoir* 'hair dryer'.

b. *safwart-**illa:***
I.blow.dried-**her.DAT**
Understood meaning: 'I blow-dried her hair.'

c. *ru:ħ   ʕind l-ħella:ʔ   xalli-i   yʔisʕsʕ-**illak** w-yiħliʔ-**lak***
you.go to   the-barber let-him cut-**you.DAT** and-shave-**you.DAT**
Understood meaning: 'Go to the barber's and ask him to cut your hair
and shave your beard.'

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

4   A Pragmatic Approach to LA POSS ADCs

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

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

Section 3 ruled out the possibility in (ii). In the present section, therefore, I
explore the possibility in (i). I first postulate that POSS ADCs begin their deriva-
tion as TOP/AFF ADCs, and I identify three specific distributional constraints
that must be satisfied in order for the dative to be interpreted as a possessor.
I further argue that satisfying these constraints is necessary, but not sufficient,
for the possessive interpretation to obtain. Context and pragmatics have the
final say in determining the referent of the dative as either (i) possessor +
topic/affectee/object of empathy or (ii) (only) topic/affectee/object of empa-
thy.
    Haddad (2014) analyzes TOP/AFF ADCs within the framework of Context-
Linked Grammar, as proposed by Sigurðsson and Maling (2012). Drawing on

Ross's (1970) Performative Hypothesis, that analysis proceeds as follows. Datives, including PDs, are pronominal elements. Pronominal reference is a linguistic phenomenon that requires syntactic involvement. For instance, if someone tells Tom, *You made a good point in the meeting*, the syntax links the *v*P event participant (Tom), to the speech event participant or hearer (also Tom). Sigurðsson and Maling refer to this process as "context linking" and explain that it involves linking clause-internal participants to clause-external referents, as schematically illustrated in (86).

(86) Context Linking

Context $\leftrightarrow$ C-edge linkers $\leftrightarrow$ IP-internal elements

Context $[_{CP}$ <Topic—Speaker—Hearer> $[_{IP}$ Pronoun]]

Contextual contro l Agree
(Identity match) (Valuing in relation to C-edge linkers)
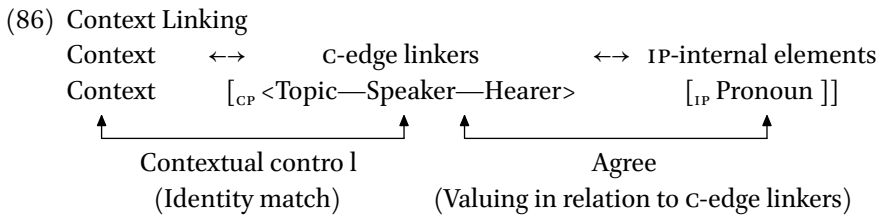
Sigurðsson and Maling (2012:371) add that, if (86) is correct, this means that the CP domain "contains not only Force and information structure features (in the spirit of Rizzi 1997), but also features of the speech event, such as Λ_A [speaker] and Λ_P [hearer]. Features of this sort are commonly assumed to belong to pragmatics."

Haddad (2014) adopts this approach and treats TOP/AFF ADs as applicatives that start out in the syntax with unvalued phi-features and with a valued discourse feature, [+Topic/Affectee]. The role of the syntax is to link the dative to the appropriate edge-linker in CP. In this case, the edge-linker is a topic, which may be silent or pronounced. If pronounced, it may be a clitic-doubled element, a clitic-left-dislocated topic, or a right-dislocated topic.[10]

The derivation of a TOP/AFF ADC on this analysis is presented in (87) and proceeds as follows. The attitude dative starts out as an adjunct applicative phrase (ApplP) in a separate plane (à la Uriagereka 2003). It has a discourse feature specified as [+Topic/Affectee]; it scans the CP region of the matrix clause looking for a matching edge-linker (in this case, a topic) in order to value its phi-feature via provocative movement (à la Branigan 2011).[11] After

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

11 According to Branigan (2011: 5), provocation "occurs in the course of feature valuation when certain probes seek a value for their unvalued features by identifying a goal to supply what they lack." The probe may seek a goal internally (within the same phrase structure)

movement and the valuation of phi-features, the ApplP collapses with the matrix structure, adjoining to *v*P. The dative cliticizes to the verb via head movement. See Haddad (2014) for more details.

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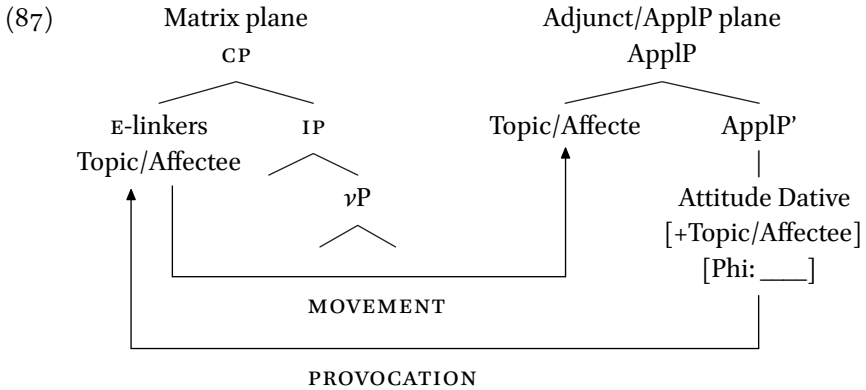
A reviewer suggests that expressive material like TOP/AFF ADs and POSS ADs are perhaps best handled not by sideward movement and separate-plane adjunction, as in (87), but by a multidimensional semantics. I agree that the dative constructions examined in this article may be semantically distributed on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

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

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

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or externally (e.g., from the numeration). If the probe's features are provocative, they force the generation of a copy of the goal, which in turn generates a new position for the copy to merge into (e.g., a specifier position).

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

(88) *ma: bisiʔ-**la:***   *l-sayya:ra la-ʔimm-o*
NEG he.drive-**her.DAT** the-car   for-mother-his
Preferred reading: 'He doesn't drive his mother's car.'

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

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

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

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

(91) A: *we:n   Ziya:d*
            where Ziad
            'Where is Ziad?'

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

      B":   *bikin-la:*   *ʕam-bidu:r   bi-l-sayya:ra la-ʔimm-o*
            he.be-**her.DAT** PROG-wander in-the-car   for-mother-his
            'He is probably driving around in his own car, and his mother doesn't
            feel good about it.'

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

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

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

ADC; as (94c) illustrates, a POSS AD cannot corefer with an internal possessor realized as a lexical DP. See also (31) above.

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

     b. *ɣassalt-**illa:***   *sayya:rit-a: la-Na:dya, w-ɣassalt-**illa:***
     you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her   for-Nadia, and-I.washed-**her.DAT**
     sayya:rit-a: la-Layla kame:n
     car-her   for-Leila also
     'I washed Nadia's car, and I washed Leila's car as well.'

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

     b. *ɣassalt-**illa:***   *sayya:rit-a: la-Na:dya, w-ɣassalit*   *sayya:rit*
     you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her   for-Nadia, and-I.washed car
     Layla kame:n
     Leila also
     'I washed Nadia's car, and I washed Leila's car as well.'

     c. **ɣassalt-**illa:***   *sayya:rit-a: la-Na:dya, w-ɣassalit-**illa**$_i$*
     you.washed-**her.DAT** car-her   for-Nadia, and-I.washed-**her.DAT**$_i$
     sayya:rit Layla$_i$ kame:n
     car   Leila$_i$ also
     'I washed Nadia's car, and I washed Leila's car as well.'

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

(95) a. Abby speaks passable Dutch, and (probably/possibly/fortunately) Ben, too.

   b. Definitely/Fortunately, Tom won, and probably/unfortunately Jim, too.

5   Conclusion

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

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

In more general terms, this article adds to the body of evidence suggesting that external possessive constructions, although a cross-linguistic phenomenon, are not structurally (or even semantically) identical across languages. Research on these structures within generative linguistics since the 1960s has tried to explain, among other things, how the external possessor receives a possessive construal. The general tendency has been to attribute the possessive reading to syntax/movement or semantics/binding (see Deal (to appear) for an overview). This article offers a new possibility: Pragmatics. The possessive reading in LA dative constructions like (8) and (9) above is pragmatically determined, rather than syntactically or semantically mediated. An

interesting next step will be to see whether pragmatics plays a role in external possession in other languages, including other Arabic dialects.

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