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## Acta Linguistica Hungarica korrekció

Tisztelt Szerző!

Mellékelten küldjük *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*-beli cikkének korrekcióját. Kérjük, olvassa el a szöveget és küldje el megjegyzéseit/javaslatait a

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címre, pl. így: „az x. oldal y. sorában: »igaz« helyett legyen »nem igaz«” stb. Kérjük, használja a sorok melletti sorszámokat a hivatkozásnál. Szíveskedjék lehetőleg tartózkodni a cikk átírásától, egész mondatok vagy bekezdések betoldásától, de ha valamit félreértettünk vagy rosszul valósítottunk meg a kéziratához képest, vagy a kéziratból származó elütés, betűhiba maradt a szövegben, ezeket természetesen ki fogjuk javítani, ha felhívja rájuk a figyelmünket. Különösen gondosan ügyeljen az ábrák, táblázatok, példamondatok stb. helyességére. Ha bibliográfiájában „megjelenés előtt” jelű tételek vannak, és azok időközben megjelentek, kérjük, adja meg a hiányzó részleteket. Az irodalomlistában esetleg található hiányosságokat ??-kel jelöltük (pl. hiányzó keresztnév, kiadó neve stb.), ezeket is pótlja. A helyenként előforduló margószéli fekete téglalapokat figyelmen kívül hagyhatja. A korrekciórán látható oldalszámok még nem véglegesek, változni fognak! Kérjük, válaszát a korrekció kézhez vételétől számított **egy héten belül** küldje el. Köszönjük a türelmet és az együttműködést:

G. Kiss Zoltán  
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1

## A cross dialectal view of the Arabic dative alternation

2

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3 **Abstract:** This paper is concerned with the syntax of ditransitive verbs in Arabic. We concentrate on the  
4 vernaculars, focussing in particular on three geographically spread dialects: Egyptian Cairene Arabic,  
5 the dominant vernacular in Egypt, Hijazi Arabic, spoken in Western Saudi Arabia and Maltese, a mixed  
6 language with a Magrebi/Siculo-Arabic stratum. We show that all three exhibit an alternation (the da-  
7 tive alternation) between a ditransitive ('double object') construction and a corresponding prepositional  
8 dative construction, and outline a number of differences between these constructions in the different  
9 varieties of Arabic. We consider the distribution of verbs exhibiting the dative alternation in the light of  
10 Ryding's (2011) observations concerning Modern Standard Arabic.

11 **Keywords:** 5 (five) keywords, missing!

12

### 1. Introduction

13 This paper is concerned with the syntax of ditransitive verbs in Arabic.  
14 We concentrate on the vernaculars, focussing in particular on three di-  
15 alects which are relatively distant from each other: Egyptian Cairene Ara-  
16 bic (ECA), the dominant vernacular in Egypt (widely understood in the  
17 Arab world through its prevalence in the film and television media), Hi-  
18 jazi Arabic (HA), spoken in Western Saudi Arabia, and Maltese (MT), a  
19 mixed language with a Maghrebi/Siculo-Arabic stratum, a Romance (Si-  
20 cilian, Italian) superstratum and an English adstratum. Our primary aim  
21 here is to offer a contribution to the description of syntactic variation in  
22 modern vernacular Arabic although we also briefly consider the theoretic-  
23 al implications of the data we present in relation to the lexical semantic

24 factors which are taken to underpin the syntactic behaviour of ditransitive  
 25 verbs, and the syntactic analysis of this class of verbs within the framework  
 26 of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG).

27 The following pair of examples from Egyptian Cairene Arabic illus-  
 28 trates the alternation between what we will call the prepositional dative  
 29 construction (PDC), in which the recipient/goal argument is the object of a  
 30 preposition *li-*, and the ditransitive construction (DTC) in which both the  
 31 recipient/goal argument and the theme appear as bare NPs (with the reci-  
 32 pient/goal in canonical object position, preceding the theme).<sup>1</sup> Note that  
 33 we have followed what seems to be standard practice in Arabic linguistics  
 34 and glossed the prepositional element as a morph. This practice reflects  
 35 Arabic orthography (which attaches single character prepositions to the  
 36 following word) and should not be taken to necessarily imply a theoretical  
 37 position in favour of analysing the preposition preceding a non-pronominal  
 38 NP as morphologically part of the noun.

39 (1) ?ahmad ?edda el-kitāb li-mona  
 Ahmad gave.PV.3SGM DEF-book to-Mona  
 40 ‘Ahmed gave the book to Mona.’ ECA

41 (2) ?ahmad ?edda mona el-kitāb  
 Ahmad gave.PV.3SGM Mona DEF-book  
 42 ‘Ahmed gave Mona the book.’ ECA

43 In broad terms, we show that while three relatively diverse dialects share  
 44 with Modern Standard Arabic the property of allowing an alternation be-  
 45 tween the **prepositional dative construction** (PDC) and the **ditransitive**  
 46 **construction** (DTC), there are also some interesting differences in terms  
 47 of the morphosyntactic and morphosemantic conditions that govern the  
 48 constructions in the different varieties of Arabic. We will see some clear  
 49 differences in the use and status of the different variants across the dialects  
 50 and a clear effect of grammaticalisation in Maltese.

51 Throughout (and following Ouhalla 1994) we will use the term **dative**  
 52 **alternation** to refer to the alternation between the two constructions. Our  
 53 terminology throughout the presentation of the empirical, descriptive ma-  
 54 terial in this paper should not itself be interpreted as implying any particu-  
 55 lar analytic view – for this reason we eschew use of the term ‘double object

<sup>1</sup> We use the following abbreviations in the interlinear glossing: ACC ‘accusative’;  
 DAT ‘dative’; DEF ‘definite’; F ‘feminine’; IMP ‘imperative’; IMPV ‘imperfective’;  
 INDEF ‘indefinite’; M ‘masculine’; NOM ‘nominative’; PST ‘past’; PV ‘perfective’; PL  
 ‘plural’; SG ‘singular’.

56 construction' in favour of *ditransitive construction* precisely to avoid the  
57 implication that both arguments should be viewed as (primary) objects.  
58 Further, the term *prepositional dative construction* used in the description  
59 of the construction should not be taken to necessarily implicate the pres-  
60 ence of a P in the syntactic representation in all three dialects, or indeed to  
61 suggest that the status of the *li*-marked argument is necessarily the same  
62 across the three dialects.

63 There is an enormous literature on the dative alternation, that is, on  
64 the syntactic realization of those classes of three argument verbs typically  
65 involving, in some broad sense, causation of potential possession, and hence  
66 a recipient argument, which allow alternative codings of the theme and  
67 recipient arguments in the syntax. Although it would fall well beyond the  
68 scope of the present contribution to address this literature thoroughly, we  
69 will briefly review a number of aspects to which our study is potentially  
70 of relevance.

71 Much of this literature addresses the question of the extent to which  
72 there is a clear lexical semantic basis underpinning the classes of alternat-  
73 ing and non-alternating three-place predicates. Here a number of different  
74 views can be distinguished. Some work assumes that both alternative re-  
75 alizations share the same meaning (for example, Baker 1988; Larson 1988;  
76 Bresnan & Moshi 1990; Wechsler 1995), but the predominant **uniform**  
77 **multiple meaning approach** (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2008) associates  
78 the availability of two distinct but related lexical semantic structures with  
79 alternating predicates. The idea is broadly that a CAUSED POSSESSION  
80 frame underlies the DTC and a CAUSED DIRECTED MOTION frame under-  
81 lies the PDC (see Pinker 1989; Jackendoff 1990; Krifka 1999, and many  
82 others, including work which embraces a syntactic approach to these dis-  
83 tinctions in predicate argument frames such as Hale & Keyser 2002). In  
84 more recent work, Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008) argue against the  
85 uniform multiple meaning approach (in which a verb such as *give* is asso-  
86 ciated two different lexical semantic structures) and lay out the case for a  
87 more fine-grained “verb sensitive” approach which recognises distinctions  
88 among (subclasses of) verbs. They take *give*-type predicates to always in-  
89 volve a CAUSED POSSESSION semantic frame, while *throw*-type predicates  
90 are associated with both CAUSED MOTION and CAUSED POSSESSION in the  
91 English PDC.

92 Our discussion of the classes of predicates which we find permit the  
93 dative alternation in the three vernaculars contributes new data to this  
94 ongoing debate concerning the semantic basis underpinning the dative al-  
95 ternation, and in particular to the question of whether CAUSED POSSESSION  
96 is the key characteristic.

97 A very significant proportion of the work on the dative alternation is  
 98 concerned with English, where verbs exhibiting the DTC include those that  
 99 signify acts of giving, sending, instantaneous causation of ballistic motion,  
 100 continuation causation of accompanied motion in a deictically specified  
 101 direction and verbs of future having. On the basis of a small language  
 102 sample, Croft et al. (2001) propose a hierarchy such that if the DTC is  
 103 constrained, it is most likely at the higher end of the hierarchy ordering  
 104 verbs of giving above verbs of sending, above verbs of caused ballistic  
 105 motion. As we will see, this is consistent with data we present from the  
 106 three Arabic vernaculars.

107 While in a language like English the recipient argument (of the rel-  
 108 evant three argument verbs) is encoded either as a prepositional oblique  
 109 (with *to*) or as an NP “first object”, other languages may use a dative case,  
 110 as in the following German and Russian examples.

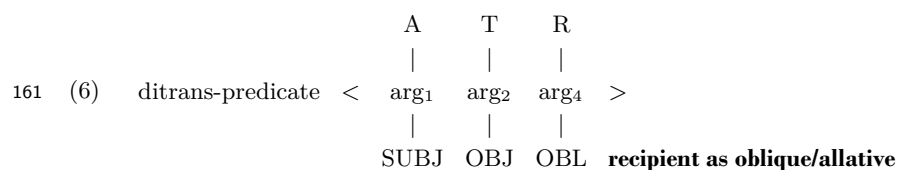
111 (3) Ich schickte ihm ein Buch.  
 I.NOM sent him.DAT a book  
 112 ‘I sent him a book.’ (Beavers 2006, 185)

113 (4) Ja dal Ivanu knigu.  
 I.NOM give.PST Ivan.DAT book.ACC  
 114 ‘I gave Ivan a book.’ (Levin 2006)

115 This raises the question as to whether the dative recipient in such exam-  
 116 ples has the same status in the syntax (or indeed in terms of the semantic  
 117 entailments holding over the participant) as the recipient in the ditransi-  
 118 tive construction, or that in the prepositional oblique construction. Levin  
 119 (2006) argues that a dative NP recipient has more in common with the  
 120 recipient object in a DTC than it does with the recipient coded by means  
 121 of the prepositional construction, which often involves an allative prepo-  
 122 sition also used to mark goals (such as English *to*). A similar position is  
 123 taken in Beavers’s (2006) work on alternations and lexical meaning. Levin  
 124 (2006) suggests that while three constructions are found crosslinguistically,  
 125 as shown in (5), the first two of these are morphosyntactic strategies in  
 126 complementary distribution, in the sense that a given language will only  
 127 exhibit one of these two. As we will see below, the Arabic data is immedi-  
 128 ately relevant to this question, and we believe that a single language may  
 129 in fact exhibit both of these strategies in parallel.

130 (5) double object construction: recipient as possessor (recipient as first object)  
 131 dative construction: recipient as possessor (theme as object)  
 132 allative construction: recipient as goal NP/PP (theme as object)

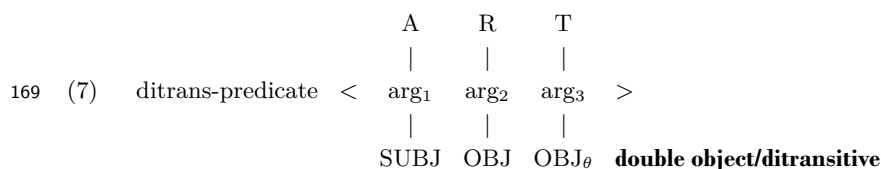
133 Although we will not develop a complete analysis here, it is useful to  
 134 make more explicit the set of assumptions concerning the syntax–lexical  
 135 semantics interface which underpins our work. We assume a monostratal,  
 136 surface-oriented constraint-based model of syntax, that of Lexical Func-  
 137 tional Grammar. Different aspects of the surface syntax are represented in  
 138 parallel structures which are placed in correspondence: c-structure (which  
 139 represents the phrase structure of a sentence) and f-structure, which rep-  
 140 resents the abstract relational structure of sentences, organised around  
 141 grammatical functions such as subject, object, predicate, adjunct and so  
 142 on. The interface between syntax and lexical semantics involves a theory  
 143 of linking which is concerned with capturing principles and generalizations  
 144 with respect to the alignment between grammatical functions and semantic  
 145 arguments. A version of this Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) which offers  
 146 a promising approach to ditransitives because it accommodates the three-  
 147 way distinction between the double object, dative and allative construc-  
 148 tion types is proposed by Kibort (2008) (see also Kibort 2007). Kibort’s  
 149 approach involves an intermediate level of ordered argument positions be-  
 150 tween participant roles (characterised in terms of sets of entailments in  
 151 the spirit of the approach of Dowty 1991) and surface grammatical func-  
 152 tions.<sup>2</sup> The array of potential morphosyntactic realizations available can  
 153 be visualised by means of the following diagrams, where A, T and R may  
 154 be thought as standing for bundles of entailments which characterise these  
 155 participants. To aid the reader in keeping track of the participants, A,  
 156 T and R are mnemonic for agent, theme and recipient respectively: they  
 157 should not be interpreted as implying a commitment to theta-roles. (6)  
 158 represents the prepositional oblique (or allative) mapping, in which the  
 159 theme argument is mapped to direct object and the recipient surfaces as  
 160 an oblique.



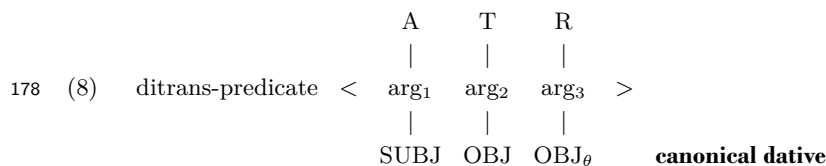
162 Notice that in the ditransitive construction, shown in (7) the R partici-  
 163 pant is associated with more prominence in terms of the semantic entail-  
 164 ments which hold over it (see also Beavers 2006 for extensive discussion of

<sup>2</sup> For further details on LFG’s Lexical Mapping Theory in general see Falk (2001) and Dalrymple (2001).

165 entailments and the ditransitive alternation). This prominence determines  
 166 a mapping (mediated by the intervening level of argument structure) in  
 167 which the recipient is mapped to direct object, and the theme argument  
 168 to thematically restricted (or secondary) OBJ<sub>θ</sub>.



170 The grammatical function OBJ<sub>θ</sub> is associated with the second, themati-  
 171 cally restricted object in languages which allow a second object (as in the  
 172 English DTC). Crosslinguistically, the range of semantic roles (or sets of  
 173 entailments) which may be associated with the OBJ<sub>θ</sub> varies: in English it  
 174 is associated only with the theme, but other languages associate roles such  
 175 as recipient, goal or beneficiary with the OBJ<sub>θ</sub>. The dative construction,  
 176 shown in (8), maps the recipient argument to the second, thematically-  
 177 restricted OBJ<sub>θ</sub>.



179 An issue which is relevant to our eventual analysis of the Arabic data is  
 180 therefore that of determining what the nature of the prepositional con-  
 181 struction is, that is, whether it corresponds to an allative or oblique con-  
 182 struction (as in English) or to a dative construction (involving an OBJ<sub>θ</sub> in  
 183 LFG terms). With this background in place, we now turn to a discussion  
 184 of ditransitive predicates in the three Arabic vernaculars.

## 185   2. Prepositional dative construction

186 Ditransitive verbs, that is, verbs with three arguments (typically an agent,  
 187 theme and recipient/possessor or goal), may occur in what we refer to as  
 188 a **prepositional dative construction** (PDC) in which the theme argument  
 189 is the object. In the Arabic vernaculars the recipient is coded by means of  
 190 a prepositional element *li-* and its variants.



191 Although the canonical order of postverbal elements has the theme  
 192 NP object preceding the prepositional argument, as in (1) and in the par-  
 193 allel examples for the three dialects given in (9), (10) and (11) (for HA,  
 194 ECA and MT respectively), the reverse order of arguments is also possible  
 195 in both ECA and HA, as shown in (12)–(13). By contrast, this order is not  
 196 possible in MT, except in cases in which the theme is in a pausally offset  
 197 discourse position, as the contrast between (14)–(15) illustrates. This dif-  
 198 ference reflects a wider distinction between MT and the other vernaculars  
 199 in terms of word order constraints.

- 200 (9) ʔahmad labbas al-malābis li-ḥālīd  
 Ahmad dress.PV.3SGM DEF-clothes to-Khalid  
 201 ‘Ahmed dressed Khalid in the clothes.’ HA
- 202 (10) labbes-t el-hudūm l-el-walad  
 dress.PV-1SG DEF-clothes to-DEF-boy  
 203 ‘I dressed the boy in the clothes.’ ECA
- 204 (11) libbis-t il-ḥwejjeg lit-tfal  
 dressed.PV-1SG DEF-clothes DAT.DEF-children  
 205 ‘I dressed the children in the clothes.’ MT
- 206 (12) labbas-t li-ʔali al-malābis  
 dress.PV-1SG to-Ali DEF-clothes  
 207 ‘I dressed Ali in the clothes.’ HA
- 208 (13) labbes-t l-el-walad el-hudūm  
 dress.PV-1SG to-DEF-boy DEF-clothes  
 209 ‘I dressed the boy in the clothes.’ ECA
- 210 (14) \*libbis-t lit-tfal il-ḥwejjeg  
 dressed.PV-1SG DAT.DEF-children DEF-clothes  
 211 ‘I dressed the children in the clothes.’ MT
- 212 (15) libbis-t lit-tfal, il-hwejjeg  
 dressed.PV-1SG DAT.DEF-children DEF-clothes  
 213 ‘The clothes, I dressed the children in them.’ MT

214 Note that throughout, we will gloss *l-* in the Maltese examples as ‘DAT’, re-  
 215 flecting our view that this element has grammaticalised into a case marker  
 216 in that language (see Camilleri & Sadler 2012; Sadler & Camilleri 2013).  
 217 For HA we gloss this form as ‘to’. For ECA we adopt a mixed practice,  
 218 glossing as ‘DAT’ when the *l-*forms are attached to the verb, and otherwise

219 as ‘to’. A fascinating discussion of the status of *l*-forms attached to the  
 220 verb is Retso (1987), who also suggests the form’s reanalysis as a dative  
 221 marker in some dialects.

222 If the theme argument is pronominal it is (normally) expressed by  
 223 means of what is traditionally described as a suffixal pronominal form  
 224 (*damāʿir muttaṣila*), as is normal for pronominal direct objects.<sup>3</sup>

225	(16) labbes-t-ha	l-el-walad	
		dress.PV-1SG-3SGF.ACC to-DEF-boy	
226	‘I dressed the boy in them (it).’		ECA
227	(17) ʔahmad labbas-ha	li-ḥalid	
	Ahmad	dress.PV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC to-Khalid	
228	‘Ahmed dressed Khalid in them (it).’		HA
229	(18) Libbis-t-hom	lit-tfal	
		dressed.PV-1SG-3PL.ACC DAT.DEF-children	
230	‘I dressed the children in them.’		MT

231 When the object of a preposition in Arabic is pronominal, a weak or suf-  
 232 fixed form of the pronoun attaches to the preposition in the vernaculars,  
 233 just as in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). The traditional description of  
 234 these elements is very consistent with the view that they are inflectional  
 235 elements (although they are often assumed to be post-lexical clitics in  
 236 generative approaches). Some illustrative paradigms for ECA are given in  
 237 Table 1.

238 (19) and (20) are examples of prepositional dative constructions with  
 239 pronominal recipients in ECA and HA respectively: as expected, the re-  
 240 cipient/goal argument is realized as an inflected form of *li-*.

241	(19) labbes-t	el-hudūm	lu-hum	
		dress.PV-1SG	DEF-clothes to-3PL.ACC	
242	‘I dressed them in the clothes.’			ECA
243	(20) biʃ-t	al-bait	lu-h	
		sell.PV-1SG	DEF-house to-3SGM.ACC	
244	‘I sold the house to him.’			HA

<sup>3</sup> Note that non-human plurals may govern SGF agreement forms in the Arabic ver-  
 naculars, but not in Maltese, so the 3SGF.ACC affix on the verb in (16) may refer  
 to a plural object.

**Table 1:** Some ECA Inflecting Prepositions (Abdel-Massih 1979/2011, 215)

	bi ‘with, by’	fi ‘in’	ʔala ‘on’
1S	biyya	fiyya	ʔalayya
2MS	biik	fiik	ʔaleek
2FS	biiki	fiiki	ʔaleeki
3MS	biih	fiih	ʔaleeh
3FS	biiha	fiiha	ʔaleeha
1P	biina	fiina	ʔaleena
2P	biikum	fiikum	ʔaleekum
3P	biihum	fiihum	ʔaleehum

245 Interestingly, just as a non-pronominal *li*-marked NP may appear between  
 246 the verb and the theme argument, so too can a pronominal recipient,  
 247 resulting in an example such as (21) for HA and (22) for ECA. Note that  
 248 the *l*-marked pronominal recipient is transcribed as part of the verbal word  
 249 in the ECA examples, a matter to which we return shortly. Examples (23)–  
 250 (24) also illustrate the case where both theme and recipient are pronominal.

251 (21) labbas-t l-ū al-malābis  
 dress.PV.1SG to-3SGM.ACC DEF-clothes  
 252 ‘I dressed him in the clothes.’ HA

253 (22) labbes-t-l-u el-hudūm  
 dress.PV-1SG-DAT-3SGM DEF-clothes  
 254 ‘I dressed him in the clothes.’ ECA

255 (23) ʔahmad labbas-ha l-ū  
 Ahmad dress.PV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC to-3SGM.ACC  
 256 ‘Ahmed dressed him in them/it.’ HA

257 (24) labbes-t-ha l-u  
 dress.PV-1SG-3SGF.ACC to-3SGM.ACC  
 258 ‘I dressed him in them/it.’ ECA

259 Turning now to Maltese, a second difference is evident between the preposi-  
 260 tional dative construction in Maltese and that in its sister dialects. Maltese  
 261 has inflecting prepositions just like the other dialects. Table 2 illustrates  
 262 the prepositions *ma* ‘with’ and *fuq* ‘on’, alongside *lil* ‘to’. Note however  
 263 that we believe there is persuasive evidence that the latter form has more

264 the status of a grammatical marker than a semantic preposition coding an  
 265 OBLique argument (Sadler & Camilleri 2013).

**Table 2:** Prepositional inflection in Maltese

Def NP	Indef NP	Prn.3SGM	Prn.2SG
ma' John 'with John'	ma' tifel 'with a boy'	miegħ-u 'with him'	miegħ-ek 'with you(sg)'
fuq John 'on John'	fuq tifel 'on a boy'	fuq-u 'on him'	fuq-ek 'on you(sg)'
lil Marija 'to Mary'	lil-tifel 'to a boy'	lil-u 'to him'	lil-ek 'to you(sg)'

266 When the recipient argument is pronominal we do not find an inflected  
 267 preposition corresponding to the forms (19) and (20) above: (25) is un-  
 268 grammatical. Rather the pronominal recipient/goal argument is expressed  
 269 by affixation to the verb, as shown in (26). When both theme and recipi-  
 270 ent/goal arguments are pronominal, they are both affixal in MT and occur  
 271 in the order theme-recipient, as shown in (27).

272 (25) \*Libbis-t il-hwejjeġ l-hom  
 dressed.PV-1SG DEF-clothes DAT-3PL  
 273 'I dressed them in the clothes.' MT

274 (26) Libbis-t-i-l-hom il-hwejjeġ  
 dressed.PV-1SG-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3PL DEF-clothes  
 275 'I dressed them in the clothes.' MT

276 (27) Libbis-t-hom-l-hom  
 dressed.PV-1SG-3PL.ACC-DAT-3PL  
 277 'I dressed them in them.' MT

278 The significant difference between MT and the other vernaculars is thus  
 279 the requirement that a pronominal *l*-marked recipient be expressed as a  
 280 verbal inflection, from which it follows that (25) is ungrammatical. The  
 281 only exception to this is when certain information structure constraints  
 282 intervene. In (28), for example, the recipient is contrastively focussed and  
 283 hence we see a strong (syntactic) pronominal form.

284 (28) Libbis-t il-hwejjeġ LILHOM u mhux lilkom  
 dressed.PV-1SG DEF-clothes DAT.3PL CONJ NEG DAT.2PL  
 285 'I dressed THEM in the clothes and not you.' MT

286 One striking aspect of the ECA data is the behaviour of the prepositional  
287 argument when verb adjacent. The clear pattern presented by the Maltese  
288 data may be suggestive of an analysis for the ECA examples such as (22):  
289 the question which arises is whether the pronominal recipient is in fact a  
290 verbal inflection in these cases, as it is in MT. This in turn would have con-  
291 sequences for its syntactic analysis, to which we return in section 7. Since  
292 incorporation of an oblique argument is rather less expected than incorpo-  
293 ration of a term argument, evidence for the affixal status of the pronominal  
294 recipient would in turn support an analysis as a second, indirect or the-  
295 matically restricted object. Note that a distinction of the appropriate sort,  
296 between obliques and dative arguments or goal/recipients, is common to a  
297 number of frameworks. Relational Grammar systematically distinguishes  
298 recipient arguments in prepositional dative constructions, which are taken  
299 to be indirect objects or initial and final **3 terms**, from obliques. Along  
300 similar lines, working within the framework of Lexical Functional Gram-  
301 mar (LFG), Sadler and Camilleri (2013) argue that the *li*-marked recipient  
302 in Maltese ditransitive structures is not an oblique but a thematically re-  
303 stricted object, or OBJ<sub>θ</sub>.

304 While suggestive of word-internal (morphological) status, the fact that  
305 an element is represented orthographically as part of the following (or pre-  
306 ceding) word does not necessarily distinguish affixes from proclitics (and  
307 enclitics); that is, the orthographic word may not necessarily correspond  
308 to the morphological word, a point made in Haspelmath (2011) among  
309 many other sources. Standard Arabic orthography represents a number of  
310 prepositions and conjunctive, discourse and aspectual particles as part of  
311 the following word, yet, as Watson (2002) observes in connection with the  
312 stress pattern of ECA, a number of these elements may be proclitics, rather  
313 than part of the morphological word, since they attach without having any  
314 effect on the word stress, properties which are typical of canonical simple  
315 clitics (Spencer & Luis 2012). On the other hand, elements such as the im-  
316 perfect prefix, the subject and object pronominal suffixes and the negative  
317 suffix effect the assignment of lexical stress (and syllabification). Indeed  
318 she argues specifically that in ECA “prepositional phrases which comple-  
319 ment a verb are invariably incorporated into the phonological word of the  
320 verb when they take a pronominal suffix. This is seen most clearly when  
321 the verb is negated by the discontinuous morpheme *ma + š* (Abdel-Massih  
322 1979/2011)” (Watson 2002, 62). Sentential negation in ECA is expressed  
323 by means of a (usually) discontinuous element, the second part of which  
324 attaches to the end of the verbal word, as shown in the table (3) from

325 Abdel-Massih (1979/2011, 151–152) and the following examples (29)–(30)  
 326 (Abdel-Massih 1979/2011, 136).<sup>4</sup>

**Table 3:** ECA negation (after Abdel-Massih 1979/2011)

/ma+katab+lak+š/	ma katablakš	‘he did not write to you (SGM)’
/ma+katab+lina+š/	ma katablināš	‘he did not write to us’
/ma+katab+ha+lina+š/	ma katabhálnāš	‘he did not write it (SGF) to us’

- 327 (29) ma-baʕat-tu-hum-lu-hum-š  
 NEG-send.PV-1SG-3PL.ACC-DAT-3PL-NEG  
 328 ‘I did not send them to them.’ ECA
- 329 (30) ma-katab-ha-l-ak-š  
 NEG-write.PV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC-DAT-2SGM-NEG  
 330 ‘He did not write it (f) for you.’ ECA

331 A crucial point from our perspective is that the negative marker may  
 332 attach **after** the *l*-marked pronominal: if the negative marker is itself a  
 333 morphological affix then this provides evidence that the *l*-pronominal is  
 334 also affixal. Evidence that the negative element *š* is part of the phonolog-  
 335 ical word is provided by its interaction with the word-internal process of  
 336 pre-suffix vowel lengthening in ECA. This process takes place within the  
 337 morphological word and is triggered by the constraint that a morpheme  
 338 may not be suffixed to a form ending in a short vowel (Watson 2002, 182).  
 339 It points to the conclusion that both the second negative marker and the  
 340 (attached) *l*-marked pronominal forms are indeed suffixes. Watson’s ex-  
 341 amples are as follows in table (4), where *š* is the negative marker, *-ni*,  
 342 *-u* and *-ha* the 1SG, 3SGM and 3SGF object suffixes and *-lak* the 2SGM  
 343 dative/recipient suffix.

344 Note that although Watson speaks of “prepositional phrases”, to our  
 345 knowledge, the **only** “prepositional” elements which permit this are the *l*-  
 346 pronominals: pronominally inflected forms of e.g. *fi-* ‘in’ and *min-* ‘from’ do

<sup>4</sup> We refer to *ma + š* as a discontinuous element without prejudice to the precise details of the morphological analysis. Several pieces of evidence tend to support a double exponence view over a circumfixal account, however. One of these is that the distribution of the *š* element is sensitive to the presence of (certain) NPIs in both MT and ECA. We are grateful to an anonymous reviewer for reminding us of the relevance of this fact. See Haspelmath & Caruana (1996) for the MT facts and Soltan (2012) for ECA.

**Table 4:** ECA verbal suffixes (after Watson 2002)

/ma darastu+š/	ma darastūš	‘you (PL) didn’t learn’
/ma šuft+u+š/	ma šuftūš	‘I didn’t see it (SGM)’
/ʕallimu+ni/	ʕallimūni	‘they taught me’
/šufna+ha/	šufnāha	‘we saw her’
/ʔult+u+lak/	ʔultūlak	‘I told you (SGM) it (SGM)’

347 not permit ‘neg-wrap’ but must occur after the second part of the negative  
348 marker as a separate syntactic word.

349 On the basis of these observations, then, the evidence strongly sug-  
350 gests that a historical process of grammaticalisation is in progress, such  
351 that the pronominal *li-* forms in ECA have now acquired affixal status  
352 alongside their status as independent (syntactic) words. Note that it is  
353 not unknown for elements to have such a dual status as affixes and syn-  
354 tactically independent elements: see Luis & Otaguro (2011) for a recent  
355 instance of the argument that Portuguese weak proclitic and enclitic object  
356 pronouns are in fact syntactic words when proclitic, but word-level suffixes  
357 when enclitic. An interesting further twist to the ECA data, however, is  
358 that even when verb-adjacent, it appears that the pronominally-inflected *li-*  
359 forms have a dual status. Firstly, authentic recent ECA sources (messages  
360 on Egyptian Twitter feeds) indicate both orthographic practises (attached  
361 and non-attached)<sup>5</sup>. Secondly, given that the second negative element *-š*  
362 is a word-final affix, the fact that both the forms in (31) are found is  
363 indicative of this dual status synchronically.

364 (31) a. ma-baʕate-lū-š  
NEG-send.PV.1SG-DAT.3SGM-NEG  
‘I didn’t send (it) to him.’

365 b. ma-baʕate-š lu-h  
NEG-send.PV.1SG-NEG to-3SGM  
‘I didn’t send (it) to him.’

366 If these observations are along the right track, a picture emerges in which  
367 the dialects may be placed upon a grammaticalisation cline with respect  
368 to the expression of the pronominal *li-* marked argument. The highest de-  
369 gree of grammaticalisation of the pronominal *li-*marked argument is seen

<sup>5</sup> *moš hasmaḥ lu-hum* ‘I won’t allow (for)-them’ as against *baʔul-lu-h* ‘I’m telling to-him’ and *baʕate-lu-h* ‘I sent (to)-him’.

370 in Maltese, where the argument is expressed as a verbal inflection, while  
 371 ECA is at an intermediate stage, in which potentially both morpholog-  
 372 ical and syntactic structures co-exist in the grammar (as illustrated by  
 373 (31) above), on the assumption that the *-š* negation marks the end of the  
 374 morphological word. A question then arises as to the status of the verb  
 375 adjacent pronominal recipient argument in HA such as (21), the issue be-  
 376 ing whether this element is always an independent syntactic word, which  
 377 would be consistent with the view that HA is less far along the grammat-  
 378 icalisation cline in this respect. We leave this issue for future work, but  
 379 tend to the view that the *li*-marked pronominal in HA corresponds to a  
 380 separate syntactic word (note that this does not preclude the possibility  
 381 that it is cliticised post-syntactically as a weak form).

382 It is useful to summarize the main data points in this section at this  
 383 point. We have seen that the prepositional dative construction allows a  
 384 greater degree of word order freedom in HA and ECA than it does in Mal-  
 385 tese: in the latter language the theme NP must precede the recipient/goal  
 386 argument. On the other hand, pronominal recipients are obligatorily incor-  
 387 porated into the verbal morphology in Maltese and optionally so in ECA  
 388 and not at all in HA. This looks like a clear grammaticalisation path, with  
 389 Maltese further along the grammaticalisation cline.

390 In the case of prototypical ditransitive verbs such as *?edda* (ECA)  
 391 ‘give’ or *bāš* ‘sell’ (HA), the semantic role of the *li*-marked argument is  
 392 that of recipient or goal, and in discussing predicates exhibiting the da-  
 393 tive alternation we have generally used the term ‘recipient’ to refer to this  
 394 participant. It should be noted, however, that arguments with a range of  
 395 thematic or semantic roles may be realized by the *li*- prepositional marker  
 396 in all three vernaculars, most particularly in a range of constructions in-  
 397 volving non-selected arguments, such as external possessors, benefactives  
 398 and affected experiencers, as in the following.

399 (32) *zawwad-t al-flūs lu-hum*  
 make.increase.PV-1SG DEF-money to-3PL.ACC  
 400 ‘I increased the money for him.’ HA

401 (33) *saxxan-t-u-lu-hum*  
 make.heat.PV-1SG-3SGM.ACC-DAT-3PL  
 402 ‘I heated it for them.’ ECA



403

### 3. The ditransitive construction

404 A subset of verbs which may appear with three arguments (that is, with a  
 405 recipient/goal/beneficiary argument) also permit the recipient to occur as  
 406 a bare NP, or in a pronominal form lacking the *l-* marker. We will return  
 407 later to the conditions under which this construction is permitted in the  
 408 various dialects. Recall that we refer to this construction as the **ditransitive**  
 409 **construction** (DTC) in order to avoid the analytic implications potentially  
 410 carried by the more familiar term *double object construction*. The order of  
 411 arguments in the DTC is that the recipient/goal argument precedes the  
 412 theme. The most straightforward examples are shown in (34)–(37), from  
 413 which it can be observed that the DTC construction, when both arguments  
 414 are full lexical NPs, is possible in ECA and in HA but not in MT.

415 (34) labbes-t el-walad el-hudūm  
       dress.PV-1SG DEF-boy DEF-clothes  
 416 ‘I dressed the boy in the clothes.’ ECA

417 (35) farīd fahhim ʔali d-dars  
       farid explain.PV.3SGM Ali DEF-lesson  
 418 ‘Farid explained the lesson to Ali.’ ECA (Abdel-Massih 1979/2011, 191)

419 (36) ʔahmad labbas ḥālīd al-malābis  
       Ahmad dress.PV.3SGM Khalid DEF-clothes  
 420 ‘Ahmed dressed Khalid in the clothes.’ HA

421 (37) \*Libbis-t it-tfal il-hwejjēg  
       dressed.PV-1SG DEF-children DEF-clothes  
 422 ‘I dressed the children in the clothes.’ MT

423 On the other hand, if the **recipient** is a pronoun (and hence expressed af-  
 424 fixally), the structure is fully grammatical in all three dialects. Note that  
 425 in this construction the pronominal recipient is expressed by means of the  
 426 standard “object” morphology, consistent with the view that it is “pro-  
 427 moted” to the status of primary object (we will show further evidence in a  
 428 subsequent section that this is the case). MT therefore shows a restriction  
 429 on the DTC construction that limits it to cases in which the recipient ar-  
 430 gument is a pronominal. Such restrictions on the ditransitive construction  
 431 (i.e., structures with two lexical NPs are lacking) are also found in many  
 432 dialects of North Africa and the Maghreb (Tucker 2013).

433	(38)	labbes-t-u	el-hudūm	
		dress.PV-1SG-3SGM.ACC	DEF-clothes	
434		‘I dressed him in the clothes.’		ECA
435	(39)	ʔahmad labbas-ū	al-malābis	
		Ahmad dress.PV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC	DEF-clothes	
436		‘Ahmed dressed him in the clothes.’		HA
437	(40)	Libbis-t-u	l-hwejjeg	
		dressed.PV-1SG-3SGM.ACC	DEF-clothes	
438		‘I dressed him in the clothes.’		MT

439 Given that in the contemporary vernaculars there is only one ‘slot’ in  
 440 the verbal morphology for an object pronominal, it is interesting to see  
 441 what structure arises when both theme and recipient/goal arguments  
 442 are pronominal.<sup>6</sup> We expect this to depend at least in part on what  
 443 free pronominal forms the language has available. That is, what (if any)  
 444 pronominal paradigm is available for expressing a pronominal theme ‘ob-  
 445 ject’ or ‘secondary object’ when the recipient argument (whether pronom-  
 446 inal or a lexical NP) is not a *li*-marked form?

447 The big picture is that both MT and HA permit both arguments to  
 448 be pronominal in the DTC, although they differ in detail, while ECA does  
 449 not. Broadly speaking, MT distinguishes two full sets of free pronouns, one  
 450 used mainly for subjects (and vocatives) and one used in several other en-  
 451 vironments, notably for direct and second objects (Camilleri 2011).<sup>7</sup> ECA  
 452 and HA have a single free pronoun paradigm set, but HA appears to per-  
 453 mit the use of these pronouns for the theme argument in the ditransitive  
 454 construction, while ECA reserves its use essentially to the subject function.  
 455 Table 5 provides the free pronoun paradigms for the dialects under dis-  
 456 cussion. Again, we refer the reader to Retso (1987) for some fascinating  
 457 discussion of differences in the pronominal systems across dialects.

458 The contrast between (41) and (42) follows from the observation  
 459 above, namely that HA permits the use of the free pronoun in a wider set  
 460 of circumstances than ECA. (43) illustrates the use of the non-nominative  
 461 free pronoun in MT.

<sup>6</sup> This is in contrast to earlier forms of Arabic. As is well known, combinations of two accusative pronominal affixes/clitics were attested in Classical Arabic. For a recent discussion of such data see Walkow (to appear). We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out to us the discussion in Gensler (1998).

<sup>7</sup> The distribution of these two sets of pronouns is slightly more complicated once one considers pronominal topics: see Sadler & Camilleri (2013) for some discussion.

**Table 5:** Free pronoun forms

	HA free pronoun	ECA free pronoun	MT nom. pronoun	MT non-nom. pronoun
1SG	ʔana	ʔana	jien	lili
2SGM	ʔinta	ʔinta	int	lilek
2SGF	ʔinti	ʔinti	int	lilek
3SGM	huwa	huwa	hu/huwa	lilu
3SGF	hi/hiya	hiya	hi/hija	lilha
1PL	iḥna	ʔiḥna	aḥna	lilna
2PL	ʔantum	ʔintu	intom/intkom	lilkom
3PL	humma	humma	huma	lilhom

462 (41) \*ʔedde-nā-kum huwa

gave.PV-1PL-2PL.ACC he

463 'We gave you it.'

ECA

464 (42) ʔaddain-na-kum huwa

gave.PV-1PL-2PL.ACC he

465 'We gave you it.'

HA

466 (43) Taj-nie-kom lilhom

gave.PV-1PL-2PL.ACC them

467 'We gave you them.'

MT

468 Before continuing our discussion of the DTC, we illustrate the availability  
 469 of the free pronoun for the theme in the prepositional dative construction  
 470 in HA. Our informants provide the following example as fully grammatical,  
 471 without this argument being pausally offset or associated with a special  
 472 information structure status. It remains to be determined under what con-  
 473 ditions this use of a free pronoun is an acceptable alternative to the affixal  
 474 pronominal in the prepositional dative construction (see Retso 1987 for  
 475 some further discussion).

476 (44) ḡāb l-i humma

brought.PV.3SGM to-1SG them

477 'He brought them to me.'

HA

478 Returning now to the DTC, the use of the free pronoun *huwa* for the  
 479 theme argument in (42) is interesting. In MSA the free pronouns which  
 480 are cognate with the sets shown in the HA, ECA and MT nom columns



510 are clearly clause-internal rather than being placed in a pausally offset  
 511 discourse position. From another perspective, this might be viewed as a  
 512 variant of the prepositional dative construction, but in which the *l*-marking  
 513 is absent. Note that the order theme - recipient is also possible when the  
 514 theme is an attached pronominal, as shown in (49).

515 (48) mona labbas-at al-malābis ḥālid  
 Mona dress.PV-3SGF DEF-clothes Khalid  
 516 ‘Mona dressed Khalid in the clothes.’ HA

517 (49) mona labbas-at-ha ḥālid  
 Mona dress.PV-3SGF-3SGF.ACC Khalid  
 518 ‘Mona dressed Khalid in them.’ HA

519 This is an intriguing observation, and we have not come across any dis-  
 520 cussion in the literature of such a pattern in any contemporary dialect.  
 521 It is potentially relevant to observe that the Gulf dialects are in general  
 522 more conservative than those found in the Levant and to the west, and it  
 523 is claimed in the literature that Classical Arabic did not have the usage of  
 524 the *li*- construction found in MSA and the contemporary vernaculars, but  
 525 used a construction in which each nominal was accusative case-marked,  
 526 and in which the NPs could occur in either order.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand,  
 527 many questions remain open concerning the extent to which the alterna-  
 528 tive shown in (48)–(49) is available to HA speakers, since parallel examples  
 529 such as (50)–(51) and (52)–(53) are not accepted.

530 (50) al-raḡul sallaf Muhammad al-flūs  
 DEF-man lend.PV.3SGM Muhammad DEF-money  
 531 ‘The man lent Muhammad the money.’ HA

532 (51) \*al-raḡul sallaf al-flūs Muhammad  
 the-man lend.PV.3SGM the-money Muhammad  
 533 ‘The man lent Muhammad the money.’ HA

534 (52) mona saʔal-at ʔal-walad suʔāl  
 Mona ask.PV-3SGF DEF-boy question  
 535 ‘Mona asked the boy a question.’ HA

<sup>9</sup> A reviewer wonders whether the possibility of expressing the recipient in this way might be related to the possibility in HA of expressing the theme as a stand-alone NOM pronominal. Note however that (42) is only grammatical with a pronominal recipient attached to the verb. We are not in a position to pursue this suggestion here.

- 536 (53) \*mona saʔal-at suʔāl ʔal-walad  
 537 Mona ask.PV-3SGF question DEF-boy  
 537 ‘Mona asked the boy a question.’ HA

538 To summarise our observations concerning the ditransitive construction  
 539 (DTC), we have shown that it occurs in all three dialects, but is heavily  
 540 restricted in Maltese where it is confined to pronominal recipients (which  
 541 are necessarily expressed by pronominal affixes on the verb). Both MT and  
 542 HA allow a free pronoun to be used for the theme argument, at least in the  
 543 case where the recipient is a pronominal affix, while this does not appear  
 544 to be possible in ECA.

545 In the following section we turn to the question of determining which  
 546 verbs undergo the dative alternation, that is, permit both of these struc-  
 547 tures. We start by reviewing a recent discussion of this question for MSA.

#### 548 4. The ditransitive alternation in Modern Standard Arabic

549 The ditransitive alternation in MSA may be illustrated with the verb *aʔtā*  
 550 ‘give’, a verb which is inherently a three-place predicate. As in the vernacu-  
 551 lars, the prepositional dative construction in MSA involves the preposition  
 552 *li-* ‘to’ which marks the recipient/goal argument.

- 553 (54) aʔtay-tu l-miftāḥ li-l-bint-i  
 554 give.PV-1SG DEF-key-ACC to-DEF-girl-GEN  
 554 ‘I gave the key to the girl.’ MSA (Ryding 2011, 291)

- 555 (55) aʔtay-tu l-bint-a l-miftāḥ-a  
 556 give.PV-1SG DEF-girl-ACC DEF-key-ACC  
 556 ‘I gave the girl the key.’ MSA (*idem.*)

- 557 (56) sa-yu-ʔtīi-haa l-taḏkarat-a  
 558 FUT-3SGM-give.IMPV-3SGF.ACC DEF-ticket-ACC  
 558 ‘He will give her the ticket.’ MSA (Ryding 2005, 515)

559 An interesting recent contribution concerned with the ditransitive structure  
 560 and its prepositional dative counterpart in Modern Standard Arabic is  
 561 Ryding (2011) (other relevant work includes Salih 1985; Ouhalla 1994;  
 562 Wilmsen 2010; 2011). Ryding is concerned essentially with the question of  
 563 the role played by the semantic properties of verbs in determining whether  
 564 or not a given form exhibits the ditransitive alternation. She observes that  
 565 ditransitive structures in English result from both the dative alternation

566 in which an underlying recipient (or spatial goal) argument of the verb  
 567 alternates between realization as a prepositional oblique and as an object,  
 568 as in (57), and the benefactive alternation, in which an **optional** or added  
 569 participant alternates between realization as a prepositional oblique and  
 570 as an object, illustrated in (58).

571 (57) John sent a book to Mary.  
 572       John sent Mary a book.

573 (58) John baked a cake for Mary.  
 574       John baked Mary a cake.

575 She argues that the Arabic preposition *li-* corresponds both to English ‘to’  
 576 in its use marking the recipient/goal argument of three-place verbs, and  
 577 to English ‘for’ in its use marking the added beneficiary as in (58). The  
 578 essential point of her paper is to consider what determines the range of  
 579 the dative alternation in MSA.

580 Consider first a verb which is not underlyingly a three-place predi-  
 581 cate, such as *ishtarā* ‘buy’. Clearly a buying event can take place without  
 582 an intended recipient or beneficiary. It is possible to add such a recipi-  
 583 ent/beneficiary by means of a PP headed by the preposition *li-*. Ryding  
 584 suggests that with such a verb the preposition *li-* essentially introduces  
 585 an additional FOR THE BENEFIT OF predication into the lexical semantic  
 586 structure. Ryding’s proposal is informally specified, but very much in the  
 587 spirit of the sort of lexical conceptual decompositions used in Rappaport  
 588 Hovav & Levin (1998) and subsequent work. This corresponds to the ‘for-  
 589 datives’, but unlike English, these verbs do not permit the ditransitive  
 590 structure in Arabic, occurring only in the prepositional dative construc-  
 591 tion.<sup>10</sup>

592 (59) *ishtaray-tu zahrat-an li-l-bint-i*  
       bought.PV-1SG flower-ACC.INDEF for-DEF-girl-GEN  
 593       ‘I bought a flower for the girl.’ MSA

594 (60) \**ishtaray-tu l-bint-a zahrat-an*  
       bought.PV-1SG DEF-girl-ACC flower-ACC.INDEF  
 595       ‘I bought a flower for the girl.’ MSA

<sup>10</sup> Note however, that the position of the postverbal arguments is not totally inflexible. While this is not possible as a basic ordering in English, the prepositional argument may precede the direct object.

596 The class of non-alternating two-place predicates such as *ishtarā* contrast  
 597 with recipient-taking verbs which correspond to the ‘to-datives’ of English,  
 598 and *do* permit the dative alternation. Ryding argues that the crucial point  
 599 about members of this latter class of verbs is that they all involve a CAUSE  
 600 predication in the lexical semantic structure, either because they are in-  
 601 herently causative lexical verbs (such as *manaḥa* ‘grant’ (underived, or Ist  
 602 form)), or because they are derived forms, for example, in the IVth form  
 603 (measure, or *wizan*).<sup>11</sup> Arabic verbal morphology is characterised by a sys-  
 604 tem of measures or *?awzān* involving derivational morphological processes  
 605 by which new verbal lexemes are derived. In the Western tradition, these  
 606 forms (or measures) are referred to by means of roman numerals, with the  
 607 Ist form being the underived lexeme, while in the Arabic tradition they are  
 608 often referred to by giving the relevant form of the lexeme ‘do/make’; for  
 609 example, the IVth form may be referred to as the *?affal* form. Each derived  
 610 form (or measure) has one or more semantic core meanings, and when both  
 611 the under-derived (Ist) form and the derived form exist, the meaning of  
 612 the latter is often (at least partly) predictable. In other cases the meaning  
 613 of the ‘derived’ lexeme may be less predictable. No root combines with all  
 614 the measures. Ryding’s study is essentially concerned with the IVth mea-  
 615 sure applying productively and synchronically to derive causative forms of  
 616 verbs, as well as with underived “lexical” three-place predicates exhibiting  
 617 the dative alternation, such as the verb *aṭṭā* ‘give’, illustrated in (54)–(55)  
 618 above.

619 A three-place predicate such as ‘give’ crucially involves a CAUSE-TO-  
 620 HAVE type predication (where the recipient possesses the Object theme  
 621 because the Agent has caused a transfer of possession), which Ryding  
 622 represents as follows (for comparison, we give a representation for caused  
 623 possession from Levin 2011 in (62)).

624 (61) CAUSE<Agent, predication[EVENT<Recipient, Object>]>

625 (62) [[ *x* ACT ] CAUSE [ BECOME [ *y* HAVE < POSS-TYPE > *z* ] ] ]

626 However the class of predicates which involve a CAUSE predication and  
 627 undergo the dative alternation is wider than the class of verbs which are  
 628 **inherently** associated with CAUSE-TO-HAVE predications. An example from  
 629 the ‘causative’ (*?affal* or IVth) measure is *?atṣama* ‘feed’ the causative

<sup>11</sup> The Arabic term *wizan* pl: *?awzān* corresponds to the Hebrew term *binyan* pl:  
*benyanim*.



630 form of 1st measure *taʿīma* ‘taste’ and which alternates as shown in (63)–  
631 (64).<sup>12</sup>

632 (63) ʔa-tʿam-tu      l-ʿinab-a      li-l-bint-i  
CAUSE-fed.PV-1SG DEF-grapes-ACC to-DEF-girl-GEN  
633 ‘I fed the grapes to the girl.’ MSA

634 (64) ʔa-tʿam-tu      l-bint-a      l-ʿinab-a  
CAUSE-fed.PV-1SG DEF-girl-ACC DEF-grapes-ACC  
635 ‘I fed the girl the grapes.’ MSA

636 Although the notion of causation relevant to the dative alternation in MSA  
637 is wider than the caused-possession class which is associated with the alter-  
638 nation in many different languages, (as (64) and similar examples show),  
639 there is a clear class of causative predicates (in the IVth form) which do not  
640 alternate, although they permit the prepositional dative structure. These  
641 are predicates lexicalizing a causative-intransitive structure, involving the  
642 causative (*ʔaʿfʿal*) of an intransitive verb (such as *ʔaḥḍara* ‘bring’ from  
643 *ḥaḍara* ‘come’).

644 (65) ʔa-ḥḍar-tu      l-zuhūr-a  
CAUSE-bring.PV-1SG DEF-flowers-ACC  
645 ‘I brought the flowers.’ MSA

646 The lexical argument structure of the derived verb is along the lines shown  
647 in (66): the Agent causes the event to happen (the Object to come): note  
648 that the recipient is not involved in the argument structure of the verb  
649 itself, and hence, as shown in (65), the (two-place) predicate is perfectly  
650 grammatical without the recipient.

651 (66) CAUSE<Agent, predication[come<Object>]>

652 These verbs may permit an (intended) recipient to be expressed as an  
653 additional argument. In such cases, an additional FOR-THE-BENEFIT-OF  
654 predication is introduced by the semantics of the preposition itself. Hence  
655 the preposition itself cannot be dropped if the (optional) recipient is ex-  
656 pressed, and as a consequence verbs in this class do not permit the DTC,

<sup>12</sup> The observation that verbs which allow two accusative arguments in Arabic are often in the ‘causative’ *ʔawzān* is of course well established in the literature on Classical Arabic (CA) (see for example Wright 1874), and taken up in recent Minimalist work on clitics and agreement markers in CA in Walkow (to appear), independent of Ryding’s (2011) work on MSA.

657 that is, they are non-alternating predicates. (67) shows the combined lex-  
658 ical semantic structure Ryding associates with an example such as (68).

659 (67) FOR THE BENEFIT OF < Recipient [CAUSE<Agent, predication[come<Object>]]>

660 (68) ?a-ḥḍar-tu                      l-zuhūr-a                      li-l-bint-i  
CAUSE-brought.PV-1SG DEF-flowers-ACC to-DEF-girl-GEN  
661 ‘I brought the flowers to the girl.’ MSA

662 (69) \*?a-ḥḍar-tu                      l-bint-a                      l-zuhūr-a  
CAUSE-brought.PV-1SG DEF-girl-ACC DEF-flowers-ACC  
663 ‘I brought the girl the flowers.’ MSA

664 In the next section we consider the extent to which these generalizations  
665 concerning the availability of the DTC for causative-transitive structures  
666 hold for the dialects we are considering. There are essentially two questions:  
667 firstly, is it right that the *li-* arguments with intransitive base causatives do  
668 not undergo the DTC and secondly, it is the case that causative-transitives  
669 in general do so.

## 670 5. The role of the cause predicate

671 The system of measures or forms is clearly evident in the dialects which  
672 we consider, although this is an area of grammar where the gap between  
673 the classical system, still extant in MSA, and the contemporary vernacu-  
674 lars is quite considerable. Overall the system of forms has undergone some  
675 simplification, and in particular, the IVth form which is the essential focus  
676 of Ryding’s study of verbs involving a CAUSE predicate, has largely disap-  
677 peared from the three dialects we are concerned with here, with a transfer  
678 of functions to the IInd form.<sup>13</sup> The second measure is characterised by  
679 gemination of the second consonant of the root (*faʕʕal* form). As Fassi-  
680 Fehri (1993) observes, the transitivizing property of the IInd measure is  
681 beyond question. It expresses a range of meanings, amongst the most com-  
682 mon being causative and intensive meanings (examples from ECA include  
683 *xawwif* ‘frighten’ from *xaaf* ‘be afraid’; *daffaʕ* ‘make s.o. pay’ from *dafaʕ*  
684 ‘pay’; *kassar* ‘smash’ from *kasar* ‘break’ (Abdel-Masih 1979/2011, 280)).

<sup>13</sup> For ECA, Abdel-Masih lists some measure IV transitive verbs expressing causa-  
tion, such as *zahaʕ* ‘appear’/*aʕzaʕ* ‘show’, but observes that the “use of Measure  
IV to express causation is indicative of education and acquaintance with Standard  
Arabic” (Abdel-Masih 1979/2011, 281).

685 In the light of this, it is an interesting question as to whether the generaliza-  
686 tion that Ryding makes about the class of alternating verbs in MSA holds  
687 true of the dialects, given this displacement of morphological functions.  
688 In order to answer this question we have begun a systematic investigation  
689 of verbs in the IInd measure and other verbs falling into semantic classes  
690 which are crosslinguistically most likely to alternate. In broad outline, a  
691 reasonably comprehensive survey of IInd form verbs which we have car-  
692 ried out for the three dialects appears to show that such verbs display  
693 the same distributional properties Ryding illustrates for IVth form verbs  
694 in MSA: that is, causatives from intransitive predicates do not alternate  
695 while causatives from transitive predicates tend to do so. This in turn  
696 suggests that the generalization concerning the CAUSE predication is also  
697 relevant to the contemporary vernaculars, independent of the ‘shift’ in the  
698 form used for causative derivation. We will return further to the discussion  
699 of the distributional generalization below.

700 Table 6 provides a small representative sample of alternating verbs  
701 across the dialects and illustrates the striking cross-dialectal similarity.  
702 The final column distinguishes between those verbs which have form I non-  
703 causative counterparts synchronically (Derived), from those which do not  
704 (Lexical). A number of the verbs classified here as Lexical are in the IInd  
705 measure (with a doubled second consonant) but are (at least synchroni-  
706 cally) non-derived in the sense that they do not have a 1st measure coun-  
707 terpart, because the system of measures is less regularly productive in the  
708 contemporary vernaculars. Consequently, from a purely synchronic point  
709 of view, their behaviour in either allowing or not allowing the alternation  
710 appears to be a matter of lexical idiosyncrasy. Equally, there are a number  
711 of alternating verbs such as MT *wera* ‘show’, *ta* ‘give’ and *tema* ‘feed’  
712 which show inflectional characteristics of their diachronic membership in  
713 the IVth measure, although they are now assimilated to other inflectional  
714 paradigms. These verbs undergo the dative alternation, consistent with the  
715 causative semantics associated with the IVth measure, even though this  
716 verbal template is no longer synchronically productive in any way in that  
717 vernacular. Diachronic evidence for membership in the IVth measure is  
718 not simply manifest through the causative predication available, but also  
719 from other morphological remnants, including the word-form’s V1 length-  
720 ening in the imperfect sub-paradigm and the final *i* stem-vowel in the SG  
721 cells in the imperfect sub-paradigm, which has long been associated with  
722 causative morphology (Sutcliffe 1936, 110).

723 Examples (70)–(71) show an alternating IInd measure causative from  
724 a transitive base (in ECA), and (72)–(73) an alternative causative from

**Table 6:** Alternating causatives

Transitive Base	ECA	MT	HA	Structure
dress	labbes	libbes	labbis	Derived
make taste	dawwaʔ	dewwaq	dawwiʔ	Derived
make earn	kassib	qallaʔ	kassab	Derived
make hear	sammaʕ	semmaʔ	sammaʕ	Derived
make drink	sharrab	(1)	sharrab	Derived
feed (2)	ʔakkil	—	ʔakkil	Derived
make understand	fahhim	fiehem (3)	fahhim	Derived
increase	zawwid (4)	—	zawwid	Derived
lend	sallef	sellef (5)	sallef	Lexical
ask	saʔal (6)	saqsa/staqsa (6)	saʔal (6)	Lexical
give	ʔedda	ta/ghadda	ʔadda	Lexical
teach	ʕallim	ghallem	ʕallam	Lexical
show	warra	wera	warra	Lexical

(1): The corresponding MT verb *xarrab* means ‘wetten’.

(2): MT *tema* ‘feed’ is diachronically a IVth measure verb which has been synchronically reanalyzed as a I measure form.

(3): MT *fiehem* ‘make understand’ is a IIIrd form verb.

(4): This verb has an Intransitive base.

(5): This verb is derived in MT.

(6): These verbs are all 1st measure forms.

725 a transitive base in HA. In (74)–(75) we illustrate an alternating verb in  
 726 MT which is cognate with the form II verb in ECA and HA, as shown in  
 727 Table 6, and which is diachronically associated with the (no longer active)  
 728 IVth measure, as discussed above.

729	(70)	fahhem-t	el-dars	l-el-walad	
		make.understand.PV-1SG	DEF-lesson	to-DEF-boy	
730		‘I made the boy understand the lesson.’			ECA
731	(71)	fahhem-t	el-walad	el-dars	
		make-understand.PV-1SG	DEF-boy	DEF-lesson	
732		‘I made the boy understand the lesson.’			ECA
733	(72)	al-raġul	sallaf	al-flūs	li-Muhammad
		DEF-man	lend.PV.3SGM	DEF-money	to-Muhammad
734		‘The man lent Muhammad the money.’			HA

- 735 (73) al-rağul sallaf Muhammad al-flūs  
 DEF-man lend.PV.3SGM Muhammad DEF-money  
 736 ‘The man lent Muhammad the money.’ HA
- 737 (74) Wrej-t il-ktieb lit-tifa  
 show.PV-1SG DEF-book DAT.DEF-girl  
 738 ‘I showed the book to the girl.’ MT
- 739 (75) Wrej-t-ha l-ktieb  
 show.PV-1SG-3SGF.ACC DEF-book  
 740 ‘I showed her the book.’ MT

741 Our survey does not pretend to yet give a comprehensive overview of the  
 742 availability of the dative alternation in the contemporary Arabic vernacu-  
 743 lars. However it is already clear that the range of the alternation is wider  
 744 than is sometimes claimed in the literature. For example, in recent work on  
 745 Maltese, Tucker (2013, 192) states that there are (only) five verbs that dis-  
 746 play such alternation, namely: *seraq* ‘steal’, *ta* ‘give’, *wera* ‘show’, and the  
 747 two IInd from verbs *ğhallem* ‘teach’ and *sellef* ‘lend’ (see also the much  
 748 earlier discussion in Borg & Comrie 1984). Sadler and Camilleri (2013)  
 749 provide in an appendix a list of alternating ditransitive verbs, and show  
 750 that no less than 31 verbs participate in this alternation. To this list we can  
 751 add two verbs from the IIIrd measure: *wieghed* ‘promise’ and *fiehem* ‘make  
 752 understand’ (the latter related to the ECA/HA *fahhim*) listed in Table 6.  
 753 While *fiehem* is derived from the transitive Ist form verb *fehem* ‘under-  
 754 stand’, *wieghed* is ‘lexical’ in our terminology, in that it is not associated  
 755 synchronically with another form.

756 Ryding (2011) does not discuss more than a couple of verbs in any de-  
 757 tail (namely, the alternating *aṭṭama* ‘feed’ and the non-alternating *aḥḍara*  
 758 ‘bring’, but states that verbs lexicalizing a causative-transitive semantic  
 759 structure alternate. There is in fact some unclarity as to whether she as-  
 760 sumes that *all* such three-place verbs involve a recipient or potential pos-  
 761 sessor role, but as (76) shows, she does assume a recipient role for the  
 762 causee in ‘feed’.

- 763 (76) CAUSE<Agent, predication[taste <Recipient, Object>]>

764 In fact it seems to us that the range of semantic roles (or sets of entail-  
 765 ments) holding over the non-theme argument (and corresponding to the  
 766 causee or agent of the caused predication) may well be wider than those  
 767 associated with verbs of CAUSED POSSESSION in particular, unless this no-  
 768 tion is interpreted in a very extended sense. That is, while many of the

769 most typical alternating predicates in Arabic may be conceptualised in  
 770 terms of possession/recipients, this is not necessarily the case for all such  
 771 predicates. For example, the verb *sammaʕ* (ECA/ha)/*semmaʕ* (MT) ‘make  
 772 hear’ alternates (in line with its causative-transitive frame) but any notion  
 773 of potential possession is at least very abstract.

774 (77) *sammaʕ-t el-lahn l-el-motreb*  
 make.hear.PV-1SG DEF-melody to-DEF-singer  
 775 ‘I made the singer hear the melody.’ ECA

776 (78) *sammaʕ-t el-motreb el-lahn*  
 make.hear.PV-1SG DEF-singer DEF-melody  
 777 ‘I made the singer hear the melody.’ ECA

778 (79) *Semmaj-t-hom naqra muzika tajb-a*  
 made.hear.PV-1SG-3PL.ACC a.little music.SGF good-SGF  
 779 ‘I made them hear some good music.’ MT

780 (80) *Semmaj-t il-muzika lin-nies*  
 made.hear.PV-1SG DEF-music DAT.DEF-people  
 781 ‘I made the people hear the music.’ MT

782 Before turning to non-alternating verbs, the verb *zawwid* (ECA/HA) ‘in-  
 783 crease’ presents an interesting puzzle. As noted above, the 1st measure  
 784 verb is intransitive, but the verb *zawwid* occurs completely naturally in  
 785 DTC such as the following.

786 (81) *zawwad-t al-šay sukar*  
 increase.PV-1SG DEF-tea sugar  
 787 ‘I increased the sugar in the tea.’ HA

788 (82) *zawwid el-faay sokkar*  
 increase.PV.3SGM DEF-tea sugar  
 789 ‘He added sugar to the tea.’ ECA

790 In other cases, the additional argument is *li-* marked and has the flavour  
 791 of a beneficiary, as in (32) (repeated here as (83)) and (84).<sup>14</sup>

792 (83) *zawwad-t al-flūs lu-hum*  
 increase.PV-1SG DEF-money to-3PL.ACC  
 793 ‘I increased the money for him.’ HA

<sup>14</sup> We suspect that examples such as (81) and (82) may involve some sort of part-whole relation, and leave this for future work.

794 (84) *zawwid-t el-felous l-Muhammad*  
 increase.PV-1SG DEF-money to-Muhammad  
 795 ‘I increased the money for Muhammad.’ ECA

796 Consistent with Ryding’s generalization for MSA, according to which *li-*  
 797 marked arguments to causative-intransitives should not exhibit the DTC,  
 798 we find that many IInd measure verbs from intransitive bases do indeed fail  
 799 to permit the ditransitive structure, though they may take a prepositional  
 800 argument marked with *li-*. A representative list of such non-alternating  
 801 predicates are given in Table 7. As before, we mark as Lexical those verbs  
 802 which are causative forms in the IInd measure but lack a non-causative Ist  
 803 measure counterpart synchronically.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 7:** Non-alternating causative predicates

Intransitive Base	ECA	MT	HA	Structure
return	<i>raggaʕ</i>	<i>radd</i>	<i>raġġaʕ</i>	Derived
deliver	<i>waṣṣal</i>	<i>wassal</i>	<i>waṣṣal</i>	Derived
make lower/descend	<i>nazzil</i>	<i>nizzel</i>	<i>nazzal</i>	Derived
make higher/ascend	<i>ṭallaʕ</i>	<i>tellaʕ</i>	<i>ṭallaʕ</i>	Derived
make-cold	<i>saʔʔaʕ</i>	<i>kessaḥ/berred</i>	<i>barrad</i>	Derived
make hot	<i>saxxan</i>	<i>sahhan</i>	<i>saxxan</i>	Derived
make enter	<i>daxxal</i>	—	<i>daxxal</i>	Derived
distribute	<i>wazzaʕ</i>	<i>qassam</i>	<i>wazzaʕ</i>	Lexical (derived in MT)
sew	<i>xayyat</i>		<i>xayyat</i>	Lexical
exchange	<i>baddel</i>	<i>biddel</i>	<i>baddal</i>	Lexical (derived in MT)

804 Ryding’s associates two meanings with *li-*, observing: “One can thus  
 805 posit that there are two *lis*: one which acts as a surface marker of a  
 806 predicate-nuclear Recipient, and one which is an independent predicate  
 807 whose meaning is: FOR THE BENEFIT OF. The latter links the Recipient  
 808 with a verb-phrase predication on a separate level, outside the nuclear  
 809 predicate-argument structure of the main clause” Ryding (2011, 295).

810 The non-nuclear (additional) argument with a beneficiary reading  
 811 (corresponding to Ryding’s FOR THE BENEFIT OF predication) is found  
 812 in vernacular examples such as (85) and (86).

<sup>15</sup> In fact MT *biddel* ‘exchange’ is related to *bidel* ‘change’ and *qassam* ‘pass, cause to divide’ to *qasam* ‘cut, divide’. Although both Ist measure verbs are transitive, the IInd measure counterparts do not alternate.

813 (85) saxxan-t el-ʔakl lu-hum  
 make.heat.PV-1SG DEF-food DAT-3PL  
 814 'I heated the food for them.' ECA

815 (86) saxxan-t-l-hum el-ʔakl  
 make.heat.PV-1SG-DAT-3PL DEF-food  
 816 'I heated the food for them.' ECA

817 But we also find that the *li*-marked argument of a causative-intransitive  
 818 may correspond to a range of different meanings. These include the exam-  
 819 ples in (87) and (89) which would appear to correspond more closely to an  
 820 (optional) goal or spatial location argument. The ungrammatical examples  
 821 (88) and (90) show that the DTC is not available with these verbs.

822 (87) daxxal-t el-welaad l-el-doktōr  
 make.enter.PV-1SG DEF-boys to-DEF-doctor  
 823 'I made the boys enter the doctor's.' ECA

824 (88) \*daxxal-t el-doktōr el-welaad  
 make.enter.PV-1SG DEF-doctor DEF-boys  
 825 'I made the boys enter the doctor's.' ECA

826 (89) Wassal-t l-aḥbar lil Mario  
 make.arrive.PV-1SG DEF-news.SGF DAT Mario  
 827 'I delivered the news to Mario.' MT

828 (90) \*Wassal-t-u l-aḥbar  
 make.arrive.PV-1SG-3SGM.ACC DEF-news.SGF  
 829 'I delivered him the news.' MT

830 To conclude, in this section we have shown that the generalizations sug-  
 831 gested for MSA in Ryding (2011) also hold for the distribution of the dative  
 832 alternation in the vernaculars. Causative II<sub>nd</sub> form verbs in the dialects  
 833 that are derived from transitive verbs do tend to allow both DTC and PDC,  
 834 while those which are derived from intransitive verbs must mark any added  
 835 recipient, goal or benefactive with a *li*-. This lends some plausibility to the  
 836 notion that at least one of the factors conditioning the distribution of the  
 837 DTC in the Arabic vernaculars is the status of the 'recipient' argument  
 838 as a participant in the event denoted by the underlying (or caused) event.  
 839 While in many cases, possession or potential possession is an associated  
 840 entailment, the set of alternating verbs is not co-extensive with verbs which  
 841 may involve potential possession. A particular case in point (and indeed  
 842 a place where the vernaculars differ from each other) is presented by the



843 dialect cognates of MSA *bāʿa* ‘sell’, a verb which alternates in MSA (see  
 844 (94)) and indeed is explicitly mentioned by Ryding to be a verb which  
 845 lexicalizes a CAUSE-TO-HAVE structure. The corresponding dialectal verbs  
 846 *baaʿ* (ECA) and *biegħ* (MT) fail to alternate, but HA *bāʿ* alternates, just  
 847 like the MSA counterpart.

848 (91) *biʿ- t al-bait li-Muhammad*  
 sell.PV-1SG DEF-house to-Muhammad  
 849 ‘I sold the house to Muhammad.’ HA

850 (92) *biʿ- t al-bait lu-h*  
 sell.PV-1SG DEF-house to-3SGM.ACC  
 851 ‘I sold the house to him.’ HA

852 (93) *biʿ- t-uh al-bait*  
 sell.PV-1SG-SGM.ACC DEF-house  
 853 ‘I sold him the house.’ HA

854 (94) *biʿtu-ka ʿiyyā-hā*  
 sell.PV.1SG-2SGM.ACC PTL-3SGF.ACC  
 855 Lit: ‘I’ve sold it to you.’ MSA (Bahloul 2008, 56)

856 In the following section we turn to an aspect of the analysis of these con-  
 857 structions, focussing mainly on the grammatical function of the recipient  
 858 (‘dative’) argument in these two constructions.

## 859 6. Grammatical functions in the ditransitive structure

860 We have seen that for a given class of three-place predicates, two struc-  
 861 tures are available. In the ditransitive structure, the recipient occupies the  
 862 canonical position for NP objects, or is expressed as an (object) pronomi-  
 863 nal inflection on the verb. In the prepositional dative structure, it occurs  
 864 as the complement of the ‘dative’ preposition (*li-*) (and incorporated into  
 865 that form if pronominal). A natural expectation, then, is that these differ-  
 866 ent realizations of a recipient/goal argument are associated with different  
 867 grammatical functions and that the two constructions correspond to two  
 868 different surface valency structures. In this section we will provide some  
 869 evidence that it is the recipient/goal which is the primary object in the di-  
 870 transitive construction. Of course the very fact that the recipient is coded  
 871 as an (incorporated) object pronoun is already highly suggestive of this  
 872 conclusion. Indeed, literature which argues that MSA has a double object

873 construction or DTC (Salih 1985; Ouhalla 1994) uses as evidence for this  
 874 claim observations such as the accessibility of the recipient/goal to subject  
 875 position under passivisation, the ACC case marking of the recipient, and  
 876 the fact that it appears as an inflection (or enclitic) to the verb when  
 877 pronominal. Since the distribution of ACC case is far wider in MSA than  
 878 just marking the direct object (it also occurs, for example, on the theme  
 879 or second NP in the ditransitive construction), and given that the mod-  
 880 ern vernaculars do not mark case on (non-pronominal) NPs, we shall have  
 881 nothing to say about the case diagnostic.<sup>16</sup> A key syntactic test is there-  
 882 fore passivisation: a primary object is expected to be able to promote to  
 883 subject under passivisation. If the goal/recipient argument in the active  
 884 DTC is the primary object, then we expect to find corresponding passive  
 885 sentences with the goal/recipient argument as subject. The examples be-  
 886 low show that this is indeed what we find: a verb which permits the DTC  
 887 (and only those verbs), also permit the recipient argument to promote  
 888 to subject under passivisation. By contrast, in a DTC construction (that  
 889 is, when the recipient is not *li-* marked), the theme is not accessible to  
 890 promotion, though of course it is from a prepositional dative construction.

891	(95) labbes-t-u	el-hudūm	
	dress.PV-1SG-3SGM.ACC	DEF-clothes	
892	‘I dressed him in the clothes.’		ECA
893	(96) el-walad ?it-labbis	el-hudūm	
	DEF-boy PASS-dress.PV.3SGM	DEF-clothes	
894	‘The boy was dressed in the clothes.’		ECA
895	(97) *el-hudūm ?it-labbis-it	el-walad	
	DEF-clothes PASS-dressed.PV.3SGF	DEF-boy	
896	‘The clothes were dressed (to) the boy.’		ECA
897	(98) ?ahmad labbas	ḥālid al-malābis	
	Ahmad dress.PV.3SGM	Khalid DEF-clothes	
898	‘Ahmed dressed Khalid in the clothes.’		HA

<sup>16</sup> Diagnostics which rely on anaphoric and variable binding should also shed some light on this matter, but require us first to understand the role played by both superiority (e.g. *c-command*, or *f-command* in LFG) and linear precedence in relation to binding. For some discussion of relevant examples and evidence for Maltese see Borg & Comrie (1984); Sadler & Camilleri (2013) and Tucker (2013). We leave this matter for future work.

899 (99) ḥālid lubbis al-malābis  
 Khalid dressed.PV.PASS.3SGM DEF-clothes  
 900 ‘Khalid was dressed in the clothes.’ HA

901 The ECA example in (96) shows the use of a prefix *?it-* to give a corre-  
 902 sponding passive form. This contrasts with MSA, where the (principal)  
 903 exponent of passive voice is a particular set of stem vowel patterns. The  
 904 use of the system of measures (that is, the use of affixal morphology)  
 905 to encode a voice alternation has largely replaced the internal (vocalic  
 906 melody) passive in the contemporary vernaculars. The ECA *?it-* is clearly  
 907 (diachronically) related to the *t-* stem augment of measures V and VI of the  
 908 MSA system, which generally adds a mediopassive or reflexive character  
 909 to the verb meaning, but which has specialized into a passive form in the  
 910 dialect.<sup>17</sup> Some Eastern dialects use the *n-* diachronically related to the  
 911 *?in-* of measure VII used in MSA passive formation (see Holes 2004, 135–  
 912 138 for further details of prefixal passivisation in the vernaculars). He also  
 913 notes that the vocalic passive of Classical Arabic and MSA is ‘more or less  
 914 functional’ in some Arabian (that is, peninsula) dialects (Holes 2004, 135).  
 915 Intriguingly our Hijazi speaking informant produced a vocalic passive form  
 916 of the verb for the DTC (see (99)), but did not do so for the passive of the  
 917 corresponding PDC. Given that Gulf dialects are broadly considered to be  
 918 more conservative than Levantine and more westerly dialects, it is interest-  
 919 ing that our informant produced this classical passive form in the context  
 920 of the ditransitive construction. The ditransitive (DTC) corresponds to the  
 921 older pattern for the expression of three argument CAUSE-TO-HAVE predi-  
 922 cations (including causatives of transitive predicates). Indeed in Classical  
 923 Arabic verbs such as *ʔatā* ‘give’ *manaḥa* ‘grant’ and *wahaba* ‘give, donate’  
 924 took two accusative NP arguments (theme and recipient) and did not per-  
 925 mit the use of *li-* to encode the recipient. (Classical Arabic also permitted  
 926 the arguments to order freely up to ambiguity, with the recipient before  
 927 theme order being required if ambiguity would otherwise ensue.)<sup>18</sup> It is  
 928 quite natural that the more conservative passive form was produced with

<sup>17</sup> Abdel-Massih (1979/2011, 195) notes the existence of some specific verbs in ECA which lack the expected vernacular pattern and the MSA internal (vocalic) passive is used instead.

<sup>18</sup> Ouhalla (1994, 58–59) also notes (on the basis of Moutaouail 1988) that in Classical Arabic, with verbs taking the double accusative construction, it was possible to raise the Theme to passive subject (with the recipient coded as an accusative NP) and to have a theme clitic as object on the verb. These structures are not possible in MSA.

929 the older construction rather than with the more innovative prepositional  
930 dative construction.

931 Similar facts concerning passivisation and the ditransitive alterna-  
932 tion hold in Maltese. The key generalisation is that it is **only** those verbs  
933 which permit the DTC which allow the recipient to be the subject of a  
934 corresponding passive. Verbs which permit the PDC (in which the recip-  
935 ient/goal is *l*-marked) only exhibit theme subject passives. See Borg &  
936 Comrie (1984) and Sadler & Camilleri (2013) for further discussion of this  
937 point.

- 938 (100) Taj-t-ha                      il-flus.  
          give.PV-1SG-3SGF.ACC DEF-money  
939       ‘I gave her the money.’                      MT
- 940 (101) Marija n-ghata-t              xi flus.  
          Mary PASS-give.PV-3SGF some money  
941       ‘Mary was given some money.’                      MT
- 942 (102) Marija d-dewwq-et              il-helu.  
          Mary PASS-made.taste.PV-3SGF DEF-sweets.SGM  
943       ‘Mary was made to taste the sweets.’                      MT
- 944 (103) S-semmgħ-u                    naqra mużika tajb-a, n-nies  
          PASS-make.hear.PV.3-PL a.little music.SGF good-SGF DEF-people  
945       ‘The people were made to listen to some good music.’                      MT

946 The passivisation data in the three vernaculars strongly suggest that the  
947 recipient is promoted to primary object in the active ditransitive con-  
948 struction, while the impossibility of promoting the theme to subject from  
949 this construction, in which the recipient is not *li*-marked, supports the  
950 view that the theme is not the primary object. In terms of the syntax  
951 and mapping from argument structure, the analysis proposed in Sadler &  
952 Camilleri (2013) for the Maltese ditransitive construction extends straight-  
953 forwardly to the other dialects. This analysis is based on the approach to  
954 syntactic argument realization using the version of Lexical Mapping The-  
955 ory proposed by Kibort (2007; 2008), in which the mapping from semantic  
956 roles (or rather sets of entailments over participants) to surface grammat-  
957 ical functions is mediated by an ordered argument structure. Predicates  
958 which are realized syntactically in the DTC are associated with the argu-  
959 ment structure to syntactic function mapping shown in (105). With this  
960 class of predicates the R argument may be associated with entailments  
961 (such as ‘affectedness’ or ‘causee’ or ‘potential possessor’ (for this last, see

962 Beavers 2006, 197)), and as a consequence a mapping to argument struc-  
 963 ture is available such that the R argument outranks the T argument in  
 964 the ordered argument structure. This in turn determines the mapping to  
 965 surface grammatical functions, for argument positions are associated with  
 966 features which constrain the choice of surface grammatical functions as-  
 967 sociated with those arguments. The standard LFG feature decomposition  
 968 of (nominal) grammatical functions  $+/-r$  (indicating whether or not the  
 969 grammatical function is restricted to particular semantic roles) and  $+/-o$   
 970 (indicating whether or not the grammatical function is an object) defines  
 971 the four grammatical functions for (nominal) participants as shown in  
 972 (104). The association of features with arguments which Kibort proposes,  
 973 and the resultant grammatical function assignment, with the theme argu-  
 974 ment as thematically restricted  $OBJ_{\theta}$ , is shown in (105).

975 (104)

	$-r$	$+r$
$-o$	SUBJ	$OBL_{\theta}$
$+o$	OBJ	$OBJ_{\theta}$

976

977 (105) ditrans-predicate

	A	R	T	
<	arg <sub>1</sub>	arg <sub>2</sub>	arg <sub>3</sub>	>
	$-o$	$-r$	$+o$	
	SUBJ	OBJ	$OBJ_{\theta}$	<b>double object/ditransitive</b>

978

979 A number of questions of course remain open as to how the precise class of  
 980 predicates which permit the DTC must be specified, and it would fall well  
 981 beyond the scope of the current paper to attempt to develop a full lexi-  
 982 cal semantic analysis to capture the range of entailments associated with  
 983 ‘R’ arguments which map to arg<sub>2</sub>. The range of predicates allowing the  
 984 DTC is both surprisingly wide, encompassing predicates such as *sammaf*  
 985 (ECA/HA)/*semma*’ (MT) ‘hear’, and at the same time restricted, exclud-  
 986 ing ‘send’ and ‘throw’. Further, the range of the DTC is restricted in MT,  
 987 but not in ECA and HA, to pronominal R arguments, so that the distri-  
 988 bution of the DTC is subject to an additional morphosyntactic restriction.

## 989 7. Grammatical functions in the prepositional dative construction

990 In the prepositional dative construction, the passivisation diagnostic con-  
 991 firms that it is the theme argument which is the direct object. Verbs which

992 take the prepositional dative construction exhibit passives in which the  
 993 theme is mapped to the subject function, and unless the verb also permits  
 994 the DTC, the recipient argument cannot surface as subject of a correspond-  
 995 ing passive. Examples (106)–(107) use a IIInd form non-alternating derived  
 996 (causative) verb, which occur only in the prepositional dative structure,  
 997 and show that the theme may promote to passive subject.

998 (106) saxxan-t-lu-hum el-ʔakl  
 heated.PV-1SG-DAT-3PL DEF-food  
 999 ‘I heated the food for them.’ ECA

1000 (107) el-ʔakl ʔit-saxxan-lu-hum  
 DEF-food.SGM PASS-heated.PV.3SGM-DAT-3PL  
 1001 ‘The food was heated for them.’ ECA

1002 Similarly, (108) is the only passive possible for *bāʔ* ‘sell’ which is a non-  
 1003 alternating (prepositional dative) verb in MT and ECA (recall that it  
 1004 permits the ditransitive construction in MSA and HA).

1005 (108) el-beit ʔit-bāʔ-lu-hum  
 DEF-house.SGM PASS-sold.PV.3SGM-DAT-3PL  
 1006 ‘The house was sold to them.’ ECA

1007 Examples (110) and (111) show theme subject passives corresponding to  
 1008 PDCs in HA (these are alternating verbs, which also permit a recipient  
 1009 subject passive). Notice that these HA passive examples also show the use  
 1010 of the prefixal passive, shifting the IIInd form *labbas* to vth form *tilabbas* in  
 1011 (110) and the IVth form *ʔaʔaa* to VIIth form *ʔinʔaʔa* in (111). The subject  
 1012 appears sentence-finally in (110) but it could equally well appear in the  
 1013 postverbal position preceding the *li*-marked recipient.

1014 (109) ʔahmad labbas al-malābis li-ḥālid  
 Ahmad dress.PV.3SGM DEF-clothes to Khalid  
 1015 ‘Ahmed dressed Khalid in the clothes.’ HA

1016 (110) ti-labbas-at li-ḥālid l-malābis  
 PASS-dressed-PV-3SGF to-Khalid DEF-clothes  
 1017 ‘The clothes were put on Khalid.’ HA

1018 (111) humma ʔin-ʔaʔa-w l-i  
 them PASS-gave.PV.3-PL to-1SG.ACC  
 1019 ‘They were given to me.’ HA

1020 The Maltese verb *bagħat* ‘send’ in (112)–(114) is one which does not permit  
 1021 the ditransitive construction and so expresses a recipient by means of the  
 1022 prepositional dative construction. Note that in (113) the dative marking on  
 1023 the recipient is optional because it is in a right-extraposed topic position  
 1024 (doubling the affixal pronoun attached to the verb).

1025 (112) Bagħat-t il-ktieb lil Marija  
 sent.PV-1SG DEF-book.SGM DAT Mary  
 1026 ‘I sent the book to Mary.’ MT

1027 (113) Nt-bagħat-i-l-ha il-ktieb, (lil) Marija  
 PASS-sent.PV.3SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF DEF-book.SGM DAT Mary  
 1028 ‘The book was sent to Mary.’ MT

1029 (114) \*Marija nt-bagħt-et il-ktieb  
 Mary PASS-sent.PV-3SGF DEF-book.SGM  
 1030 ‘Mary was sent the book.’ MT

1031 We observe then that in all three dialects the recipient/goal argument,  
 1032 which is coded by means of the *li-* preposition (or dative marker), is not  
 1033 accessible to promotion to SUBJ by passivisation in this construction, while  
 1034 the accessibility of the theme argument suggests that it is a primary object.

1035 A further interesting question concerns the status (in terms of gram-  
 1036 matical function) of the *li-* marked recipient itself, in particular, whether it  
 1037 is an OBLIQUE (allative), like other prepositional phrases, or whether it cor-  
 1038 responds to a more central grammatical function, such as the final stratum  
 1039 3 term of Relational Grammar. Work in a range of different frameworks  
 1040 points to the special status of ‘dative’ arguments (see *inter alia* Primus  
 1041 1998; Levin 2006; Pylkkänen 2008) and as discussed in section 1, Kibort  
 1042 (2008) proposes an approach to mapping using LMT which admits a three-  
 1043 way distinction between recipient arguments in terms of their mapping to  
 1044 surface grammatical function. Prepositionally marked recipient arguments,  
 1045 may correspond to obliques or to ‘structural datives’, the latter having a  
 1046 special (morphosyntactic) status, lying between a core argument and an  
 1047 oblique: languages differ in terms of whether they admit canonical datives  
 1048 of this sort.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the DTC mapping, illustrated in (105) above,  
 1049 recipients may correspond to arg<sub>3</sub>, mapping to a restricted OBJ function,

<sup>19</sup> Clearly this is a possible locus of historical change, and indeed following Allen (2001) whose work traces the loss of the dative in English, Kibort (2008) suggests that constructions such as: *You can give it me back* and *A good policeman will sit you down and tell it you his way* in British English are vestiges of an earlier

1050 or to arg4, when they surface as an OBLIQUE function (again we use A T  
1051 and R to denote the three participants in the event).

1052 (115)

		A	T	R	
1053	ditrans-predicate	< arg <sub>1</sub>	arg <sub>2</sub>	arg <sub>4</sub>	>
		-o	-r	-o	
		SUBJ	OBJ	OBL	<b>recipient as oblique</b>

1054 (116)

		A	T	R	
1055	ditrans-predicate	< arg <sub>1</sub>	arg <sub>2</sub>	arg <sub>3</sub>	>
		-o	-r	-o	
		SUBJ	OBJ	OBJ <sub>θ</sub>	<b>recipient as dative</b>

1056 The interesting question, then, is whether the PDC in the three vernaculars  
1057 corresponds to an OBLIQUES or to a more central grammatical function.  
1058 In a recent paper, Sadler and Camilleri (2013) argue at length that in  
1059 Maltese the *li*-marked recipient of three-place predicates is an instance of  
1060 what Kibort (2008) calls a canonical dative, represented in terms of LFG's  
1061 array of surface grammatical functions as an OBJ<sub>recip</sub> (that is a grammatical  
1062 function restricted to a small set of arguments over which recipient-type  
1063 entailments hold), and hence are more accessible to some grammatical  
1064 processes than obliques. Crucial facts are (*inter alia*) that (i) a pronominal  
1065 recipient argument is obligatorily affixed to the verb, unlike an inflected  
1066 prepositional object; (ii) a *li*-marked NP cannot be coordinated with a PP;  
1067 (iii) unlike an OBL, relativisation on a dative argument does not require an  
1068 obligatory resumptive; and (iv) a *li*-marked recipient, but not an oblique  
1069 can float a quantifier.

1070 Though it is not the purpose of this paper to produce a detailed anal-  
1071 ysis of the prepositional dative construction in any of the dialects under  
1072 discussion, some of the facts which we pointed out above in relation to the  
1073 PDC in ECA strongly suggest that at least in that dialect, the *li*-marked  
1074 recipient may be plausibly analysed as a canonical dative (or restricted  
1075 object, in LFG terms). Establishing the correct analysis (restricted object  
1076 or oblique) of the *li*-marked recipient in ECA and HA will be the focus

---

construction in which the recipient was coded as a canonical dative (hence OBJ<sub>recip</sub> in LFG terms).



1077 of future work, but we think that it is likely that a process of historical  
1078 change implicating dative objects is underway in Arabic.

1079

## 8. Conclusion

1080 This paper has focussed on ditransitive constructions in Arabic, with a  
1081 view to making a contribution to the description and analysis of the con-  
1082 temporary Arabic vernaculars. We have shown that three relatively distant  
1083 dialects, Maltese, Egyptian Cairene Arabic and Hijazi Arabic share with  
1084 each other, and with Modern Standard Arabic, the property of having an  
1085 alternation between what we have called the ditransitive construction and  
1086 the prepositional dative construction. However, we have also highlighted  
1087 a number of syntactic differences between the dialects. The ditransitive  
1088 construction (in which the recipient/goal is the primary object) is more  
1089 restricted in Maltese in the important sense that it is limited to **pronomi-**  
1090 **nal** recipients, a restriction which is also found in Maghrebi dialects. This  
1091 restriction is not found in ECA or HA. Further differences between the  
1092 dialects follow from their differing pronominal systems. Both MT and HA,  
1093 in different ways, make available a free pronoun for the theme argument  
1094 (“second” object in this construction), but ECA does not. In terms of  
1095 the prepositional dative construction, a major point of interest concerns  
1096 the means of expression of a pronominal recipient in this construction. In  
1097 Maltese such arguments appear as affixes on the verb; in ECA they ap-  
1098 pear to optionally incorporate into the morphological word, while in HA  
1099 the pronominal recipient is expressed as an inflected form of the preposi-  
1100 tional head. There is significant evidence from Maltese that the *li*-NP is  
1101 essentially a “canonical dative” that is, an argument which corresponds to  
1102 a second (thematically restricted) OBJ rather than to an OBL. Further  
1103 research is required to establish whether this may be true in other Ara-  
1104 bic dialects, but we think it is a strong possibility at least for ECA. In  
1105 recent work Ryding (2011) has suggested that alternating verbs in MSA  
1106 are those which are causative-transitives, and those lexicalising a CAUSE-  
1107 TO-HAVE predicate. Her observations focus largely (but not exclusively)  
1108 on forms (from transitive bases) in the IVth measure in MSA, such as  
1109 *ʔatʕama* ‘feed’ (from *taʕima* ‘taste’), which exhibit the alternation. Our  
1110 investigation of the three vernaculars appears to largely bear out Ryding’s  
1111 observations, but transposed to the IInd measure, which is used as the  
1112 productive causative derivation in these varieties of Arabic.

1113

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