Ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic and English

Raed Abdulelah M. Al-Janabi

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Abstract

This thesis mainly investigates ditransitive constructions with lexical as well as pronominal objects in two historically unrelated languages: Iraqi Arabic, a poorly documented language, and English (including British English dialects). The aim is to obtain insight into possible cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the ditransitive constructions, which is a controversial issue in generative theory, and thus, contribute to the theory of argument structure, Case, and agreement, particularly in relation to pronouns. It shows that Iraqi Arabic provides a rich environment for the study of ditransitives as it exhibits a wide variety of ditransitive patterns.

The thesis will first present the descriptive facts of ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic which covers word order options, Case-marking, and passives. Then, it will review the various current approaches on ditransitives within a generative theory of grammar. A special focus will be given to the debate about the nature of the relationship between DOCs and PDCs, in particular whether it is derivational or projectional. Later, the thesis will introduce the reader to the theory of pronouns where a distinction will be made between the terms strong, weak pronouns, affixes and clitics as well as discussing their syntactic properties. It will address the question regarding the derivation of pronominal clitics, whether they are X°s or XPs, i.e. whether they are a word-level or phrase-level category. In addition, Shlonsky' (1997) and Roberts' (2010) theories of clitics will be presented. A close investigation and comparison of pronominal objects in Arabic, particularly Iraqi Arabic, and English is expected to shed more light on the syntax of pronominal objects in general, including the distinction between strong, weak and clitic pronouns, and pronominal objects of ditransitive verbs in particular.

Following Holmberg *et al* (2018), it will be argued that the ditransitive predicate in the DOC contains, in addition to v and V, an applicative head, Appl which assigns a role to the Recipient, while V assigns a role to the Theme. There is cross-linguistic variation regarding how the two objects are 'Case-licensed'. I will argue that, in Iraqi Arabic and Standard English, v assigns Case to the Recipient while Appl assigns Case to the Theme. In some British English dialects, on the other side, v may assign Case either to the Recipient or Theme. This is due to flexible licensing by Appl in these dialects as Appl may license either the Recipient or the Theme. In the PDC, on the other hand, v will assign Case to the Theme while the Goal gets Case from a preposition.

In addition to the Appl attested in the DOC which I will term *Appl 1*, I will argue that Iraqi Arabic exhibits another Applicative head which I will term *Appl 2.* The latter introduces a

Benefactive argument in clauses containing such arguments. What is special about Iraqi Arabic is that these Appl heads can be realized as the special form, *-iya* in the language when the following object is a pronoun.

In analyzing pronominal objects, I will argue that pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic are syntactic clitics. I will adopt a version of the theory proposed by Shlonsky (1997) where the pronominal clitics of Arabic are derived by Agree between v and a pronominal object, with incorporation in the sense of Roberts (2010). According to Roberts (2010), the pronominal clitic is a spell-out of agreement between v and a defective object. I will claim that English pronominal contracted objects are syntactic clitics, too, derived in a similar way.

It will be argued that the two languages under investigation are more similar than what traditionally is thought to be the case especially as regards exhibiting syntactic clitics. The similarity between the two languages can be seen especially in the DOC construction in that both languages allow the DOC with a defective Recipient and full DP-Theme. Furthermore, both disallow the DOC with a full DP-Recipient and a defective Theme. Moreover, both languages allow the DOC with a defective Recipient and a defective Theme. In addition, both languages exhibit the DOC with two full-DP objects as well as the PDC with lexical or pronominal objects.

Still, there are differences in that while some British English dialects allow the pattern, *she gave it'im/John* where the Theme is defective, and the Recipient is defective or a full-DP object, Iraqi Arabic disallow this construction. The flexibility of Appl 1 to agree with either the Recipient or the Theme attested in some British English dialects is not found in Iraqi Arabic as the latter allows Appl1 to agree only with the Theme in the DOC. The implication here will be that while the unvalued features of v can be valued only by the Recipient in Iraqi Arabic, it can be valued either by the Recipient or Theme in some British English dialects. Another difference to be pointed out between the two languages is that while Iraqi Arabic exhibits Appl1 and Appl 2, British English dialects exhibits only Appl1.

Earlier work on a range of grammatical structures has shown the benefits of detailed cross-linguistic comparison. This dissertation adds to this body of work and further confirms its value through the results achieved from a comparison of ditransitives in English and Iraqi Arabic.

Declaration and Statement of copyright

Declaration

No part of the material within this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree at Newcastle University or any other university.

Statement of Copyright

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List of abbreviations and symbols

/ / phonetic representation

infelicitous

? reduced ungrammaticality

* ungrammatical

Θ theta

Ø zero morpheme

ACC accusative Case

AGR agreement

Appl applicative

CAUS causative

CP Complementizer Phrase

D determiner

DAT dative Case

DO Direct object

DP Determiner Phrase

EPP Extended Projection Principle

F feminine

GEN genitive Case

I Inflection

IMP imperative

IO Indirect object

IP Inflectional Phrase

LOC locative

M masculine

NEG negation

NOM nominative Case

PL plural

Q question

SG singular

T Tense

TP Tense Phrase

V Verb

VP/vP Verb Phrase

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the thesis

This thesis will investigate the semantic and syntactic properties of ditransitive constructions i.e. constructions with verbs such as *give, send, show* and *teach*, in Iraqi Arabic and English (including some of its dialects) with special consideration to ditransitives with pronominal objects. Two historically unrelated languages, one Germanic (English) and one Semitic (Iraqi Arabic) will be investigated to obtain insight into possible cross-linguistic similarities and differences in these constructions in the two languages under investigation. In this respect, Baker (2008: 357) argues that comparing historically unrelated languages may be necessary to discover certain aspects of grammatical variation. The significance of the research is due to the fact that ditransitives are a controversial issue in generative theory especially as regards the questions of how these constructions are derived in different languages and how the internal arguments are assigned their theta-roles and Case. Examining data from languages in which ditransitives have never been investigated before like Iraqi Arabic will help to shed light on these questions, and thereby contribute to the development of linguistic theory.

In this thesis, the theoretical framework of Holmberg's *et al* (2018); Roberts (2010) and its later development (Van der Wal 2015) will be applied to data from Iraqi Arabic and British English dialects. To achieve its aims, the thesis will first review the facts that are usually considered when discussing the structure of ditransitives, such as the semantic and syntactic properties of ditransitive verbs, word order options, Case-marking, passives, and animateness restrictions. Secondly, it will investigate the difference between the syntactic features of pronominal and lexical objects in both languages and the impact of this difference on the derivation of the ditransitive constructions.

Previous works on the syntactic properties of Iraqi Arabic have mostly addressed the wh-in-situ strategy in this language e.g. Wahba (1992); Basilico (1998); Simpson (2000), while Bakir (2011) discusses a possible problem posed by Iraqi Arabic to Rizzi's (1997) Split CP hypothesis. There is no discussion on argument structure in general or ditransitives specifically, in Iraqi Arabic.

1.2 The data

Grammatical judgment on data from Iraqi Arabic will be mostly based on my intuition as a native speaker of the language, sometimes confirmed by checking with a small number of other speakers. Meanwhile, data from the British English dialects comes from some previous studies specially Gerwin (2014), Siewierska & Hollmann (2007), and Haddican & Holmberg (2012).

Leipzig glossing conventions will be followed throughout the thesis to guarantee consistent glossing. The data of Iraqi Arabic will be transcribed in such a way that each example will consist of three lines, the first of which represents the example in Iraqi Arabic. The example will be glossed morpheme-by-morpheme in the second line and the third line will be a translation in English. Morphemes are separated by hyphens, both in the example and in the gloss. When a specific morpheme encodes more than one grammatical function, a dot will sperate between each of these functions in the gloss, as shown in (1) below:

(1) ʃifi **-t** **-hom** b -il -mədrəsə
see.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3PL.DO in-the-school
'I saw them in the school'

In (1), the morphemes *-t* and *-hom* denote multi grammatical functions, therefore, a dot appear in the gloss to separate between these functions.

1.3 Basic facts about Iraqi Arabic and its speakers

Iraqi Arabic is a member of the Arabic language family, a branch of Semitic languages and it is spoken by the majority of Iraqi people, except in the northern part where Kurdish is spoken. In Iraq, the language that is used for official purposes such as documenting, education, delivering speeches, writing of literature, etc. is Standard Arabic. For everyday informal activities, on the other hand, Iraqi Arabic is the spoken and written language. So, when people chat to one another in social media for example, they use the written form of this variety not the standard one.

The basic grammatical features of Iraqi Arabic are shown below:

A. The unmarked word order in the clause is S(ubject) V(erb) O(bject), as in (2):[1]

(2) a. Zeinab ʃaf -ət Fatma
Zeinab see.PAST-F.3SG.SU Fatma
'Zeinab saw Fatma'

b. *ʃaf -ət Zeinab Fatma
see.PAST-F.3SG.SU Zeinab Fatma
'Zeinab saw Fatma'

A good criterion to be used here is when answering the question 'What happened?', since the unmarked/canonical word order is used in this environment, as in (3):

(3) Speaker A: ʃ -sˁar b -il -ʃariʕ
What-happen.PAST in-the-street
'What happened in the street?'

Speaker B: ʃaħinə tˁorb-ət seiyarə / *tˁorb-ət ʃaħinə seiyarə
lorry hit -F.3SG.SU car hit -F.3SG.SU lorry car
'A lorry hit a car' 'A lorry hit a car'

As shown in B' reply, the word order of the sentence is SVO.

B. Iraqi Arabic has no neutral grammatical gender of nouns, all nouns are either masculine or feminine.

C. Verbs in Iraqi Arabic can carry all the grammatical information. The finite verbs fully agree with the subject in person, number and gender. This triggers subject marking in the form of a suffix on the verb in the past form and a prefix in the present/imperfect form, as in (4a and b) below:

[1] SVO is the unmarked word order in various other Arabic dialects, too, such as Palestinian (Shlonsky 1997).

(4) a. Fatma ʃorb **-ət** gahwə

Fatma drink.PAST-F.3SG.SU coffee

'Fatma drank coffee'

b. Fatma **ti** -ʃrəb gahwə

Fatma F.3SG.SU-drink coffee

'Fatma drinks coffee'

The verb can also carry an object marker, as in (5):

(5) il-ʕommal ʃaf -o: **-hə**

The-labourers see.PAST-M.3PL.SU-F.3SG.DO

'The labourers saw her'

A clause can be restricted to a head verb, subject marker and object marker, as in (6):

(6) ʃaf **-o:** **-hə**

see.PAST-M.3PL.SU-F.3SG.DO

'They saw her'

Or a head verb, subject marker, indirect object and direct object markers, as in (7):[2]

(7) intʕə -t **-ni** -iya **-hin**

give. PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO

'she gave me them'

The masculine third person singular in the past tense is the unmarked form of the verb in Iraqi Arabic, as in (8):

(8) Ahmed ʃaf -Ø il -liʕbə

Ahmed see.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-match

'Ahmed saw the match'

[2] The syntactic nature of form *-iya* in (7) will be fully discussed in Chapter 6.

D. Iraqi Arabic is a null-subject language in that it allows a null *pro* subject, as in (9):[3]

(9) ma ʔəkl -ət jibin
Not eat.PAST-F.3SG.SU cheese
'She did not eat cheese'

In (9), the verb fully agrees in gender, person and number with the null pronominal subject.

F. Null copula: In Iraqi Arabic some clauses in the present tense lack overt copula in the structure. Instead, they have a null copula, as shown in (10a) below:

(10) a. ʕind-i ktab
at -me book
'I have a book'

One piece of evidence for the existence of a null copula in the language comes from considering these clauses in the past tense. In the latter case, the copula appears overtly in the structure, as in (10b):

(10) b. tʃan ʕind-i ktab
was at -me book
'I had a book'

In (10b), when visible, the copula *tʃan* 'was' precedes the *ʕind-i ktab* 'at me' phrase (cf. Freeze 1992).

1.4 The ditransitive constructions: Background

A ditransitive construction is a construction that has a ditransitive verb. According to semantic and syntactic differences, there are two distinctive structures in which ditransitive verbs appear; the Prepositional Dative Construction (henceforth PDC) and the Double Object Construction (henceforth DOC). The DOC consists of a ditransitive verb, an agent argument (A), a Recipient argument (R), and a Theme argument (Th), as in (11):

[3] Arabic dialects are well known for exhibiting this feature (Aoun *et al* 2010).

(11) John gave Mary a pen. (DOC)
A R Th

On the other hand, the PDC consists of a ditransitive verb, an agent argument (A), a Theme argument (Th), and a Goal argument (G), as in (12):

(12) John gave a pen to Mary. (PDC)
A Th G

An example of the DOC construction in Iraqi Arabic is shown in (13):

(13) Fatma intʿə -t l-Zeinab ktab (Iraqi Arabic)
A R Th
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU to-Zeinab book
'Fatma gave Zeinab a book'

The construction in (13) poses a question whether it is a DOC or a PDC. Note that the Recipient DP appears to be preceded by a preposition. In other words, does Iraqi Arabic have a DOC, or just a PDC? One piece of strong evidence that Iraqi Arabic has a DOC, or has a distinction between the DOC and the PDC, comes from consideration of pronominal objects as in (14):

(14) Fatma intʿə -t -hə ktab (Iraqi Arabic)
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3SG.IO book
'Fatma gave her a book'

The preposition *l-* found in (13) preceding the Recipient *Zeinab* disappears when the DP is substituted with the pronoun *-hə* as in (14) suggesting that the Recipient position is basically a DP position. My task here is to find other evidence for DOC in Iraqi Arabic, by considering other syntactic operations and properties (like those suggested by Holmberg *et al* 2018 on Italian) such as animateness and passivization.

1.4.1 Comparing pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic and English

Pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic are clitics, forming a word-like unit together with the verb. One area of debate that will be investigated in this thesis concerns the derivation of pronominal clitics whether they are X°s or XPs, i.e. whether they are a word-level or phrase-level category (Riemsdijk 1999; Roberts 2010). There is variation among dialects of Arabic as regards

pronominal objects with ditransitive verbs. What is special about the Iraqi Arabic clitic system is that pronominal Theme in the ditransitive construction is marked with a distinctive form, *-iya* which distinguishes it as the Theme of a ditransitive verb as in (15) where the IO and DO are pronominal objects:

(15) Fatma intˤə -t -nə -iya -hin
Fatma gave-F.3SG.SU-2PL.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'Fatma gave us them'

In the clitic system of Egyptian Arabic, on the other hand, there is no counterpart of *-iya*. Instead, pronominal objects with ditransitive verbs appear to have the same syntax as lexical objects, with Theme-Goal order, as in (16) below:

(16) ʔiddi-t -ha -l -o
gave-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO-to-M.3SG.IO
'I gave it to him'

In English, too, the syntactic derivation of pronominal objects of ditransitives is a controversial issue. Quinn (2005) and Wallenberg (2008) consider reduced forms of pronominal objects in English such as *it, 'im, 'əm* and *ə(r)* to be weak pronouns, in terms of the classification of pronouns as strong, weak, or clitic, following Cardinaletti & Starke (1999). This means that they are DPs, but defective DPs which cannot be stressed or modified. Still, the pronominal objects in the ditransitive constructions of some English dialects follow a clitic behaviour in that they are not just phonologically weak, but occur obligatorily adjacent to the verb, a non-canonical position for a Theme object in the English DOC, as in (17) and (18):

(17) a.*She gave John it.
b. She gave it John.

(18) a.*She gave Ann 'em.
b. She gave 'em Ann.

In this thesis, a close investigation and comparison of pronominal objects in Arabic, particularly Iraqi Arabic, and English will be made. Such investigation and comparison is expected to shed more light on the syntax of pronominal objects in general and pronominal

objects of ditransitive verbs in particular, including the distinction between strong, weak and clitic pronouns.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The thesis adopts the minimalist approach (Chomsky 2000, 2001) where a DP is assigned a Case value by a head in return for assigning φ-feature values to the head, a mutual feature assignment relation that is called *Agree*. Within the minimalist approach, the thesis will adopt a theory of Agree between the functional heads in the ditransitives on the one hand and the internal arguments in the structure on the other hand. In analyzing the ditransitives, I have chosen one of the most recent approaches to ditransitives proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018). The reason for choosing this approach is that it successfully addresses the dilemma of how the two internal objects are assigned their theta-roles as well as Case. On the other hand, due to the fact that the thesis will also discuss pronominal objects, Roberts' (2010) account of cliticization by agreement and its later development (van der Wal 2015) are applied to ditransitives with pronominal objects along with Holmberg *et al* (2018). That is to say, in my analysis, I will propose a hybrid approach that employs the two above-mentioned accounts together and apply it to the ditransitives of the two languages under investigation.

1.6. The problem and research questions

Despite the progress in understanding the distinct underlying structures of DOC and PDC constructions, and the considerable agreement regarding the hierarchical relations of the two internal arguments (Harley & Miyagawa 2017:18), the crosslinguistic picture of variation is still not clear. There has been very little research on the ditransitives of Arabic in general and these structures have never been investigated in Iraqi Arabic, in particular. It is still unknown what the structure is of the DOC and the PDC in Iraqi Arabic or how Holmberg's *et al* (2018) account of ditransitives or Robert's (2010) account of cliticization by agreement apply to languages such as Iraqi Arabic with rich morphosyntax and extensive use of clitics.

In an attempt to make the crosslinguistic picture of variation clearer, the thesis aims to address the following questions:

1. What are the properties of ditransitives in the two languages under investigation?

2. How is the word order derived in each language?

3. How are theta-roles assigned?

4. How is Case assigned?

5. What is the difference between full DP and pronominal objects in these constructions and what impact does this difference have on the derivation?

1.7 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is outlined as follows: Chapter 2 presents a typological overview of ditransitive constructions and the descriptive facts of Iraqi Arabic as regards the ditransitive constructions in the language which covers word order options, Case-marking, and passives. Chapter 3 is intended to review the various current approaches on ditransitives within a generative theory of grammar. A special focus will be given to the debate about the nature of the relationship between DOCs and PDCs, in particular whether it is derivational or projectional. Chapter 4 is intended to introduce the reader to the theory of pronouns where a distinction will be made between the terms strong, weak pronouns, affixes and clitics as well as discussing their syntactic properties. The chapter will address the question regarding the derivation of pronominal clitics, whether they are X°s or XPs, i.e. whether they are a word-level or phrase-level category. This chapter also introduces Shlonsky' (1997) and Roberts' (2010) theories of clitics.

Chapter 5 will present the structure of ditransitives adopted in the thesis proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018). Further, it will discuss the ditransitive constructions of Iraqi Arabic with full DP objects by applying the proposed structure to the data. Chapter 6 will discuss ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic with pronominal objects by applying Roberts' (2010), van der Wal (2015) together with Holmberg's *et al* (2018) to the data. Chapter 7 will discuss ditransitives in British English dialects by providing the reader with the descriptive facts of ditransitives in these dialects and then analyzing these constructions according to the theory adopted in this thesis. Chapter 8 will summarize the main findings of the thesis.

Chapter 2. Descriptive Facts of Ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic

2.1 What is a ditransitive construction? A typological overview

In the literature, the term ditransitives has been used in the syntactic sense to refer to the double object construction (henceforth DOC; e.g., *I gave Mary flowers*) and the prepositional dative construction (henceforth PDC; e.g., *I gave flowers to Mary*). In the semantic sense, the term refers to constructions consisting of a ditransitive verb, an Agent argument, a Recipient argument, and a Theme argument (Malchukov *et al* 2010). Ditransitive verbs denote a transfer of an entity (Theme) from an Agent to a Recipient, such as *Kim gave Lee a box*. Some verbs denote a concrete possessive transfer e.g., 'give', 'lend', 'hand over', 'bequeath', or abstract transfer e.g., 'offer' and 'promise'. Others denote a cognitive transfer e.g., 'show', 'teach', and 'tell' (Haspelmath 2015:19).

Malchukov (2013:264) argues that *derived ditransitives* such as *applicatives* and *causatives* may be included within the term ditransitive. This is based on the non-accidental similarity in the argument configuration of both derived ditransitives with that of basic ditransitives. Here, it is believed that "the meanings of transfer verbs contain a 'cause' element: 'Give' can be paraphrased as 'cause to have' " (Malchukov, 2013:264). In typological literature, causative and applicative constructions are identified on the basis of corresponding morphology; typically affixes introducing a new agent (causatives) or a new object (applicatives), as in (1) from Imbabura Quechua and (2) from Indonesian respectively:

(1) Juzi -ka Marya-ta -mi Juan-ta riku-chi -rka..
José TOP María ACC validator Juan ACC see cause PST 3
'José caused María to see Juan.'
(Malchukov 2013: 270)

(2) Mereka mem -bawa-kan [dia] [daging itu].
they TRANS bring APPL him meat the
'They brought him the meat.'
(Tallerman 2014: 248)

The causee in the causative constructions follows a Recipient-like behaviour similar to that of ditransitive verbs. In the applicative construction, the applicative object is a Recipient-like as

well. It is a Recipient as in (2) which is a ditransitive. There are other applicatives where the applicative object is a beneficiary, e.g.:

(3) She brought me a cake.

In other words, the non-Theme can have different interpretations, namely as Recipient or Benefactive. The clause in (3) has two interpretations; one could be *She brought a cake to me* (to my location where *me* is a Recipient), while the other could be *She brought a cake for my benefit*; I'm a Benefactive, the Recipient is somebody else *She brought me a cake for my guests.*

In some languages, the so-called Spray-Load verbs appear in a construction where they take two objects, the first is Recipient-like and the second is a Theme. The argument configuration of this construction is similar to that of ditransitives. A typical example is found in Iraqi Arabic, as in (4), (5) and (6):

(4) Fatma tirs -ət il -ħədi:qə wərid
Fatma fill.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-garden flowers
'Fatma filled the garden with flowers'

(5) ɣatˤə -nə il -gaʃ ramol
cover.PAST-1PL.SU the-ground sand
'We covered the ground with sand'

(6) ħamml -əw il -pekab tibin
load.PAST-M.3PL.SU the-truck hay
'They loaded the truck with hay'

The Spray-Load verbs will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

2.1.1 Classifying ditransitive constructions

This section discusses the classification of ditransitive constructions according to their alignment types. The term alignment has originally been used to distinguish the intransitive constructions (with only one argument S) from the monotransitive ones (with two arguments A and P (Patient)). It has been argued that the comparison between these two constructions yielded three alignment types: the accusative (A=S≠P), the ergative (A≠S=P), and the neutral (A=S=P) (Malchukov, 2013: 265). Recently, the term alignment has been extended to include

ditransitives by comparing them to monotransitives. While the subject of a ditransitive construction behaves similar to that of a monotransitive one which has only two arguments i.e. A and P, the question in the ditransitives regards the primacy of one object argument over the other one; in other words, which of Recipient and Theme behaves like P in the monotransitive construction? The word *primacy* is used here in the sense of accessibility i.e. which of the two objects is more accessible to syntactic processes such as passivization (Comrie 2012). In this respect, it is argued that there is variation across and within languages (Haspelmath, 2015:19). Based on the comparison with monotransitive constructions, Malchukov *et al* (2010), Malchukov (2013) and Haspelmath (2015) propose three basic alignment types in the study of ditransitives:

(i) Indirective alignment: A ditransitive construction in which the Theme has the primacy over the Recipient and, thus, the former is treated as P in the monotransitve construction while the Recipient is treated in a special way i.e., Th=P≠R. Here, The Recipient is marked with a Case marker or adposition while the Theme is not, as in (7) and (8) from Standard Arabic:

(7) (monotransitive)

raʔa -Ø l -modarris-u l -ktab -ə

see.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-teacher -NOM the-book-ACC

'The teacher saw the book'

(8) (ditransitive)

ʔaʕta -Ø l -modarris-u l -ktab -ə l -it -ˤtˤalib -i

give.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-teacher -NOM the-book-ACC to-the-student-GEN

'The teacher gave the book to the student'

The P in (7) and the Th in (8) are assigned Accusative Case, while the R in (8) is treated differently in that it is assigned Genitive Case.

(ii) Secundative alignment: This is a ditransitive construction in which the Recipient has primacy over the Theme, therefore, the former is treated similar to P in the monotransitive construction while the Theme is treated in a different way i.e., R=P≠Th. The Theme is marked with a Case marker or adposition while the Recipient is not, as in (9) and (10) from Standard Arabic:

(9) (monotransitive)

raʔa -Ø l -modarris-u l -nas -ə

see.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-teacher -NOM the-people-ACC

'The teacher saw the people'

(10) (ditransitive)

ʔəl -baqarət-u zwwəd -ət l -nas -ə b -il -ħali:b-i

The-caw -NOM provide.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-people-ACC with-the-milk -GEN

'The cow provided the people with milk'

While the P in (9) and the R in (10) are assigned Accusative Case, the Th in (10) is assigned Genitive Case.

Neutral alignment: A ditransitive construction in which both Recipient and Theme are treated as P in the monotransitve construction and none of the two objects has the primacy over the other i.e., R=Th=P. Here, none of the two objects is marked with a Case marker or adposition, as in (11) and (12) from Standard Arabic:

(11) (monotransitive)

raʔa -Ø l -modarris-u it -tˤalib -ə

see.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-teacher -NOM the-student-ACC

'The teacher saw the student'

(12) (ditransitive)

ʔaʃtˤa -Ø l -moddaris-u it -tˤalib -ə l -kitab-ə

give.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-teacher -NOM the-student-ACC the-book-ACC

'The teacher gave the student the book'

The P, R, and the Th are treated alike in (11) and (12) in that the three are assigned Accusative Case.

This classification is really based on morphology since the Recipient and Theme are not treated equally as P, in English for example.[4]These three alignment types are shown in Figure1 (from Malchukov *et al* 2010: 5):

[4] The Recipient is treated like the monotransitive P with regard to passivization.

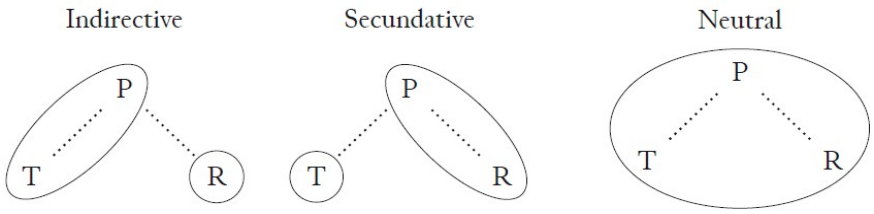


Figure 1: The basic ditransitive alignment types

2.1.2 Argument encoding

There are different strategies of encoding arguments in a ditransitive construction. The first of these is *flagging* which implies marking the Recipient or Theme with Case or adpositional marker (Haspelmath 2015). This can be seen in the indirective alignment where the Recipient is usually coded by a special adposition or Case marker while the Theme is not, as in (8) above. On the other hand, the Theme can be coded by a special adposition as in the secundative alignment as in (10) above, whereas both arguments in the neutral alignment lack special flagging as in (12) above.

The other strategy of encoding arguments in a ditransitive construction is *person indexing* i.e. agreement. Here, the Recipient and the Theme are signalled on the verb. This can be attested in Huichol which has the prefix *wa*-(3PL) to index the Recipient and P in the secundative indexing, while the Theme is not indexed, as in (13a and b):

(13) a. Uukaraawiciizɨ tɨɨri me **-wa** -zeiya.
women children 3PL-3PL-see
'The women see the children.'

b. Nee tumiini uukari ne **-wa** -ruzeiyastɨa.
I money girls 1SG-3PL-show
'I showed the money to the girls.'
(Haspelmath 2015: 23)

In (13a), the prefix *wa*- is indexing the P while this prefix is indexing the Recipient in (13b). Meanwhile, the Theme is not indexed in (13b.)

2.1.3 The variable behaviour of Recipient and Theme in ditransitives

The behaviour of the Recipient and the Theme in a ditransitive construction may vary across languages in accordance with their ranking on the prominence hierarchies. This behavior could be alternation or splits as will be discussed further in the following two sections.

2.1.3.1 Alternations in ditransitive construction

Malchukov *et al* (2010:18) define alternation as "the situation where one and the same verb can occur with different constructions with roughly the same meaning". When using the alignment terminology, English is among languages that exhibit indirective-neutral alternations (Haspelmath 2015), as in (14 a and b):

(14) a. Kim gave [Lee] R [a box] T.

b. Kim gave [a box] T [to Lee] R.

In neutral alignment, the two object arguments are coded alike in none of them is marked with a Case marker or adposition as in (14a). This construction is favored when the Recipient outranks the Theme on the prominence hierarchies. On the other hand, in indirective alignment, the Recipient is marked with an oblique marker (the dative preposition *to*) as in (14b). This construction is favored when the Theme outranks the Recipient on the prominence hierarchies where neutral alignment is disfavored. The alternation in (14.a. and b.) is known in the literature as "dative shift", "dative movement" or "dative alternation" (Malchukov *et al* 2010:18).

2.1.3.2 Grammatical splits

The variable behavior of the Recipient and the Theme in a ditransitive construction could be splits rather than alternations. In this case, the variation of patterns is due to different grammatical conditions as shown in (15a. and b.) from American English:

(15) a. Kim gave a box to Lee. / Kim gave Lee a box.

b. Kim gave it to Lee. / *Kim gave Lee it.

(Haspelmath 2015:28)

When the Theme is a personal pronoun and the Recipient is an NP, only indirective alignment is allowed, as in (15b.), while neutral alignment is ungrammatical.

The rest of the chapter aims to give a descriptive account of the various patterns of ditransitive constructions in Iraqi Arabic. The chapter is organized as follows: Section 2.2 shows the strategy of flagging in the ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic. Section 2.3 introduces the main ditransitive verb in Iraqi Arabic i.e. the verb *intˁə, itˁtˁə* 'give', its realizations and the patterns in which it appears in Iraqi Arabic. Section 2.4 aims to present the various patterns of pronominal ditransitives. Section 2.5 shows ditransitive construction with full NPs. Section 2.6 will demonstrate cases of idiomatic giving in Iraqi Arabic. Passivization in ditransitive constructions will be shown in Section 2.7. Finally, the chapter will be summarized in section 2.8.

2.2 Argument flagging in the ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic

While some languages have only one kind of alignment, Iraqi Arabic has all three kinds.
The strategy of flagging is used in Iraqi Arabic to encode arguments in a ditransitive construction. Flagging can be seen in the indirective alignment where the Recipient is coded by a preposition while the Theme is not, as in (16):

(16) Mohammed baʃ -Ø il -ktab l -Ali
Mohammed sell.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-book to-Ali
'Mohammed sold the book to Ali'

In (16) the Recipient *Ali* is marked with the preposition *l* 'to' while the Theme *il-ktab* 'the book' is not. On the other hand, the flagging of Theme in Iraqi Arabic is seen in the secundative alignment where Theme is coded by a preposition while Recipient is not, as in (17):

(17) il -jieʃ məwwən -Ø il -nas b -il -ʔəkil
The-army provide.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-people with-the-food
'The army provided the people with food'

In (17) while the Theme *il-ʔəkil* 'the food' is marked with the preposition *b* 'with', the Recipient *il-nas* 'the people' is not. Meanwhile, neither object is flagged in the neutral alignment, as in (18):

(18) Zaineb dain -ət Ali floos

Zaineb lend.PAST-F.3SG.SU Ali money

'Zaineb lent Ali money'

There is a special case found in the construction with the ditransitive *give* where Recipient is marked with the preposition *l* 'to' as will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 The verb *intʕə, itʕʕə* in Iraqi Arabic

This section aims to explain the realizations of the verb 'give' in Iraqi Arabic. The Iraqi counterpart of the verb 'give' has two realizations in the language: *intʕə* and *itʕʕə* (few people use the Standard Arabic form *ʔəʕʕa*) and though there is some dialectal variation in using these two alternates, most people use them interchangeably. The last vowel *ə* in the verb has various allophones depending on the sound of the following suffix, as in (19a and b):

(19) a. intʕo -o -hə ratib -hə

give.PAST-M.3PL.SU-F.3SG.IO payment-her

'They gave her her payment'

b. intʕə -t -hin ktab

give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.IO book

'She gave them a book'

Both realizations of the verb share the same inflections regarding the attached suffixes denoting subject or object markers, as in (20a and b):

(20) a. *itʕʕə* -n -hə gladə

give.PAST-F.3PL.SU-F.3SG.IO necklace

'They gave her a necklace'

Or b. *intʕə* -n -hə gladə

give.PAST-F.3PL.SU-F.3SG.IO necklace

'They gave her a necklace'

There is a special case of flagging found in the ditransitive constructions with the verb *intˁə* 'give' in that the lexical IO is marked by a special marker, the prefix *l-* 'to' in either of the two orders, V-IO-DO and V-DO-IO, as in (21a and b):

(21) a. Mohammed intˁə -Ø **l** -Fatma ktab
Mohammed give.PAST-M.3SG.SU to-Fatma book
'Mohmmed gave Fatma a book'

b. Mohammed intˁə -Ø ktab **l** -Fatma
Mohammed give.PAST-M.3SG.SU book to-Fatma
'Mohmmed gave a book to Fatma'

In some constructions where the DO is animate, the IO seems more like a causee i.e. the construction will have causative interpretation rather than the canonical possessive one e.g.:

(22) intˁɜ: -na -k mərə
give.PAST-1PL.SU-M.2SG.IO woman
Literally: "We gave you a woman"
'We let you marry a woman'

This construction could also take the indirective alignment, as in (23) below:

(23) intˁɜ: -nə mərə l -Mohammed
give.PAST-1PL.SU woman to-Mohammed
Literally: "We gave a woman to Mohammed"
'We let Mohammed marry a woman'

The following two sections are devoted to present the ditransitive constructions with pronominal as well as full DP objects in Iraqi Arabic. These will be discussed separately. The reason behind this is that morphological marking of pronominal objects differs from that attested in full DP objects on the one hand, and shows variation in accordance with the type of verb on the other hand, as will be discussed below.

2.4 Pronominal ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic

This section examines the possible patterns of ditransitives with pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic. These can be pronominal Recipient and a full NP Theme, pronominal Theme and a full NP Recipient, or both objects are pronominal.

2.4.1. Pronominal Recipient and a full NP Theme

This pattern is a DOC where the pronominal Recipient takes the form of a clitic which follows the verb, as in (24):

(24) intˤə -t -hə floos
give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3SG.IO money
'She gave her money'

Here, the pronominal Recipient is the F.3SG.IO clitic *-hə* 'her' which is directly attached to the verb *intˤə* 'give'. Such clitics are not used only for indirect objects but also for the direct objects in a monotransitive construction. Non-clitic pronouns cannot be used as objects in Iraqi Arabic. On the other hand, the DOC with a full NP Recipient and pronominal Theme is illicit in Iraqi Arabic, as in (25):

(25) *intˤ3: -t Mohammed iya -Ø
give.PAST-1SG.SU Mohammed IYA-3.DO
Literally: "I gave Mohammed it"

2.4.2 Pronominal Theme and a full NP Recipient

Instead of the ungrammatical construction shown in (25) above, the PDC construction in (26) will be used when Theme is pronominal, and Recipient is a full NP:

(26) intˤ3: -t -hə l-Mohammed
give.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-Mohammed
'I gave it to Mohammed'

The null Theme pronoun in (25) shows as a F.3SG.DO clitic on the main verb in (26). As with the indirect object, it is impossible to use a non-clitic pronoun as direct object in Iraqi Arabic.

2.4.3 Both Recipient and Theme are pronominal

This is basically a DOC in Iraqi Arabic where both Recipient and Theme are cliticized on the main verb, as in (27):

(27) intˤə -t -ni -iya -hin
give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'She gave me them'

In (27), the clitic *–ni-* 'me' represents the Recipient while the Theme is represented by the clitic *-hin* 'them'.
Still, pronominal Recipient and Theme may also appear in a PDC, as in (28):

(28) rawə: -t -hə il-hom
show.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-M.3PL.IO
'I show it to them'

In the DOC of Iraqi Arabic, the pronominal Theme shows as a clitic attached to the form *-iya* which makes it easily distinguished from the Recipient clitic. The special form *-iya* aims to mark the second pronominal object as a Theme in a DOC. If the verb in the clause is monotransitive, it is ungrammatical to use the form *-iya* in the construction, as in the ungrammatical sentence in (29):

(29) *ligiə -t -iya -hin b -il -mədrəsə
find.PAST-1SG.SU-IYA-F.3PL.DO in-the-school
Intended: "I found them in the school"

As the construction in (29) is a monotransitive one, it is ungrammatical for the form *-iya* to show in the construction. In this case, the direct object clitic will show attached directly to the monotransitive verb, as in the grammatical sentence in (30):

(30) ligiə -t -hin b -il -mədrəsə
find.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3PL.DO in-the-school
'I found them in the school'

Since the pronominal Theme in a DOC is always marked by the form *-iya*, Iraqi Arabic does not exhibit clitic clustering, e.g.:

(31) a.*intˤə -t -ni -hin
give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-F.3PL.DO
'She gave me them'

b. intˤə -t -ni -iya -hin
give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'She gave me them'

2.4.4 Constraints on two pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic

There are some constraints on the occurrence of pronominal objects in the DOC of Iraqi Arabic. First, as shown above in (24), it is possible for the Recipient to be a clitic followed by an NP in the Theme position. But if the Recipient is a full NP, it is impossible for the Theme position to be occupied by a pronoun, as shown above in (25). The constraint here is that the Recipient should be a pronoun in order for the Theme position to be occupied by a pronoun. Second, there is a constraint on order in that the Theme clitic cannot precede the Recipient clitic in the DOC in any way, as shown in (32a and b):[5]

(32) a. intˤə: -t -k -iya -hin
give.PAST-1SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'I gave you them'

b.* intˤə: -t -hin -iya -k
give.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3PL.DO-IYA-M.2SG.IO
Literally "I gave them you"

Constructions with Spray/Load verbs which appear as DOCs can only have a pronominal indirect object while the direct object should be a lexical NP, as in (33)

[5] This is due to a person constraint as will be shown in the next section.

(33) a. ɣatˤə -na -hə ramol

cover.PAST-1PL.SU-F.3SG.IO sand

'We covered it with sand"

b. *ɣatˤə -na -h-iya -Ø

cover.PAST-1PL.SU-it-IYA-3.DO

Intended: "We covered it with it"

c. ɣatˤə -na il -gaʃ ramol

cover.PAST-1PL.SU the-ground sand

'We covered the ground with sand'

d. *ɣatˤə -na ramol il -gaʃ

cover.PAST-1PL.SU sand the-ground

Intended: "We covered the ground with sand"

2.4.5 Person Constraint

In the DOC of Iraqi Arabic, if the pronominal Recipient has the first or the second person feature, the Theme clitic (attached to the form *iya*) shows inflection of person, number and gender which is not shown elsewhere, consider (34 a and b):

(34) a. intˤa -Ø -ni -iya -hə

give.PAST.M.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3SG.DO

'He gave me it'

b. intˤ3: -t -k -iya -hom

give.PAST-1SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-M.3PL.DO

'I gave you them'

Meanwhile, when the Recipient is a 3rd person, the form -*iya* will seem like a host of the features of a null Theme pronoun, as in (35):

(35) intˁ3: -t -h -iya -Ø
give.PAST-1SG.SU-3SG.IO-IYA-3.DO
'I gave him/her it'

In this case, the null Theme pronoun will carry only a feature of 3rd person as shown in (35) above. Adding features of number and gender to the Theme clitic attached to the form *-iya* in this case will be ungrammatical, as in (36):

(36) *intˁ3: -t -h -iya -hin
give.PAST-1SG.SU-3SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'I gave him/her them'

Besides that, the feature PERSON in the two pronominal objects in the DOC must reflect an ascending configuration in that the 1st and 2nd pronominal objects MUST precede the 3rd pronominal ones. Examples such as (37a) are totally illicit in Iraqi Arabic:

(37) a.*Fatma intˁə -t -hom -iya -k
Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.3PL.IO-IYA-M.2SG.DO
Intended: "Fatma gave you to them"

In such cases the DOC is impossible, therefore, only the PDC can be used (grammatical splits), as shown in (37b):

b. Fatma intˁə -t -ək il -hom
Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.2SG.DO to-M.3PL.IO
'Fatma gave you to them'

In case when both pronominal objects have the feature, 3rd person, here comes the role of animacy; the animate object MUST precede the inanimate object: [6]

[6] This does not apply to British dialects. As we will see in Chapter 7, some of these dialects permit the pattern *I gave it him/her*.

(38) a. Fatma intˤə -t -hom -iya -Ø

Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.3PL.IO-IYA-3.DO

'Fatma gave them it'

b. * Fatma intˤə -t -h -iya -hom

Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-3SG.DO-IYA-M.3PL.IO

Intended: "Fatma gave it to them"

On the other hand, the pronominal Recipient that is followed by pronominal Theme in a DOC cannot show inflection of gender if it is 3SG, as shown in (35) above, but pronominal Recipient can show such inflection if it is followed by an NP in the Theme position, as in (39):

(39) intˤɜ: -t -hə floos

gave.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.IO money

'I gave her money'

2.5 Ditransitives with full NPs

In this section a description is given to ditransitive construction with full lexical NPs. The ditransitive construction with full NPs can appear in the three alignments discussed in section 2.1.1 i.e. the neutral alignment, the indirective alignment or even the secundative alignment, as will be discussed below.

2.5.1 The neutral alignment in Iraqi Arabic

Some verbs in Iraqi Arabic such as *darrəs* meaning 'teach', *wəkkel* 'feed', *ʔimtiħən* 'test' and *waddaʃ* 'save' (in its idiomatic usage), take the neutral alignment only but not in the indirective alignment. Here, the two object arguments are coded alike in none of them is marked with a Case marker or adposition. Examples of these verbs are given below:

(40) a. Ahammed darrəs -Ø Ali ingilizi (neutral)
Ahammed teach.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali English
'Ahammed taught Ali English'

b.* Ahammed darrəs -Ø ingilizi l -Ali (indirective)
Ahammed teach.PAST-M.3SG.SU English to-Ali
'Ahammed taught English to Ali'

(41) a. Mohammed wəkkel -Ø Ali dijaj (neutral)
Mohammed feed.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali chicken
'Mohammed fed Ali chicken'

b. *Mohammed wəkkel -Ø dijaj l -Ali (indirective)
Mohammed feed.PAST-M.3SG.SU chicken to-Ali
'Mohammed fed chicken to Ali'

(42) a. waddaʃ -Ø il -bazzon ʃaħmə (neutral)
save.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-cat fat
'He saved fat with the cat' (it is said when somebody lets a thief handles his money)

b. *waddaʃ -Ø ʃaħmə wiyyə il -bazzon (indirective)
save.PAST-M.3SG.SU fat with the-cat
'He saved fat with the cat'

2.5.2 Alternation in Iraqi Arabic

Though some ditransitive verbs take the neutral alignment only as shown in the previous section, other ditransitive verbs in Iraqi Arabic exhibit indirective-neutral alternations in that the same verb can appear in the neutral as well as the indirective alignment.[7] Among those

[7] Just as with the dative alternation where the ditransitive construction may appear as a DOC or PDC, Spray-Load verbs exhibit two different syntactic structures, which is known in the literature as *the locative alternation*. Still, there is a semantic difference between Spray-Load verbs and essential ditransitives in that the Recipient-like argument in the former is inanimate. That is to say that the construction in this case will not imply transfer of possession in the real sense as is the case with essential ditransitives, as will be discussed in section 5.7.

verbs that show alternation are *siʕəl* 'ask', *minəħ* 'grant', *dayen* 'lend', *nawəʃ* 'hand', and the verb *rawə* 'show'. Below are examples of alternation in Iraqi Arabic:

(43) a. Mohammed siʔəl -Ø Ali soʔal (neutral)
Mohammed ask.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali question
'Mohammed asked Ali a question'

b. Mohammed siʔəl -Ø soʔal l -Ali (indirective)
Mohammed ask.PAST-M.3SG.SU question to-Ali
'Mohammed asked a question to Ali'

(44) a.il -safarə minħ -ət Mohammed visa (neutral)
The-embassy grant.PAST-F.3SG.SU Mohammed visa
'The embassy granted Mohammed a visa'

b. il -safarə minħ -ət visa l -Mohammed (indirective)
The-embassy grant.PAST-F.3SG.SU visa to-Mohammed
'The embassy granted a visa to Mohammed'

(45) a. Mohammed nawəʃ -Ø Ali ktab (neutral)
Mohammed hand.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali book
'Mohammed handed Ali a book'

b. Mohammed nawəʃ -Ø ktab l -Ali (indirective)
Mohammed hand.PAST-M.3SG.SU book to-Ali
'Mohammed handed a book to Ali'

(46) a. Mohammed dayen -Ø Ali floos (neutral)
Mohammed lend.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali money
'Mohammed lent Ali money'

b. Mohammed dayen -Ø floos l -Ali (indirective)
Mohammed lend.PAST-M.3SG.SU money to-Ali
'Mohammed lent money to Ali'

(47) a. Zaineb rawə -t Ali sˤorə (neutral)
Zaineb show.PAST-F.3SG.SU Ali picture
'Zaineb showed Ali a picture'

b. Zaineb rawə -t sˤorə l -Ali (indirective)
Zaineb show.PAST-F.3SG.SU picture to-Ali
'Zaineb showed a picture to Ali'

Despite the alternation shown in (47) above, this ditransitive verb *rawə* 'show' takes the neutral alignment only when it is used idiomatically (cf. Hoekstra 1990; Harley 2002; Bruening 2010, among others), as in (48a and b) below:

(48) a. Ahamed rawə -Ø Ali njoom il -ðˤohor (neutral)
Ahamed show.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali stars the-noon
'Ahamed showed Ali the stars at noon'. (Ahmed took revenge on Ali)

b. *Ahamed rawə -Ø njoom il -ðˤohor l -Ali (indirective)
Ahamed show.PAST-M.3SG.SU stars the-noon to-Ali
'Ahamed showed the stars to Ali at noon'

2.5.3 The indirective alignment in Iraqi Arabic

There are many ditransitive verbs in Iraqi Arabic that appear only in the indirective alignment construction, among those are the verbs *dezz* 'send', *jab* 'bring', *baʃ* 'sell', *gal* 'tell', *ʃomər* 'throw', *ʔəjjər* 'hire', and *difəʃ* 'pay', *ʔiʃtirə* 'buy', as in (49):

(49) a. Mohammed ʔiʃtirə -Ø ktab l -Ali (indirective)
Mohammed buy.PAST-M.3SG.SU book to-Ali
'Mohammed bought a book to Ali'

b.*Mohammed ʔiʃtirə -Ø Ali ktab (neutral)
Mohammed buy.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali book
'Mohammed bought Ali a book'

The indirective alignment in Iraqi Arabic may take the order V-Theme-to-Goal, or it may appear in a construction which takes the order V-to-Goal -Theme, a pattern that Gerwin (2014) terms *alternative prepositional* construction (altPDC), therefore, (49) can be as shown in (50):

(50) Mohammed ʔiʃtirə -Ø l -Ali ktab
Mohammed buy.PAST-M.3SG.SU to-Ali book
'Mohammed bought a book to Ali'

2.5.4 Secundative alignment in Iraqi Arabic

Some ditransitive constructions Iraqi Arabic take the secundative alignment where the ditransitive verbs in these constructions bears the meaning of supplying or providing, as in (51), (52) and (53):

(51) il -wizarə zawwid -ət it -tˁollab b -il -kotob
The-ministry provide.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-students with-the-books
'The ministry provided the students with books'

(52) Rusia medd -ət il -ʕiraq b -il -silaħ
Russia supply.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-Iraq with-the-weapons
'Russia supplied Iraq with weapons'

(53) Fatma jəhz -ət il -foqrə b -il -batˁtˁaniat
Fatma provid.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-poor with-the-blankets
'Fatma provided the poor with the blankets'

The example in (53) could also take the neutral alignment where the preposition *b* 'with' is deleted especially when the Theme is indefinite without causing any change in the meaning of the clause as in (54):

(54) Fatma jəhz -ət il-foqrə batˁtˁaniat
Fatma provid.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-poor blankets
'Fatma provided the poor with blankets'

An overview of (some of) the ditransitive verbs and which alignment they take or cannot take in Iraqi Arabic is shown in Table 1 below:[8]

Table 1

Ditransitive verbs according to the alignment they take in Iraqi Arabic [9]

verb	neutral				secundative				indirective			
R-Th	DPDP	proDP	DPpro	propro	DPDP	proDP	DPpro	propro	DPDP	proDP	DPpro	prop
teach	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	×	×	×
feed	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	×	×	×
test	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	×	×	×
save (idiom.)	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
cost	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
buy	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
send	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
bring	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
sell	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
tell	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
throw	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
hire	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
pay	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
supply	✓	✓	×	×	✓	✓	?	✓	×	×	×	×
provide	✓	✓	×	×	✓	✓	?	✓	×	×	×	×
ask	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
grant	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
lend	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
hand	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
show	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
explain	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
give	×	✓	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
show (idiom.)	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×

[8] In Table 1, DPDP, proDP, DPpro and propro stand for combinations of two full DP objects, a pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme, a full DP Recipient and a pronominal Theme, and two pronominal objects, respectively.

[9] Since the form *-iya* always marks the pronominal Theme in a DOC with two pronominal objects, this combination is shown under the secundative alignment in the table. This explains why no propro combination is exhibited under the neutral alignment.

2.6 Idiomatic giving

In Iraqi Arabic, there are some DOC constructions in which *giving* does not entail transfer of possession between the Agent and the Recipient in the real sense. Rather it entails transfer of some effect that is imposed on the Recipient by the Agent. In such cases, the animacy constraint could be violated where inanimate entities such as a car could occupy the Recipient position as in (55a):

(55) a. intˤi -i -hə (the car) dafʕə.
give.IMP-2SG.SU-F.3SG.IO push
'give it a push'

In (55a), the act of pushing made by the Agent is affecting the Recipient. In Iraqi Arabic, this kind of idiomatic *giving* is revealed by the inability of the Theme to be pronominal, as in (55b)

b.# intˤ3: -t -h -iya -Ø
give.PAST-1SG.SU-3SG.IO-IYA-3.DO
'I gave it it'

The sentence (55b) will be fully acceptable if the Recipient is animate.

2.7 Passivization of ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic

This section is devoted to passivization of ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic.[10] Iraqi Arabic is an asymmetric language in that it is only Recipient that can be passivized in the DOC. In section 2.3, it is shown that there are two realization of the verb 'give' in the language: *intʕə* and *itʕtʕə*. When passivized, a passive marker *in-* introduces the verb, as shown in (56a and b):[11]

[10] To the best of my knowledge, there is no work done on passive in ditransitives of Standard Arabic or any dialect of Arabic.
[11] Some verbs such as the verb *ħammal* 'load' are introduced by a different passive marker, *it-*, as will be shown in section 5.7.

(56) a. ma inʕtə: -t -hə il-kotob (Active)
neg give.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.IO the-books
'I did not give her the books'

b. ma in -nəʕə -t il-kotob (Passivization of Recipient)
neg PASSIVE-give.PAST-F.3SG.NOM the-books
'She was not given the books'

On the other hand, Theme cannot be passivized, as shown in (57):

(57) *il -kotob ma in -nəʕtə -n -hə (Passivization of Theme)
The-books neg PASSIVE-give.PAST-F.3PL.NOM-F.3SG.IO
'The books were not given her'

In the passive (56b), the feminine singular Recipient (*-hə* in 56a) has been promoted to subject, a null subject in this case, triggering agreement on the verb (*-t*). Such promotion to subject is illicit by Theme, as (57) indicates. A similar promotion of Recipient to the subject position is shown in (58) in a DOC with a full NP object:

(58) a. il -safarə minħ -ət Fatma visa (Active)
The-embassy grant.PAST-F.3SG.SU Fatma visa
'The embassy granted Fatma a visa'

b. Fatma in -minəħ -ət visa (Passivization of Recipient)
Fatma PASSIVE-grant.PAST-F.3SG.NOM visa
'Fatma was granted a visa'

c.* visa in -minəħ -ət Fatma (Passivization of Theme)
visa PASSIVE-grant.PAST-F.3SG.NOM Fatma
' A visa was granted Fatma'

There is another widely used strategy of passivization in Iraqi Arabic by using the passive participle form where it acts as an adjective that agrees in number, person and gender with the

structural subject in the passive construction. When deriving the passive participle from the verb root, a passive marker (the prefix *m-*) will introduce the passive participle e.g. *m-intˤi* or *m-itˤtˤi*, indicating that the clause is passivized, as in (59a and b):

(59) a. intˤə -n -hə kotob (Active)
give.PAST-F.3PL.SU-F.3SG.IO books
'they gave her books'

b. **m** -intˤi -hə kotob (Passivization of Recipient)
PASSIVE-give.PAST-F.3SG.ACC books
'she was given books'

Comparing the active construction in (59a) with the passive construction in (59b), the latter lacks the active subject suffix *-n-*, and the Recipient clitic *-hə* becomes adjacent to the verb stem. The Recipient clitic *-hə* agrees with the 'dropped' subject pronoun *hiyyə* 'she'. Here, promotion of the Recipient to subject will not trigger subject agreement on the verb. Therefore, the appearance of a subject marker in the construction will be ungrammatical as shown in the ungrammatical example in (60):

(60) ***m** -intˤi -t kotob (Passive)
PASSIVE-give.PAST-F.3SG.NOM books
Intended: "she was given books"

Another example of such passivization is shown below for a DOC with a full NP object:

(61) a. Fatma rawə -ət Najat sˤorə (Active)
Fatma show.PAST-F.3SG.SU Najat picture
'Fatma showed Najat a picture'

b. Najat m -rawi -hə sˤorə (Passive)
Najat PASSIVE-show.PAST-F.3SG.ACC picture
'Najat was shown a picture'

2.8 Summary

This chapter has two aims the first of which is to introduce a typological overview of ditransitive constructions where it has been shown that the ditransitive constructions are classified according to their alignment into:

(i) Indirective alignment: In which the Theme has the primacy over the Recipient and is treated as the Patient in the monotransitve construction while the Recipient is marked with a special marker i.e., Th=P≠R.

(ii) Secundative alignment: In which the Recipient has the primacy over the Theme and is treated similar to the Patient in that it appears without a special marker in the construction while the Theme is treated in a special way as it shows with a special marker i.e., R=P ≠Th.

(iii) Neutral alignment: In which both the Recipient and the Theme are treated as Patient in that none of them has the primacy over the other i.e., R=Th=P.

The second aim of the chapter is to introduce the reader to the descriptive facts in Iraqi Arabic which are usually related to ditransitives such as Case-marking, word order options and passives. As for Case marking, it has been shown that Iraqi Arabic exhibits all the above-mentioned alignments. Further, the so-called Spray-Load verbs appear to have two objects with a neutral alignment in the language. The first is a Recipient-like and the second is a Theme. As for word order, it has been shown that Iraqi Arabic follows a strict word order in that it does not allow the Theme to precede the Recipient in the neutral alignment (the DOC). As for passive, it has been shown that Iraqi Arabic has two types of passive but in either case only Recipient may passivize.

Chapter 3. Ditransitives -Theoretical Background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter intends to present a theoretical background to ditransitive constructions. One area of debate about these constructions concerns the nature of the relationship between DOCs and PDCs, in particular whether it is derivational or projectional. Larson (1988) and den Dikken (1995) among others argue for the derivational view, according to which the DOC is derived from the PDC by means of Dative Shift, which is a passive-like operation where Recipient is promoted to the indirect object position while Theme assumes adjunct status within V'. The projectional point of view has been adopted by Marantz (1993); Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002); Pylkkanen (2002:2008), Bruening (2010, 2014), among others. Within this view, there are mainly two competing hypotheses: Marantz (1993), Pylkkanen (2008) and Bruening (2010, 2014) argue that DOC is headed by an applicative head, an analysis that is adopted from languages that have an overt Applicative head such as Chichewa. The second hypothesis (Pesetsky 1995) claims that the DOC is headed by a prepositional phrase containing a null preposition, an analysis developed further in Harley (2002). This chapter will explore these various hypotheses, as detailed in the next sections.

3.2 Barss and Lasnik (1986)

Barss & Lasnik (1986) make use of binding principles as evidence for the structure of the DOC. They point out that the relation between NP1 and NP2 in the DOC is asymmetrical such that NP2 is in the domain of NP1 but not vice versa. These binding facts can be attested in the following examples (from Barss & Lasnik 1986: 347):

(1) I showed John himself (in the mirror). (anaphor binding)

(2) *I showed himself John (in the mirror).

Barss & Lasnik state that two independent pieces of evidence can be drawn from (1) & (2) which support their claim. First, taking into consideration that NP1 *John* binds NP2 *himself* in example (1) and given Principle A of Chomsky's (1981) binding theory, this entails that NP1 c-commands NP2. Second, in (1) there is no violation of conditions B and C of the binding theory. Therefore, NP2 does not bind NP1 which follows if NP2 does not c-command NP1. Meanwhile, both conditions A and C are violated in example (2). The same binding relation between NP1 and NP2 is seen in (3) and (4):

(3) I showed the professors each other's students.

(4) *1 showed each other's students the professors.

Barss & Lasnik argue that this analysis is further supported by evidence from some syntactic phenomena such as:

1. *Quantificational NP-pronoun relations*, as in (5a and b):

(5) a. I denied each worker his paycheck.

b. * I denied its owner each paycheck.

2. *Wh-movement* and *weak crossover*, as in (6a and b):

(6) a. Which worker$_i$ did you deny his$_i$ paycheck?

b. *Which paycheck$_i$ did you deny its$_i$ owner?

3. The *superiority* of movement of the higher wh-phrase in cases where the two objects are wh-phrases, as in (7a and b):

(7) a. Who did you give which book?

b. *Which book did you give who?

4. The *each . . . the other* construction, as in (8a and b):

(8) a. I gave each man the other's watch.

b. *1 gave the other's trainer each lion.

5. The polarity *any*, as in (9a and b):

(9) a. I gave no one anything.

b. *I gave anyone nothing

What all these phenomena have in common is the asymmetric c-command between NP1 and NP2. To distinguish the domain of NP1 from that of NP2, Barss & Lasnik (1986: 352) propose the definition shown in (10):

(10) Y is in the domain of X iff X c-commands Y and X precedes Y.

What is meant by the notion *domain* or more specifically the *c-command domain* is the set of constituents c-commanded by the head X. That's to say that NP2 is seen here to be a constituent within the c-command domain of NP1 in the DOC construction. Barss and Lasnik's remarks regarding the anaphoric relation between the internal two NPs have proven to be of great importance in analyzing the DOC and have been taken into consideration by all later works on the DOC.

3.3. A derivational approach to ditransitives: Larson (1988)

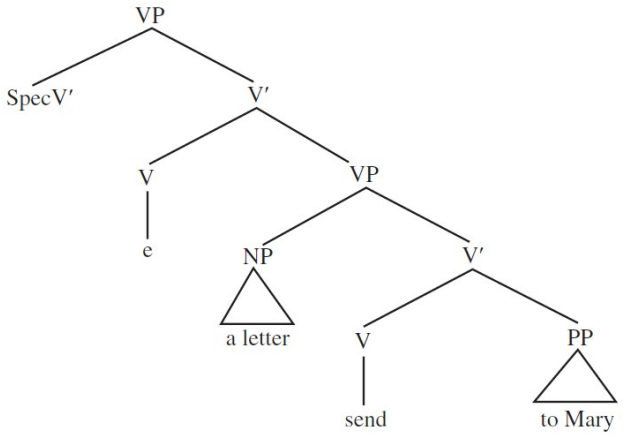
Larson (1988) proposes a derivational approach to the DOC in which he argues that the DOC can be derived by what Larson terms "a modern form of Dative Shift", a process which is similar to the derivation process of passive constructions from their active counterparts. Larson's derivational account considers that the two ditransitive constructions i.e., the PDC and the DOC are transformationally related. This is based on two points: First, the derivational relatedness between the two constructions shown especially in languages with overt applicative heads discussed in Marantz (1984) and Baker (1985) in which a transformational operation similar to Dative Shift is carried out. Second, the observation that identical semantic roles are assigned in these two constructions. If they are, and the following hypothesis is adopted, then the PDC and DOC have the same underlying structure (from Larson 1988:350):

Uniformity of θ-Assignment Hypothesis

Identical thematic relationships are represented by identical structural relations between the items at the level of D-Structure.

Larson's analysis of ditransitive constructions is basically built on Chomsky (1975) who argues that a PDC such as *John sent a letter to Mary* is derived from a deep structure in which the verb *sent* and its complement (the indirect object *to Mary*) form a constituent which excludes the direct object *a letter*. Taking this analysis into consideration, Larson argues that the PDC *John sent a letter to Mary* underlyingly includes a clause-like VP whose subject is *a letter* and its object is the inner constituent *(to) Mary* which is obscured at the surface structure due to an operation of V Raising, consider (11):

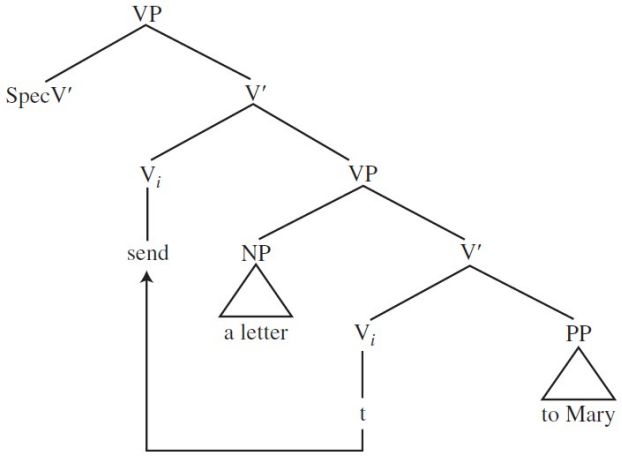
(11) The underlying structure of the PDC:



(Larson 1988: 342)

Larson introduces the term *VP shell* to the literature in his analysis of the projection of ditransitive constructions and argues that there are as many VP shells derived as there are A-positions determined and Θ-roles assigned by the verb. In (11), the internal VP shell is a daughter of V' whose head is empty since it exhibits no thematic requirements. Another VP shell (which is external) is generated so as to assign an Agent role to its specifier. This triggers V Raising to the empty position (e). Consequently, the Agent position (Spec of the external V') is now within the projection of the verb *send* and can be assigned its ɵ-role. Later, Larson (1990) argued that the object *(to) Mary* is directly ɵ-marked whereas the two other arguments i.e. the one in the external Spec V'(*John*) and the one in the internal Spec V' (*a letter*) are indirectly ɵ-marked. The internal VP shell takes *a letter* as its specifier and *send* as its head as well as the PP *to Mary* as its complement. Underlyingly, the VP *send-to-Mary* constitutes a small predicate to the inner subject *a letter* in Chomsky's (1975) sense. This VP then constitutes a predicate to the subject *John* so that the structure will be *John a letter send to Mary* in which the verb appears to the right of *a letter* which is not well formed in English. In order for the construction to be well formed, Larson assumes that the surface structure is derived by head-to-head movement, where the verb *send* in (11) moves to the empty V position. The movement is triggered by the requirements of Case and agreement in that the verb *send* moves to the higher head position, so it can be governed by I. Consequently, the verb can receive tense and agreement information and at the same time it will be in a position to assign Objective Case to *a letter*, as in (12):

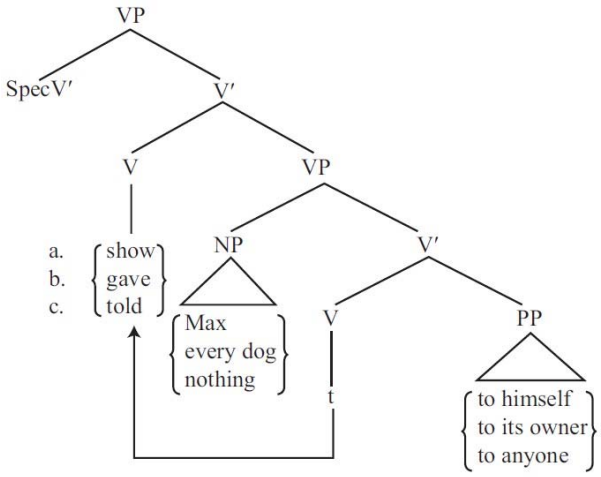
(12) The surface structure of the PDC after raising of V:



(Larson 1988: 343)

According to Larson, the V raising will cause the direct object, in the surface structure shown in (12), to "c-command the oblique object quite independently of the structure introduced by PP", as in (13):

(13)



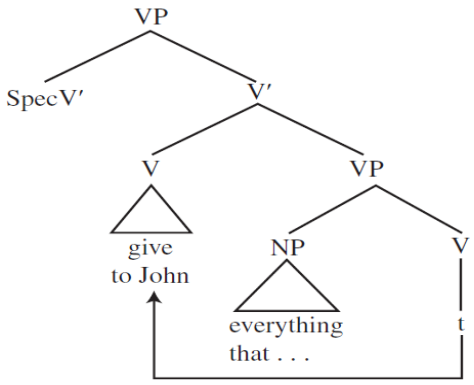
(Larson 1988: 344)

In (13a) the binding asymmetry is shown when the anaphora *himself* is c-commanded by its antecedent, the direct object *Max* but not vice versa. Similarly, the binding asymmetry is attested in (13b) when the pronoun *its* is c-commanded by its quantifier *every*. In the same way,

in (13c) the negative polarity item occurs in the c-command scope of the affective element *nothing*, but not conversely.

When discussing the DOC, Larson argues that the syntactic derivation of the DOC can be carried out by “a modern form of Dative Shift”. This analysis is based on what he terms "Light Predicate Raising", in which the predicate phrase moves leftward, as in (14)

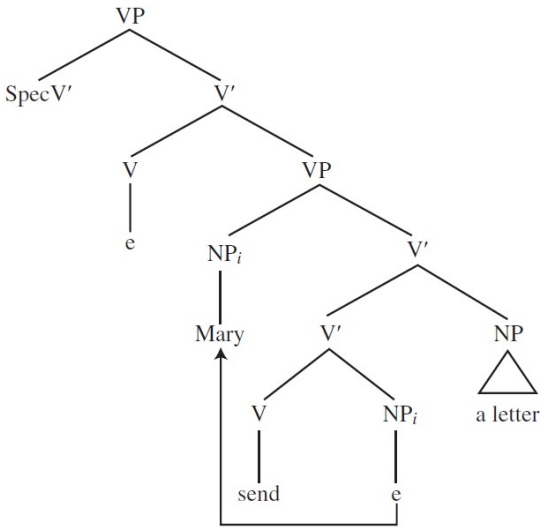
(14)



(Larson 1988: 349)

Larson then establishes a link between Dative Shift and Passive by assuming a subject-object relation between the two NPs where the direct object plays the subject of VP role. In this analysis, the preposition *to* is absorbed due to the consideration that it is a Case marker. This parallels the absorption of object Case by the passive verb. The direct object undergoes Argument Demotion in that its position is reduced to nonthematic status due to the demotion of its ɵ-role assigned by V', to a V' adjunct similar to that of a *by*-phrase in the passive construction. This Argument Demotion results in an empty VP subject position which triggers an NP movement of the caseless indirect object to the VP subject position, a movement that Larson terms *Dative Shift*, as in (15) below:

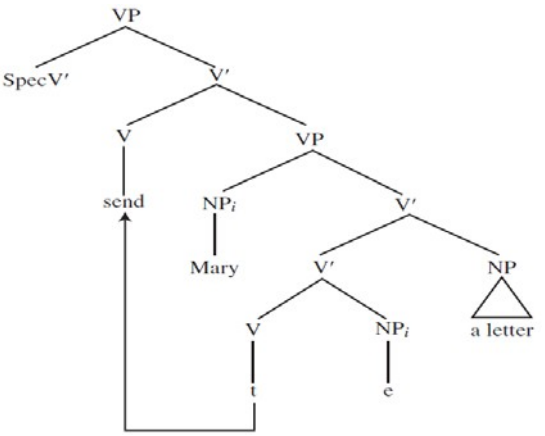
(15)



(Larson 1988: 353)

The NP movement of the indirect object shown in (15) above is followed by raising of the verb *send* into the empty V-head position and from there it can assign Case to the derived subject (Mary) yielding the configuration *John sent Mary a letter*, as shown in (16):

(16)

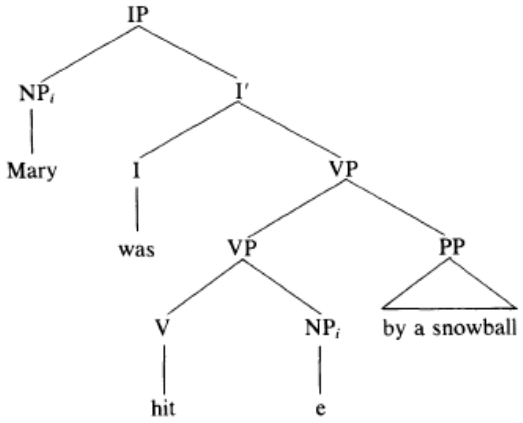


(Larson 1988: 353)

Larson argues that Dative Shift results in structural relations that can directly account for Barss and Lasnik's (1986) binding asymmetries in the DOC. This is shown in (15) where, as a result of NP movement, the outer object (the V' adjunct, *a letter*) is asymmetrically c-commanded by the inner object (the V' specifier, *Mary*).

Larson argues that the inner VP in (15) is similar to the passive shown in (17):

(17)



(Larson 1988: 351)

In both of (15) and (17), the demoted argument assumes adjunct status while the object moves to the subject position. Larson distinguishes between the two object movements shown in (15) and (17), by referring to the promotion of an argument to IP subject position as "Passive" while he uses the term "Dative Shift" for the promotion of an argument to VP subject position. Meanwhile, he includes both operations carried out in (15) and (17) under the term "PASSIVE" (Larson 1988: 352).

3.4 A projectional approach to ditransitives

This approach argues against the derivational analysis discussed in the previous section and claims that each of the two constructions has its independent projection. This claim is supported by evidence from idioms (cf. Bruening 2010a; Harley 2002; Harley & Jung 2015), and some other cases in which a DOC does not have a PDC counterpart or vice versa. Consider the idioms in (18), (19) and (20) (from Harley 2002):

(18) a. I sent the salesman to the devil.

b. *I sent the devil the salesman.

(19) a. Susan gave Bill a piece of her mind.

b. ?Susan gave a piece of her mind to Bill.

(20) a. Nancy showed Ronald the error of his ways.

b. ?Nancy showed the error of his ways to Ronald.

If Larson's analysis is correct, i.e. the DOC is derived by Dative Shift, the example in (18b) will be grammatical but it is not as shifting is not permitted. Likewise, the DOCs in (19a) and (20a) do not have acceptable PDC counterparts.

Further, the advocates of this approach take into consideration Oehrle's (1976) and Kayne's (1975) remarks about semantic differences between the DOC and the PDC, as in (21):

(21) a. John taught the students French.

b. John taught French to the students.

According to Oehrle (1976), the contrast between (21a) and (21b) is that students in (21a) have learned some French. Therefore, the students play a Possessor role (they 'have French'). On the other hand, the students in (21b) need not actually have learned any French, and therefore play the role of Location.[12] Another contrast between the two constructions is reported by Kayne (1975):

(22) a. I knitted this sweater for our baby.

b. I knitted our baby this sweater.

According to Kayne, the indirect object in (22b) is a Possessor which implies that the baby is animate (has already been born), as such, it can appear in a DOC. On the other hand, the female speaker in (22a) may not have a baby now but is planning to have one.

Moreover, Holmberg *et al* (2018) point out that the DOC can have an inanimate subject, which is not possible in the PDC:

[12] Taking Oehrle's (1976) remarks into consideration of a semantic difference between the DOC and the PDC, the term *Recipient* in the DOC will be used to denote POSSESSION in the rest of the thesis while term *GOAL* in the PDC will be used to denote DIRECTION.

(23) a. This book gave me an idea.

b. * This book gave an idea to me.

Also, where the relationship between the Recipient and Theme is of *alienable* possession, the PDC (but not the DOC) allows inanimate Goals, e.g.:

(24) a. I sent a book to his house.

b. * I sent his house a book.

On the other hand, when the relationship between the two objects is of *inalienable* possession, inanimate Recipients are possible only in the DOC not in the PDC, e.g.:

(25) a. John gave the house a lick of paint.

b. * John gave a lick of paint to the house.

The above examples refer clearly to cases where there are DOCs that do not have PDC counterparts and vice versa. In other words, none of two constructions is derived from the other one, that is to say each construction is projected independently.

Still, the advocates of this approach differ as regards the structure of the DOC construction whether it is headed by an applicative head or is headed by a prepositional phrase containing a null preposition, as will be discussed further in the following sections of this chapter.

3.4.1 Marantz (1993)

An alternative account to the transformational one of ditransitives discussed in the section 3.3 is proposed by Marantz (1993) who argues that the DOC and the PDC are not underlyingly related. Marantz aims to present a cross-linguistic descriptive and explanatory account for the asymmetries in the DOC. His account of the DOC stems mainly from the Bantu language, Chichewa. Marantz argues that the benefactive construction shown in (26) from English and the applicative constructions shown in (27) from Chichewa are DOCs:

(26) Elmer baked Hortense a cake.

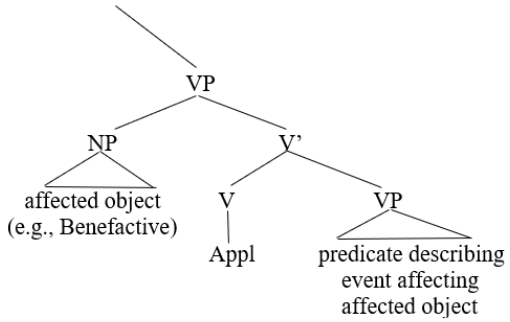
(27) Chitsiru chi -na -gul -ir -a atsikana mphatso.

fool SP-PST-buy-APPL-fv girls gift

'The fool bought a gift for the girls'

In (27), the construction appears to have two NPs bearing direct case marking in a single clause. The two objects are unmarked morphologically where the first is a direct object while the second is introduced as a result to adding the Applicative (Appl) suffix *–ir*. Marantz's important contribution to the field is his assumption that English has such an Appl suffix, but this suffix is covert, not realized phonologically. The meaning expressed by the DOC and the D-structure it takes is shown in (28):

(28)

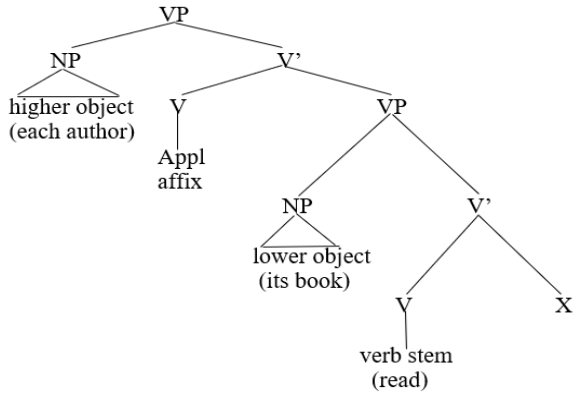


(Marantz 1993: 116)

Marantz points out that in some languages, as is the case with English, the higher object in an applicative construction is to be taken as *affected* object. In (28), Marantz considers Appl a verb which syntactically takes a VP as its complement. Semantically, this VP represents an event that affects the higher object (the Benefactive) which is usually marked dative in many languages such as Albanian, Japanese and Icelandic. The lower one is the direct object that appears as a complement of VP and is usually marked accusative. Consequently, the D-structure of (29) will be as shown in (30) below:

(29) I read [each author]$_i$ his$_i$ first book.

(30)

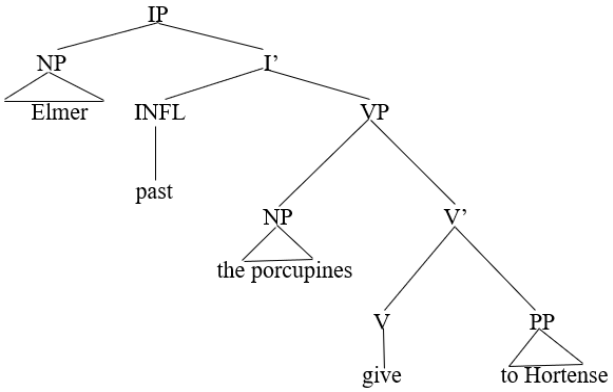


(Marantz 1993:119)

In the analysis shown in (30) above, the applied null affix and the verb will merge during the course of derivation. On the other hand, Marantz proposes a D-structure to the PDC construction, as in (31) and (32):

(31) Elmer gave the porcupine to Hortense.

(32)



According to Marantz, the major difference between the two D-structures i.e. of the DOC and the PDC, is that while the former has two VPs, the latter has only one where he considers the PP *to Hortense* as a complement to the verb and this is why it does not project a further VP. Part of the difference between these two constructions can be drawn from considering quantifier scope. When the two objects of the DOC are quantified, their scope seems to be

fixed where the first quantifier has the scope over the second one as in (33) from Marantz (1993: 120):

(33) Elmer gave someone every porcupine.

OK: There's one guy that got all the porcupines.

OUT: For each porcupine, there's someone that got that porcupine.

On the other hand, when both the object and oblique in the PDC are quantified, the scope of the quantifiers is not fixed, as the first quantifier can have wider or narrower scope than the second one, as in (34):

(34) Elmer gave some porcupine to everyone.

OK: There's one porcupine that Elmer gave to everyone.

OK: Every person got at least one porcupine from Elmer.

The contrast shown in (33) and (34) can be accounted for by assuming that quantifiers adjoin to their dominant minimal maximal projection at LF. Due to the existence of two different VPs in the DOC, the lower object has narrower scope since it is trapped below the upper one for it is in a different VP, while in the PDC, either of the objects may have scope over the other one due to the existence of one VP where both quantifiers may adjoin to this VP.

Taking Barss and Lasnik's (1986) remarks into consideration, Marantz argues that in languages such as English, Chichewa, and Chaga which exhibit a fixed linear order, the applied object (added by the Appl suffix) with the semantic role of benefactive is always the higher object in the DOC and c-commands the other object as shown in (35-37) from Marantz (1993:121):

(35) a. Elmer baked Hortense a cake.

b. *Elmer baked a cake Hortense.

(36) Chichewa

a. Chitsiru chi-na-gul-ir-a atsikana mphatso
fool SP-pst-buy-APPL-fv girls gift
'The fool bought a gift for the girls.'

b.*Chitsiru chi-na.-gul-ir-a mphatso atsikana
fool SP-pst-buy-APPL-fv gift girls

(37) Chaga

a. N-a-i-lyi-i-a m-ka k-elya.
FOC-SP-prs-eat-APPL-fv wife food
'He is eating food for his wife.'

b.*N-a-i-lyi-i-a k-elya m-ka.
FOC SP-prs-eat APPL-fv food wife

3.4.2 Pesetsky (1995)

Pesetsky's (1995) account of the ditransitive constructions is based on the distinction between the nominalization of the DOC and the PDC. Such a distinction presents a clue that these two structures are not related underlyingly, e.g.:

(38) a.*Sue's gift of Mary (of) a book.

b. *John's assignment of Mary (of) a hard sonata.

(39) a. Sue's gift of a book to Mary.

b. John's assignment of a hard sonata to Mary.

(Pesetsky 1995: 127)

Pesetsky (1995) argues that the distinction between the two constructions can be explained if the DOCs (as opposed to the PDCs) are thought of as constructions with zero morphemes.

Accordingly, he proposes some null, affixal preposition which he terms *G* to introduce the second object in the DOC as Case-assigner while the first object is assigned case by V due to adjacency between them. The *G* null element is shown in (40a and b):

(40) a. Bill gave Sue a book.

b. Bill gave Sue [*G* a book]

So, what [*G* a book] really is, is a PP introduced by the null proposition *G*. This Case-assigner meets the criteria of the overt Case-assigner *to* which introduces the PDC construction:

(41) Bill gave a book *to* Sue.

3.4.2.1 C-Command asymmetries as evidence for *G*

Pesetsky argues that the binding asymmetries pointed out by Barss and Lasnik (1986) provide evidence for the existence of the null element *G* in that the second object can be c-commanded by the first object but not vice versa. The argument here is that the asymmetry is attributed to the structure introduced by *G*:

(42) a. I showed John [*G* himself] in the mirror.

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

In other words, whatever is introduced by *G* is c-commanded.

3.4.2.2 *G* is an affix

Pesetsky states that (40b) represents only an underlying structure and that *G* moves from its base generated position to affix to the governing verb. Syntactically, Pesetsky's *G* is similar to Marantz' Appl in that both of them are null elements that affix to the verb. Pesetsky's consideration of the affixal nature of *G* stems from Abney's (1987) general principle, shown in (43):

(43) Zero morphemes are affixes.

The affixation of *G* to the governing verb is obligatory due to *G*'s lexical property [+affix]. As a consequence of this property, *G* must adjoin to a nonaffixal category at the S-structure. On

the other hand, *to* is [-affix]. The difference between the properties of *G* and *to* is observed in the possible nominalization of a form with *to* as opposed to the impossibility of nominalization in the DOC variant:

(44) a. Sue's gift of a book to Mary.

b. *Sue's gift of Mary (of) a book.

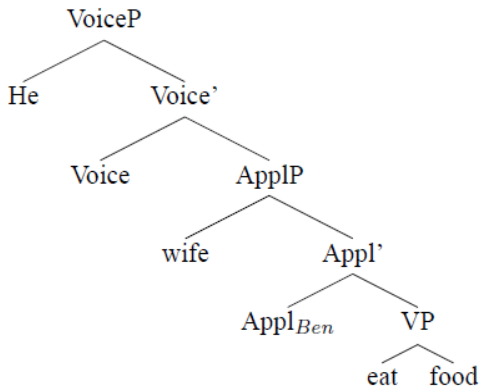
The nominalization of (44a) entails the lack of zero affixation to V which allow a further derivational morphology, while a further derivation in (44b) is illicit by the affixation of *G* to the governing verb which inhibits any further derivation.

3.4.3 Pylkkanen (2002; 2008)

Pylkkanen (2002; 2008) builds on Marantz (1993) account of applicative constructions and Kratzer's (1996) proposal of an external argument introducer head, Voice. She distinguishes between High Applicative head and Low Recipient Applicative head. High Applicative head attaches above the VP and is attested in the Benefactive of Chaga, Luganda and Venda. Semantically, it entails a "[t]hematic relation between an applied argument and the event described by the verb" (Pylkkanen 2008:8), as in (45a and b) from Chaga:

(45) a. N- ä - ì-lyì-í-à m- kà k-élyá
FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
'He is eating food for his wife'

b.

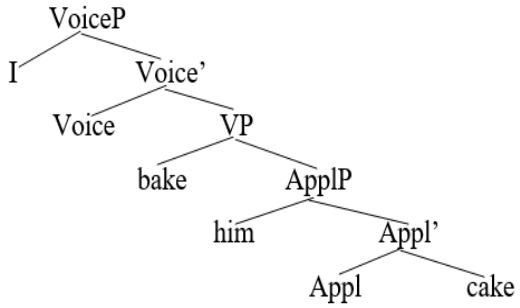


(Pylkkanen 2008:14)

Pylkkanen argues that High applicatives are very similar to an external argument-introducing head by which another participant is added to the event described by the verb. On the other hand, the Low Recipient Applicative head attaches below the VP and combines with the direct object and denotes a transfer of possession relation between applied argument and the direct object. Such a head is attested for example in the DOC of English and Japanese (Pylkkanen 2002:16), as shown in (46a and b):

(46) a. I baked him a cake.

b.



(Pylkkanen 2002:19)

Pylkkanen points out that low applied arguments "only bear a transfer of possession relation to the direct object" without sharing a semantic relation of any kind with the verb. The semantic disconnection between the applied arguments and the verb can be shown in the following examples from Pylkkanen (2002:19):

(47) I wrote John a letter. *I wrote a letter and the letter was to the possession of John.*

(48) I baked my friend a cake. *I baked a cake and the cake was to the possession of my friend.*

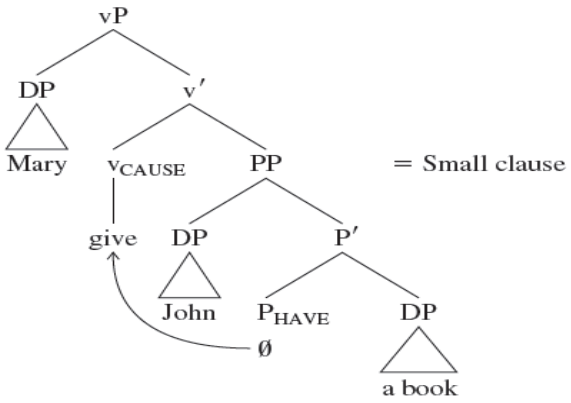
(49)I bought John a new VCR. *I bought a new VRC and the VCR was to the possession of John.*

The examples (47-49) establish a possessive relation between the two objects without denoting any relation between the verb and the indirect object as is shown in the italicized interpretation of the examples (47-49).

3.4.4 Harley (2002)

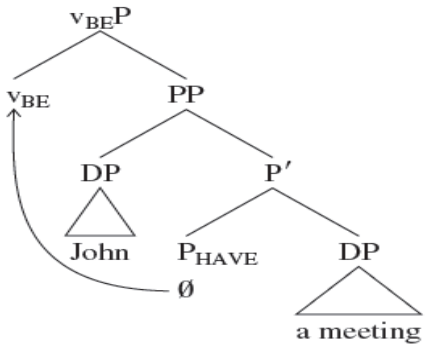
Based on Pesetsky's account of the ditransitive constructions discussed in section 3.4.2, Harley (2002) proposes a projectional account of ditransitives in which she argues against the derivational approach proposed in Larson (1988) discussed in section 3.3. Her argument is based on Oehrle's (1976) remarks as well as the evidence from idioms. These show that the DOC and the PDC are not related underlyingly. In her account, she assumes a possessive relation between the two internal arguments of the DOC. In this account, the DOC constitutes a possessive small clause in which the verb *give* is represented as 'cause X to have Y', as in (50) from Harley and Jung (2015: 705):

(50)



According to the analysis in (50), the DOC is embedded by v_{CAUSE} and headed by an 'abstract P_{HAVE} element' that encodes possession. The verb *give* here is a realization of incorporating P_{HAVE} into v_{CAUSE}. Following Kayne (1984), Harley assumes that verbal *have* involves incorporation of an abstract P_{HAVE} into an abstract verb BE. Without such incorporation, v_{BE} is realized as *be*. The internal structure of *have* is shown in (51) from Harley and Jung (2015: 706):

(51)



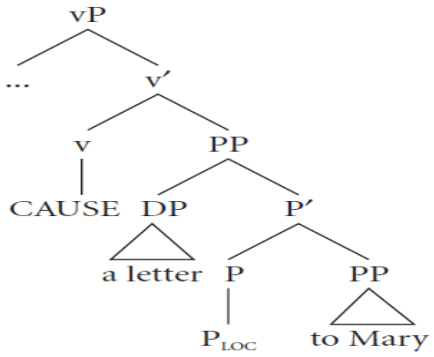
.

(51) is eventually spelled out as (52):

(52) John has a meeting.

In many respects, Harley's account points towards Pesetsky's (1995) analysis where P_{HAVE} corresponds to the prepositional *G* element in Pesetsky's (1995). In the PDC on the other hand, she argues that the PP is headed by the prepositional abstract element, P_{LOC} that encodes location rather than the verbal *to* (as proposed to Pesetsky1995), as in (53) below from Harley (2002: 32):

(53)



Harley refers to a correlation between the existence of P_{HAVE} element and the existence of the DOC in a particular language. In this respect, she argues that:

> [l]anguages without P_{HAVE} do not allow possessors to c-command possessees and show no evidence of a double-object construction, in which Goals c-command Themes. […] P_{HAVE} does not form part of the inventory of morphosyntactic primitives of these languages'.
> (Harley 2002: 29)

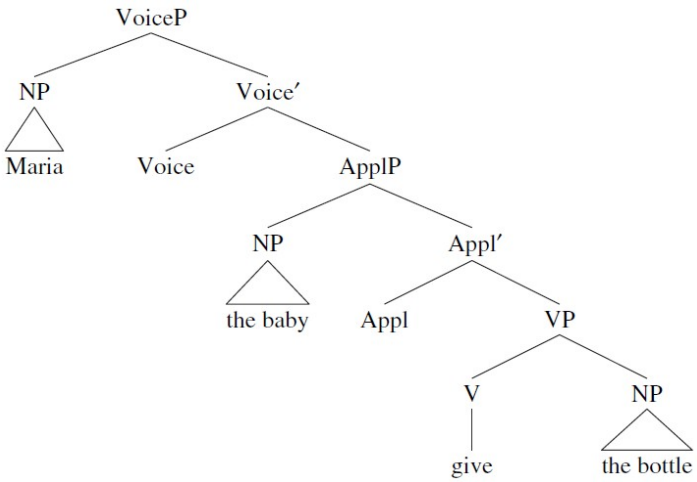
Harley's approach is termed *symmetric* in the literature (Bruening 2010a), in that it assumes a similar structure for the PDC and the DOC since in both structures the head, *CAUS* takes a PP as its complement but with reversed positions for the two objects in each structure, as shown in (50) and (53) above.

3.4.5 Bruening (2010)

Bruening (2010a) rejects the symmetric approach to the ditransitive constructions proposed by Harley (2002). Instead, he proposes an asymmetrical approach to the ditransitive structures that is mainly based on Marantz' proposal (1993) of the DOC and the PDC, and Kratzer's (1996) Voice theory. Bruening's proposed projection of the DOC is shown in (54b):

(54) a. Maria gave the baby the bottle.

b.



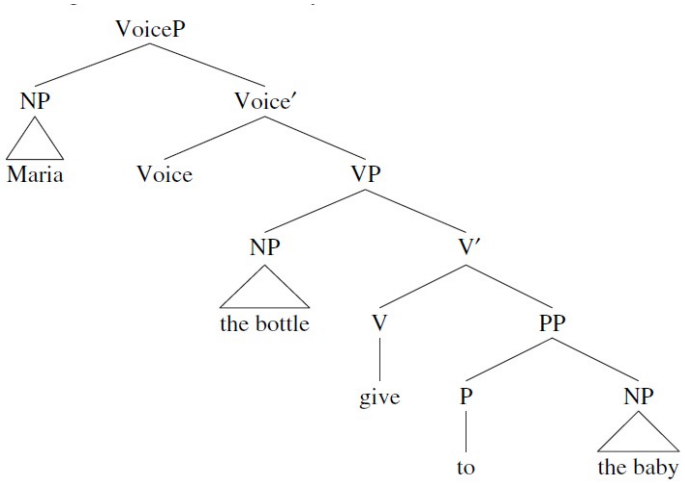
(Bruening 2010a:521)

The structure shown in (54b) above shows that the Appl(icative) head which lies between the verb and the Voice, introduces the Goal/ Recipient argument while the verb takes the Theme as its argument.

Meanwhile, Bruening proposes the structure shown in (55b) for the PDC:

(55) a. Maria gave the bottle to the baby

b.



(Bruening 2010a:521)

As shown in (55b) above, the proposed structure of the PDC (as opposed to the DOC shown in 54b above) does not have Appl, rather both the NP and the PP are arguments of V.

Taking into consideration Pesetsky's (1995) claim that further derivation such as nominalization is prevented by affixation of null morphemes to a verbal root, Bruening argues that in this asymmetric theory, the Appl in the DOC is a zero morpheme that affixes to the verb. Therefore, the further derivation (nominalization) is illicit due to the affixation of the null Appl to V. On the other hand, nominalization is allowed in the PDC which lacks the null morpheme, Appl. Bruening points out that this distinction between the DOC and PDC in terms of the availability of the null morpheme, Appl gives support to the asymmetric theory over the symmetric one (Harley 2002), which cannot explain these facts. According to Bruening, in spite of Harley's assumption of null heads in the DOC i.e. *CAUS* and P_{HAVE}, and in the PDC, *CAUS* and P_{LOC}, the theory fails to provide an explanation of the nominalization contrast.

3.5 Hallman (2015)

One of the most recent accounts of ditransitive constructions is that of Hallman (2015) who argues for an account of these constructions that synthesizes a transformational approach in which the PDC is seen to be derived from the DOC, with the projectional approach in which each of these constructions is seen to be projected independently. Hallman distinguishes between two types of ditransitives: the *give*-type and the *throw*-type. He claims that in the *give*-

type, the DP_PP frame (the PDC) may be derived from the DP_DP frame (the DOC). The *throw*-type, on the other hand, is syntactically ambiguous in that it can be base-generated as a locative construction, and it can also be derived from the possessive syntax associated with the DOC. Hallman's analysis builds on Hovav and Levin's (2008) approach which claims that, semantically, the *give*-type verbs are associated with caused- possession schema in either of the constructions. On the other hand, the *throw*-type can be associated with caused- possession schema in the DOC but it is ambiguous in the PDC between the caused-motion and with caused- possession schema, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2

A summary of the verb-sensitive approach

	To-variant	Double object variant
Give-type verbs	caused possession	caused possession
Throw-type verbs	caused motion or caused possession	caused possession

(Hallman 2015: 390)

Based on this approach, Hallman argues for two types of PDCs, the locative (indicating a caused motion) which is base-generated as such and the other one is derived from the DOC (indicating a caused possession).

Part of the evidence for Hallman's account comes from purpose clauses appearing as complements to ditransitive constructions, as in (56):

(56) a. Mary gave John$_i$ a puppy$_k$ [PRO$_i$ to play with e$_k$].

b. Mary gave a puppy$_k$ to John$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to play with e$_k$].

Hallman argues that (56b) is not a locative construction but it can be derived from its DOC counterpart shown in (56a). The gaps in the purpose clause in both constructions share the same thematic argument where PRO is coreferential with the indirect object while the nonsubject gap in a purpose clause is coreferential with the direct object in both constructions. On the other hand, in the locative constructions, it is impossible to bind PRO by the location argument as in (57):

(57) *Mary put the child$_k$ on the horse$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to carry e$_k$]

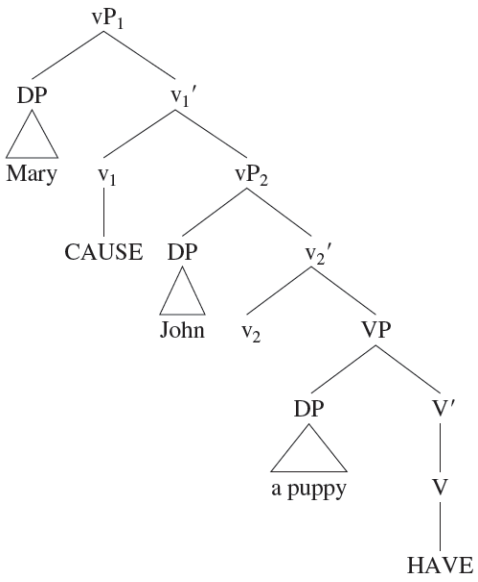
Typical locative verbs show no alternation with the DOC construction, as in (58 a and b):

(58) a. Mary put the child on the horse.

b. *Mary put the horse the child.

According to Hallman, the base structure of the DOC with the verb *give* is the one shown in (59):

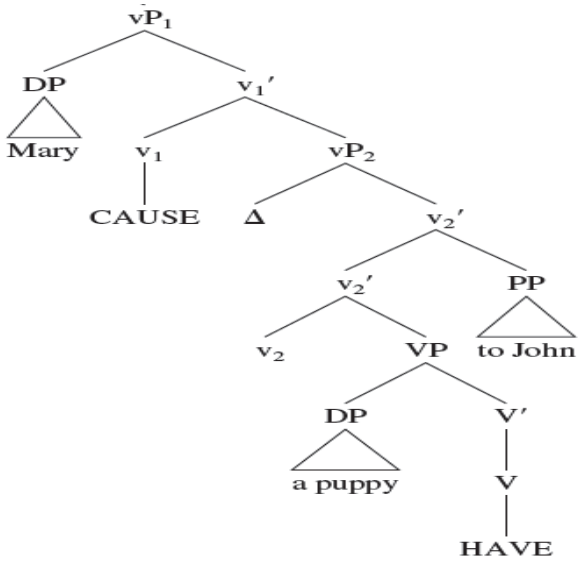
(59)



(Hallman 2015: 394)

The vP1 corresponds to ‘‘VoiceP’’ and vP2 to ‘‘Appl[icative]P’’ in the sense of (Pylkkanen 2002, Bruening 2010a, b). On the other hand, HAVE corresponds to Harley's (2002) $P_{HAVE.}$ According to this analysis, the derivation of the PDC from the DOC represents ‘‘internal’’ passivization (cf. Larson 1988, section 3.3). The proposed derivation of the PDC from DOC is shown in (60) below:

(60)



In (60), the indirect object *John* is introduced in a prepositional phrase whose head is the preposition *to*. The ɵ-role assigned to the indirect object *John* by v_2' is passed on by the preposition *to* to *John* just analogous to the preposition *by* which passes the ɵ-role assigned by v_1' to its DP complement in the passive construction.

3.6 Summary

The chapter has discussed some recent approaches on ditransitives within a generative theory of grammar. It has been argued that there are two main approaches in the field. The first of these is a derivational one and is adopted by Larson (1988), and den Dikken (1995), among others. This approach claims that the DOC and the PDC are related underlyingly in such a way that the former is derived from the latter by *Dative Shift*, a passive-like operation in which the Recipient shifts upward to the indirect object position while the Theme is demoted to assume adjunct status within V'.

On the other hand, the second approach is a projectional one which has been led by Marantz (1993); Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002); Pylkkanen (2002), Bruening (2010, 2014), among others. This approach denies that the DOC and the PDC are underlyingly related, instead it claims that each of the two constructions is projected independently. Two hypotheses have been put forward here: the first of which claims that the DOC is headed by an Appl head similar to overt Appl(icative) heads attested in Chichewa (Marantz 1993; Pylkkanen 2002: 2008; Bruening 2010, 2014, among others).

The second hypothesis is proposed by Pesetsky (1995) and argues that the DOC is headed by a prepositional phrase whose head is a null preposition, *G* that assigns Case to the Theme in the construction. This idea has been developed further in Harley (2002) who proposes that the DOC is headed by a preposition, P_{HAVE} that denotes a possessive relation between the Recipient and the Theme. The possessive relation is represented by a small clause in which 'X (Recipient) has Y (Theme)', within the DOC. The possessive preposition P_{HAVE} incorporates into the v_{CAUSE} head and is realized as the verb *give* which is represented, here, as 'cause X to have Y'. Meanwhile, the PDC will be headed by a locative preposition, P_{LOC}.

Hallman (2015) synthesizes the projectional approach of ditransitives with a transformational one in which the PDC is seen to be derived from the DOC. Hallman distinguishes between two types of ditransitives: the *give*-type and the *throw*-type. In his approach, he claims that the PDC in the *give*-type is derived from the DOC as it indicates a cause of possession. In the *throw*-type, he claims that there are two types of PDCs, the locative one which indicates a cause of motion and is base-generated as PDC and a PDC which indicates a cause of possession and is derived from the DOC.

Based on the evidence from idioms discussed in this chapter and considering Oehrle's (1976) remarks of a semantic difference between the DOC and the PDC, I will follow the projectional point of view in this thesis by assuming that the DOC and the PDC are underlyingly unrelated. This view will be more supported by evidence from idioms attested in Iraqi Arabic that I will discuss in Chapter 5, the chapter in which I will present the proposal of the structure of ditransitives that I will adopt in this thesis and the reasons behind it.

Chapter. 4 The Theory of Pronouns

4.1 Introduction

One of the main aims of this thesis is to investigate pronominal objects in ditransitive constructions in English and Iraqi Arabic. As part of this investigation, Chapter 4 will have two aims: first, it will introduce the reader to the theory of pronouns, where a distinction will be made between several categories such as strong, weak, and clitic pronouns and their syntactic properties will be discussed. The basis of such categorization is that, cross-linguistically, languages differ as regards allowing some types of pronouns to appear in a specific syntactic position. For example, while some languages allow clitic and non-clitic pronouns to appear as objects, other languages disallow this, permitting only clitics to appear in this position, consider (1) and (2) below:

(1) a. Mohammed ʃaf -Ø -ni (Iraqi Arabic)
Mohammed see.PAST-M.3SG.SU-1SG.DO
'Mohammed saw me'

b.*Mohammed ʃaf -Ø ʔani[13] (Iraqi Arabic)
Mohammed see.PAST-M.3SG.SU I
Literally: "Mohammed saw I"
Intended: "Mohammed saw me"

(2) a. Ho visto loro (Italian)
I have seen them
'I saw them'

b. Li vedo
them I see
'I see them'

[13] No corresponding full form exist of the clitic pronoun *-ni* 'me'. In particular, the free pronoun *ʔani* 'I' in (1b) is not the full form of the clitic pronoun *-ni* 'me'. Rather, the free pronoun *ʔani* is a nominative one that has been used here to show the ungrammaticality of using free pronouns in this position in Iraqi Arabic. All free pronouns in Iraqi Arabic are nominative, as will be shown in Table 3.

So, while Italian allows clitic (*li* 'them' in 2b) and non-clitic pronouns (*loro* 'them' in 2a) to appear as objects, Iraqi Arabic does not accept non-clitic pronouns to appear in this position, allowing only clitic pronouns, as shown in (1a). As pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic always surface as clitics, special consideration will be given to clitics in the chapter. One area of debate that will be dealt with in this chapter concerns the derivation of clitic pronouns, whether they are X°s or XPs, i.e. whether they are a word-level or phrase-level category (Riemsdijk 1999; Roberts 2010).

The second aim of the chapter is to discuss ditransitive constructions with one or two pronominal objects. Here, Shlonsky's (1997) theory will be presented. Accordingly, the chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will introduce the theory of pronouns in general focusing on the status of pronouns of Iraqi Arabic in the light of this theory, while the second part will discuss pronominal objects in the ditransitive constructions, in particular.

4.2 The theory of pronouns

This part of the chapter will mainly discuss the diagnostics of affixes and clitics provided by Zwicky and Pullum's (1983) criteria and the status of affixes and clitics in Iraqi Arabic according these criteria. In addition, it will distinguish between strong, weak, and clitic pronouns in accordance with the theory of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999). Then it will discuss pronouns of Iraqi Arabic in the light of this theory. Then two theories of cliticization will be introduced: Shlonsky's (1997) and Robert's (2010). In addition, clitic doubling in Iraqi Arabic will be discussed.

4.2.1 Clitics vs Affixes

Crystal (2008: 60) defines clitic as 'a term used in grammar to refer to a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance, being phonologically dependent upon a neighbouring word (its host) in a construction'. The term 'clitic' is adopted from Greek meaning 'leaning'. Clitics that depend upon the following word are referred to as *proclitics* while *enclitics* refers to clitics that depend upon a preceding word.

Zwicky & Pullum (1983) point out that, cross-linguistically, two kinds of bound morphemes are shown to be attached to (free) words: clitics and inflectional affixes. When discussing affixes, Zwicky & Pullum (1983) exemplify affixes with some inflectional affixes that can be seen in English such as the affixes indicating the plural for nouns as in *knights*, the past for verbs as in *arrived*, and the superlative for adjectives as in *fastest*. Clitics, on the other hand,

are exemplified by the contracted forms of *be* such as *he's* and *they've* where the auxiliary verbs *is, has* and *have* are cliticized to a preceding word:

(3) a. She's gone — She is/has gone.
b. They've all seen this movie before — They have all seen this movie before.

Zwicky & Pullum (1983) make a further distinction: the clitics in (3a and b) are termed *simple* as opposed to *special clitics*. Simple clitics are optional reduced forms of their (non-clitic) full form counterparts. They occupy the same syntactic position of their full form counterparts as shown in (3) with the case of *'s* vs *is/has* and *'ve* vs *have*. Special clitics, on the other hand, are characterized either by having no corresponding non-clitic pronouns at all, as in example (1) in the case of Iraqi Arabic, or by having a distribution which is not similar to the corresponding non-clitic pronouns, as in example (2) in the case of Italian.

As an alternative to the term *simple clitic*, Anderson (2005: 23) proposes the term *phonological clitic*:

(4) Phonological clitic: a linguistic element whose phonological form is deficient in that it lacks prosodic structure at the level of the (Prosodic) Word.

According to this definition, at the word-level, these prosodic clitics are elements that cannot constitute a phonological word on their own as they lack prosodic structure. Hence, they cannot occur in isolation.

Anderson (2005:31) proposes the term *morphosyntactic clitic* as an alternative to Zwicky's (1977) *special clitics*:

(5) Morphosyntactic clitic: a linguistic element whose position with respect to the other elements of the phrase or clause follows a distinct set of principles, separate from those of the independently motivated syntax of free elements in the language.

These kinds of clitics are syntactic clitics in the sense that they take a special syntactic position not available for free forms of the language (Devlin *et al* 2015: 111). Anderson (2005) argues that (4) also applies to morphosyntactic clitics due to their prosodic deficiency despite their distinctive distribution. Therefore, the difference between the morphosyntactic (special) and

the phonological (simple) clitics is mainly a syntactic one in that the syntactic distribution of morphosyntactic clitics varies from that of the free forms.

In discussing the distinction between affixes and clitics, Zwicky & Pullum (1983) propose six criteria to distinguish between these two categories. The proposed six criteria are discussed below:

Criteria A—D. Here, on all these four criteria, the inflectional affixes 'verb past', 'adjective superlative' and 'noun plural' show the following contrast with the simple clitics *'s 'is'*, *'s 'has'*, and *'ve 'have'*:

A. The degree of selection of affixes with respect to their stems is high: the plural only attaches to noun stems (books), the superlative only to adjective stems (fastest), the past only to verb stems (played). By contrast, the degree of selection of clitics to their hosts is low, as shown in (6) from Zwicky & Pullum (1983: 504):

(6) a. The person I was talking to's going to be angry with me. [preposition]
b. The ball you hit's just broken my dining room window. [verb]
c. Any answer not entirely right's going to be marked as an error. [adjective]
d. The drive home tonight's been really easy. [adverb]

The example in (6) shows the low degree of selection of simple clitics to their hosts as these clitics can be attached to a preposition (6a), a verb (6b), an adjective (6c) and an adverb (6d).

B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups or host—clitic combinations as in the case of the verb *stride* which, lacks a past participle.

C. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups. Clitic groups containing *'s* and *'ve* exhibit no morphophonological idiosyncrasies i.e. no unpredicted phonological form. Clitics do not affect hosts since clitics have allomorphs that matches the morphological and phonological properties of their hosts. So, while suffixes for example can trigger modifications to the stems they attach to as in the addition of the illative suffix *-ssa* to the proper noun *Turku* in Finnish yielding *Turussa*, in the case of clitics it is the attaching element that modifies its form as in the case of *am* in English when is cliticized to *I* producing *I'm*, where *I* remains unchanged. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are widely

attested in the inflectional paradigm in both stems and affixes, and suppletion as in the plural forms *dice, oxen*, and *feet*, the superlative affix in *best* and *worst*, and the past affix in *slept, thought*, and *went*.

D. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups. Clitic groups containing *'s* and *'ve* exhibit no semantic idiosyncrasy. The meaning conveyed in these clitics is the same of their full form counterparts. On the other hand, idiosyncratic semantics is occasionally shown in inflectional formations in that the meaning of the inflected form may deviate from the meaning of the stem as in the case of *most* (etymologically a superlative from *more*) which developed a meaning similar to *best* in the slang of the fifties: *Frankie Avalon is the most*.

E. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words but not clitic groups. Though syntactic operations treat inflected nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs as units, a word combined with one of the clitics *'s* or *'ve* is not treated as a unit. So, while the affixed word *haven't* with the contracted negator *n't* is treated as a unit in a syntactic operation such Subject—Auxiliary Inversion, word combined with the clitics *'s* or *'ve* cannot be treated so, as in (7) and (8):

(7) a. You haven't been there.

b. Haven't you been there?

(8) a. You could've been there.

b.*Could've you been there?

Though the criterion E applies to simple clitics as in (7) and (8) above, it does not to special/syntactic clitics as these move along with their host. The object clitic in Arabic and Italian, for example, move along with the verb.

F. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot, as in (9):

(9) a. I'd've done it if you'd asked me.

b.*I'dn't be doing this unless I had to.

Having discussed Zwicky's & Pullum (1983) criteria, the following section will discuss the status of affixes and clitics of Iraqi Arabic in the light of Zwicky's and Pullum (1983) criteria.[14]

4.2.2 Affixes and Clitics in Iraqi Arabic

In terms of Zwicky & Pullum's (1983) criteria, Iraqi Arabic has affixes and clitics.[15] The language has affixes indicating for example, the plural for nouns, the present for verbs, and the superlative for adjectives. Due to their high degree of selection, I claim that subject markers in the language are also affixes as they attach only to verbs. On the other hand, clitics show low degree of selection in the language as they may be seen attached to different word classes such as verbs, prepositions, nouns or quantifiers. They are enclitics as they always surface on the right edge of the host. Table 3 shows the subject markers, enclitics and strong pronouns exhibited in Iraqi Arabic:

[14] Throughout the rest of the thesis, the term *syntactic clitic* will be used to refer to Zwicky's *special* and Anderson's *morphosyntactic* clitics.

[15] From now on, the term *clitic* will refer to pronominal clitics.

Table 3

Strong pronouns, subject markers and enclitics in Iraqi Arabic

Singular	**Strong**	**Affixes/ subject markers**	**Enclitic**
	Nominative	**Nominative**	**Accusative/Genitive**
1st	ʔani	-t	-ni /i, iyə
2nd	ʔintə.M ʔinti.F	-t.M -ti.F	-ək.M -iʧ‿. F
3rd	howwə.M hiyyə.F	Ø.M -ət.F	-ə.M -hə.F
Plural			
1st	ʔiħnə	-nə (preceding full DP) -na (preceding a pronoun)	-nə
2nd	ʔintu.M ʔintən.F	-tu.M -tən.F	-kom.M -ʧ‿ən.F
3rd	hommə.M hinnə.F	-əw M. (preceding full DP) -u: M.(preceding a pronoun) -ən.F	-hom.M -hin.F

Table 3 shows that Iraqi Arabic has strong pronouns (which are nominative pronouns), affixes (subject markers) and enclitics (accusative and genitive). There is no distinction between the accusative and genitive enclitics except in the case of 1SG. The nominative affixes always follow a strict linear order in that they appear closer to the verbal stem than object clitics. Morphologically, inflectional subject markers can be distinguished from object markers as they

appear as suffixes in the past tense as in (10a), but as prefixes or circumfixes in the present tense as in (10b and c):

(10) a. liʕb **-ət**
play.PAST-F.3SG.SU
'she played'

b. **yi** -lʕəb
M.3SG.SU-play
'he plays'

c. y -liʕb-**u:n**
M-play-3PL.SU
'they play'

Object markers, on the other hand, consistently appear as suffixes at the right edge of the verb, as in (11):

(11) Zeinab t -ʃu:f-**hom** yomiyə
Zeinab F.3SG.SU-see -M.3PL.DO every day
'Zeinab sees them every day'

The classification made in Table 3 is motivated by the differences in behaviour between object and subject markers in Iraqi Arabic. This can be explained in light of the criteria presented in 4.2.1. For example, stems are often affected by affixes causing the stems to be modified in one way or another. A typical example can be shown in (12):

(12) a. Mohammed raħ -Ø safrə
Mohammed go.PAST-M.3SG.SU trip
'Mohammed went on a trip'

b. riħi -t safrə
go.PAST-1SG.SU trip
'I went on a trip'

In (12a) the stem *raħ* 'went' is not affected by the subject marker, the null suffix Ø. On the other hand, the stem in (12b) is affected by the subject marker *-t* causing the stem to be modified into *riħit*. Object clitics never have any comparable effect.

As mentioned before, one of Zwicky & Pullum's (1983) criteria is that clitics exhibit low selection with respect to their hosts. This low selection of clitics to their hosts in Iraqi Arabic can be seen in the following examples:

(13)a. ʃifi -t **-hom** [verb]
See.PAST-1SG.SU-them
'I saw them'

b. biət **-hom** [noun]
house-their
'their house'

c. sellemi-t ʕəliə-**hom** [preposition]
greet -1SG.SU at them
'I greeted them'

d. kul-**hom** [quantifier]
all-them
'all of them'

On the other hand, high selection of affixes to their stems in Iraqi Arabic can be seen in the plural suffix *at* for example, which is attached only to nouns, as in (14):

(14)ħasibə vs ħasib-**at**
'computer' 'computers'

Similarly, the superlative affixes can be seen attached to adjectives in Iraqi Arabic, as in (15) below:

(15) a. səri:ʕ vs **ʔə**-srəʕ
fast faster

b. smi:n vs **ʔə**-smən
fat fatter

Also, there are arbitrary gaps in the distribution of affixes in the language. The irregular plural form may block the regular one, e.g.:

(16) ktab vs kotob ktab vs *ktab-at
'book' 'books' 'book' 'books'

In (16) the irregular plural form *kotob* blocks the regular one *ktab-at*. Some words in Iraqi Arabic such as *mərə* 'woman' does not have neither a regular plural form such as the one shown in (14) nor an irregular one (16). The plural of *mərə* is *niswan,* a suppletive form. So, neither of these two words i.e. *mərə* and *niswan* have a plural or singular counterpart respectively. On the other hand, there are no such arbitrary gaps in the distribution of the pronominal clitics.

4.2.3 Tripartite classification of pronouns: Cardinaletti & Starke (1999)

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) call for a tripartite classification to pronouns. It is argued that there are three grammatical classes of pronouns. This classification is based on the morphology and distribution of each category of these three classes of pronouns. Class 1 includes *strong* personal pronouns. Pronouns of Class 2 and Class 3 are termed *deficient* pronouns where the former comprises weak pronouns and the latter pronominal clitics.

When compared with pronouns of Class1, pronouns of Class2 and 3 lack some syntactic features available to Class1. For example, deficient pronouns cannot be coordinated e.g.:

(17) a. It is big.
b.* It and the other one are nice.

(18) a. He is big.
b. He and the other one are nice.
Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:217)

While the strong personal pronoun *he* in (18) can be coordinated, the deficient pronoun *it* in (17) cannot. According to Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), this is because the pronoun *he* can be a strong pronoun, but *it* cannot. Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) point out that the diversity in the syntactic positions occupied by strong, weak and clitic pronouns is due to a difference in their structure. Accordingly, Cardinaletti & Starke argue that Class1 of pronouns (the strong ones) are more complex in structure than the pronouns of Class 2 and Class 3 (the deficient ones) which makes deficient pronouns morphologically reduced as well. They claim that strong personal pronouns are [+human] and have a structure corresponding to that of full clauses (CPs).

Cardinaletti & Starke proceed to make a strict distinction of the terms *clitic* and *weak*. They argue that '[c]litic elements are deficient (underlying) phrases which are heads at surface structure, and weak elements are deficient (underlying) phrases occurring as maximal projections at surface structure' (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999: 170). That is to say that, while clitics are a word-level (X°s), weak pronouns are a phrase-level category (XPs). This difference means that clitics can adjoin other heads (main or auxiliary verbs for example), which is not available for weak pronouns; consider (19) below from Italian:

(19) a. Non {gli} diro` mai {*gli} tutto
not to-him I-will-say never to-him everything 'I will not tell him everything'

b. Non {*loro} diro` mai {loro} tutto
not to-them I-will-say never to-them everything
'I will not tell them everything'
(Cardinaletti & Starke 1996:25)

Being an X°, the clitic *gli* 'to-him' surfaces as a proclitic adjoining the modal auxiliary verb in (19a). As an X°, it cannot surface in positions of maximal projections (XP-positions).

On the other hand, as an XP, the weak *loro* surfaces in (19b) as the specifier of an intermediate functional projection, an XP position.[16] Being an XP, the weak pronoun *loro*

[16] Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) claim that the XP position that dative *loro* occupies in (19b) is a derived position. It's obvious that this analysis adopts a derivational approach of the DOC (Larson 1988). If this is true, the weak

cannot be adjoined to another head (contrary to the clitic *gli* in 19a). The XP-position that weak *loro* occupies and how it is licensed in (19b) besides the theory of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) will be discussed further in Chapter 7 in which the DOC of Italian will be analyzed.

4.2.4 The status of Iraqi Arabic pronouns in the typology of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999)

In terms of Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) typology of pronouns, Iraqi Arabic has strong and clitic pronouns only but lacks weak pronouns. Clitics in Iraqi Arabic are syntactic clitics (as opposed to simple clitics) that do not have non-clitic counterparts as mentioned earlier in section 4.1. Clitics of Iraqi Arabic are syntactic in the sense that they occupy syntactic positions that cannot be occupied by non-clitic pronouns such as the position of object or prepositional object.

The distinction that can be made between Iraqi Arabic and Italian is that while the former does not permit unstressed or stressed full pronouns to occur as objects allowing only clitics in this position, the latter allows three forms of pronominal objects. For example, while the counterpart of the object pronoun *them* in Iraqi Arabic is a clitic pronoun, *-hom*, the counterpart of this object pronoun in Italian has three forms: it can be a clitic pronoun (like *li* in 2.b), a full unstressed pronoun (like weak *loro* in 19b) or a stressed full form (like strong *loro* in 2.a). Iraqi Arabic does not have these multiple forms of the object pronoun *them*, rather, it has only one form, the clitic pronoun *-hom*.

The distribution of syntactic clitics of Iraqi Arabic is shown below:

A. Coordination

Clitics in Iraqi Arabic cannot be coordinated, consider (20) below:

(20) *ʃaf -Ø -ni w -ʔib-ni
See.PAST-M.3SG.SU-1SG.DO and-son-my
'He saw me and my son'

loro would occupy Spec of the VP, see Chapter 3 for a full discussion of the derivational approach of the DOC proposed by Larson (1988).

In Iraqi Arabic, if the object is a clitic and needs to be coordinated, it should be followed by a matching (nominative) strong pronoun which, then, can be coordinated with another DP, as in (21):

(21) ʃaf -Ø -ni ʔani w -ʔibn-i
see.PAST-M.3SG.SU-1SG.DO I and-son -my
Literally: "He saw me I and my son"
'He saw me and my son'

In (21), the nominative strong pronoun *ʔani* 'I' follows the pronominal clitic *-ni* 'me'. If the strong form *ʔani* is absent, the sentence will be ungrammatical as shown in (20) above even though the clitic *-ni* is attached to a host. On the other hand, if the clitic is dropped, the sentence will also be ungrammatical as the language does not allow free pronouns to occur as objects, as in (22):

(22) *ʃaf -Ø ʔani w -ʔibn-i
see.PAST-M.3SG.SU I and-son -my
Literally: "He saw I and my son"

Though the clitic *-ni* in (21) is singular, the object *I and my son* is plural. This might create the impression that (21) contains some kind of afterthought, comparable to something in English like *I saw him yesterday, John and his father,* where the afterthought does not agree in number with the object pronoun. However, in the Iraqi example (21) there is no intonational break before the coordinated object, therefore no afterthought effect.

B.<+*human*> <- *human*>

Clitics in Iraqi Arabic may be either [- human] or [+human], as in (23):

(23) ʃa:f -Ø -hə l-Mary /l -il -ħadeeqə [17]
see.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-Mary/to-the-garden
'He saw Mary/the garden.'

[17] The example (23) contains clitic doubling which will be dealt with in section 4.2.7.

In (23), the clitic *-hə* 'her' in the above example can refer to [+human] object, *Mary* and for [-human] object, *the garden*.

C. Peripheral positions

Being deficient, clitic pronouns in Iraqi Arabic do not occur in peripheral positions as opposed to strong personal pronouns as well as full DPs, e.g.:

(24) a. cleft:

*hə:/ hi:yə / Zeinab illi ħiʧ͡ -ət

*her/ she Zeinab who speak.PAST.F.3SG.SU

'It was her/Zeinab who spoke'

b. left dislocation:

*hə / hi:yə / Zeinab ʃifi -t -hə b -il -mədrəsə

* her/ she / Zeinab see.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO in-the-school

'She/Zeinab, I saw her in the school'

c. isolation

miniyyə ħiʧ͡-ət? *-hə / hi:ya/ Zeinab

'Who spoke ?' *Her/ She / Zeinab

The syntactic clitics of Iraqi Arabic surface as enclitics adjoining other heads such as the main verb, indicating that 'the clitic cannot be anything but an incorporated X° category, since a category of a different level cannot be embedded inside a head' (Shlonsky 1997: 187), as in (25):

(25) ma raħ t -dərris -hom {*hom/itˁ-tˁolab} kolʃi

Not will F.3SG.SU-teach -M.3PL.IO them/the-students everything

'She will not teach them /the students everything'

When compared with the Italian weak pronoun *loro*, the pronominal IO *-hom* in (25) in the case of Iraqi Arabic cannot surface as unstressed free pronoun in positions of maximal

projections (XP-positions). As an XP, the weak *loro* can surface in such a position, as shown earlier in (19b) which is repeated below:

(19.b) Non {*loro} diro` mai {loro} tutto
not to-them I-will-say never to-them everything
'I will not tell them everything'

Iraqi Arabic does not have non-clitic pronouns similar to weak *loro* that can occupy XP-positions. In all cases, and regardless of the syntactic position they occupy, objects clitics (as well as other clitics) in Iraqi Arabic cannot surface without being adjoined to other heads as they are X°s, as was shown earlier in (13).

D. Phonology and Morphology:

There are phonological differences between strong and clitic pronouns. Clitic pronouns are phonologically weaker than the strong ones as the former contain only one syllable while the latter are composed of two syllables, as shown in (26):

(26) ʔani [ʔa.ni] -ni [ni]
ʔintə [ʔin.tə] -ək [ək]
ʔiħnə [ʔiħ.nə] -nə [nə]

Some strong and the clitic pronouns are not morphologically related in Iraqi Arabic as shown in Table 3, but in general, clitics are morphologically reduced when compared with strong pronouns:

morphology (clitics) < morphology (strong pronouns):

(27) -ni / -nə ʔani / ʔiħnə
1SG/ 2PL 1SG 2PL

4.2.5 Properties of Semitic Clitics (Shlonsky 1997)

Shlonsky (1997) distinguishes between Semitic and Romance clitics. He argues that Semitic clitics have the following properties: first, they are demonstrated on all lexical categories as shown above in (13) for Iraqi Arabic, and here for Palestinian Arabic, as in (28):

(28) a. Verb + Object: fhim -t 1 -mʕalme vs fhimt -ha
Understand.PERF-lSG.SU the-teacher (I) understood-her
'I understood the teacher.'

b. Noun + Possessor: beet l -mʕalme vs beet-ha
house the-teacher her-house
'the teacher's house'

c. Preposition + Object: min l -mʕalme vs min -ha
from the-teacher from-her

d. Complementizer + Subject: ʔinnu 1 -mʕalme vs ʔin -ha
that the-teacher that-she

e. Quantifier + DP: kull 1 -mʕalmaat vs kull-hin
all the-teachers all -them

The examples in (28) show clearly the ability of clitics to attach to all lexical categories. The second feature of Semitic clitics is that they are (without exception) enclitics. The third feature is that they show no overt distinctions of accusative and genitive Case. A fourth property of Semitic clitics is that, when they are objects of a verb, they are consistently adjoined to the main verb (not to auxiliary verbs as in Romance languages), as in (29a and b):

(29) a. kaan -Ø b -ixayyt-Ø -ha (Palestinian Arabic)
be.PAST-M.3SG IMPERF-sew -M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.DO
'He was sewing it'

b. *kaan -Ø -ha b -ixayyt-Ø
be.PAST-M.3SG-F.3SG.DO IMPERF sew -M.3SG.SU
Intended: "He was sewing it"

Building on the properties mentioned above, Shlonsky (1997) makes the following generalization about Semitic clitics:

(30) Clitics are always attached to the closest c-commanding head.

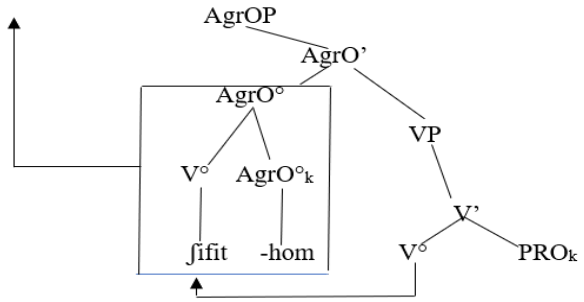
Therefore, oblique clitics are attached to a preposition whereas object clitics are attached to a verb. As clitics are X° categories incorporated in another head, the chain connecting the Semitic clitic to its base position appears to be typical in terms of Relativized Minimality which specifies that a constituent X can only be attracted by the closest constituent c-commanding X (Rizzi 1990). In the case of Semitic clitic, clitics are attached to the closest c-commanding head e.g. the main verb in (29a.). This explains the ungrammaticality of (29b) in which the clitic skips the closest main verb and attaches to the auxiliary. This is not the case with Romance clitics which can cross over the main verb and attach to the auxiliary apparently violating Relativized Minimality, as shown earlier in example (19a), derived by so called 'clitic climbing' (Roberts 2010).

4.2.5.1 Are Semitic clitics truly clitics?

On the other hand, Shlonsky (1997) denies that Semitic clitics are really clitics in the sense that they are arguments whose heads lean on or raise and incorporate into their hosts. Instead, he proposes that 'Semitic clitics are Agr° elements to which a lower head adjoins as it raises out of the complement of Agr°' (p.187). According to this account, object clitics are overt AgrO°s. Verb raising out of VP can be diagrammed as in (31b):

(31) a. ʃifi -t -hom
See.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3PL.DO
'I saw them'

b.



The diagram (31b) shows that AgrO° c-commands the verb. According to this account, it is the verb that raises to incorporate into AgrO°, not the other way around. The surface order [incorporated head > Agr] is the result of left adjunction of the verb to AgrO° which yields the constant positioning of the clitic to the right side of the verb. This process is a manifestation of the Head Movement Constraint which specifies that '[a]n X° may only move into the Y° which properly governs it' (Travis 1984: 131). This why an object clitic is attached locally to the main verb, not the auxiliary as it is the case with Romance clitics. Consequently, Shlonsky (1997:188) concludes that Semitic clitics are Agr heads at all levels. This analysis by Shlonsky (1997) contradicts his generalization mentioned in (30) above which argues that clitics are always attached to the closest c-commanding head. Diagram (31b) shows that it is AgrO that c-commands the main verb not the other way around.

4.2.5.2 AgrS° vs AgrO°

In distinguishing between AgrS° and AgrO° in Semitic, Shlonsky (1997) denies that the so-called subject agreement is a manifestation of AgrS°. Unlike AgrO°, AgrS° is not associated with a verb through incorporation of the latter to an Agr head. He argues against the idea that AgrS° in Semitic contains an overt head. If it is so 'we expect object agreement to be closer to the verbal stem than subject agreement, for the simple reason that the adjunction of the verb to AgrO° is derivationally prior to its adjunction to AgrS°. This is never the case' (Shlonsky 1997: 188). He proposes that instead of assuming that the affixal contents of AgrS° is made up of subject agreement morphology on a verb, subject agreement is best considered as 'base-generated features on the verb itself which are checked in AgrS°' (p.188). According to this analysis, affixes containing subject agreement are base-generated on the verbal stem when it is selected from the Lexicon. That is to say that subject agreement is exceptional in that, prior to

syntactic projection, it is associated with the verb in the Lexicon rather than being achieved through incorporation of a verb to an Agr head.

On the other hand, object agreement is generated as an independent head (Agr°) which agrees with a null object (pro) in object position, and its cliticization is a product of syntactic movement of the verb and adjunction. As subject agreement is lexical, it is attached to the verb prior to the latter's movement to AgrO°.This explains why subject agreement is positioned closer to the verbal stem than object agreement. Shlonsky points out that the distribution of subject agreement affixes in Arabic and Hebrew is arbitrary as lexical properties often are (see section 4.2.2.). These affixes are without exception suffixal in the perfect form, while they are a combination of prefixes and suffixes in the imperfective forms, as was shown earlier in (10) for example. According to Shlonsky, this can be taken as evidence that subject agreement affixes are lexical.

Such arbitrary distribution is not attested in the object agreement markers, as they are, without exception suffixal. They are (syntactically) attached in the order stem > clitic.

4.2.6 Roberts (2010)

Roberts (2010) proposes a theory of clitic-incorporation in which cliticization is accounted for as Agreement. Roberts (2010) can be seen like a modern version of Shlonsky (1997) (recall that clitics in Shlonsky's theory are argued to be Agr°). According to Roberts' (2010) theory:

(32) Incorporation can take place only where the label of the incorporee is nondistinct from that of the incorporation host (Roberts 2010: 57).

A special case of the Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001) relation is established between a goal and a Probe when the former is defective. According to (Roberts 2010:60), a goal is defective if its formal features are a subset of the features of the Probe, as in (33):

(33) a. *Trigger for Agree*

v* [PERSON: , NUMBER:] φ [PERSON:a, NUMBER:b]

before Agree

b. *Outcome of Agree*

v* [**PERSON:a, NUMBER:b**] (φ [PERSON:a, NUMBER:b])

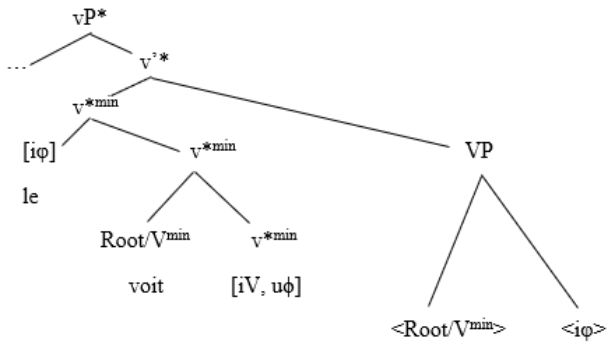
after Agree

Roberts (2010) argues that, structurally, defective goals are the result of the "peeling off" of layers of functional structure, leaving only the inflectional part of the structure of a pronoun which consists of φ-features only. As they lack the D-layer, defective goals lack a Case feature.[18]

An Agree relation between the direct object (a goal with the interpretable φ-features, PERSON and NUMBER) and the transitive v*(a Probe with the interpretable feature, V, and uninterpretable φ-features, PERSON and NUMBER), holds when the uninterpretable φ-features of v* (the star stands for transitive v) are valued by the interpretable φ-features of the goal, as shown in (33b) above. Since a clitic is made up of φ-features only and has no label distinct from the host whose label contains unvalued φ-features which are contained in the clitic, the latter is defective and, consequently, can adjoin (or incorporate in) v* as part of the Agree relation between the Probe and the goal, as shown in (34b) where <a> means 'copy of a':

(34) a.Il le voit He
him/it sees 'He
sees him/it'

b.



As a result of Agree, the [PERSON:a, NUMBER:b] occurs twice in (33b), in v* and in φ. Roberts argues that these two copies of the same bundle of features in (33b) will form a chain.

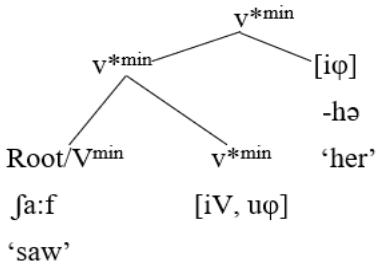
[18] Chomsky's (2001) activity condition specifies that, in order to be active for feature valuation, a goal must have an uninterpretable feature. Robert (2010) argues that [uCase] is a feature of D which makes it active in the sense of Chomsky (2001), therefore, Accusative Case is assigned by little v in connection with Agree. As for the clitic, on the other hand, Roberts (2010: n. 21) argues that it does not have to be active in the sense of Chomsky (2001) in that it lacks Case feature. What makes it a goal for φ agreement by little v is the condition (32) in that its features are a subset of that of the Probe, little v. The outcome of the condition (32) will be clitic incorporation which "is a way of satisfying Agree" (Roberts 2010:61).

According to standard conditions on chains (Nunes 2004), all but one copy must be deleted in the chain. The copy which will be maintained in this case is the head of the chain as it is the position of the feature-checking/valuing relations. Any other copies will be deleted due to chain reduction.

When applying Robert's account to Arabic, it seems that there will be some differences from what is shown for Romance, especially concerning the direction of incorporation. In this respect, Shlonsky (1997:181) refers to a possible parametric variation between Semitic and Romance as regards the direction of incorporation of heads to heads. This parametric variation is responsible for making head movement always yield the constant positioning of the clitic to the right side of the verb in Semitic (recall that Semitic clitics are always enclitics). Consequently, the process may be as in (35), with right adjunction yielding [v* > incorporated enclitic]:[19]

(35) a. ʃa:f -Ø -hə
See.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.DO
'He saw her'

b.



With this simple adjustment, the analysis of Roberts (2010) can, therefore, be applied straightforwardly to the basic cases of v-clitic object in monotranstive constructions of Iraqi Arabic.

[19] Note the difference in the incorporation process between Shlonsky (1997) and Robert (2010). In Shlonsky's (1997) account, it is the verb that raises to incorporate to the AgrO°, while in Robert's (2010), it is the defective object (the goal) that incorporates to the verb (the Probe).

4.2.7 Clitic doubling

In Iraqi Arabic, an object clitic may co-occur with a full DP antecedent at the right periphery of the sentence. Of course, the object clitic agrees with its antecedent in gender, person and number, as in (36):

(36) A: Hem ʃifi -t -hə$_k$ l-Zeinab$_k$?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-Zeinab
'Did you see Zeinab'

B: ʔi, ʃifi -t -hə$_k$ l-Zeinab$_k$
yes, see.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-Zeinab
'yes, I saw Zeinab'

The clitic pronoun may appear without the full DP antecedent, as in (37) and (38B):

(37) ʃifi -t -hə
see.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO
'I saw her'

(38) A. Hem ʃifi -t -hom$_k$ l -il -talameeð$_k$?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU-M.3PL.DO to-the-students
'Did you see the students'

B. ʃifi -t -hom
see.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3PL.DO
'I saw them'

The particle *l* in (36A) and (38A) is a preposition that is used to introduce the antecedent. At first sight, Iraqi Arabic seems to conform to what is known in the literature as *Kayne's Generalization* which specifies that clitic doubling is licit only when an object DP is preceded by a preposition (Anagnostopoulou 2003:16; Roberts 2010: 130):

(39) a. Hem ʃifi -t -hə$_k$ l -Zeinab$_k$?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-Zeinab
'Did you see Zeinab'

b. *Hem ʃifi -t -hə Zeinab?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU-F.3SG.DO Zeinab
'Did you see Zeinab'

c. Hem ʃifi -t Zeinab?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU Zeinab
'Did you see Zeinab'

The examples (39a) and (39b) show that the preposition is obligatory. Meanwhile, (39c) shows that a lexical DP can be object without a clitic.

However, the claim that clitics in Iraqi Arabic are doubling may not hold. The data in (39), where the full coreferring DP needs a preposition, suggest that the clitic occupies the argument position and hence is non-doubling while the coreferring DP is dislocated. This is also supported by the observation that an adverbial modifying the V' can be inserted between the verb and the PP, as predicted if the PP is dislocated, e.g.:

(40) a. Hem ʃifi -t -hə$_k$ ilbarħə l -Zeinab$_k$?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU-F.3SG.DO yesterday to-Zeinab
'Did you see Zeinab yesterday'

b. *Hem ʃifi -t ilbarħə Zeinab?
Q see.PAST-M.2SG.SU yesterday Zeinab
'Did you see Zeinab yesterday'

As shown in (40a), the adverbial can be inserted between *V+clitic* and *l-Zeinab*, which is a sufficient evidence that the DP is not an object. On the other hand, an example like (40b) with an adverbial between V and the DP is ungrammatical. In other words, the clitic and coreferring DP cannot be present in the same domain as the ungrammatical example (39b) indicates. The fact that object clitics in Iraqi Arabic can never locally double full DP objects means that clitic pronouns and full DPs are in complementary distribution. The conclusion that can be made here is that object clitics in the language are cliticized pronouns that fulfil an argument role, not a form of agreement (inflection).

4.3 Ditransitives with pronominal objects

This part of the chapter is devoted to discussing ditransitives with pronominal objects, in particular, where Shlonsky's (1997) account of ditransitives will be discussed.

4.3.1 Shlonsky's analysis of the DOC and the PDC

As discussed in section 4.2.5, Shlonsky (1997) considers clitics as spell outs of Agr°, therefore, object clitics are AgrO°s. When discussing pronominal ditransitives, Shlonsky (1997:179) argues for a fifth property of Semitic clitics: unlike Romance clitics, Semitic ones never cluster, that is, there is only one clitic per host. Here, Shlonsky's argument is based on data from Arabic that alternate between the DOC and PDC, as in (41) from Cairene Arabic:

(41) a. ʔil -mudarris fahhim -Ø 1 -dars l -i1 -bint (PDC)
The teacher understand.PERF.CAUS-3MS.SU the-lesson to-the-girl
'The teacher explained the lesson to the girl'

b. ʔil -mudarris fahhim -Ø 1 -bint 1 -dars (DOC)
the teacher understand.PERF.CAUS-3MS.SU the-girl the-lesson
'The teacher taught the girl the lesson'

c. ʔil -mudarris fahhim -Ø -u l -i1 -bint (PDC)
the teacher understand.PERF.CAUS-3MS.SU-M.3SG.DO to-the-girl
'The teacher taught it to the girl'

d. ʔil-mudarris fahhim -Ø -ha 1 -dars (DOC)
the-teacher understand.PERF.CAUS-3MS.SU-F.3SG.IO the-lesson
'The teacher taught her the lesson'

e. ʔil-mudarris fahhim -Ø -u laa-ha (PDC)
the-teacher understand.PERF.CAUS-3MS.SU-M.3SG.DO to -her
'The teacher taught it to her'

f. *ʔil -mudarris fahhim -Ø -ha -u (DOC)
the teacher understand.PERF.CAUS-3MS.SU-F.3SG.IO-M.3SG.DO
Intended: "The teacher taught her it"

In (41a and b), both objects are lexical, while in (41c and d), one of the objects is lexical and the other is a clitic. In (41e), when both objects are pronominal, only one can cliticize on the verb while the other is cliticized on another host (the preposition). Notably, it is unacceptable for both complements to cliticize onto the verb as in (41f).

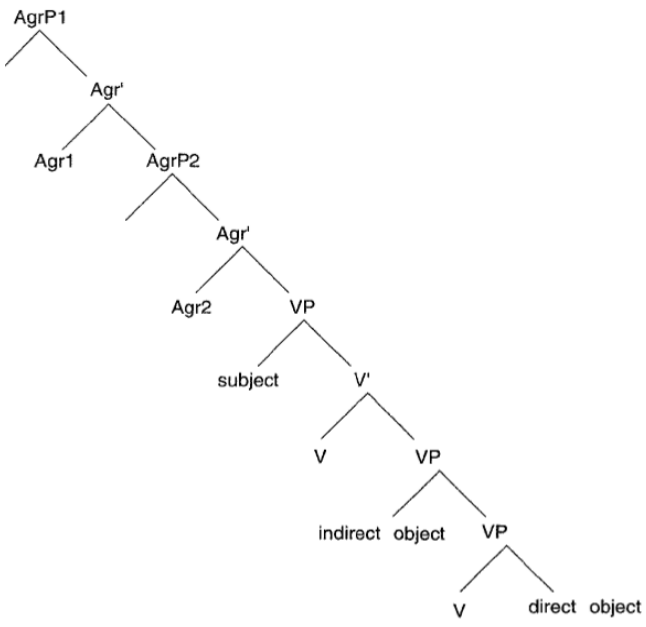
Despite Shlonsky's (1997) claim that clitics do not cluster in Arabic, still, evidence from the DOC of Standard Arabic shows that clitic-clustering is licit in at least this variety of Arabic, as in (42) from Wright (1967: 103):

(42) ʔəʕtˁa -Ø -ni -h
give.PAST-M.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-M.3SG.DO
'He gave me it'

The example in (42) shows a case of clitic-clustering in Standard Arabic, in which both the Recipient and the Theme surface as enclitics on the verb which makes Standard Arabic different from most dialects of Arabic but similar to languages that allow clitic-clustering such as French. This is not predicted under Shlonsky's (1997) account to be detailed below.

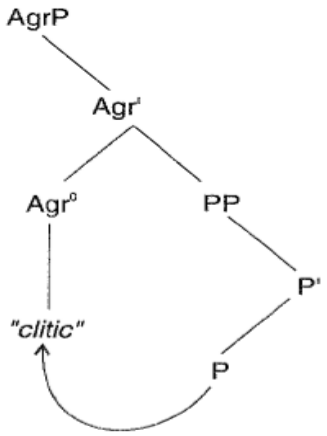
Shlonsky's account of DOC, which is inspired by Larson's (1988) VP shell hypothesis, is shown in (43):

(43)



Shlonsky argues that in (43), one argument is trapped below VP. When the subject moves to Spec-Agr1 and one of the objects moves to Spec-Agr2, the second object is bound to be trapped within VP. This presupposes that VP could only be associated with a single AgrP (AgrP 2 in 43). This explains (according to Shlonsky) the impossibility of clitic clustering if Agr2 can agree with only one pronominal object and get realized as an object clitic. Consequently, in the case of Cairene Arabic, when both objects are pronominal, the structure will be a PDC rather than a DOC as the direct object shows up as an Agr° (clitic) to which the verb raises and adjoins while the other object shows up as a clitic on the preposition, indicating that another AgrP is merged so that the preposition can raise and incorporate to its associated Agr°, as in (44) below:

(44)



This may apply in Cairene Arabic but in some other Arabic dialects such as Palestinian, Jordanian, Kuwaiti, and Omani, the case is the other way around; the indirect object is associated with Agr° to construct a DOC while the direct object appears as a complex pronoun in which the morpheme *iya* is the lexical base to which a pronominal suffix is attached. Thus, the DOC will appear as in (45):

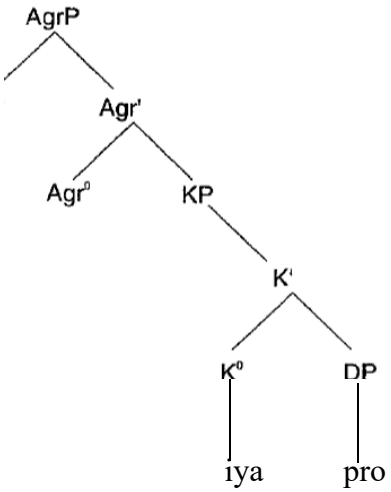
(45) a. ʔəna ʕətˁə -t -ə iya -hon (Jordanian)
I give.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'I gave him them'

b. ʔətˁei -t -ə iya -hom (Kuwaiti)
give.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3SG.IO-IYA-M.3PL.DO
'I gave him them'

c. ʔətˁə: -t -ə iya -hom (Omani)
give.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3SG.IO-IYA-M.3PL.DO
'I gave him them'

Shlonsky proposes that the direct object is structured like a complex pronoun in which *iya* is a head of a K(ase) P(hrase) projection which, in turn, is dominated by an Agr projection. In this respect, Shlonsky (1997:208) argues that '[i]ya pronouns are used only when there is no accessible AgrO [head] with which a null object can be associated'. So, in (45 a-c) above, the indirect object raises by Dative Shift to Spec-AgrO2. When the direct object is pronominal, it triggers another Agr projection in the DOC containing a KP projection headed by *iya*:

(46)



In conclusion, Shlonsky's account assumes that AgrO can be accessible to only one object, either to the indirect object of the DOC as shown in the Arabic dialects (45a-c) or to the direct object of the PDC as in Cairene Arabic. Again, this analysis cannot account for the DOCs in which the two objects appear as a cluster of clitics as attested in the DOC of Standard Arabic shown in (42) for example. Languages that have clitic clusters must have two AgrOs that the two objects in the construction can be associated with. In Shlonsky's analysis there is only one AgrO to associate with (Agr 2 in 43). However, while it accounts for cases in which the Theme clitic is seen attached to the form *iya*, it cannot account for some cases in which the Recipient clitic is shown attached to the form *iya*. In the Chapters 6 and 7, I will develop an analysis to account for these cases that Shlonsky's theory (1997) cannot account for.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, the theory of pronouns has been introduced. A distinction has been made between strong, weak pronouns, affixes and clitics besides discussing their syntactic properties. Due to the fact that pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic always surface as clitics, special consideration has been given in the chapter to clitics.

Following the diagnostics of affixes and clitics proposed by Zwicky & Pullum (1983) criteria, it has been shown that the pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic (and Arabic in general) are indeed clitics, not affixes.

The chapter also has reviewed the debate about the derivation of clitics, whether they are a word-level (X°) or phrase-level (XP) category. Following Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), it has been argued that clitics are X°s in that they are heads at the surface structure while weak pronouns are XPs at the surface structure.

When the diagnostics of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) are applied to the pronominal objects of Iraqi Arabic, it becomes clear that pronominal objects in the language are clitics in that they cannot constitute a phrase-level category. They cannot surface as unstressed free pronouns in positions of maximal projections (XP-positions). Being X°s, pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic must adjoin another head (the host). They cannot appear in the base-generated object position nor can they be coordinated with other DPs. Further, they cannot appear in isolation or be clefted. The language lacks weak pronouns.

The chapter has introduced two related theories of cliticization by agreement: those of Shlonsky (1997) and Roberts (2010). The first theory views Semitic clitics as Agr° elements to which a lower head (the host) adjoins, rather than arguments whose heads lean on or raise to incorporate into their hosts (Shlonsky 1997).

The second one is a theory of clitic-incorporation (Roberts 2010) which can be seen like a modern version of Shlonsky's. In Roberts 2010, cliticization is argued to be a result of Agree between a Probe (a functional head such as little v or a preposition) with uninterpretable *φ*-features on the one hand, with a defective goal (such as a pronominal object made up of φ-features solely) of a matching interpretable *φ*- features on the other hand. By Agree, the defective goal incorporates into the Probe where it is spelled out and chain reduction will delete other copies of the defective pronoun.

Chapter 5. Ditransitives with Lexical Objects of Iraqi Arabic

5.1 Introduction

When the descriptive account of ditransitive constructions of Iraqi Arabic was presented in Chapter 2, it was shown that both objects in the ditransitive construction can be lexical or pronominal. The discussion in this chapter concerns ditransitives with full DP objects in the language. The chapter will first introduce the reader to the structure of ditransitives proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018) adopted in this thesis and explain why it is selected here specifically. After that, the chapter will discuss the ditransitive constructions of Iraqi Arabic with full DP objects by applying Holmberg's *et al* (2018) proposal to the Iraqi data.

The chapter will address the question of how ditransitive constructions are derived in Iraqi Arabic and how the two internal arguments are assigned their theta-roles and Case. In addressing Case assignment, I will use the passive as a criterion to show which object is assigned Case by v in the active clause, because that is the object which undergoes movement to Spec-TP in the passive. Besides that, the chapter will investigate the syntactic properties of functional heads contained in these constructions as well as the semantic and syntactic relations between the two objects in the construction.

The chapter is structured as follows: Section 5.2 will discuss ditransitive constructions with the verb *intʿə* 'give' in Iraqi Arabic. Then based on evidence from idioms of Iraqi Arabic, section 5.3 will address the question of whether the DOC and the PDC are derivationally related or not. Section 5.4 will present the proposed structure of ditransitives adopted in this thesis. This will be followed by discussing the double accusative construction of Iraqi Arabic in section 5.5. Later on, section 5.6 will investigate passive clause in the DOC. Spray/Load verbs taking two objects in Iraqi Arabic, including their passives, will be discussed in section 5.7. Finally, a summary to the main findings of the chapter will be presented in section 5.8.

5.2 The verb *intʿə* 'give' in Iraqi Arabic

This section is devoted to discussing the descriptive facts of the canonical ditransitive verb *intʿə* 'give' that were shown earlier in Chapter 2. In Chapter 2, it was shown that, in the ditransitive constructions with the verb *intʿə* 'give', the lexical IO is marked by a special marker, the prefix *l-*, as in (1) and (2):

(1) Ali intˁə -Ø **l** -il -moʕəlm-ə sˁ ək
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU to-the-teacher -F paycheck
'Ali gave the teacher a paycheck'

(2) Ali intˁə -Ø sˁ ək **l** -il -moʕəlm-ə
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU paycheck to-the-teacher-F
'Ali gave a paycheck to the teacher'

The construction in (1) raises question whether it is a DOC or a PDC. In other words, does the ditransitive *intˁə* 'give' in the language occur in the DOC as well as the PDC, or only in two versions of the PDC? Does the IO in (1) precede the Theme due to leftward scrambling or it is base generated higher than the DO in the hierarchy? The crucial fact is that the IO in (1) is preceded by the prefix *l-* which is also used in (2).

In what follows, I will argue that the complement of the verb *intˁə* 'give' in Iraqi Arabic can be a DOC as well as a PDC. More specifically, my argument will be that the structure in (1) is underlyingly a DOC where the IO precedes the DO in the linear order, while it is a PDC in (2) where the DO precedes the IO in the linear order. That is to say that the IO in (1) plays a Recipient role while it is a locative Goal in (2).

One piece of strong evidence that the ditransitive *intˁə* 'give' in Iraqi Arabic exhibits a DOC, or has a distinction between the DOC and the PDC, comes from consideration of pronominal objects i.e. when the Recipient in (1) is substituted by a pronoun, as in (3):

(3) Ali intˁa -Ø -(*l)-hə sˁ ək
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU-to -F.3SG.IO paycheck
'Ali gave her a paycheck'

Example (3) shows a ditransitive construction with the verb *intˁə* 'give' in which the Recipient clitic is not (and cannot be) marked by the special marker, the prefix *l-*. The construction in (3) can be compared with a ditransitive construction with the verb *dezz* 'send' which can only be used in the PDC, as in (4a and b):

(4) a. Ali dezz -Ø **-l** -hə sˁ ək (PDC)

Ali send.PAST-M.3SG.SU-to-F.3SG.IO paycheck

'Ali sent a paycheck to her'

b.*Ali dezz -Ø -hə sˁ ək

Ali send.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.IO paycheck

Intended: "Ali sent a paycheck to her"

As shown in (4a), the preposition *l-* precedes the Goal clitic while it does not in the construction in (3) where the Recipient clitic lacks such a preposition when the Recipient is pronominal. The difference between (1) and (2) can also be seen when considering relativization of the IO in the two examples, as in:

(5) a. il -moʕəlm-ə **ili** Ali intˁa -Ø **-hə** sˁ ək

The-teacher -F that Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.IO paycheck

'The teacher that Ali gave a paycheck to'

b. il -moʕəlm-ə **ili** Ali intˁə -Ø sˁ ək **l -hə**

The -teacher -F that Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU paycheck to-F.3SG.IO

'The teacher that Ali gave a paycheck to her'

In (5a), when the IO is relativized, the prefix *l-* does not show up. There is only a clitic on the verb which can be another argument that the prefix *l-* in (1) is not a preposition and that the structure is in fact a DOC. On the other hand, when the IO in (5b) is relativized, the prefix *l-* shows up together with the clitic indicating that the structure is a PDC. Borrowing Anagnostopoulou's (2003) title *The syntax of ditransitives: Evidence from clitics,* I claim that the examples in (3) and (5a), in which the Recipient clitic lacks the prefix *l-*, reflect the basic syntax of the DOC with ditransitive *intˁə* 'give' in Iraqi Arabic.

Yet another piece of evidence comes from the word order in (1), which is similar to that of the DOC in the languages that have the construction, including English, as shown in the translation of (1) *Ali gave the teacher a paycheck*. In addition, the order V-IO-DO in Iraqi Arabic (contrary to the order V-DO-to IO) allows an inanimate causer subject, a characteristic feature of the DOC (Holmberg *et al* 2018), as shown in (6):

(6) a. il -ləħəm y -intˁi l -il -nas broti:n
The-meat M.3SG.SU-give to-the-people protein
'meat gives people protein'

b.? il -ləħəm y -intˁi broti:n l -il -nas
The-meat M.3SG.SU-give protein to-the-people
'meat gives protein to people'

A fifth piece of evidence comes from the c-command relation between the two objects, as shown in the binding test in (7a and b), in which the quantifier in the possessor binds the pronoun in the DO:

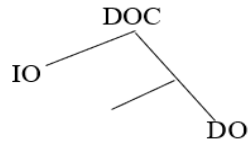
(7) a. Ali intˁə -Ø l -kulₖ moʕəlm-ə sˁ ək -həₖ
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU to-every teacher -F paycheck-her
'Ali gave every teacher her paycheck'

b. *Ali intˁə -Ø sˁ ək -həₖ l -kulₖ moʕəlm-ə
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU paycheck-her to-every teacher -F
Literally: "Ali gave her paycheck to every teacher"

In (7a), a binding asymmetry is shown between the quantified IO and the DO in that the quantifier *kul* 'every' c-commands the pronoun *hə* 'her', but not vice versa (7b), hence, the quantifier-pronoun asymmetry in (7a). The binding asymmetry in (7a) is in conformity with the binding asymmetries in the DOC pointed out by Barss and Lasnik (1986) in that NP1 (the IO) asymmetrically c-commands NP2 (the DO) which entails that the construction (7a) is a DOC.[20] This means that the IO is higher than the Theme in the structure (Harley & Miyagawa 2017):

[20] The c-command relation between NP 1 and NP 2 in the DOC pointed out by Barss and Lasnik (1986) was discussed in Chapter 3, see section 3.2.

(8)



On the other hand, in the PDC, the DO c-commands the IO, as shown in the quantifier binding test in (9):

(9) a. Ali intˁə -Ø kul**ₖ** sˁ ək l -sˁaħib-tə**ₖ**

Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU every paycheck to-owner-its.F

'Ali gave every paycheck to its owner'

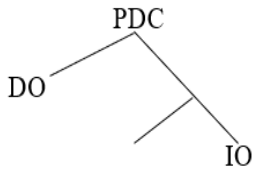
b. *Ali intˁə -Ø l -sˁaħib-tə**ₖ** kul**ₖ** sˁək

Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU to-owner-its.F every paycheck

Literally: "Ali gave to its owner every paycheck"

The binding asymmetry is clear from a comparison of (9a), where the pronoun *tə* 'its' is c-commanded by its quantifier *kul* 'every', with (9b), where it is not. The asymmetrical c-command relation between the DO and the IO shown in (9) suggests that the DO is higher than the IO in the structure:

(10)



The semantic relation between the two objects in (7a) adds another argument that the construction is a DOC in Iraqi Arabic. Taking Harley's (2002) remarks into consideration about a relation between the DOC and the possessive construction, the relation between the two objects in (7a) is a possession relation.[21] In this relation, the IO is a possessor while the DO is

[21] Harley's (2002) remarks about a relation between the DOC and the possessive construction were discussed in Chapter 3, see section 3.4.4.

a possessee where the possessive relation is interpreted as X (the possessor) has Y (the possessee).[22] The possessive relation between the two objects in (7a) is shown in the possessive structure (11) in which the possessor c-commands the possessee:

(11) kul$_k$ moʔəlm-ə ʕid-hə sˁək -hə$_k$
every teacher -F at -her paycheck-her
'every teacher has her paycheck'

According to Harley (2002), there is a correlation between the c-command relation between possessors and possessees on the one hand, and the existence of the DOC in a particular language on the other hand. In other words, languages that do not allow possessors to c-command possessees show no evidence of a DOC. Based on this criterion, example (11), in which the possessor c-commands the possessee, shows evidence for the existence of the DOC in Iraqi Arabic.

Another piece of evidence of asymmetry in DOC comes from the restricted word order of the two pronominal clitics in the DOC of Iraqi Arabic, where the only allowed order is V-IO-DO but not V-DO-IO, as in (12a and b):

(12) a. intˁə -t -k -iya -hin
give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'She gave you them'

b. *intˁə -t -hin -iya -k
give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO-IYA-M.2SG.IO
Intended: "She gave you them"

Though the order seen in (12b) is possible in some dialects of British English (as will be discussed further in Chapter 7) in the pattern *She gave it him/her*, it is not in Iraqi Arabic.

[22] Recall that Kayne (1975) and Oehrle (1976) argue that the IO in the DOC play a Possessor role as was discussed in Chapter 3, see section 3.4.

Based on the facts mentioned above, I propose that the prefix *l-* in (1) is similar to the dative *–ni* in Japanese which introduces the IO in the DOC. Discussing the DOC of Japanese, Harley and Miyagawa (2017: 6) argue that:

> [T]he goal is always marked with the dative *ni*, possibly due to the Double-Accusative constraint […] that forbids two accusatives in the same clause. Nevertheless, it has been argued that the language exhibits two distinct constructions paralleling the DOC and the Dative depending on whether the goal is a possessor or location […]. If it is a possessor, its projection is a DP (DOC), but if it is a location, it is a PP (Dative).

Still, the prefix *l-* in Iraqi Arabic differs from *-ni* in Japanese in that the former is not a Case marker that forbids two accusatives in the same clause. One piece of evidence for this claim comes from the fact that the prefix *l-* does not introduce Recipients in all DOCs of Iraqi Arabic as the language exhibits double accusative constructions, a structure that allows the adjacency of two accusatives, as will be discussed further in section 5.5.

5.3 Are the DOC and the PDC derivationally related? Evidence from idioms

This section addresses the question whether the two constructions, i.e. the DOC and the PDC, are derivationally related or not, based on the behaviour of idioms in Iraqi Arabic. As was discussed in Chapter 3, there is a debate in the literature regarding the nature of the relationship between DOC and PDC, the crucial question being whether it is projectional or derivational. The point of view that the DOC is derived from the PDC is adopted by Larson (1988) den Dikken (1995), and MacDonald (2015) among others. On the other side, Pesetsky (1995), Pylkkanen (2002) and Harley (2002) among others, have adopted a projectional point of view according to which DOC and PDC constructions have different underlying structures.

In Chapter 3, it was shown that Larson (1988) argues for a derivational approach to ditransitive constructions. His analysis is based on the idea that the DOC is derived from the PDC by Dative Shift where the Recipient is promoted to the IO position while the Theme is demoted and assumes an adjunct role within V'.

However, taking into consideration Oehrle's (1976) remarks of a semantic difference between the DOC and the PDC, and a consideration of idioms in ditransitive constructions, Harley (2002) argues against Larson's derivational approach, proposing instead that DOC and PDC constructions have different underlying structures. Idioms of Iraqi Arabic give support to

Harley's claim. Consider the examples below where idioms are exemplified in a. and the ungrammatical counterpart construction in b.:

(13) a. Widad intˤə -t -hom bori (DOC)
Widad give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.3PL.IO pipe
'Widad gave them a pipe' (Widad deceived them)

b. #Widad intˤə -t bori il-hom (PDC)
Widad give.PAST-F.3SG.SU pipe to-them
'Widad gave a pipe to them'

(14) a. Widad intˤə -t -hom iðˤn il -tˤarʃə (DOC)
Widad give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.3PL.IO ear the-deaf
'Widad gave them a deaf ear' (Widad did not listen to them at all)

b. #Widad intˤə -t ʔiðˤn il -tˤarʃə il-hom (PDC)
Widad give.PAST-F.3SG.SU ear the-deaf to-them
'Widad gave a deaf ear to them'

(15) a. intˤi -i -ni i:d -ək (DOC)
give.IMP-2SG.SU-1SG.IO hand-your
'give me your hand' (help me)

b. #intˤi -i ʔi:d -ək il-i (PDC)
give.IMP-2SG.SU hand-your to-me
'give your hand to me'

The Recipient is normally pronominal in these idioms and the appearance of a lexical Recipient in this position is odd, e.g.:

(16)? intˁi -i l -Fatma i:d -ək (DOC)

give.IMP-2SG.SU to-Fatma hand-your

'give Fatma your hand' (help her)

On the other hand, there are some idioms in Iraqi Arabic that appear only as PDCs, as in (17) and (18):

(17) a. intˁi -i il-xboz li -l -xabbaz (PDC)

give.IMP-2SG.SU the-bread to-the-baker

'give the bread to the baker' (leave bakery to the baker i.e. don't mingle in things you have no expertise in)

b. #intˁi -i l -il -xabbaz il -xboz (DOC)

give.IMP-2SG.SU to-the-baker the-bread

'give the baker the bread'

(18) a. y -intˁi joz l -il -ma-ʕind-ə snoon (PDC)

M.3SG.SU-give nuts to-the-neg-has -M teeth

'he gives nuts to the toothless' (when somebody gives something but not to the right person)

b.# y -intˁi l -il -ma ʕind-ə snoon joz (DOC)

M.3SG.SU-give to-the-neg has -M teeth nuts

'he gives the toothless nuts'

The above idioms indicate that the DOC and PDC are not derived from each other, which points towards independent underlying structures for the two constructions and argues against the derivational approach of ditransitives proposed by Larson (1988). If Larson's analysis is correct, i.e. the DOC is derived by Dative Shift, we would expect the examples (17a) and (18a) to have acceptable DOC counterparts but they do not, as the ungrammaticality of the examples (17b) and (18b) indicates. Besides, the DOCs in (13a), (14a) and (15a) do not have acceptable PDC counterparts as the ungrammaticality of (13b), (14b) and (15b) reveals. The behaviour of

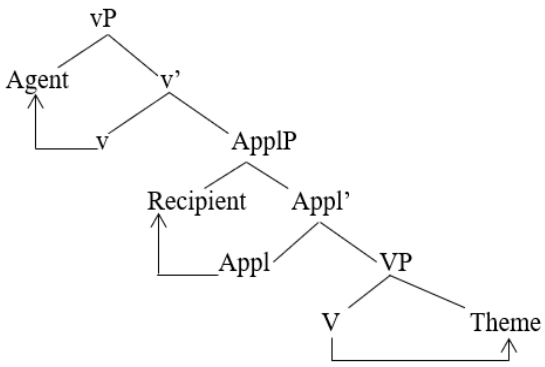
these idioms argues not only against Larson's (1988) account but also against other derivational analyses, including Hallman (2015), who (contrary to Larson 1988) argues that the PDC is derived from the DOC.

To conclude this section, we can say that the two ditransitive constructions i.e. the DOC and the PDC, are not derivationally related and, therefore, the two constructions will be treated here as having independent projections, as will be explored in further detail in the next section.

5.4 The proposed structure of ditransitives

Based on the evidence from idioms discussed in the previous section and taking into consideration the semantic difference between the DOC and the PDC discussed in Chapter 3, I adopt a projectional point of view in this thesis by assuming that the DOC and the PDC are underlyingly unrelated. The structure of ditransitives which I will adopt here is that of Holmberg *et al* (2018). According to this account, the DOC has the structure shown in (19):

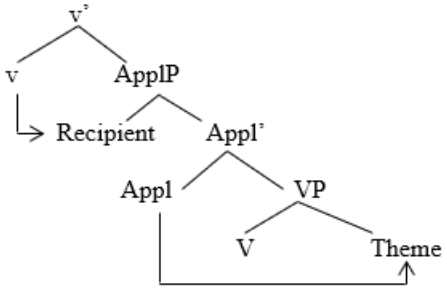
(19)



The Recipient in (19) is base-generated higher than Theme. As regards theta-role assignment, the complement of V is assigned the Theme role by V and the Recipient role is assigned by the Appl(icative) to its specifier, while an Agent role is assigned by v to the external argument, as shown by the arrows in (19).

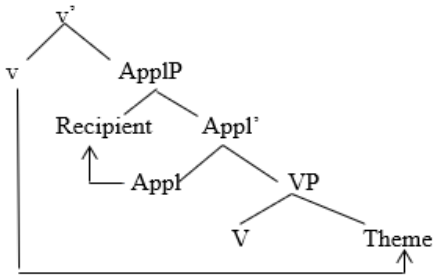
As Holmberg *et al* (2018) make clear, Case assignment in the DOC is more complex and involves variation between languages. Specifically, it depends on whether the language is asymmetric or symmetric. Asymmetric languages exhibit two structures: secundative (as in Standard English) and indirective (as in German). In the secundative structure, it is assumed that the Recipient is assigned Case by v, while the Theme is assigned Case by the Applicative head, as in English (20) where Case assignment is represented by the arrows:

(20) English



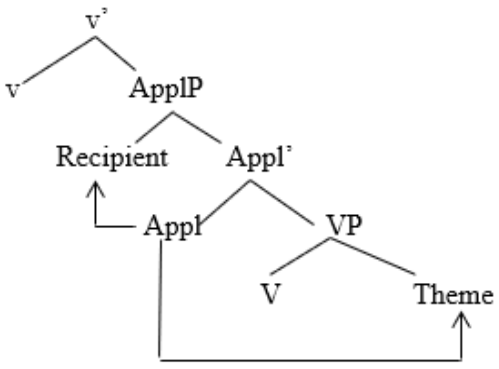
Contrary to secundative structure, the Recipient in the indirective structure is assigned Case by Appl whereas the Theme is assigned Case by v, as in (21):

(21) German



In symmetric languages the Recipient or the Theme may be assigned Case by Appl, as in (22):

(22) Symmetric languages

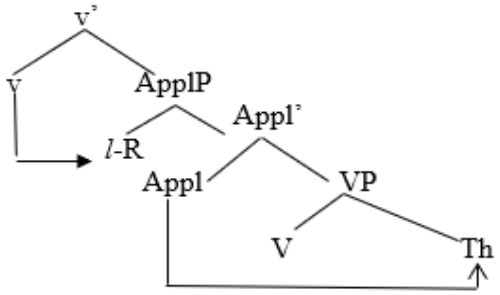


The benefit of the structure adopted here is that it solves the dilemma encountered in generative syntactic theory of how the two objects in the DOC are assigned their theta-roles

and Case. Furthermore, the structure (19) can be applied to symmetric languages (where either of the two objects can move to Spec-TP under passivization) such as Norwegian, Swedish, some British English dialects, Kinyarwanda, Zulu, and Luganda, among others, as well as asymmetric languages (where only a specific object can move to Spec-TP under passivization) such as Standard English, Italian, Fula, Swahili, Chichewa, Danish, and German, among others.

Being an asymmetric language, the DOC of Iraqi Arabic is similar to that of Standard English which is shown in the structure (20) but with one difference: The Recipient in Iraqi Arabic is preceded by *l-*. The structure of the DOC in Iraqi Arabic sentences with the ditransitive *intʿə* 'give', where the Recipient and the Theme are full DPs, is sketched in (23):

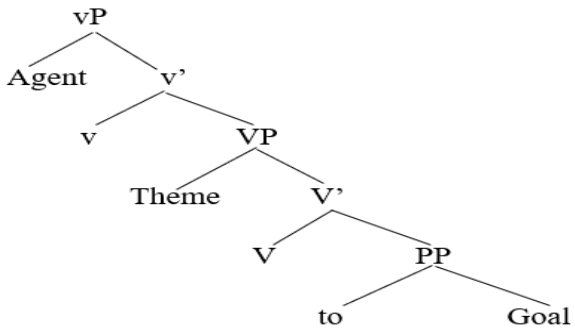
(23)



In (23), the Recipient receives its accusative Case from v, whereas the Theme is assigned Case by the Applicative head. The prefix *l-* is to be taken here as the spell-out of accusative Case (cf. Holmberg *et al* 2018 on Italian).

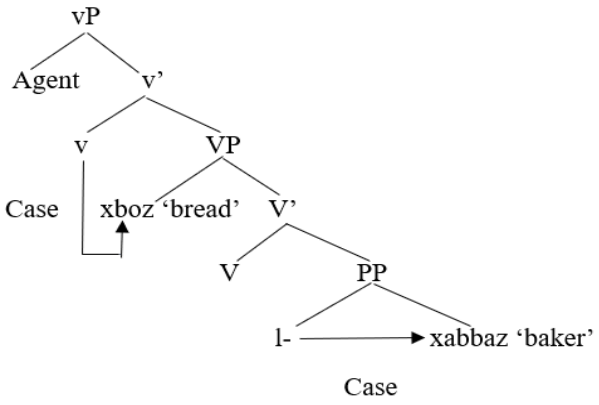
As for the PDC, Holmberg *et al* (2018) propose that it takes the structure shown in (24) below:

(24)



In (24), the Theme is a specifier of V which, in turn, takes the PP as its complement. As for Case assignment, the Theme in (24) gets Case from v, while the Goal gets Case from the preposition *to*. Adopting the structure in (24), Case assignment in a PDC such as that in (17) from Iraqi Arabic will be as in (25):

(25)



5.5 The double accusative construction

As shown in Chapter 2, some ditransitive verbs in Iraqi Arabic appear only in the neutral alignment; more precisely a construction that is referred to as the *double accusative construction* (Anagnostopoulou 2003), in which neither of the objects is marked by a special marker. This is lexically determined in the language. These verbs include *dərrəs* 'teach', *wəkkəl* 'feed', *ʔimtiħən* 'test', *kəlləf* 'cost', *rawə* 'show' (in its idiomatic usage), as well as some Spray/Load verbs:[23]

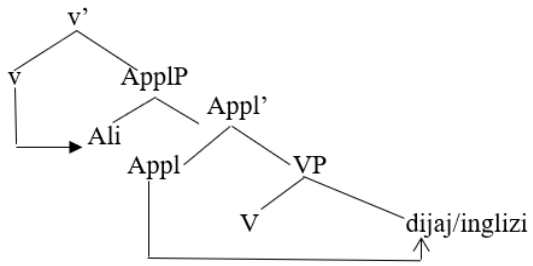
(26) a. Mohammed wəkkel -Ø Ali dijaj (DOC)
Mohammed feed.PAST-M.3SG.SU Ali chicken
'Mohammed fed Ali chicken'

b. Zeinab darrs -ət Ali ingilizi (DOC)
Zeinab teach.PAST-F.3SG.SU Ali English
'Zeinab taught Ali English'

[23] Spray/Load verbs will be discussed in section 5.7.

As can be seen in (26a and b), neither of the two objects is marked with a special marker, accordingly, the structure in (20) can be directly applied. For both of (26a and b), Case assignment of the two objects will be as in (27):

(27)



As shown in (27), Case assignment of the two objects in the double accusative construction of Iraqi Arabic is similar to that of the *l*-marked DOC, as in (23), in that the Recipient is assigned Case by little v, while the Theme is assigned Case by Appl. The difference between the neutral DOC in (27) and the *l*-marked DOC in (23) is that the Recipient in the former is not preceded by the prefix *l*- while it is in the latter. Another difference between these verbs and the verb *intʿə* 'give' is that, as shown in Chapter 2, verbs appearing in the double accusative construction do not alternate with the PDC in the language, e.g.: [24]

(28) a. *Mohammed wəkkel -Ø dijaj l-Ali (PDC)
Mohammed feed.PAST-M.3SG.SU chicken to-Ali
'Mohammed fed chicken to Ali'

b. *Zeinab darrs -ət ingilizi l -Ali (PDC)
Zeinab teach.PAST-F.3SG.SU English to-Ali
'Zeinab taught English to Ali'

[24] Some ditransitives in English may also appear in one particular ditransitive construction only such as Latinate ditransitives which exhibit PDC only, whereas Anglo-Saxon ditransitives may appear in both the DOC and PDC (Harley and Miyagawa 2017).

5.6 The Passive DOC

5.6.1 Symmetric and asymmetric passives

As regards the phenomenon of passive movement out of the DOC, it has been shown that, cross-linguistically, languages may exhibit two types of passive: either *asymmetric* or *symmetric passive* (Haddican & Holmberg 2014). Languages of the former type allow one particular object to passivize. For example, they may allow the Recipient to raise to the subject position under passivization but not the Theme argument. A typical example of an asymmetric passive of this type is shown in (29) from Danish:

(29) a. Jeg blev givet fem ting.
I was given five things
'I was given five things' [Recipient passive]

b.*Fem ting blev givet mig.
five things were given me
'Five things were given me' [Theme passive]
(Haddican & Holmberg 2014: 145-146)

Other asymmetric languages such as Italian work the other way around: they allow the Theme but not Recipient argument to raise to the subject position under passivization.[25]

Languages exhibiting symmetric passive allow either of the two objects in the DOC to raise to the subject position under passivization, as in (30) from Norwegian:

(30) a. Jeg ble gitt Paralgin Forte
I was given Paralgin Forte
'I was given Paralgin Forte' [Recipient passive]

b. Lånet ble gitt meg.
the.loan was given me
'The loan was given me' [Theme passive]
(Haddican & Holmberg 2014: 146)

Two approaches have been put forward to account for the variation among languages as

[25] The passive of Italian will be discussed in section 5.6.3.

regards the movement of the two objects in the DOC. The first is a Case-based approach which attributes the variation to the way each of the two objects is assigned its Case in passive contexts. This approach assumes that Case assigned to one of the objects in the active DOC structure is absorbed by passive morphology in such a way that the Caseless object receives nominative Case instead of its absorbed Case and raises to Spec-TP (Baker 1988, Citko 2008). Consequently, in asymmetric languages, passive morphology may absorb the Case of the Recipient or Theme argument resulting in the passivization of this argument. On the other hand, in symmetric passive languages either of the Cases assigned to the two objects may be absorbed by passive morphology and, therefore, any of the two objects can raise to Spec-TP.

The second approach attributes the variation between Recipient and Theme passivization to a locality condition, therefore, it is called the Locality approach in the literature (Anagnostopoulou 2003). The effect of such a locality condition is sketched in (31a and b):

(31) a. [DP_1 ... [t_1 ... DP2]]

b. *[DP_2 ... [DP1... t_2]]

*

(Anagnostopoulou 2003: 103)

According to this approach, the passivization of the Recipient (DP1) is licit because its movement to T is from a position higher than that of the Theme (DP2). Movement of the Theme across the Recipient DP2, as in (31b) is blocked by locality. Hence, where Theme (DP2) passivization occurs, it must be the case that the Theme moves to Spec-TP from a position higher than that of the Recipient. These two approaches will be discussed further in the following two sections.

5.6.2 Case based approach

This approach attributes the diversity in the movement of the two objects to variation in how Case is assigned in the DOC. Anagnostopoulou (2003) points out that, cross-linguistically, DOCs differ as regards the properties of the Case assigned to the IO and DO. The variation

among languages is about whether a language exhibits a morphological distinction between accusative and dative Case on the one hand and whether the IO can be assigned nominative Case under passivization on the other hand. Using these criteria, she argues that languages can be classified into the following types:

(i) Languages that do not exhibit a morphological distinction between accusative and dative Case. The Recipient in this type of languages must or may alternate with nominative under passivization depending on whether a language is asymmetrical or symmetrical. Here, no special Case morphology is marking the Recipient. The Recipient in this group of languages can check Case on T and satisfy EPP. Among the languages that belong to this group are Standard English, Chichewa, Norwegian, and Kinyarwanda.

(ii) In some languages (such as Japanese) that exhibit a morphological distinction between dative and accusative Case, the dative IO may passivize and be assigned nominative Case as in (32):

(32) a. Yoshida-syusyoo -ga Tanaka-tuusandaizin-ni kunsyoo-o atae -ta
Yoshida-prime minister-NOM Tanaka-minister -DAT medal -ACC award-Past
'Prime Minister Yoshida awarded a medal to Minister Tanaka'

b. Tanaka-tuusandaizin- ga Yoshida-syusyoo ni kunsyoo-o
Tanaka-minister -NOM Yoshida-prime minister by medal -ACC
Atae -rare -ta
Award-Passive-Past
'Minister Tanaka was awarded a medal by Prime Minister Yoshida'

c. Kunsyoo-ga Yoshida-syusyoo ni Tanaka- tuusandaizin-ni
Medal -NOM Yoshida-prime minister by Tanaka minister -DAT
Atae -rare -ta
Award-Passive-Past
'The medal was awarded to Minister Tanaka by Prime Minister Yoshida'

(iii) Some languages such as Icelandic, Greek and Albanian show a morphological distinction between genitive/dative and accusative Case. In passives of these languages, the IO retains its morphological Case as in (33) from Icelandic:

(33) a. Eg gaf Jóni bók

I-NOM gave Jon-DAT the paycheck-ACC
'I gave John the paycheck'

b. Jóni var gefin bókin
Jon-DAT was given the paycheck-NOM
'John was given the paycheck'
(Anagnostopoulou 2003: 85)

(iv) German exhibits a morphological distinction between dative and accusative Case. However, the dative Recipient does not passives in DOCs formed with the auxiliary *werden*, but it does in DOCs formed with the auxiliary *bekommen* where it has nominative Case, as shown in (34a and b):

(34) a. *Er wurde die Blumen geschenkt (werden-passives)
He-NOM was the flowers-ACC given
'He was given the flowers'

b. Er bekam die Blumen geschenkt (bekommen-passives)
He-NOM got the flowers-ACC given
'He was given the flowers'

Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that dative indirect and accusative direct objects that show alternation with nominative carry a structural Case. These objects have a Case and a categorical feature permitting them to check EPP and Case on T under passivization. Accordingly, indirect and direct objects of Japanese shown above have structural Case as they can check EPP and Case on T under passivization. On the other hand, Anagnostopoulou claims that indirect objects in group (iii) carry a theta-related Case as they retain their

morphology under passivization. These datives have a categorial feature permitting them to enter into an EPP-relation with T but without Case checking.

The situation in group (iv) is that datives of *bekommen* and *werden* in German differ as regards the ability of an indirect object to passivize. Here, only datives of *bekommen* are assumed to have an active structural Case feature enabling them to alternate with nominative. This not the case in the datives of *werden*. As such, only the IO object of *bekommen* can check EPP and Case on T in passive.

5.6.3 The passive of Italian (Holmberg *et al* 2018)

Holmberg *et al* (2018) give an account of the DOC in Italian, an asymmetrical language which allows only pasivization of the Theme in the DOC. Holmberg *et al* (2018) argue that, in active clauses, the Recipient in the DOC of Italian is always assigned dative inherent Case by Appl while the Theme is always assigned Case by v as a result of the Theme's ability to move to the edge of ApplP triggered by an EPP-feature on Appl.

Holmberg *et al* (2018:36) argue that "the Recipient always receives inherent dative Case, spelled out as *a*, in the Italian DOC…, and is introduced by a homophonous preposition *a* in the…(PDC)". Accordingly, Holmberg *et al* conclude that the Recipient in the DOC of Italian may lack an active [uCase] feature, and therefore cannot be probed by T under passivization of the DOC. This may explain the fact that Italian DOCs and PDCs allow only Theme passivization: [26]

(35) a. Queste idee sono state date a Maria da questo libro. (Theme-passive DOC)
these ideas are been given to Maria by this book
'These ideas were given to Maria by this book'

b. Questi libri sono stati dati a Maria dal professore. (Theme-passive PDC)
these books are been given to Maria by the teacher
'These books were given to Maria by the teacher.'
(Holmberg *et al* 2018:37)

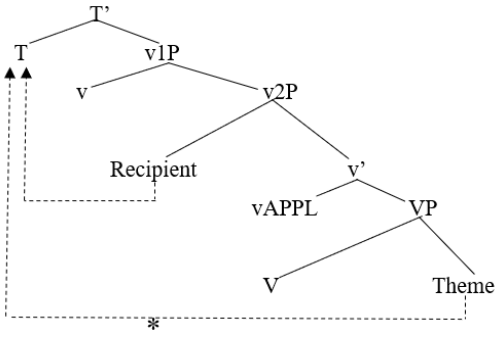
[26] The choice of a causer inanimate subject ('this book') in (35a) is because this distinguishes the DOC from the PDC, which does not allow an inanimate subject. This is based on the idea that the DOC describes causes of events while the PDC describes activities by agents (Pesetsky 1995).

As shown in (35a and b), the Theme can always passivize in Italian. It can be probed by T under passivization, which suggests that the Theme receives Case from v in active clauses.

5.6.4 Locality based approach

This approach attributes the ill-formedness of direct passives to locality conditions, in that movement of the Theme to subject position is blocked by categorical or φ-features of the Recipient argument. In some languages such as Standard English and Danish, the linear and hierarchical order of the two objects in active sentences correlates with their ability to undergo NP-movement in passive constructions. The fact that, in the DOC, the Recipient (which is the leftmost and highest) can raise to Spec-TP in the passive construction, can be attributed to the locality principle of *Shortest Move/Closest Attract*. This is shown in (36): [27]

(36)



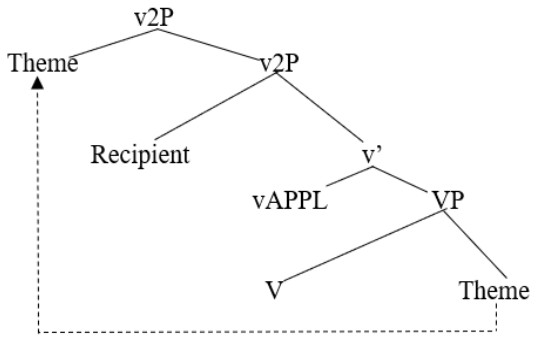
(Anagnostopoulou 2003: 152)

Anagnostopoulou argues that the asymmetric passivization of the DOC can be accounted for by means of *minimal domains*. According to this analysis, the DOC comprises three layers: the upper one includes the v1P and T, the intermediate layer contains the Recipient and vAPPL, and the lower one includes the VP headed by V and the Theme, as shown in (36) above. The Recipient may undergo passivization as there is no intervener between the latter and T. On the other hand, the Theme cannot undergo the same movement to T as the Recipient (which resides in a minimal domain with the vAPPL) intervenes between T and the Theme which resides in the lowest layer with V. Consequently, the Recipient but not the Theme can be probed by T as the Theme cannot skip the Recipient on its way to T.

[27] In (36), v1P, v2P and vAPPL stand for vP, ApplP and Appl respectively.

Turning to symmetric languages such as Norwegian and Swedish, Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that the Theme in such languages may skip the Recipient and move to an (outer) Spec-vAPPL, as shown in (37):

(37)



(Anagnostopoulou 2003: 157)

In (37), the movement of the Theme results in a multiple Spec-vAPPL. This means that the Theme is now in the same minimal domain with the Recipient and the vAPPL. As a result, either of the objects may be attracted by T. Anagnostopoulou (2003: 157) proposes that the difference between asymmetric and the symmetric languages can be accounted for by the following parameter:

(38) *The Specifier to vAPPL Parameter*

Symmetric movement languages license movement of DO to a specifier of vAPPL. In languages with asymmetric movement, movement of DO may not proceed via vAPPL.[28]

5.7 The status of the DOC of Iraqi Arabic according to this typology

Just as in Standard English, Iraqi Arabic is an asymmetric language where there is a correlation between the ability of the two objects to undergo NP-movement under passivization on the one hand and the linear and hierarchical order of the two objects in active contexts on the other hand. Since Iraqi Arabic exhibits a fixed order of the two arguments e.g. IO >DO/*DO>IO, the leftmost and highest argument in the DOC i.e. the Recipient (which is the most local argument

[28] As we see, the parameter in (38) fails to account for passive in the DOC of Italian, an asymmetric language in which the Theme argument proceeds via vAPPL. As shown in section 5.6.3, the Theme in Italian can move to the edge of ApplP. This movement is triggered by an EPP-feature on Appl, see Holmberg *et al* (2018).

to the subject position) can raise to T in the passive construction in line with the Locality Condition in (31) proposed by Anagnostopoulou (2003: 103), which is repeated below:

(31) a. [DP$_1$ ... [t$_1$ ... DP2]]

b. *[DP$_2$ ... [DP1... t$_2$]]

The passive of Iraqi Arabic can also be accounted for by the Case-based approach in that only Recipient, which gets Case from v in the active clause, can passivize while the Theme cannot. In Chapter 2, it was shown that Iraqi Arabic adopts two strategies of passivization in the DOC: Passive 1 and Passive 2. Though both Passives conform to Locality condition (31), they differ as regards Case assigned to the Recipient in the two cases. Both passives will be discussed further in the following two sections.

5.7.1 Passive 1

Passive 1 of Iraqi Arabic resembles passivization of the DOC in languages in which the Recipient alternates with nominative under passivization discussed in section 5.6.2:

(39) a. il -safarə minħ -ət Fatma visa (Active)
The-embassy grant.PAST-F.3SG.SU Fatma visa
'The embassy granted Fatma a visa'

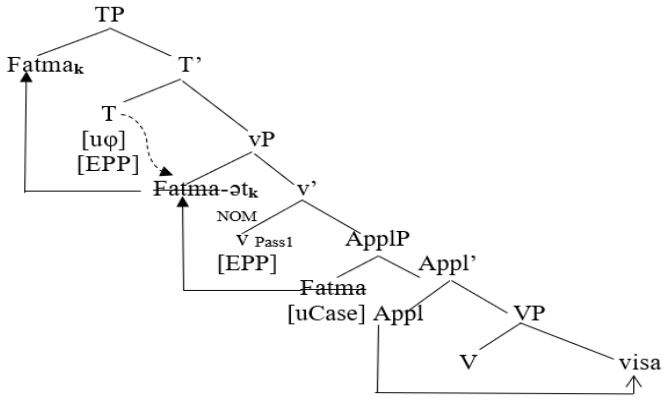
b. Fatma in -minəħ -ət visa (Passivization of Recipient)
Fatma PASSIVE -grant.PAST-F.3SG.NOM visa
'Fatma was granted a visa'

Here, in the active clause, v has an EPP feature (Haddican and Holmberg 2012; 2019). This feature is satisfied by the external argument which merges as a specifier of vP. Little v with unvalued φ-features (uF) probes a goal, a Recipient with corresponding interpretable φ-features (iF) but with unvalued Case feature (uCase). The Probe assigns accusative Case to the goal and

has its φ-features valued by it. On the other hand, T probes the external argument introduced by v, has its φ-features valued by it, assigns nominative Case to it and attracts it to Spec-TP due to the EPP feature on T.

In a passive clause, v neither introduces an external argument nor assigns accusative Case to the Recipient but it still retains an EPP feature that attracts the Recipient to Spec-vP (cf. Haddican & Holmberg 2012; 2019). As such, an Agree relation is established between T and the Recipient as both have some uninterpretable features to value. T has uF and an EPP feature that need to be valued by a goal with iF and the Recipient has a uCase feature that needs to be valued by some Probe. In Iraqi Arabic, such an Agree relation is possible only between T and the Recipient in the DOC. Iraqi Arabic differs from symmetric languages such as Japanese in that while both objects may check EPP and Case on T in the latter, only the Recipient can do such checking in the former. This is ostensibly in line with the parameter (38), given that there is no independent evidence that the Theme ever moves to Spec-ApplP in Iraqi Arabic. However, following Holmberg *et al* (2018) and Haddican & Holmberg (2019), I take the crucial parameter to be whether Appl assigns Case or not to the Recipient. In Iraqi Arabic it does not, but assigns Accusative Case strictly to the Theme. Therefore, the Theme does not undergo movement and stays in its original inner position as a complement of V where it receives accusative Case from Appl, as shown in (39c):

c.



In (39c), v is suppressed under passivization. It no longer introduces an external argument or assigns Case to the Recipient *Fatma* but it still has an EPP feature that attracts the Recipient to Spec-vP. This makes it possible for T to probe the Recipient, assign nominative Case to it and have its uF valued by it. As a result, the Recipient moves to Spec-TP. Here, because the

Recipient has nominative Case, it will trigger nominative agreement on the verb (*-ət*). Meanwhile, the Theme 'visa' is assigned Case by Appl; thus, the Theme does not undergo movement.

5.7.2 The difference between the passive of Iraqi Arabic and of Italian

The passivization of the DOC in Italian was discussed in section 5.6.3, where it was argued that Italian exhibits asymmetrical passivization of the DOC in that Italian allows only passivization of Theme rather than Recipient. It was also argued, following Holmberg *et al*, (2018), that the Recipient in Italian receives inherent dative Case assigned by Appl which is spelled out as *a*. As such it cannot be probed by little v or (in passives) by T. Italian also has an EPP-feature on Appl which triggers movement of the Theme to the edge of ApplP in actives as well as passives. While this may facilitate probing and Case-assignment to the Theme by v and T, it is not crucial. Note that there are languages, like Norwegian, which show no overt evidence of movement of the Theme to the edge of Appl, yet allow Theme passives (see Haddican & Holmberg 2019).

Iraqi Arabic also exhibits asymmetrical passivization of the DOC but in the case of Iraqi Arabic, it is the Recipient not the Theme that can be passivized. Unlike in Italian, the Recipient in Iraqi Arabic has an active [uCase] feature in active clauses and receives accusative Case from v which is spelled out as *l-*. In passive clauses, v is suppressed, and since the Recipient has an active [uCase] feature, it can check EPP and Case on T under passivization; therefore, it is assigned Case by T and raises to Spec-TP.

The main difference between Iraqi Arabic and Italian lies in the properties of the functional head Appl in the DOCs of the two languages. While it assigns a theta role and Case to the Recipient in Italian, it cannot do this in Iraqi Arabic, where it only assigns a theta role to the Recipient but not Case. The Recipient is assigned Case by v only. As discussed above, the parameter in this case is whether Appl can assign Case to the Recipient or not.

The difference in the properties of the functional head Appl has an effect on which argument can passivize in the two languages. This may lead to the conclusion that little v assigns Case to the Recipient as a last resort. Little v will not do so if this function is performed by Appl. In conclusion, I take the fundamental parameter that distinguishes the DOC in Italian and in Iraqi Arabic to be Case assignment rather than movement.

5.7.3 Passive 2

As was mentioned in Chapter 2, this is a widely used strategy of passivization in Iraqi Arabic. The properties of this passive structure are rather different from what was shown in Passive 1. In this section, I will argue that passive 2 in Iraqi Arabic is somehow similar to the case of Icelandic in which the Recipient does not alternate with nominative under passivization, as in (40) (from Anagnostopoulou 2003: 85):

(40) a. Eg gaf Jóni bók (Icelandic)
I-NOM gave Jon-DAT the paycheck-ACC
'I gave John the paycheck'

b. Jóni var gefin bókin
Jon-DAT was given the paycheck-NOM
'John was given the paycheck'

In (40b), the Recipient *Jóni* retains its morphological dative Case despite the fact of its raising to Spec-TP. Here, Anagnostopoulou (2003: 88) argues that the DP *Jóni* exhibits a quirky Case that is taken as a 'theta-related inherent Case with an additional structural Case feature'. According to Anagnostopoulou, the quirky DP *Jóni* in (40b) must have a structural Case to explain why it can raise to Spec-TP. The movement is triggered by the EPP-requirement of T but the quirky DP *Jóni* does not check Case as it retains its theta-related Case (dative).[29]

As was mentioned in Chapter 2, Passive 2 in Iraqi Arabic is marked with the passive prefix *m-*. In Passive 2, the Recipient retains its accusative Case, as in (41):

(41) a. Fatma intˁə -ət l -Zeinab Jəntˁə (Active)
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU to-Zeinab bag
'Fatma gave Zeinab a bag'

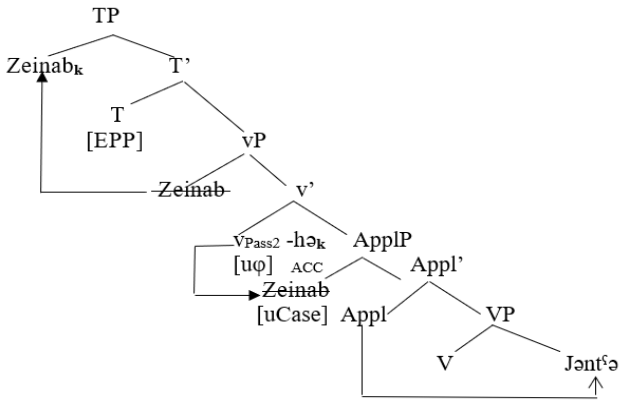
[29] According to the structure of DOC adopted here, an argument is assigned inherent Case only by a theta role assigner. If this is right, the only argument that can be assigned inherent Case is the Recipient as it is assigned theta role and Case by Appl, as in the case of Italian. In this case, the Recipient cannot be passivized, rather, it is Theme that moves to Spec-TP, as was discussed in the previous section. In other words, the DP appearing in Spec-TP in (40b) does not bear inherent Case because it is assigned Case by v as the passive clause indicates.

b. Zeinab **m** -intˁi -hə Jəntˁə (Passive 2)

Zeinab PASSIVE-give.PAST-F.3SG.ACC bag

'Zeinab was given a bag'

c.



When the active construction in (41a) is compared with the passive one in (41b.) from a descriptive perspective, the latter lacks the nominative subject marker *-ət*. Here, the movement of Recipient to Spec-TP does not trigger subject agreement on the verb. Instead, it triggers object agreement which is realized on the verb as an accusative object marker, *-hə*.[30]This was not the case in Passive 1, in which movement of Recipient triggers subject agreement on the verb as was shown in (39b).

What happens here is that v probes and assign Case to the Recipient which is realized as an object agreement on the verb. T has nothing to probe and ends up with a "default form". The DP that occupies the Spec-TP position (Zeinab) retains its base-related accusative Case as the object marker on the verb indicates which entails that v does not lose the capacity of assigning accusative Case to the Recipient under passivization, contrary to Passive 1 in which v does not assign Case to the Recipient in the passive clause.[31]

[30] An alternative analysis would be that the DP is a base-generated topic in an active construction, with the clitic as resumptive pronoun, roughly as in 'Zeinab, (someone) gave her a bag'. What argues against this analysis is that the Agree (in the TP internal position) between T and the structural subject, in this case, would trigger nominative subject marking on the verb, which is not the case in Passive 2 as the construction does not have any nominative subject marker. Note, also, that the active construction in (41a) lacks the object agreement on the verb. The latter is triggered under passivization only when the Recipient moves to the subject position.

[31] What is to be taken in (40b) as theta-related Case by Anagnostopoulou (2003), is considered here as base-related Case.

Now the question is how can the Recipient move to the subject position without an agree relation? Here, I propose that the properties of T in Passive 2 will be similar to that of little v in Passive 1. In section 5.7.1, I have argued that, in Passive 1, little v does not agree with nor assign accusative Case to the Recipient, but it still retains an EPP feature that attracts the Recipient to Spec-vP (cf. Haddican & Holmberg 2012; 2019). Similarly, T in passive 2 will not agree with or assign Case to the Recipient, but it still retains an EPP feature that can attract the Recipient to Spec-TP. In other words, while T in Passive 1 has uF and an EPP feature that need to be valued by a goal with iF (the Recipient), T in passive 2 has only an EPP feature that needs to be valued by the Recipient.

On the other hand, the Theme is still assigned Case by Appl, as is the case in Passive1, which prevents movement of Theme to Spec-TP.

To conclude, the main difference between the Passive1 and Passive 2 of Iraqi Arabic is due to the properties of the functional heads v and T in the two Passives. While v in Passive 1 no longer assigns Case to the Recipient, v in Passive 2 continues to assign Case to the Recipient. As such, the Recipient alternates with nominative in Passive 1, but it retains its in-situ related accusative Case in Passive 2, and therefore, the Recipient in latter case moves (due to the EPP feature on T) to the subject position while retaining its accusative Case.

5.8 Spray/Load verbs

Just as with the dative alternation where the ditransitive construction may appear as a DOC or PDC, e.g., *I gave John a paycheck* vs *I gave a paycheck to John*, the so-called Spray-Load verbs exhibit two different syntactic structures, which is known in the literature as the *locative alternation* (Arad 2006), as in (42a and b):

(42) a. Ben loaded hay on the truck.
b. Ben loaded his truck with hay.

Each of the internal arguments in (42a and b) i.e. *hay* and *the truck* can be realized as a direct object while the other may be realized as a Goal, *the truck* in (42a), *or* as a *locatum* i.e. 'the entity that is being applied or located' (Arad 2006:467). The argument *hay* in (42b) is realized as a locatum. In this respect, Arad draws attention to the fact that not all verbs which have two internal arguments exhibit this alternation, e.g.:

(43) a. Lucy covered the towel with sand.

b. *Lucy covered sand on the towel.

(44) a. Ben poured water into the glass.

b. *Ben poured the glass with water.

5.8.1 Spray/Load verbs in Iraqi Arabic

In Chapter 2, it was argued that Spray/Load verbs in Iraqi Arabic take two objects; the first is Recipient-like and the second is a Theme. The difference between Iraqi Arabic and English in this respect is that the complement pattern of the Spray/Load verb in Iraqi Arabic is a DOC though with the difference that the Recipient-like argument is inanimate. In other words, the construction will not involve transfer of possession in this case since the latter implies that the Recipient is animate. That is to say, the difference between Spray-Load verbs and essential ditransitives is semantic. Still, like the DOC, the subject can be inanimate:

(45) il -ʃafəl ħammel -Ø il -loriat ramol
The-shovel load.PAST-M.3SG.SU the-dump trucks sand
'the loading shovel loaded the dump trucks with sand'

Some Spray/Load verbs in the language may show alternation with the prepositional construction; among these is the verb *zirəʕ* 'plant', as in (46):

(46) a. Zeinab zirʕ -ət il -ħədi:qə wərid
Zeinab plant.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-garden flowers
'Zeinab planted the garden with flowers'

b. Zeinab zirʕ -ət wərid b -il -ħədi:qə
Zeinab plant.PAST-F.3SG.SU flowers in-the-garden
'Zeinab planted flowers in the garden'

Others do not allow such an alternation, such as the verb *tirəs* 'fill', as in (47):

(47) a. Zeinab tirs -ət il -ħədi:qə wərid

Zeinab fill.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-garden flowers

'Zeinab filled the garden with flowers'

b. *Zeinab tirs -ət wərid b -il -ħədi:qə

Zeinab fill.PAST-F.3SG.SU flowers in-the-garden

'Zeinab filled the flowers on the garden'

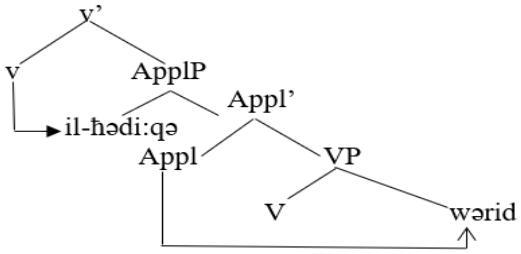
Following Holmberg's *et al* (2018) model of the DOC, I assume that the Recipient-like argument in these constructions is assigned its role by the Appl(icative) head, while the complement DP is assigned the Theme role by V. On the other hand, the Recipient-like object is assigned Case by v, while the Theme object is assigned Case by the Applicative head. Thus, the structure of (48a) would be as in (48b), where the arrows show the Case assignment:

(48) a. Zeinab zirʕ -ət il -ħədi:qə wərid

Zeinab plant.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-garden flowers

'Zeinab planted the garden with flowers'

b.



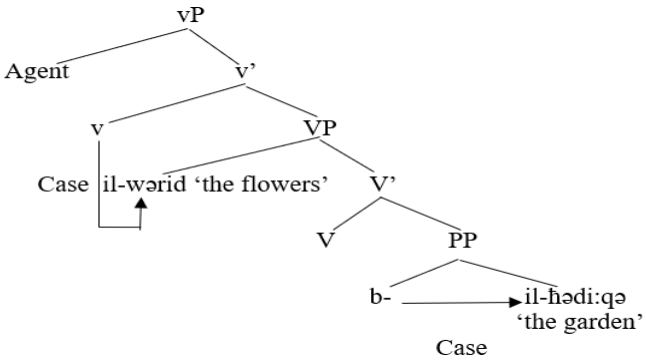
In the Theme-locative variant, on the other hand, I assume it takes the PDC structure in which the Theme object is assigned Case by little v while the Goal object is assigned Case by the preposition. The PDC construction would be as in (49) below, where the arrows show the Case assignment:

(49) a. Zeinab zirʕ -ət il -wərid b -il -ħədi:qə

Zeinab plant.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-flowers in-the-garden

'Zeinab planted the flowers in the garden'

b.



5.8.2 Passive structure in the Spray/Load verbs

In section 5.7, I argued that only Recipient can raise to Spec-TP in the passivization of the DOC in Iraqi Arabic as it is the highest argument on the one hand (following Locality approach), and the argument assigned Case by little v on the other hand (following Case-based approach). This is also true in the Spray/Load construction. Spray/Load verbs also have two passive variants, Passive 1 and Passive 2. The Recipient-like argument in Passive 1 carries active structural Case and alternates with nominative, which is to say, it can check EPP and Case on T under passivization where it is assigned Case by T and raises to Spec-TP. On the other hand, movement of the Theme to a specifier of Appl is not licensed in Iraqi Arabic. The Theme has to stay in its original inner position as a complement of V where it receives accusative Case from Appl. Thus, the passive version of (50a) is (50b), which has the structure shown in (50d), where the arrows show the Case assignment:

(50) a. Zeinab zirʕ -ət il -ħədi:qə wərid

Zeinab plant.PAST-F.3SG.SU the-garden flowers

'Zeinab planted the garden with flowers'

b. il -ħədi:qə in -zirʕ -ət wərid (Recipient-Passive1)

the-garden PASSIVE-plant.PAST-F.3SG.NOM flowers

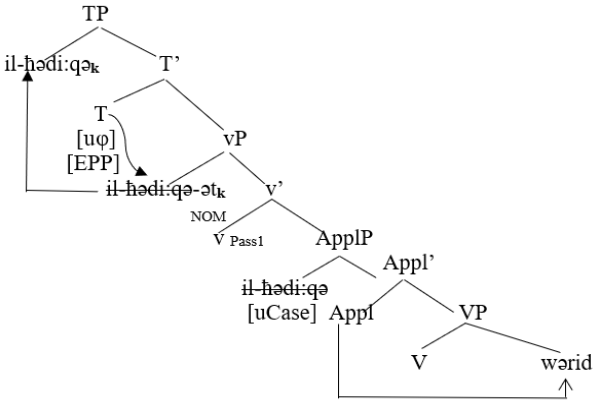
'The garden was planted with flowers'

c. *wərid in -zirəʕ -Ø il -ħədi:qə (Theme-Passive 1)

flowers PASSIVE-plant.PAST-M.3PL.NOM the-garden

Intended: “flowers were planted in the garden”

d.



Having an active [uCase] feature, the Recipient-like argument *il-ħədi:qə* in (50d) checks both EPP and Case on T causing it to move to the subject position and trigger nominative agreement on the verb (*ət*).

On the other hand, the Recipient-like argument in Passive 2 will not alternate with nominative; rather, it raises to Spec-TP while retaining the accusative Case assigned by v, as the accusative agreement on the verb indicates. Meanwhile, Theme passive is ungrammatical. Passive 2 is shown in (51):

(51) a. il -ʕommal ħamml -əw il -pekab ramol

The-labourers load.PAST-M.3PL.SU the-truck sand

‘The labourers loaded the truck with sand’

b. il -pekab m -ħammli -hə ramol (Recipient-Passive 2)

The-truck PASSIVE-load.PAST-F.3SG.ACC sand

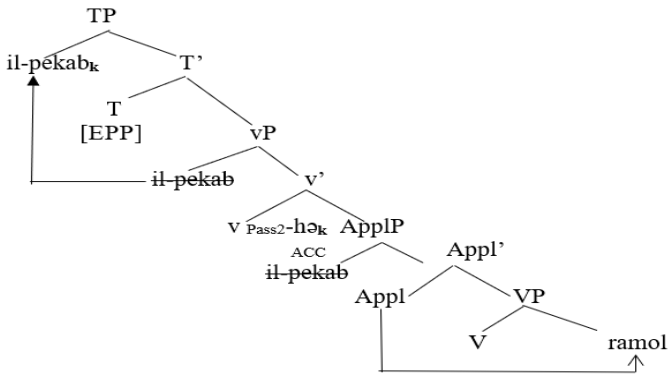
‘The truck was loaded with sand’

c. * ramol m -ħammli -h il -pekab (Theme-Passive 2)

sand PASSIVE-load.PAST-M.3SG.ACC the-truck

Intended: “sand was loaded on the truck”

d.



In (51d), little v probes and assigns accusative Case to the Recipient-like argument which is realized as object agreement on the verb; therefore, the Recipient-like argument enters only an EPP relation with T but not Case and moves to Spec-TP. Thus, the structure lacks the kind of nominative subject agreement on the verb that is attested in Passive 1, as shown in (50d). Just as was the case in Passive 1, Theme movement to the specifier of Appl is illicit as the latter gets in-situ accusative Case from Appl which prevents any movement of Theme to Spec-TP. Thus, the behaviour of Spray/Load verbs under passivization is exactly as expected under the DOC analysis of their structure.

As for the passive in constructions with Spray/Load verbs which appear as PDCs, here, only Theme can passivize, as shown in (52) below:

(52) a. il -ʕommal ħamml -əw il -ramol b-il-pekab
The-labourers load.PAST-M.3PL.SU the-sand in-the-truck
'The labourers loaded the sand on the truck'

b. il -ramol it -ħammәl -Ø b -il -pekab (Theme-passive 1)
the-sand PASSIVE-load.PAST-M.3SG.NOM in-the-truck
'The sand was loaded on the truck'

c. * b -il -pekab it -ħamml -ət il -ramol (Goal-passive 1)
in -the-truck PASSIVE-load.PAST-F.3SG.NOM the-sand
Literally: "In the truck was loaded the sand"

In the PDC, the Theme, which is assigned Case by little v in the active clause, can passivize as the latter is suppressed under passivization. As such, in the passive, T can agree with and assign Case to the Theme and the latter raises to Spec-TP, which triggers nominative subject agreement on the verb. Meanwhile, the Goal gets in-situ accusative Case from the preposition.

In passive 2, on the other hand, the construction will be as in (53) below:

(53) a. il -ʕommal ħamml -əw il-ramol b-il-pekab
The-labourers load.PAST-M.3PL.SU the-sand in-the-truck
'The labourers loaded the sand on the truck'

b. il -ramol m -ħammli -h b-il-pekab (Theme-passive 2)
the-sand PASSIVE-load.PAST-M.3SG.ACC in-the-truck
'The sand was loaded on the truck'

c. *b-il-pekab m -ħammli -hə il-ramol (Goal-passive 2)
in-the-truck PASSIVE-load.PAST-F.3SG.ACC the-sand
Literally: "In the truck was loaded the sand"

In conclusion for the passive in the PDC with Spray/Load verbs, only Theme can passive in this construction as it is the argument assigned Case by little v. The Goal cannot passivize as it gets in-situ Case from the preposition. All options of combinations of 2 passives and alternating structures (Spray/Load) are shown in Table (4) below:

Table 4

Combinations of 2 passives and alternating structures (Spray/Load)

	V R Th (load truck sand)		V Th G (load sand on truck)	
passive1	R V Th (truck was loaded)	✓	G V Th (on truck was loaded)	×
	Th V R (sand was loaded)	×	Th V G (sand was loaded)	✓
passive2	R V Th (truck was loaded)	✓	G V Th (on truck was loaded)	×
	Th V R (sand was loaded)	×	Th V G (sand was loaded)	✓

5.9 Summary

The chapter has discussed ditransitive constructions with lexical objects in Iraqi Arabic. The chapter has two aims: The first of which is to present Holmberg's *et al* (2018) structure of ditransitives, which is adopted in this thesis. This proposal is adopted here as it solves the dilemma encountered in generative syntactic theory regarding the way in which the two objects are assigned their theta-roles and Case. Furthermore, it is applicable to asymmetric as well as symmetric languages. In the structure of DOC adopted here, the external argument is introduced and assigned a theta-role by v. Meanwhile, an Appl head introduces and assigns a theta-role to the IO whereas the DO is assigned a theta-role by V. When it comes to Case assignment, it is argued that there are two possibilities in asymmetric languages. The first is that the IO is assigned Case by v while the DO is assigned Case by Appl, as in the case of Iraqi Arabic and Standard English. The other possibility in asymmetric languages is that the IO is assigned inherent Case by Appl whereas the DO is assigned Case by v, as in the case of Italian. Both of these possibilities are available in symmetric languages, as Appl can assign Case to either the IO or the DO.

The second aim of the chapter is to apply Holmberg's *et al* (2018) structure to ditransitive constructions with lexical objects in Iraqi Arabic. In the chapter, I claim that the prefix *l-* introducing the lexical IO in the DOC with the ditransitive *intʿə* 'give' is not a preposition. Rather, it is to be taken as the spell out of Accusative Case assigned by v. On the other hand, the language is seen to exhibit a double accusative construction in some ditransitives such as *dərrəs* 'teach', *wəkkəl* 'feed', *ʔimtiħən* 'test', as well as with some Spray-Load verbs in which both IO and DO are assigned abstract Case.

As for the semantic relation between the two objects in the DOC, I argue it is a possession relation in which the IO is a possessor while the DO is a possessee. As regards the syntactic relation between the two internal arguments, I claim on the basis of binding facts that it is asymmetric in that the IO (which is base-generated higher than the DO in the structure) asymmetrically c-commands the DO yielding a word order in which the IO must precede the DO.

In discussing the passive of ditransitive clauses, it is shown that Iraqi Arabic is an asymmetric language in that only the Recipient can passivize. I claim that the language exhibits two types of passive, Passive 1 and 2. In Passive1, v loses the capacity of introducing an external argument and assigning Case to the Recipient. This means that T can probe the Recipient. As a result, the Recipient gets Case from T which triggers subject agreement on the

verb and movement of the Recipient to Spec-TP. Only Recipients can do such checking on T in Iraqi Arabic. The Theme, on the other hand, stays in its base-generated position (as a complement of V) where it gets Accusative Case from Appl.

In Passive 2, little v does not lose the capacity of assigning Case to the Recipient, as the Accusative object agreement on the verb indicates. Here, movement of the Recipient to Spec-TP is triggered by EPP checking on T only (but not Case checking). As such, the Recipient moves to Spec-TP position while retaining the accusative Case assigned by v. Meanwhile, Case assignment to the Theme in Passive 2 is similar to that in Passive1 as Theme still gets Case from Appl, preventing any movement of the Theme to Spec-TP.

I have also argued that the same analysis of Passive1 and Passive 2 can be applied to constructions with Spray/Load verbs.

Chapter 6. Ditransitives with Pronominal Objects of Iraqi Arabic

6.1 Introduction

Having discussed the ditransitive constructions with full DP objects of Iraqi Arabic in Chapter 5, the discussion in this chapter will move to ditransitive constructions with one or two pronominal objects in the language. As was shown in Chapter 2, these constructions take the following patterns which are to be discussed fully in what follows:

A. The DOC with a pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme, as in (1):

(1)a. Fatma intˤə -t -hom floos
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.3PL.IO money
'Fatma gave them money'

b.*Fatma intˤə -t floos hom
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU money M.3PL.IO
Intended: "Fatma gave them money"

B. The PDC with a pronominal Theme and a full DP Goal, as in (2):

(2) a. Ali intˤa -Ø -hə l-Mohammed
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-Mohammed
'Ali gave it to Mohammed'

b. *Ali intˤə -Ø Mohammed il-hə
Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU Mohammed to-F.3SG.DO
Intended: "Ali gave it to Mohammed"

C. The DOC with two pronominal objects, as in (3):

(3) a. Fatma intˤə -t -k -iya -hin
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'Fatma gave you them'

b. *Fatma intˤə -t -hin -iya -k

Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO-IYA-M.2SG.IO

Intended: “Fatma gave you them”

D. The PDC with two pronominal objects, as in (4):

(4) a. Ali intˤa -Ø -hə il -hom

Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.DO to-M.3PL.IO

‘Ali gave it to them’

b. *Ali intˤa -Ø -hom il-hə

Ali give.PAST-M.3SG.SU-M.3PL.IO to-F.3SG.DO

Intended: “Ali gave it to them’

The pronominal objects in examples (1)-(4) are always realized as clitics. While the pronominal IO is cliticized to v in (1), example (2) shows the cliticization of the pronominal DO to v. In example (3), the pronominal IO is cliticized to v while the pronominal DO is cliticized to the form *-iya*. Finally, example (4) shows cliticization of the pronominal DO to v while the pronominal IO is cliticized to the preposition *il*.

The chapter aims to analyze these various patterns of pronominal ditransitive constructions attested in Iraqi Arabic. The chapter is organized as follows: Section 6.2 discusses the theory of cliticization adopted here. Section 6.3 presents the proposed structure of the DOC construction with two pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic which will be analyzed further in section 6.5. Section 6.4 discusses factors affecting asymmetry and symmetry in object marking with reference to Iraqi Arabic. Section 6.6 analyses the pronominal PDC construction. Finally, section 6.7 presents a summary of the main findings of the chapter.

6.2 Cliticization

In Chapter Four, it was shown that Iraqi Arabic lacks weak pronouns. Pronominal objects are always realized as enclitics, as shown in the simple example of a direct object clitic in (5):

(5) Mohammed ʃaf -Ø -hin bi-l -darob

Mohammed see.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO in-the-street

‘Mohammed saw them in the street’

Clitics in Iraqi Arabic are syntactic clitics in the sense that they occupy syntactic positions that cannot be occupied by non-clitic pronouns. It is illicit for the pronominal DO in (6) to appear in a non-clitic form, e.g.:[32]

(6) *Mohammed ʃaf -Ø hinnə bi-l -darob
Mohammed see.PAST-M.3SG.SU they in-the-street
Literally: "Mohammed saw they in the street"
Intended: "Mohammed saw them in the street"

The cliticization of the DO in (5) above is to be taken as spell out of an Agree relation as proposed by (Shlonsky 1997) for object clitics in Arabic and Roberts (2010) in Romance. The Agree relation is assumed to be established between a Probe (such as little v) which has uF on the one hand and a defective goal (object) with matching iF, on the other hand (Roberts 2010; Van der Wal 2015). A goal is said to be defective if its features constitute a subset of those of the Probe's when the goal is purely made up of φ-features. In other words, the defective goal will have fewer features than the Probe, which makes it a goal for φ agreement by little v. When an Agree relation is established between the Probe and the defective goal, the Probe will end up with the goal's features as well as features that the Probe does not share with the defective goal such as the verbal feature [V] that little v has. Here, Van der Wal (2015:278) points out that:

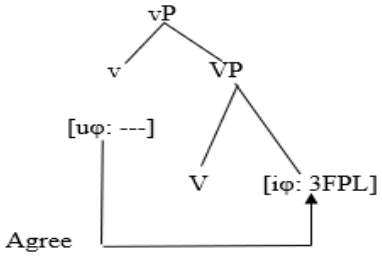
> In an Agree relation with a defective Goal, the Probe will end up with the features of the Goal, […]. This makes the relation indistinguishable from a copy/movement chain, where normally only the highest copy is spelled out. The lower copy is not spelled out, due to chain-reduction [...]. This gives rise to incorporation of the Goal, being spelled out on the Probe.

Accordingly, cliticization can be seen as a manifestation of the Agree relation between little v with unvalued φ-features (uφ) and a defective object pronoun with interpretable φ-features (iφ), where the clitic is made up of φ-features only (Roberts 2010). The features of the object pronoun are a subset of the Probe's and in this sense the object pronoun is a defective goal.

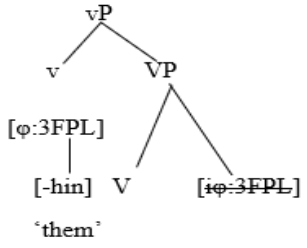
[32] Recall that no corresponding full form exist of the clitic pronouns in Iraqi Arabic. The free pronoun *hinnə* 'they' in (6) is not the full form of the clitic pronoun *-hin* 'them'. Rather, the free pronoun *hinnə* is a nominative that is used here to show the ungrammaticality of using free pronouns in this position in Iraqi Arabic. All free pronouns in Iraqi Arabic are nominative, as shown in Table 3 in Chapter 4.

Consequently, Agree can be established and the φ-features of the defective object are spelled out on v in the form of an object marker (clitic), as in (7) (adopted from Van der Wal 2015):

(7) a.



b.

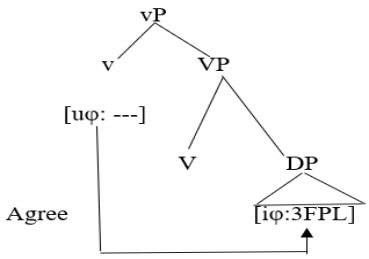


→*spell out of φ on little v as object-marker (clitic)*

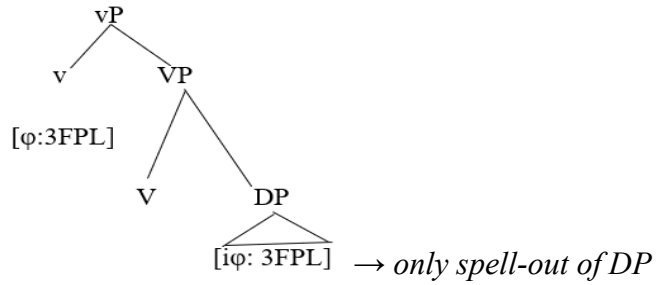
Having an Agree relation established between little v and the pronominal argument (as shown in 7a), the latter incorporates into the probing head (little v), which is where the φ-features of the pronominal argument will be spelled out (as shown in 7b).

The features of the goal will not be spelled out on the Probe (little v) if the goal's features are not a subset of the Probe's. This can be seen if the goal is a DP; in this case, the Probe agrees with the DP, valuing its uφ, but only the DP spells out, as in (8) (adopted from van der Wal 2015:279):

(8) a.



b.



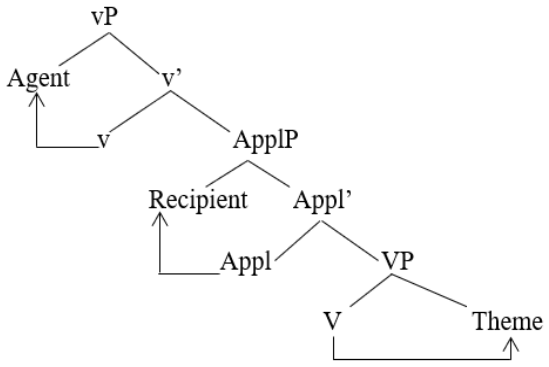
In (8b), unlike (7b), the Agree relation does not spell out on the Probe (little v) because the goal in this case is a DP whose features are not a subset of the Probe's. The goal here is not made up of φ-features only as it also contains a lexical nominal head. In this case, too, little v's uφ features will be valued by the goal, but only the goal will be spelled out at PF. The difference between (7) and (8) is that while (7) includes Agree between a Probe and the defective goal along with incorporation of the latter into the former, (8) exhibits only Agree between the two. Haddican and Holmberg (2012: 15) point out the difference in the two cases:

> Hence the features of the pronominal argument are spelled out at the position of the probing head; the pronoun is, in this sense, incorporated in the probing head. Agree between a probe and a lexical DP will not result in a chain, as the lexical DP will always have some features which are not represented at the probe, in particular its lexical root, and therefore the DP will never be a copy of the probing head.

6.3 The proposed structure of the DOC with pronominal objects

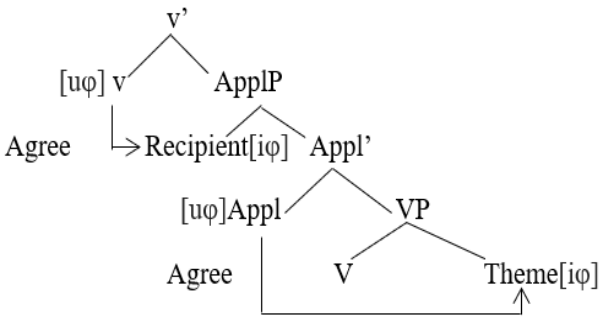
The analysis presented in this chapter will adopt Roberts' (2010) theory of cliticization presented above and the structure of ditransitives proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018) discussed earlier in Chapter 5 for the analysis of ditransitive constructions with one or two pronominal objects of Iraqi Arabic. The structure of ditransitives developed in Holmberg *et al* (2018) is shown in (9) (repeated from Chapter 5), where the arrows represent theta roles assignment:

(9)



I will apply Robert's (2010) analysis of clitics to the structure shown in (9) and propose that in a DOC with pronominal objects, little v agrees with a defective Recipient, while Appl will agree with a defective Theme, as shown below where (10) shows the two Agree relations, while (11) shows the resulting structures at Spell-out:

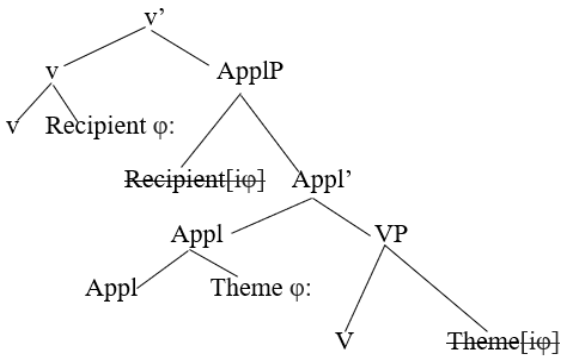
(10) *v agrees with R while Appl agrees with Th (and can spell out as object-markers)*



(11) a. Fatma intˤə -t -k -iya -hin

Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO

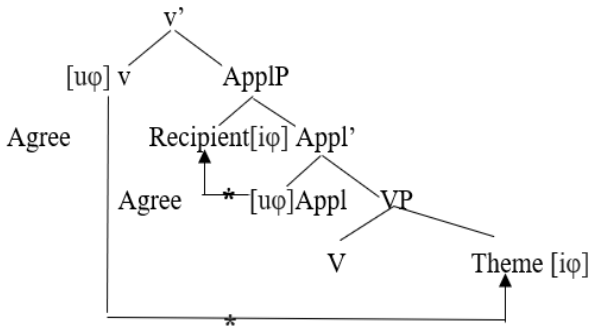
'Fatma gave you them'



As a result of Agree, the two defective goals i.e. the Recipient and the Theme will incorporate into the Probes, little v and Appl respectively as shown in (11). In other words, the two objects will be licensed by agreement/incorporation.

Following the discussion made in Chapter 5, I propose, here, that only Recipient can be available for Agree with little v for cliticization, or with T for passivization. The Theme cannot be accessible for Agree with little v for cliticization, or with T for passivization, since the Theme is licensed by Appl rendering the former inactive for further Agree relations. Accordingly, little v's uF can be valued only by the iF of the defective Recipient, while Appl's uF will be valued only by the iF of the defective Theme; the other option will be ruled out, e.g.:

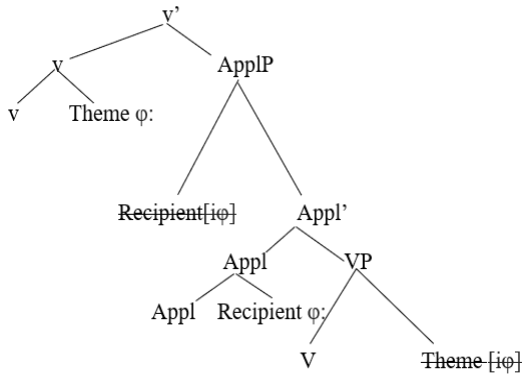
(12) a.



b. *Fatma intˤə -t -hin -iya -k

Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO-IYA-M.2SG.IO

Intended: "Fatma gave them to you"



6.4 Asymmetry vs. symmetry in object marking in the DOC

In the literature, object marking is argued to be a spell out of φ-agreement between a Probe such as little v and a goal such as a defective object (Iorio 2014; Van der Wal 2015). Van der Wal (2015:283) points out that there is variation among languages as regards object marking. This depends on whether little v has φ-features in a particular language or not. Languages that do not exhibit object marking are those in which little v does not have φ-features. On the other hand, little v agrees with the object in those languages in which little v has φ-features. This latter group of languages, in turn, differ as regards the doubling of object marking. In some languages object marking can double a DP,[33] while others do not allow doubling of object marking where the object marker and the DP object are in complementary distribution. As discussed in Chapter 4, Iraqi Arabic is an example of those languages which do not allow doubling of object marking as the object clitics are in complementary distribution with their correspondents DPs in the language, as in (13):

(13) a. ʃifi -t -hom$_i$ l -il -modarseen$_i$
see.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3PL.DO to-the-teachers
Literally: "I saw them to the teachers"
'I saw the teachers'

b. ʃifi -t -hom
see.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3PL.DO
'I saw them'

c. ʃif -t il -modarseen
see.PAST-1SG.SU the-teachers'
'I saw the teachers'

[33] As in Swahili and Makhuwa (Iorio 2014).

d.*ʃifi -t -hom il -modarseen

see.PAST-1SG.SU-M.3PL.DO the-teachers

Literally: “I saw them the teachers”

Intended: “I saw the teachers”

The data in (13), show that the clitic and coreferring DP cannot be present in the same domain. The object clitic may co-occur with a full DP only when the latter is preceded by the preposition, which entails that the clitic occupies the argument position while the coreferring DP is in a right dislocated position outside the vP. That is to say that object clitics can be present only when the object is defective (i.e. made up of φ-features only) not a DP. Since the defective goal plays the role of an argument and the coreferring DP is in a dislocated position, the former, not the latter, will be a goal to little v (van der Wal 2015). This leads up to an analysis where the object clitic is agreement, not with a full DP, but with a null object pronoun (what Roberts 2010 refers to as incorporation of the object pronoun).

Having established that object marking can be analyzed as a manifestation of the spell out of φ-agreement between little v and a defective object, the discussion will now be directed to the phenomenon of symmetrical vs. asymmetrical object marking attested in the ditransitive construction in some languages. Languages differ as regards the possibility of triggering object marking in the ditransitive construction. Some languages such as Zulu exhibit symmetry in object marking in that, in active contexts, either object may trigger object marking (both Recipient and Theme may agree with little v as φ-features are only on little v), as in (14) where noun classes and persons are referred to by number (Holmberg *et al* 2018:18):

(14) a. UJohn u-nik-a abantwana imali (Zulu)

1a.John 1SM-give-FV 2.children 9.money

‘John is giving the children money.’

b. UJohn u-**ba**-nik-a imali (abantwana).

1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-FV 9.money 2.children

‘John is giving them money (the children).’

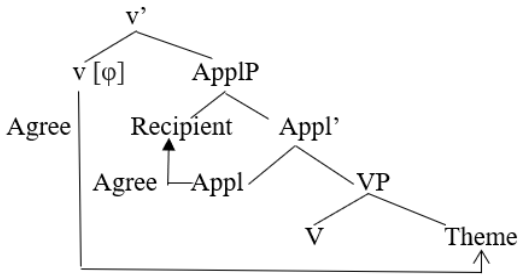
c. UJohn u-**yi**-nik-a abantwana (imali).

1a.John 1SM-9OM-give-FV 2.children 9.money

'John is giving it to the children (the money).'

Example (14a) shows the case when the two objects are DPs. In example (14b), on the other hand, the Recipient pronoun is realized as a prefix on little v while the Theme is a DP. Example (14c) shows a case in which the Theme pronoun is affixed to little v while the Recipient is a DP. This symmetry may be attributed to the flexible licensing by Appl attested in these languages where there are two possible derivations. First: Appl may agree with the Theme while little v agrees with the Recipient yielding the structure (14b). Second: Appl may agree with and assign Θ-role to the Recipient. Consequently, the Theme object will be visible to the higher Probe (little v which has uF to value) which paves the way for an Agree relation between them. Once the Agree relation is established between little v and the defective Theme, the latter will be spelled out on little v as an object marker yielding the structure (14c). The Agree relation between little v and the Theme is shown in (15) (from Holmberg *et al* 2018:20):

(15)



This symmetry is also reflected in passivization: In Zulu either object may undergo passivization. This symmetry in passivization is due to flexible licensing by Appl in that the latter may agree with either the Recipient or the Theme in the language. As such whatever object little v agrees with can passivize.

Other languages do not exhibit such symmetry of object marking in the DOC. Instead, they show asymmetrical object marking; among these languages is Iraqi Arabic. Here, little v in the DOC can only agree with the defective Recipient, and therefore, only the Recipient may undergo passivization:

(16) a. il -safeer minəħ -Ø Fatma jawaʔiz (Active)
The-ambassador grant.PAST-M.3SG.SU Fatma awards
'The ambassador granted Fatma awards'

b. il -safeer minəħ -Ø **-hə** jawaʔiz (R-object marking on v)
The-ambassador grant.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3SG.IO awards
'The ambassador granted her awards'

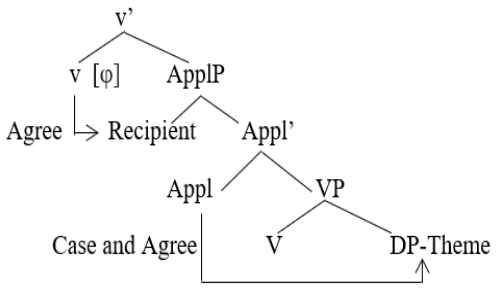
c.*il -safeer minəħ -Ø **-hin** Fatma (Th-object marking on v)
The-ambassador grant.PAST-M.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO Fatma
'The ambassador granted them to Fatma'

d. in -minəħə -t jawaʔiz (R-passivization)
PASSIVE-grant.PAST-F.3SG.NOM awards
'she was granted awards'

e.* in -minħə -n Fatma (Th-passivization)
PASSIVE-grant.PAST-F.3PL.NOM Fatma
'They were granted to Fatma'

Taking the structure (10) into consideration, we can say that in (16b), Appl assigns Case and agrees with the DP Theme while little v will agree with the Recipient; therefore, the Recipient can spell out as an object marker (a clitic) on v, as in (17):

(17)



6.5 When both Recipient and Theme are clitics in the DOC

As was shown earlier in Chapter 2, the Theme clitic is always preceded by the form *-iya* in the DOC with two pronominal objects of Iraqi Arabic:

(18) Fatma intˁə -t -ni -iya -hin
Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'Fatma gave me them'

(19) Fatma intˁə -t -h -iya -Ø
Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU-3SG.IO-IYA-3.DO
'Fatma gave him/her it/them'

It seems that the Theme clitic here needs a 'carrier' of object φ-features which I assume is the crucial function of *-iya*. It provides a strong form in a position where a clitic pronoun is not licit.

At first sight, the form *-iya* may look like a preposition that licenses the pronominal DO. Under this view, the form *-iya* would be a head which agrees with the Theme, resulting in spell out of latter on the head *-iya*. The question then would be: why does the pronominal Theme need this special marker (*-iya*)? It seems that there is no reason why the pronominal DO should need a special marker here, keeping in mind that there will be no special marker if the DO is a full DP as shown earlier in Chapter 5, but the φ-features, here, apparently need 'support'.

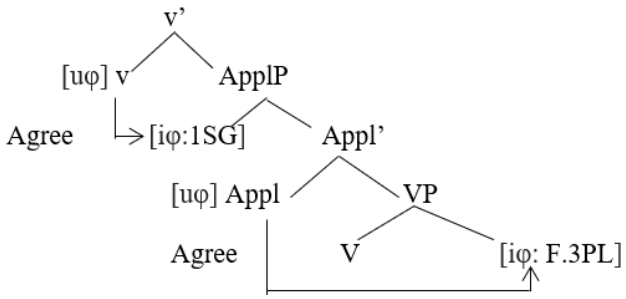
If the Theme gets Case from Appl (by the hypothesis shown in (10) above), the pronominal DO should be cliticized to (agree with) Appl, while the pronominal IO is cliticized to (agrees with) little v, and once Agree is established, the φ-features are spelled out on Appl and little v respectively in the form of object markers. In the examples (18) and (19) above, the Theme's φ-features are spelled out on the head *-iya*. This can be understood if the form *-iya* is a realization of Appl, and the φ-features spelled out on the head *-iya* are a manifestation of the Agree relation between the pronominal Theme and its licenser. That is to say, the Theme pronoun is cliticized to (agrees with) Appl, which is represented by the form *-iya*, as in (20b and c):

(20) a. Fatma intˁə -t -ni -iya -hin

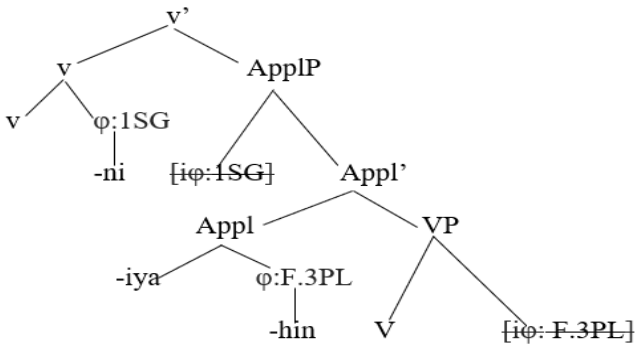
Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO

'Fatma gave me them'

b.



c.



Still, considering the form *-iya* as a realization of Appl may not be the whole story of *-iya* in Iraqi Arabic as the appearance of *-iya* in other constructions argues against the view that this form is (only) a realization of Appl in the language. One piece of evidence which refutes this idea comes from considering constructions that contain a Benefactive argument. Consider (21b):

(21) a. dfeʔi -t -hə

pay.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.DO

'I paid it'

b.dfeʕ -t -l -k -iya -hə

pay.PAST-1SG.SU-for-you-IYA-F.3SG.DO

'I paid it for you'

The construction in (21b) is different from the canonical DOC in that it lacks the Recipient argument; instead, it contains a Benefactive argument as well as the Theme argument. The Benefactive argument can also be seen in the tritransitive object construction (TOC) attested in Iraqi Arabic in which there are three objects, the first of which is the Beneficiary, the second is the Recipient and the third is the Theme. The TOC construction is shown in (22) and (23):

(22) wekkəl -t -l -k -iya -hin dijajə

feed.PAST-1SG.SU-for-you-IYA-F.3PL.IO chicken

'I fed them chicken for you'

(23) trəs -t -l -k -iya -hə wərid

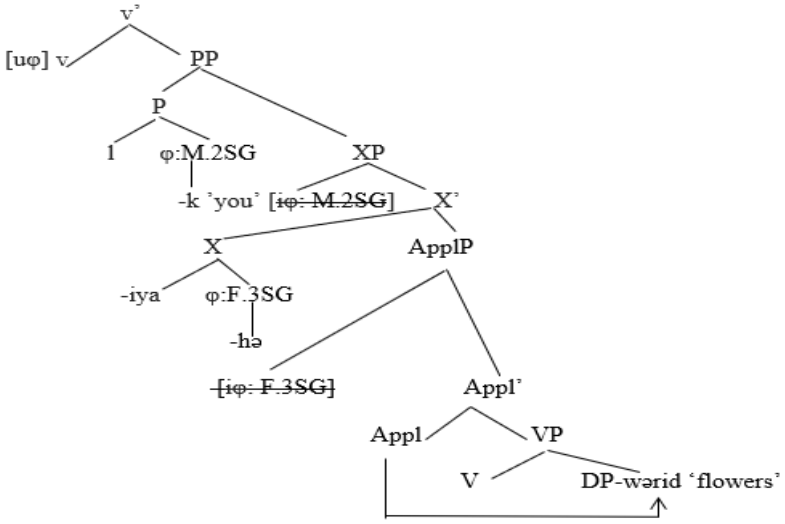
fill.PAST-1SG.SU-for-you-IYA-F.3SG.IO flowers

'I filled it with flowers for you'

The TOC construction provides another piece of evidence that refutes the idea that the form -*iya* is an Appl head that licenses the DO only, as in this construction it is the Recipient clitic that is attached to the form-*iya* rather than the Theme, which must show as a DP (due to grammar constraint which disallows the appearance of three pronominal objects in the TOC construction). This implies that the form -*iya* marks the second object in a multiple object construction regardless of this object's semantic role whether it is Recipient or Theme.

Let's now assume that the form -*iya* is an additional head in the TOC construction that the Recipient agrees with and is spelled out on. Therefore, the example in (23) can be sketched as in (24):

(24)



In (24), the preposition *–l* 'to' agrees with the Benefactive *–k* 'you' and the Recipient agrees with the head *-iya* and is spelled out on it while Appl agrees with and assigns Case to the Theme. But this analysis leaves a question regarding the way by which little v's uninterpretable φ-features are valued. As an active Probe with (uφ), little v probes down to find some matching internal argument (object) with (iφ) to agree with but according to the analysis in (24), little v will not find a matching goal as the preposition *–l* 'to' agrees with the Benefactive and the head *-iya* agrees the Recipient while Appl agrees with the Theme. Does this mean that little v's (uφ) will be left unvalued?

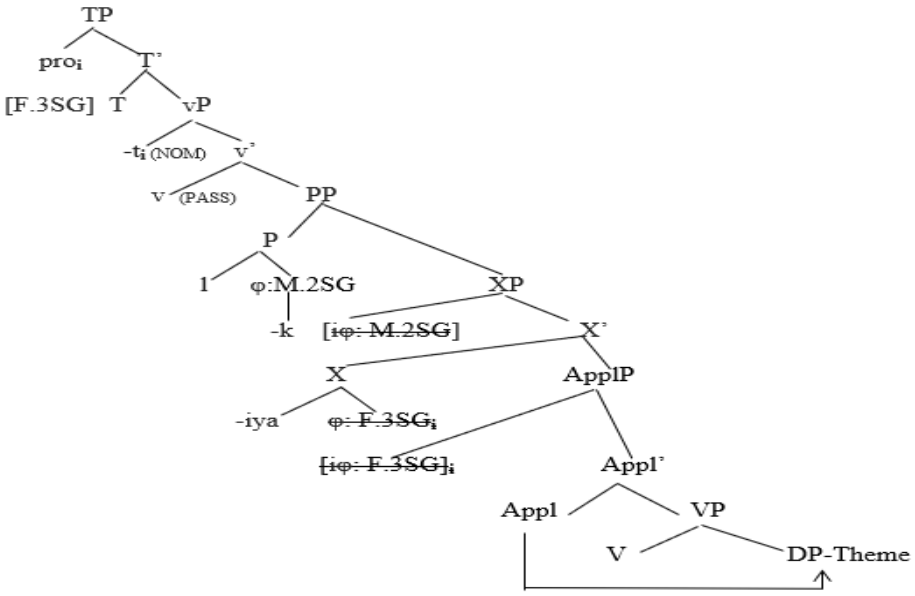
The answer to this question may come from considering the passive construction. If the TOC in (23) is passivized, the structure will be as in (25):

(25) a. in -tirsə -t -l -ək wərid

PASSIVE-fill.PAST-F.3SG.NOM-for-you flowers

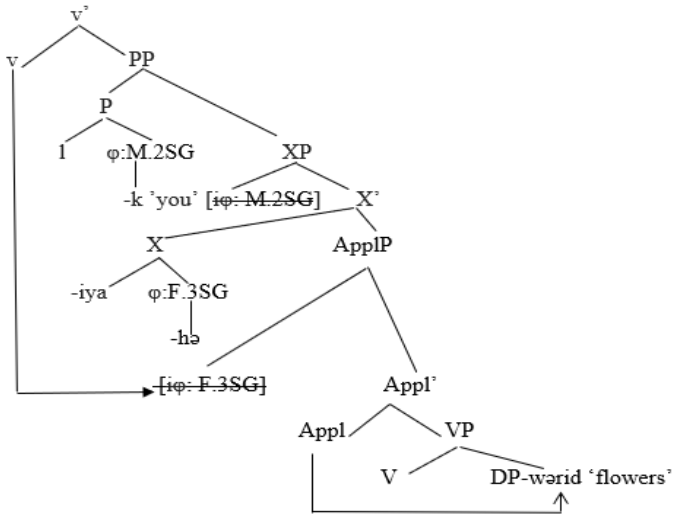
'It was filled with flowers for you'

b.



In the example (25b), the Recipient raises to Spec-TP which entails that in the active clause it is licensed by little v, not by the head *-iya*. In the passive, little v does not introduce an external argument or agree with an internal one, and accordingly, the Recipient can be probed by T in the passive clause. In the active clause when the higher Probe, little v probes down, it cannot probe the Benefactive as the latter is invisible to little v due to the Agree relation between the preposition *–l* 'to' and the Benefactive. Therefore, the Recipient is visible to little v for Agree. As a result, little v can agree with the matching goal (the Recipient object) triggering an object marker which is assumed to be spelled out on the Probe, little v (following Roberts 2010). Despite the Agree relation between little v and the defective Recipient, the φ-features of the latter pronoun are not spelled out on little v, but on the head *-iya*, as shown in (26) below:

(26)



That is to say, the additional head *-iya* does not agree with the Recipient in this case, rather, it is little v that does as the passive clause indicates. The form *-iya* in this case is only a carrier of Recipient's φ-features which apparently need 'support'. If the beneficiary phrase is left out in (23), the φ-features will be spelled out on little v again, as in (27):

(27) trəsi -t -hə wərid
fill.PAST-1SG.SU-F.3SG.IO flowers
'I filled it with flowers'

In (27), as the Recipient object can be spelled out on little v, therefore, it is illicit for the form *-iya* to show in the structure, e.g.:

(28) *trəsi -t -iya -hə wərid
fill.PAST-1SG-IYA-F.3SG.IO flowers
Intended: 'I filled it with flowers'

Another piece of evidence that little v agrees with the pronominal argument spelled out on *-iya* is seen when (21b) is passivized, as in (29):

(29) in -difeʕə -t -lə -k
PASSIVE-pay.PAST-F.3SG.NOM-for-you
'It was paid for you'

The question is still what is this additional "X"? The answer is that it can be a null head similar to Appl in that it "introduces" an additional argument, a Benefactive. This additional head could be called *Appl2* which is similar to high Appl attested in Bantu languages (Pylkkanen 2002; 2008). This means that there are two Appl heads in Iraqi Arabic, Appl 1 and Appl 2 with partly different properties, but both can be spelled out as *-iya*. While Appl 2 introduces a Benefactive, the Recipient-introducing is Appl 1. Semantically, the difference between the two Applicatives is that Appl 2 is very similar to an external argument-introducing head by which another participant is added to the event described by the verb, while Appl 1 denotes a transfer of possession relation between applied argument and the DO (Pylkkanen 2002; 2008).[34] Consequently, I will term Appl 1 *possessive Appl* and Appl 2 *benefactive Appl*. Another syntactic difference between the two heads in the language is that while Appl 1 may introduce lexical and pronominal Recipients, Appl 2 introduces only pronominal Benefactives but not lexical ones signaling one of the differences between pronominal and lexical objects in the language:

(30)* wekkəl -t l -Ali iya -hin dijajə
feed.PAST-1SG.SU for-Ali IYA-F.3PL.IO chicken
'I fed them chicken for Ali'

The difference between the two heads can be shown in (31) and (32):

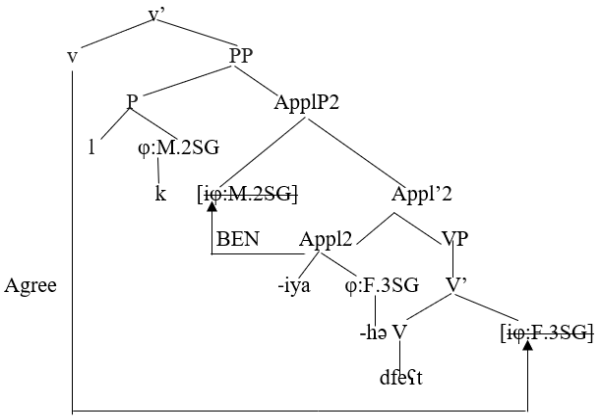
[34] Though the semantics of Appl 1 and Appl 2 in Iraqi Arabic is compatible with that of low and high Appl proposed in Pylkkanen (2008), Pylkkanen's structure of the DOC differs from that adopted in the present work proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018), so I do not adopt Pylkkanen's (2008) here. See section 3.4.3 for a discussion of the DOC structure proposed by Pylkkanen (2008).

(31) a. dfeʕ -t -l -k -iya -hə

pay.PAST-1SG.SU-for-you-IYA-F.3SG.DO

'I paid it for you'

b.

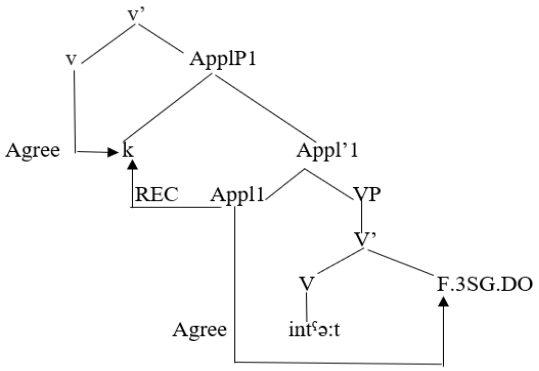


(32) a. intˤə: -t -k -iya -hə

give.PAST-1SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3SG.DO

'I gave you it'

b.



In (31b), Appl 2 assigns BEN role to its specifier. The preposition *l-* 'to' agrees with the defective Benefactive, while little v agrees with the defective Theme.[35] In (32b), Appl 1

[35] The preposition *l-* that agrees with the Benefactive is different from that attested in the PDC agreeing with the Goal, as the former takes ApplP as its complement while the latter takes a DP complement.

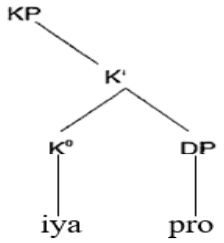
assigns REC role to its specifier on the one hand and agrees with the defective Theme -*hə* 'it' on the other hand. Meanwhile, little v agrees with the defective Recipient. In constructions containing Appl 1 and Appl 2, the highest Appl i.e. Appl 2 is spelled out as -*iya* as in (22) and (23) for example.

Therefore, the claim here is that (31) does not have Appl 1 but rather Appl 2 which introduces the Benefactive object, whereas little v agrees with the defective Theme as the passive construction (29) indicates. In (31), little v agrees with the defective Theme spelled out on the form -*iya* in the active clause; therefore, the Theme can be probed by T in the passive clause (29). As shown in the examples above, little v may agree with two pronominal arguments with different semantic roles and both can be spell out on the form -*iya*. Little v may agree with a defective Recipient as in (22) and (23) or with a defective Theme as in (31).

The analysis arrived at here for the status of the form -*iya* is that it can be a realization of the two Appl-heads, Appl 1 and Appl 2. Though these two heads have different properties, both can be realized as -*iya*. The latter can be a realization of Appl 1 as in the DOCs shown in (18) and (19), or it can be a realization of Appl 2 as in the examples (22), (23) and (31). The challenge here is that though little v agrees with the defective object pronoun, the φ-features are not spelled out on the Probe (little v), rather, they are spelled out on another position, the head -*iya*.

The analysis presented here differs from Shlonsky's (1997) account, which considers -*iya* as a head of a K(ace) P(article) projection:

(33)



The analysis made in this section shows that though the head -*iya* (as realization of Appl1) may agree with the object pronoun attached to it in the DOC, it does not do so when the head -*iya* is a realization of Appl 2 in the clauses containing a Benefactive argument. The head -*iya* in such clause does not agree with the defective pronoun attached to it; rather, it is little v that agrees with the object pronoun attached to the form -*iya* in this case, as in the TOC

constructions (22) and (23) in which little v agrees with the Recipient pronoun or with the Theme pronoun as in (31). In the latter cases, the function of the head *-iya* is only to carry the φ-features of the pronoun attached to it, as a consequence of the beneficiary phrase intervening between the Probe (little v) and the matching goal (the defective object).

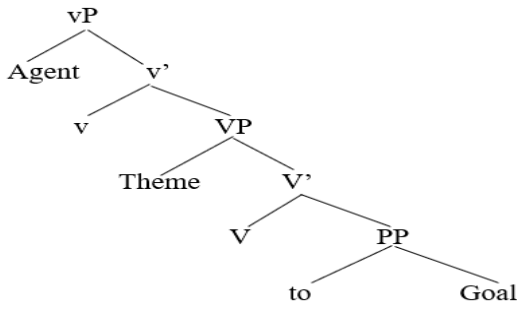
This analysis also argues against the generalization that Shlonsky made about Semitic clitics discussed earlier in Chapter 4 that '[o]bject clitics are […] attached to a verb, oblique ones to a preposition, and so forth' (Shlonsky1997: 178).This generalization can hold in (18), (19) and (21a) for example, but it cannot in the constructions with a beneficiary phrase e.g. (22), (23) and (31), as the object clitic in these examples is not attached to the verb but to another head, *-iya*.

Similarly, the analysis presented here may pose a problem to the theory of clitic-incorporation as agreement by Roberts (2010) discussed in Chapter 4 in which Agree is assumed between probes of matching but unvalued φ-features and defective pronouns (purely made up of φ-features). According to this theory all feature values of the defective pronoun will show on the Probe as the result of the valuation. Accordingly, the defective pronoun becomes a copy of the Probe, a process that is referred to as 'incorporation of the pronoun in the head containing the probe' (Haddican and Holmberg 2012: 204). The features of the pronoun are spelled out at the probing head (little v) only due to chain reduction as little v will be the highest copy of the φ-features. In our case here, little v has φ-features in Iraqi Arabic (as discussed above); therefore, it supposed to agree with a matching object pronoun triggering an object marker and the Agree relation should be spelled out on the Probe as in (21a) and (27) for example. But this is not the case when a beneficiary phrase intervenes between little v and the defective object. What happens here is that the Probe (little v) agrees with the defective object, valuing uφ, but the Agree relation is spelled out in another head, *-iya* which is not a Probe at all, as in (21b), (22) and (23). That is to say that the defective goal in this case agrees with a head (little v) as the passive clauses (25) and (29) indicate, but incorporates to another one, *-iya* where it is spelled out. This is despite the fact that the object pronoun is a defective goal whose formal features are a subset of the features of the Probe as shown by the incorporation of the defective object pronoun in the head containing the Probe when the beneficiary phrase is left out from the construction, as in (21a) and (27) for example.

6.6 The PDC construction

As for the PDC construction, I assume it has the structure sketched in (34) presented earlier in Chapter 5 (adopted from Holmberg *et al* 2018: 35):

(34)



The PDC is especially natural in contrastive clauses, as shown in (35):

(35) a. Zeinab intʿə -t -hin il-ək mo 1 -Mohammed
Zeinab give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO to-you not to-Mohammed
'Zeinab gave them to you not to Mohammed'

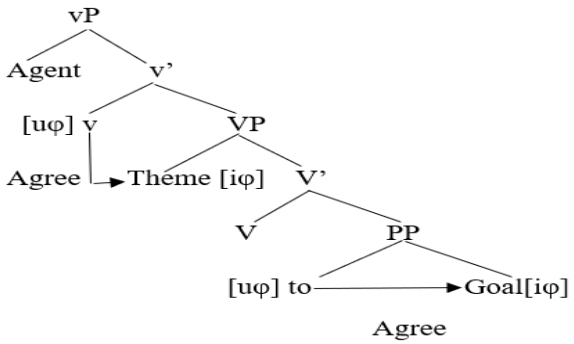
Apart from contrastive clauses, the tendency in Iraqi Arabic is to use the DOC rather than the PDC:

(36) Zeinab intʿə -t -k -iya -hin
Zeinab give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'Zeinab gave you them'

As has been shown in section 6.2, object marking is a spell out of φ-agreement between little v and an object pronoun. In the PDC, the Probes, little v and the preposition have uF to value by goals with matching iF. Here, little v agrees with the Theme. If the latter is defective, Agree will trigger object marking on little v. On the other hand, the preposition will agree with the Goal. If the latter is a defective Goal, Agree will trigger object marking on the preposition, as

shown below where (37) shows the two Agree relations, while (38) shows the resulting structures at Spell-out:

(37) *v agrees with Th while P agrees with G (and can spell out as object-markers)*

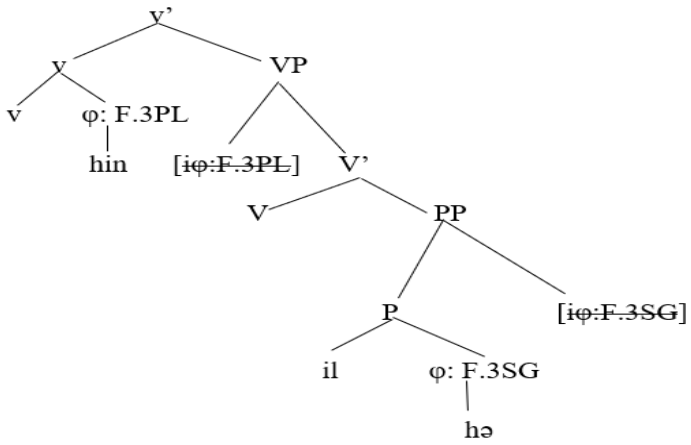


(38) a. Zeinab intˁə -t -hin il-hə (Theme-object marking on v)

Zeinab give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO to-F.3SG.IO

'Zeinab gave them to her'

b.



Here, the Goal will not be visible for Agree with little v since the former has already been licensed by the preposition rendering it inactive for further Agree relations. Therefore, the Theme is the only argument available for Agree with little v for cliticization, or with T for passivization. In other words, little v's uF can only be valued by the iF of the Theme, whereas the prepositions' uF can only be valued by the iF of the Goal; the other option is ruled out, e.g.:

(39) *Zeinab intˁə -t -hə il-hin (Goal-object marking on v)

Zeinab give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3SG.IO to-F.3PL.DO

Intended: "Zeinab gave them to her"

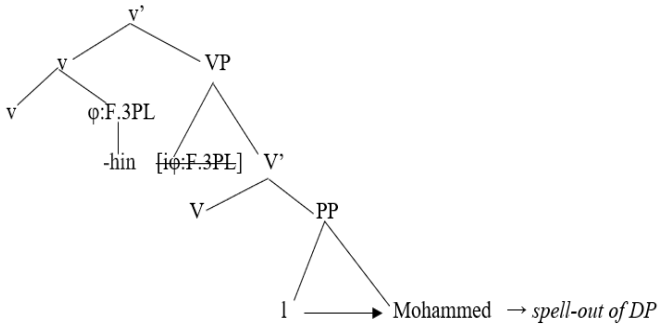
If the Goal is a DP, it will be spelled out as a complement of the preposition as in (40) below:

(40) a. Zeinab intˁə -t -hin l -Mohammed

Zeinab give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO to-Mohammed

'Zeinab gave them to Mohammed'

b.



Clauses containing a Benefactive argument in Iraqi Arabic tend to appear as altPDC with the order V-for Benefactive–Theme, rather than the canonical order of the PDC:

(41) a. Zeinab gitˁʕ -ət -l -k -iya -hin

Zeinab cut.PAST-F.3SG.SU-for-you-IYA-F.3PL.DO

'Zeinab cut them for you'

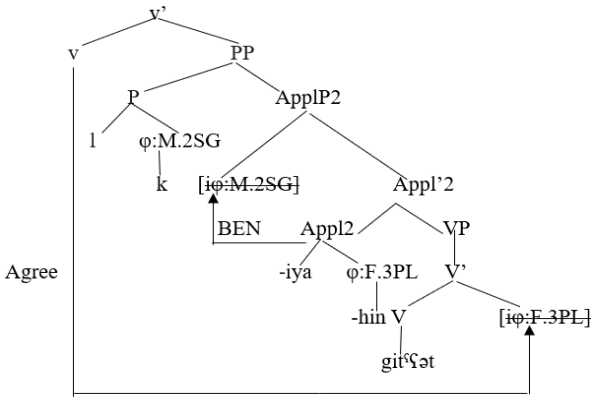
b.? Zeinab gitˁʕ -ət -hin il -ək

Zeinab cut.PAST-F.3SG.SU-F.3PL.DO for-you

'Zeinab cut them for you'

The example (41a) shows the tendency to keep the Benefactive closer to the verb in the construction. As discussed in the previous section, example (41a) contains Appl 2 which introduces a Benefactive:

(42)



In the altPDC shown in (42), Appl 2 assigns a Benefactive role to its specifier which is licensed by the preposition *l-* 'to'. In other words, Appl 2 here only introduces an object but does not agree with any of the objects in the construction. Meanwhile, little v probes down to agree with a matching goal. The preposition *l-* 'to' agrees with the Benefactive *-k*, allowing v to probe the Theme object but Agree spells out as an object marker on the head *-iya* (which is a realization of Appl 2). One piece of evidence for the claim that little v agrees with the defective Theme in the active clause comes from considering the passive construction shown in (43):

(43) in - gitˤʕ -ən -l -ək
PASSIVE-cut.PAST-F.3PL.NOM-for-you
'They were cut for you'

In (43), little v is suppressed under passivization; therefore, it no longer agrees with the defective Theme nor introduces an external argument. Accordingly, the functional head T will need to value its uF by a suitable goal, hence, it enters an Agree relation with the Theme and the latter moves to Spec-TP. When the Benefactive in (42) intervenes between little v and the DO *-hin* 'them', the latter will be spelled out as a clitic on *–iya*. Thus, when the Benefactive intervenes between v and the Theme, it does not prevent Agree between v and the Theme, but

apparently prevents the Agree relation from being spelled out on v. Instead, Agree is spelled out as a clitic on Appl 2. This is unexpected. It may raise the question of whether the relation between the defective Theme and v involves movement (as it could then be blocked by intervening constituents), or Agree, as proposed here. However, evidence from other languages shows that realization of Agree as agreement/cliticization across an intervening head is possible. A relevant case here, which I will discuss in the next chapter, is the English *She gave it her brother* construction. The same thing is attested in Zulu as discussed in section 6.4 where the Agree between v and Theme (across the intervening head) is realized as an object marker on v (see van der Wal 2017). This is in addition to the fact that there is evidence from many languages, including Semitic that the object clitics are agreement (with v) markers (Shlonsky 1997), as was discussed in Chapter 4. The above facts give support to the idea that the relation between v and the Theme is Agree. I leave the problem caused by clauses containing a Benefactive argument in Iraqi Arabic for future research, though.

Despite the above-mentioned problem, Robert's (2010) theory has proved to be successful in explaining cliticization in the DOC and PDC constructions of Iraqi Arabic, which are the main focus of the present study. The theory explains why the defective IO cliticizes onto little v on the one hand while the DO cliticizes onto Appl on the other hand in the DOC. In other words, the ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic conform to Robert' (2010) theory in that the Probe little v agrees with a defective goal, IO, while the Probe Appl agrees with another defective goal, DO, and the two goals are incorporated into the two Probes respectively. That is to say, the two objects are licensed by agreement/incorporation. Similarly, the theory is successful in explaining cliticization of the defective Theme on little v and cliticization of the defective Goal on the preposition in the PDC. In other words, the theory accounts for all of the cliticization facts attested in the basic ditransitive patterns (1)-(4) mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

6.7 Derivation of the verb form

An issue which we have not touched upon yet is the derivation of the verb form with two clitics. In fact, we are faced with a potential problem. Arabic is known to have verb movement (Fassi Fehri 1993. Shlonsky 1997, Benmamoun 2000). The standard account, ever since Baker (1988), is that complex verbs made up of a root (or stem) plus a sequence of affixes are derived in the syntax by head-movement, observing the Head Movement Constraint (see Holmberg & Roberts 2013). The problem is that, applied to the ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic discussed in this

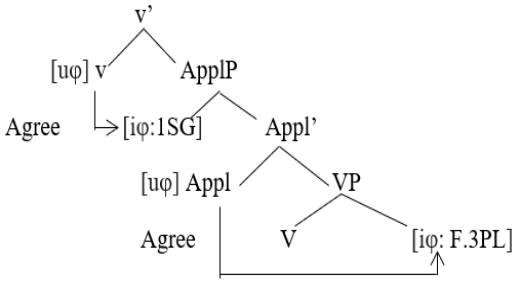
chapter, head movement of the verb will give the wrong morpheme order in the resulting complex verb. Consider (44a) (= 20a) and its associated structure:

(44) a. Fatma intˁə -t -ni -iya -hin

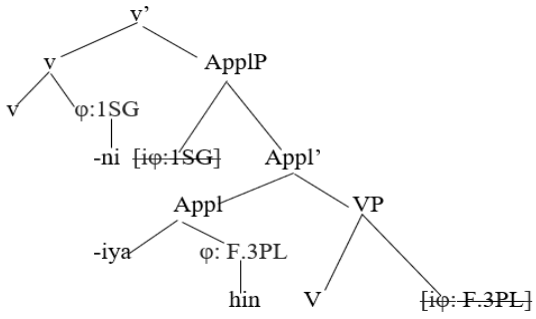
Fatma gave.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO

'Fatma gave me them'

b.



c.



If we apply head-movement to this structure, moving V first to Appl, and then moving V+Appl to v, thus observing the Head Movement Constraint, the result will be the ungrammatical verb form (45):

(45)*intˁə-t-iya-hin-ni

Instead it looks like the verb moves directly to v, skipping Appl, left-adjoining to v. The resulting verb form would then be the result of spelling out the structure (46) as the complex verb *intˁət-ni-iya-hin*:

(46)[$_{v'}$ [*intˁə-t*+v, 1SG] [$_{ApplP}$ [Appl, -*iya*, F.3PL] [$_{VP}$ <V>, <F.3PL>]]]

This means that we must acknowledge that complex head formation in the syntax does not necessarily always observe the Head Movement Constraint. An alternative is to maintain that the Head Movement Constraint is an absolute condition on movement but acknowledge that the order of agreement markers, as opposed to tense, aspect, and mood markers, does not always conform to the Mirror Principle, as observed by Julien (2002: 254-258).

6.8 Summary

In this chapter, the ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic with pronominal objects have been discussed. The accounts of Roberts (2010) and van der Wal (2015) along with Holmberg's *et al* (2018) have been applied to the Iraqi data. Following Roberts (2010), cliticization is considered here as a result of Agree between Probes i.e. the functional heads in the ditransitive constructions such as little v, Appl or a preposition on the one hand, and goals i.e. the defective objects on the other hand (defective in the sense of having fewer features than the Probe). Following Holmberg *et al* (2018), I claimed that, in the DOC of Iraqi Arabic, there is an Agree relation between little v and a defective Recipient on the one hand, and Appl and a defective Theme on the other hand.

I have claimed that there are two Appl heads in the language: *Appl 1* which introduces a Recipient argument in the DOC and I have termed it *possessive Appl*. The second is *Appl 2* which introduces a Benefactive argument in the TOC of Iraqi Arabic for example and I have termed it *benefactive Appl*. Another difference between the two Appl heads is that while Appl 1 may introduce pronominal and full DP objects, Appl 2 introduces only pronominal Benefactives but not full DP ones.

In the chapter, I have pointed out that the form -*iya* can be a realization of both Appl 1 and Apple 2. It carries the φ-features of the defective object attached to it in such a way that the φ-features of the defective object are spelled out on the form -*iya*. As such, in the DOC, the φ-features of the defective Theme are spelled out on the form -*iya* (Appl 1). In the TOC, the φ-features of the defective Recipient are also spelled out on the form –*iya*, which in this case is a realization of Appl 2.

Chapter 7. Ditransitives in British English Dialects

7.1 Introduction

Having discussed ditransitives in Iraqi Arabic in the two previous chapters, the discussion in this chapter concerns ditransitives in British English dialects. The chapter aims to present a generative account of how the ditransitive structures are derived in British English dialects with a special focus on the case of pronominal objects. The proposals for the analysis of the DOC and PDC presented in Chapters 5 and 6 will be applied here to ditransitives in British English dialects with full DP as well as pronominal objects. In other words, the analysis provided in this chapter will also be in terms of Holmberg *et al* (2018), Roberts (2010), and Van der Wal (2015).

In the chapter I propose that the syntactic behavior of objective reduced-form pronouns in British English dialects is similar to that of syntactic clitics of Iraqi Arabic discussed in the previous chapter. That is to say, I treat objective reduced-form pronouns as defective goals that can be probed by a Probe (v, Appl or a preposition) where they incorporate into and spell out on the Probe following Roberts' (2010) theory of cliticization by agreement. The reason behind this argument is that the cliticization of these reduced forms of pronouns (as defective goals) to the Probes is a syntactic process resulting from Agree established between a Probe of matching but unvalued φ-features on the one hand and a defective goal with matching interpretable features on the other hand. Due to the difference in the syntactic properties of reduced forms and that of full forms, the analysis presented here argues against the view that the reduced-form pronominal objects in English are simple clitics which are only optional variants of the full forms and that their leaning leftward on a host is due to their phonological weakness (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky and Pullum 1983).

7. 2 Ditransitives in British English dialects: The data

The data for the British English dialects comes from some previous studies including Gerwin (2014); Siewierska & Hollmann (2007); Haddican and Holmberg (2012). Data collection shows that the ditransitive constructions in British English dialects mainly take the following patterns:

(1) She gave the women a book.
(2) She gave a book to the women.
(3) She gave her a book.

(4) She gave her it.

(5) She gave it to her.

(6) She gave it her.

The example in (1) is a canonical DOC with two full DP objects, while the example in (2) shows a canonical PDC construction with two full DP objects also. The example in (3) is a DOC construction with a pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme, while the example in (4) shows a DOC construction with two pronominal objects. These two pronominal objects also appear in the example in (5) but this time in a PDC construction. Finally, the example in (6) shows an alternative double object construction (altDOC) with two pronominal objects. Some of these patterns may have other variants, as will be shown in section 7.2.1.

7.2.1 Gerwin's (2014) data

Gerwin (2014) conducted a corpus-based study on the ditransitives in British English dialects. She classified the *give*-type ditransitives into sixteen potential patterns or SETs (as will be shown in Table 5). In her study, she discusses the distribution of the above patterns (1-6). The study uses regional speech from two corpora: the online British National Corpus (BNCweb) and Freiburg English Dialect Corpus (FRED). The importance of Gerwin's data is that it sheds light on the regional distribution of four ditransitive constructions: First the DOC as in: *Give him it*. Second, the PDC as in: *Give it to him*. Third, the altDOC as in: *Give it him*. The latter pattern shares features with the first and the second patterns. It lacks the preposition just as the DOC but the Theme in the altDOC comes before the Recipient just as the case of the PDC. The fourth construction is the altPDC as in: *Give to him a book*. Besides showing all possible ditransitive combinations as well as the regional distribution of ditransitives in British English dialects, Gerwin's data draws a clear picture of the frequency of the ditransitive combinations in Present-Day British English dialects.

7.2.1.1 Frequency of the verb *give*

Based on data from FRED and BNCreg (sub corpus of BNCweb), Gerwin (2014) points out that among all ditransitives in the British English dialects, the verb *give* is the most frequent one. In both investigated corpora, the verb *give* accounts for 58% of the ditransitives. The frequency of the verb *give* in FRED and BNCreg is shown in Table 5:

Table 5

The frequency of the verb *give* in FRED and BNCreg (Gerwin 2014: 107)

		SET	FRED	%	BNCreg	%
DOC	A	(*her a book*)	1398	81%	2287	76%
	B	(*her it*)	13	1%	74	2%
	C	(*the woman it*)	3	0.2%	1	0.03%
	D	(*the woman the book*)	150	9%	225	7%
PREP	E	(*it to the woman*)	47	3%	120	4%
	F	(*it to her*)	56	3%	152	5%
	G	(*a book to her*)	3	0.2%	13	0.4%
	H	(*a book to the woman*)	26	2%	76	3%
DOC	I	(*it the woman*)	9	1%	16	1%
	J	(*it her*)	13	1%	37	1%
	K	(*a book her*)	0	0%	0	0%
	L	(*a book the woman*)	0	0%	4	0.1%
PREP	M	(*to her a book*)	0	0%	2	0.1%
	N	(*to her it*)	0	0%	0	0%
	O	(*to the woman it*)	0	0%	0	0%
	P	(*to the woman the book*)	0	0%	1	0.03%
Total			**1718**	100%	**3008**	100%

Gerwin states that among the various ditransitives, the occurrence of the verb *give* is 1718 out of 2963 in FRED while it is 3008 out of 5147 in BNCreg. Table 5 also shows that the most frequent pattern among the sixteen potential *give* ditransitive patterns is the SET A (*She gave her a book*) which in the overall amount of instances of the two corpora comprises 3685 instances out of 4726 of the various ditransitive constructions with percentage of 77.79%, which reflects the overwhelming tendency of speakers to use the order pronominal Recipient-full-DP Theme.

7.2.1.2 Ditransitives with full DP objects

This section examines the possible ditransitive combinations with two full DP objects. Gerwin points out that the canonical DOC pattern (SET D) is the most frequent combination among the four possible ditransitive combinations with full DP objects over all the data examined with percentage of 67% and 70% in the two corpora respectively. The frequency and the regional distribution of the four possible combinations in the two corpora is shown in Table 6 and Table 7:

Table 6

Possible combinations of full DP-Recipient and full DP-Theme

from FRED (Gerwin 2014: 152)

FRED	SET D (DOC): *the woman a book*	SET H (PREP): *a book to the woman*	SET L (altDOC): *a book the woman*	SET P (altPREP): *to the woman a book*	Total
Southeast	72 (70%)	30 (29%)	0	1 (1%)	103 (100%)
Southwest	42 (58%)	31 (42%)	0	0	73 (100%)
Midlands	36 (72%)	14 (28%)	0	0	50 (100%)
North	38 (70%)	16 (30%)	0	0	54 (100%)
Total	**188 (67%)**	**91 (33%)**	**0**	**1 (0.4%)**	**280 (100%)**

Table 7

Possible combinations of full DP-Recipient and full DP-Theme

from BNCreg (Gerwin 2014: 152)

BNCreg	SET D (DOC): *the woman the book*	SET H (PREP): *the book to the woman*	SET L (altDOC): *a book the woman*	SET P (altPREP): *to the woman the book*	Total
Southeast	108 (70%)	44 (29%)	2 (1%)	0	154 (100%)
Southwest	44 (66%)	22 (33%)	0	1 (1%)	67 (100%)
Midlands	81 (64%)	42 (33%)	3 (2%)	0	126 (100%)
North	88 (77%)	24 (21%)	2 (2%)	0	114 (100%)
Total	**321 (70%)**	**132 (29%)**	**7 (2%)**	**1 (0.2%)**	**461 (100%)**

The data in Table 6 and Table 7 shows that the DOC has the edge over the PDC (PREP, as used by Gerwin) shown in SET H, which is second most frequent with only 33% and 29% respectively in the two corpora. While there are no occurrences of altDOC (SET L) in FRED, there is marginal frequency of this combination in BNCreg with a percentage of 2% only. The least frequent combination is the altPDC (SET P) with percentage of 0.04% and 0.02% (one instance) in the two corpora respectively.

7.2.1.3 Pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme

This section examines the possible combinations of a pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme. Here, the DOC pattern (SET A) is the most frequent one among all the patterns that Gerwin examined in the two corpora. This pattern and its alternations (e.g. *him a bag, them a ball* …etc.) amount to 98% (in both corpora) of the ditransitive patterns of the structure pronominal Recipient and full DP Theme across the four main regions under consideration, as shown in Tables 8 and 9:

Table 8

Possible combinations of Pro-Recipient and full DP Theme

from FRED (Gerwin 2014: 148)

FRED	SET A (DOC): *her a book*	SET G (PREP): *a book to her*	SET K (altDOC): *a book her*	SET M (altPREP): *to her a book*	Total
Southeast	483 (95%)	24 (5%)	0	0	507 (100%)
Southwest	583 (99%)	5 (1%)	0	0	588 (100%)
Midlands	372 (99%)	3 (1%)	0	0	375 (100%)
North	482 (99%)	5 (1%)	0	0	487 (100%)
Total	**1920 (98%)**	**37 (2%)**	**0**	**0**	**1957 (100%)**

Table 9

Possible combinations of Pro-Recipient and full DP Theme

from BNCreg (Gerwin 2014: 148)

BNCreg	SET A (DOC): *her a book*	SET G (PREP): *a book to her*	SET K (altDOC): *a book her*	SET M (altPREP): *to her a book*	Total
Southeast	1155 (98%)	21 (2%)	0	0	1176 (100%)
Southwest	533 (99%)	7 (1%)	0	0	540 (100%)
Midlands	834 (98%)	16 (2%)	0	2 (0.2%)	852 (100%)
North	822 (98%)	13 (2%)	0	0	836 (100%)
Total	**3344 (98%)**	**57 (2%)**	**0**	**2 (0.06%)**	**3404 (100%)**

Tables 8 and 9 show that the second most frequent pattern in this group is the PDC pattern (SET G) where it amounts to 2% of the structure pronominal Recipient and full DP Theme in

both corpora. There are no instances of the altDOC pattern (SET K) in any of the two corpora, but there are two instances of altPDC pattern (SET M) in the BNCreg.

7.2.1.4 Pronominal Theme and a full DP Recipient

This section examines the possible combinations of a pronominal Theme and a full DP Recipient. When examining the two corpora, it is noticed that the PDC (SET E) is the most frequent pattern of the possible combinations of pronominal Theme and a full DP Recipient. Over the all data, this SET comprises 91% in the FRED and 88% in BNCreg, as shown in Table 10 and Table 11:

Table 10

Possible combinations of a pronominal Theme and a full DP Recipient from FRED (Gerwin 2014: 156)

FRED	SET C (DOC): *the woman it*	SET E (PREP): *it to the woman*	SET I (altDOC): *it the woman*	SET O (altPREP): *to the woman it*	Total
Southeast	0 (0%)	23 (100%)	0 (0%)	0	23 (100%)
Southwest	0 (0%)	42 (98%)	1 (2%)	0	43 (100%)
Midlands	1 (4%)	20 (87%)	2 (9%)	0	23 (100%)
North	2 (5%)	33 (80%)	6 (15%)	0	41 (100%)
Total	**3 (2%)**	**118 (91%)**	**9 (7%)**	**0**	**130 (100%)**

Table 11

Possible combinations of a pronominal Theme and a full DP Recipient from BNCreg (Gerwin 2014: 156)

BNCreg	SET C (DOC): *the woman it*	SET E (PREP): *it to the woman*	SET I (altDOC): *it the woman*	SET O (altPREP): *to the woman it*	Total
Southeast	2 (3%)	57 (92%)	3 (5%)	0	62 (100%)
Southwest	1 (3%)	35 (88%)	4 (10%)	0	40 (100%)
Midlands	1 (2%)	36 (88%)	4 (10%)	0	41 (100%)
North	0 (0%)	41 (84%)	8 (16%)	0	49 (100%)
Total	**4 (2%)**	**169 (88%)**	**19 (10%)**	**0**	**192 (100%)**

Tables 10 and 11 show that the altDOC pattern (SET I) is the second most frequent pattern of these possible variants with a total percentage of 7% in FRED and 10% in BNCreg. The altPDC variant (SET O) is not attested at all in both corpora. It is worth noticing the marginality of the canonical DOC pattern (SET C) with percentage of only 2% in the two corpora respectively.

7.2.1.5 Both Recipient and Theme are pronominal

This section discusses the frequency and regional distribution of possible variants with a pronominal Recipient and a pronominal Theme. Here, there are three patterns to be considered: First, the DOC pattern *Give her it.* Second, the PDC pattern *Give it to her* and third the altDOC pattern *Give it her.* Gerwin reports that the most frequent variant of these three combinations is the PDC pattern (SET F); this is attested in both corpora. The frequency percentage of this variant is 76% in FRED while it is 56% in BNCreg. The second most frequent variant is the DOC pattern (SET B) with percentage of 14% in FRED and 30% in BNCreg respectively. The least frequent combination is the altDOC pattern (SET J) with percentages of 10% and 14% respectively, as shown in the Tables 12 and 13:

Table 12

Variants of two pronominal objects from FRED (Gerwin 2014: 178)

FRED	SET B (DOC): *her it*	SET F (PREP): *it to her*	SET J (altDOC): *it her*	Total
Southeast	5 (11%)	41 (87%)	1 (2%)	47 (100%)
Southwest	1 (3%)	30 (91%)	2 (6%)	33 (100%)
Midlands	1 (7%)	10 (67%)	4 (27%)	15 (100%)
North	10 (36%)	13 (46%)	5 (18%)	28 (100%)
Total	**17 (14%)**	**94 (76%)**	**12 (10%)**	**123 (100%)**

Table 13

Variants of two pronominal objects from BNCreg (Gerwin 2014: 178)

BNCreg	SET B (DOC): *her it*	SET F (PREP): *it to her*	SET J (altDOC): *it her*	Total
Southeast	22 (19%)	90 (78%)	4 (3%)	116 (100%)
Southwest	15 (31%)	26 (54%)	7 (15%)	48 (100%)
Midlands	12 (13%)	57 (63%)	21 (23%)	90 (100%)
North	60 (54%)	32 (29%)	19 (17%)	111 (100%)
Total	**109 (30%)**	**205 (56%)**	**51 (14%)**	**365 (100%)**

Gerwin's (2014) results are similar to the results arrived at by Siewierska & Hollmann (2007) on Lancashire dialect but with divergence in the altDOC percentage. Siewierska & Hollmann (2007:96) reports that:

> [W]hen both the theme and recipient are personal pronouns, the alternative double object construction is nearly twice as common as the canonical one, the relevant figures being 65 % vs. 35%. Thus, while the most common construction with two personal pronouns is the prepositional one, the alternative double object construction and not the canonical double object one is the next in line.

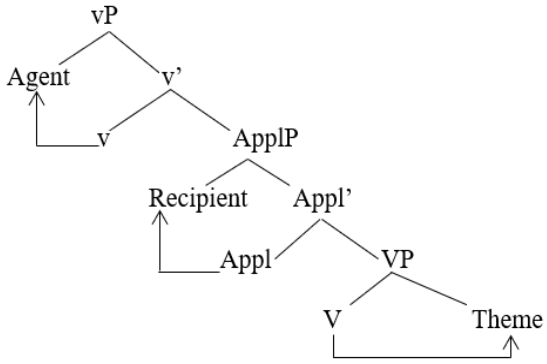
So, while the altDOC is the third in line in Gerwin's (2014) data, it is second in Siewierska & Hollmann's (2007).

Having shown the descriptive facts of ditransitives in British English dialects, an analysis will be made in the following sections of the patterns shown in the data.

7.3 Analyzing ditransitives of British English dialects

In analyzing the ditransitives of the British English dialects, I will continue to assume the structures shown earlier in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 for the DOC and the PDC (adopted from Holmberg *et al* 2018). Let's first recall the structure of the DOC proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018):

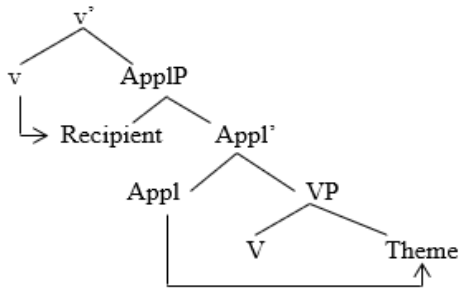
(7) DOC: I gave the children a book.



In (7), an Agent role is assigned by v to its specifier and a Recipient role is assigned by Appl to its specifier whereas the complement DP is assigned the Theme role by V. As for Case assignment, it depends on whether the dialect is asymmetric i.e. it allows only one of the objects in the DOC to passivize, as in Standard English for example where only the Recipient can passivize, or symmetric which permits both objects to passivize, as in some British English dialects.

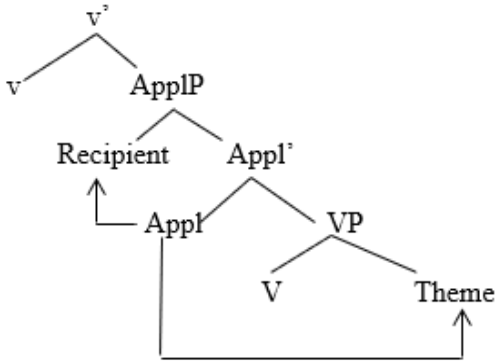
In Standard English, the Recipient object gets Case from v, while Appl assigns Case to the Theme, as shown in (8):

(8)



On the other hand, in symmetric British English dialects there are two possibilities for Case assignment in that either the Theme or the Recipient can be assigned Case by Appl, as shown in (9):

(9)

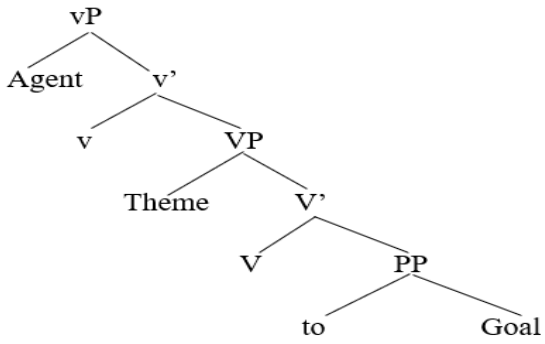


The other object will be assigned Case by v.

As for the PDC construction, Holmberg's *et al* (2018) proposed structure is repeated in (10):

(10) PDC: a. I gave the book to the children.

b.



In the PDC structure shown in (10), V takes the Theme as its specifier and the PP as a complement. As for Case assignment, little v assigns Case to Theme while the Goal will be assigned Case by the preposition *to*.

As shown in (7) and (10), the structure of ditransitives proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018) can be applied straightforwardly to ditransitives with lexical objects in English. The question now is how to apply it to ditransitives with pronominal objects in the language? In order to answer this question, more detailed inquiries should be considered here: What is status of pronominal objects of English in the light of the theory of pronouns i.e. are they strong, weak, or clitics? Then, what is the difference as regards the Agree relation between objective pronouns on the one hand and a functional head on the other hand? Will objective pronouns be

licensed in the base generation, Spec-head relation or by incorporation? All this will be dealt with in the next sections.

7.4. Classification of pronominal objects

7.4.1 Strong, weak, and clitic

In Chapter 4, it is stated that Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) classify pronouns into strong which refer only to human referents, and deficient which may refer to human as well as non-human referents, and those, in turn, are classified into weak and clitic pronouns. This distinction is based on the morphology and distribution of each category of these pronouns in some languages among them is Italian which exhibits such a distinction of pronouns. In this typology, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) argue that, syntactically, strong pronouns can appear in syntactic positions not available to the other two pronominal categories. For example, the counterpart of the English pronoun *them* has three forms in Italian: strong *loro* which can occur in a Goal position (11b) or in the DO position (11c), but it cannot occur in a non-peripheral position, unlike weak *loro* which can appear in the IO position (11a). The pronoun 'them' can also surface as a clitic *li*, as in (11d):

(11) a. Ho offerto loro il mio aiuto
I have offered them my help
'I offered them my help'

b. Ho offerto il mio aiuto a loro
I have offered my help to them
'I offered my help to them'

c. Ho visto loro
'I have seen them'

d. Li vedo
them I see
'I see them'
(Manzini 2014)

Weak pronouns cannot surface in peripheral argument positions, positions where they can be in isolation, modified or coordinated, as shown in (11a) for weak *loro*. The same is true for clitics, as shown in following examples from French (Roberts 2010: 56):

(12)a.*J'ai vu la.
I-have seen her

b. Qui as -tu vu? *La.
Who have-you seen? Her

c.*Je la seulement ai vue
I her only have seen

d.*Je le et l'ai vus
I him and her-have seen

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) point out that one evidence that *loro* in (11a) and *li* in (11d) are deficient pronouns is that they cannot occupy the base, or θ-positions available for the strong *loro* in (11b and c). Instead they must occur in a derived position, whereas strong *loro* (like full DPs) may occur in the base-generated position, but not in a derived position in the active clause, e.g.:[36]

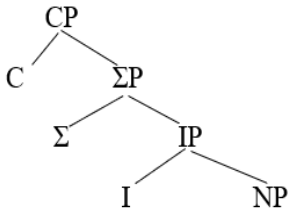
(13) Non dirò mai {loro$_D$; *a loro$_S$;*a Gianni} tutto {*loro$_D$; a loro$_S$; a Gianni}
not I.will.say never{to them$_D$; to them$_S$; to John} everything
'I will never tell them/John everything'

(14) Gianni {li$_D$; *loro$_S$; *questi studenti} stima {*li$_D$; loro$_S$; questi studenti}.
John {them$_D$; them$_S$; these students} estimates
'John estimates them/these students'
(Cardinaletti & Starke1999: 151)

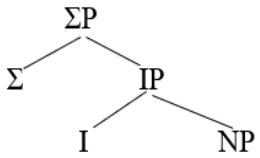
[36] In (13) and (14), D stands for deficient and S for strong.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) claim that the variation in the syntactic positions occupied by the strong, weak and clitic pronouns is due to a difference in their structure. They propose that pronouns consist of a lexical (nominal) projection and maximally three layers of functional structure. They label the functional heads C, Σ, and I, with the implication that they correspond to the functional layers of a clause. Accordingly, Cardinaletti & Starke argue that pronouns can be classified (according to the complexity of their structure) into strong which are CPs, weak which are ΣPs and clitic which are IPs:

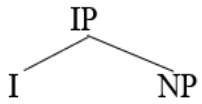
(15) a. Strong pronouns



b. Weak pronouns



c. Clitic pronouns



N in these trees is any nominal category, projecting an NP, and Σ is the D-layer in the pronoun. Consequently, the strongest pronouns are those which have the C-layer as in the case with the strong pronoun *a loro* in (11b) since it has the Case marker (preposition *a*) which stands for the C-element in the structure of the pronoun. Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) assume that the pronoun *loro* in (11c) contains a null C-element, therefore, it is strong. The next in strength in this typology are weak pronouns which lack the C-layer but still has the Σ- layer. According to Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), the lack of the C-layer in projections headed by weak pronouns

correlates with their inability to license modifiers as such projections have less layers than those headed by strong pronouns.

On the other hand, clitic pronouns lack the two upper layers, CP and ΣP. They are IPs in the sense that they represent the "inflectional core" of the structure of a pronoun which contains only φ-features. Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) argue that this core is what is left when any layer of functional structure is "peeled off".

Roberts (2010: 56) adopts this idea about the structure of clitics but diverges from Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) analysis by arguing that clitics do not have the separate lexical projection, NP. He considers the "inflectional core " of the structure of a pronoun to be purely made of φ-features.

Still, using data from *la Repubblica* corpus, Manzini (2014) argues against Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) by showing that strong *loro* can refer to [-human] entities, as shown below in (16 a and b), where *loro* is preceded by the prepositions *a* 'to' and *di* 'of'. Such embedding of a pronoun under the preposition in Italian counts as a strong context:

(16) a. . . .il deterioramento del livello di vita finisca per aprire maggiore spazio alle correnti di pensiero ''non conformiste'' e coagulare attorno **a loro** il crescente malcontento
'the deterioration of the level of living ends up opening more space for currents of thought ''non conformist'' and to coagulate around (to) them growing dissatisfaction'

b. Quando poi. . . arriva a dipingere il fondo, tutto si fa indistinto, sciolto nella luce. . .Sarà la fila lunga delle colline che si fanno tutte rosa sotto il pallido azzurro del cielo sopra **di loro**
'when next. . .he gets to painting the background, all becomes indistinct, melting into the light . . . It may be the long line of hills that become all pink under the pale blue of the sky above (of) them'
(Manzini 2014: 175)

That is to say that the correlation assumed by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) between strong *loro* and [+human] may not hold. The same thing is true regarding the assumed correlation between [+human] and strong *loro* in contrastive focus in clefts. Manzini (2014) shows that inanimate

loro is easily found under contrastive focus in clefts as in the data in (17) from *la Repubblica*, which is accepted by the consulted native speakers:

(17) a. E' più importante ai fini della prestazione sportiva l'analisi degli ormoni maschili [. . .] **sono loro che** favoriscono l'aumento della massa muscolare
'it is more important for the purposes of performance in sport the analysis of male hormones . . . it's them that favour the increase of muscular mass'

b. l'andamento dei conti dipende largamente dalla prossima legislatura [. . .] **Sono loro che**, eventualmente, possono condurre l'Italia al soddisfacimento delle condizioni necessarie per la partecipazione.
'the profile of the accounts [i.e. the budget] depend largely on the next legislature. . . It's them [i.e. the accounts] that, eventually, may lead Italy to the satisfaction of the conditions necessary for participation'
(Manzini 2014: 175)

The other claim made by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) is that only strong [+human] pronouns can be coordinated while weak ones cannot as they are [±human]. However, the corpus data from *Repubblica* shows that weak *loro* can be coordinated with a possessive pronoun which, according to Manzini, yields well-formed results:[37]

(18) a. nulla aggiungono e spesso molto tolgono alla **loro e nostra** sacra missione, documentare la Verità
'nothing they add and often much they subtract to their and our sacred mission documenting Truth'

b. Santagata e Morganti, che negli anni hanno . . . ricondotto alla **loro e nostra** quotidianità, . . . anche i mondi degli autori volta a volta visitati: Dostoevskji . . .
'S. and M., who throughout the years have . . . brought back to their and our daily life, . . .also the worlds of the authors in turn visited: D. . .'

[37] Cardinaletti (1998) argues that possessive *loro* is a weak pronoun on par with the dative *loro*.

Furthermore, weak *loro* which, according to Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), cannot be modified by adverbs meaning 'also', is reported to be modified by these adverbs in data from the *Repubblica* corpus, and said to be quite acceptable for the consulted native speakers, as in (19a and b):

(19) a. La diagnosi ha dato **anche loro** la certezza che erano sane pure le loro figlie
'the diagnosis has given also them the certainty that were healthy their daughters too'

b. nel pomeriggio è stato a Coverciano da quelli grandi. A chiedere **anche loro** quel patto di lealtà sinora negato.
'in the afternoon he has visited at C. the big ones [i.e. national team footballers]. To ask also them that vow of fealty till now denied'
(Manzini 2014: 176)

On the other hand, strong *loro* which is expected not to appear in anti-focussed and non-left-peripheral positions (where weak *loro* is expected to appear) may occur in such a position as the data from *La Repubblica* corpus shows, where it occurs in the indirect object position in the DOC, as shown in (20):

(20) occorre fare di più, nel nostro Paese, per i bambini, per la loro tutela giuridica, per la loro salute fisica e affettiva, per dare **a loro** un futuro sereno
'it is necessary to do more in our Country for the children, for their protection under the law, for their physical and emotional health, to give to them a serene future'
(Manzini 2014: 176)

The examples in (16-20) as well as the previous examples show that weak *loro* and strong *a loro* are not completely in a complementary distribution as both *loro* can be *it*-clefted, coordinated and modified by adverbs as well as referring to [±human] entities which argues against Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) account. In other words, their claim that the complexity of a pronoun is due to some external C-layer and correlates with the ability of a pronoun to

refer only to [+human], and be coordinated, focused as well as modified, may not hold.[38] If their claim is correct, we expect not to see examples in which strong *loro* refers to a non-human entity as in (16), despite the fact that it is preceded by a preposition which presumably stands for the C-element in the structure of the pronoun. And we do not expect to see examples in which it occurs in a non-focused position as (20), in which it occupies the indirect object position although it is preceded by the preposition *a*, a position which according to Cardinaletti & Starke is devoted to DP pronouns, as shown in (13). On the other hand, though weak *loro* is a DP (by hypothesis) in that it may to refer to [±human] entities, it can, still, be *it*-clefted, coordinated, and modified as shown in the examples (17), (18) and (19) respectively. That is to say, although a (DP) pronoun refers to [±human] entities, it may occur in syntactic positions devoted to strong pronouns.

Based on the discussion made in this section, Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) hypothesis of an external C-layer in the strong pronoun will not be assumed here. What will be assumed in the analysis presented here is that strong pronouns are DPs. [39]

7.4.2 Strong vs weak *loro*: Evidence from the ditransitives of Italian

As this project addresses ditransitive constructions in the first place, I will compare the status of what is assumed to be strong *loro* with that of weak *loro* in the DOC of Italian in the light of Holmberg *et al* (2018) and Van der Wal (2015). But before that, let us recall that weak *loro* occurs as indirect object in the DOC of Italian as shown in (11a) and (13). When the example (13) given in Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) is examined, it constitutes a mix of a DOC and a PDC:

(13) Non dirò mai {loro$_D$; *a loro$_S$; *a Gianni} tutto {*loro$_D$; a loro$_S$; a Gianni}
not I.will.say never {to.them$_D$; to them$_S$; to John} everything
'I will never tell them/John everything'

[38] One of the points that still needs to be explained in Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) is the status of the Slovak pronoun *mi* 'to me'. Though it is apparently a personal pronoun with a "built in" preposition, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 151) classifies this pronoun as weak besides the Dutch *het* 'it' and the English *it*. This pronoun appears as indirect object in the sentence below:

(i) Daj mi knihu
'Give me the book'

[39] Though the analysis arrived at so far is that strong pronouns are DPs not CPs, there is a debate in the literature regarding their internal structure, as will be shown in the sections 7.5.1 &7.5.4 when discussing the strong pronouns of English.

In (13) if the strong *loro* and the lexical object between brackets to the left i.e. {loro$_D$; *a loro$_S$; *a Gianni} are left out, the structure will become a DOC whereas when the deficient *loro* between brackets to the right i.e. {*loro$_D$; a loro$_S$; a Gianni} is left out, the structure will be a PDC. According to Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) account, the objects between brackets to right are in their base-generated position, while the objects between brackets to the left are in a derived position. Therefore, weak *loro* cannot occur in the base-generated position while strong *loro* and the full DPs can. Meanwhile, strong *loro* and the full DPs cannot occur in a derived position while weak *loro* can. It is obvious that this analysis adopts the derivational approach of the DOC where the latter is derived from the same underlying structure as the PDC, except for the features of the pronoun.

Here, Cardinaletti & Starke argues that weak *loro* must move high to a derived position, a position from which it can enter a Spec-head relation with a functional head to be licensed in the structure. But occurring high in the structure does not provide evidence that this is a derived position of weak *loro*. If the structure is analyzed according to the projectional approach proposed in Holmberg *et al* (2018), the indirect object is base-generated in Spec-ApplP, higher than the Theme in the DOC whether it is pronominal or a lexical object. In this case, Appl will agree with the pronominal Recipient *loro* (Spec-head relation) and is spelled out as DP at its base-generated position, Spec-ApplP (following Van der Wal 2015). That is to say, what is supposed to be a weak *loro* does not need to move to a derived position to be licensed. The implication here is that either weak *loro* is not weak at all or that a weak pronoun can be licensed at a base-generated position. One may argue that weak *loro* may move to some derived position (Spec-vP) to be licensed by v but this cannot be the case as v agrees with the Theme in the DOC of Italian, an asymmetrical language which allows only passivization of the Theme as was discussed in Chapter 5.

Further, the indirect object position in Italian can also be occupied by the strong *loro* (preceded by the preposition *a*) as shown in (20) or a lexical Recipient as shown in (21) (from Belletti 2010: 193):

(21) Gianni ha dato a Maria un libro
'Gianni has given to Maria a book'

That is to say that strong *loro* or a lexical object can occupy the Recipient position as in (20) and (21) respectively. The same thing will be applied here, Appl will agree with the strong *loro*

or the lexical Recipient and the preposition *a* can be the spell-out of an inherent dative Case assigned by Appl to the Recipient (Holmberg *et al* 2018), but while *a* is realized in the case of strong *loro* and the DP object, it is not in the case of weak *loro*. In other words, in the DOC of Italian, Appl may agree with weak *loro*, strong *loro* or a lexical DP, and they all will be spelled out as DPs in the base-generated position i.e. Spec-ApplP. The conclusion arrived at here is that both versions of *loro* are DPs and that strong *loro* and lexical objects may appear higher (as Recipients) than the Theme in the structure which argues against Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) account.

In conclusion to this section, I have argued, in part on the basis of Manzini (2014), that strong as well as weak *loro* are DPs, and that their distribution is more similar than claimed by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). I also argued that attributing the syntactic behaviour of strong pronouns to the existence of the external C-layer may not hold as weak pronouns, which are [±human], lack this layer and can still be *it*-clefted, modified and coordinated. Nevertheless, Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) classification of pronouns is still important in distinguishing between strong and deficient pronouns as well as pointing out that clitics consist of just the inflectional core of the structure of a pronoun.

7.5 Pronominal objects in English

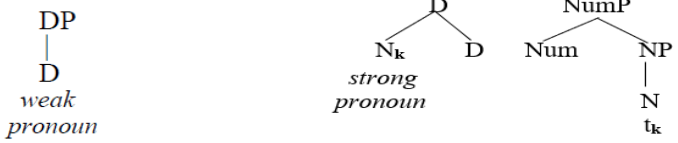
Pronominal objects in the British English dialects can be full or reduced pronouns. The syntactic status of the full and reduced-form pronominal objects in English is a controversial issue. This controversy concerns especially their structure. This section will discuss the difference between these two pronominal categories as regards their structure and distribution.

7.5.1 The deficient objects as weak pronouns

Following Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) classification of pronouns (strong, weak and clitic) discussed in the previous section, it has been argued that deficient pronominal objects in English are weak pronouns (Quinn 2002; 2005; Wallenberg 2008). This is based on the idea that 'they are phonologically weak, leaning leftward on a (verb) host if possible, and they obligatorily move from their base (theta) positions' (Wallenberg 2008: 489). To say that they are weak means that they are DPs but defective DPs which cannot be stressed or modified as they lack the complex structure available to strong pronouns (Quinn 2005). Quinn argues that the strength of strong pronouns is due to their nominal nature (as they have the N element in their internal structure). She claims that strong pronouns are base-generated as N but raise to

D before Spell-Out. Being internally complex, a strong DP can allow modifiers. On the other hand, she argues that the weak pronouns are base-generated as D, but they are intransitive Ds lacking the internal lexical category N which correlates with their prosodic structure; therefore, they are syntactically deficient. As such, weak pronominal DPs raise out of their Θ-position to be licensed by a functional head:

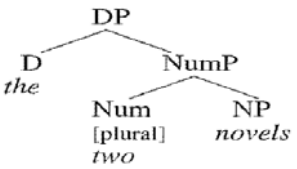
(22) a. b.



(Quinn 2005:76)

NumP is to be considered here as functional projection between DP and NP, which hosts the number features of a noun phase and is headed by any cardinal determiner e.g., *a/an, no, many,* and *two*:

(23)



(Quinn 2002:59)

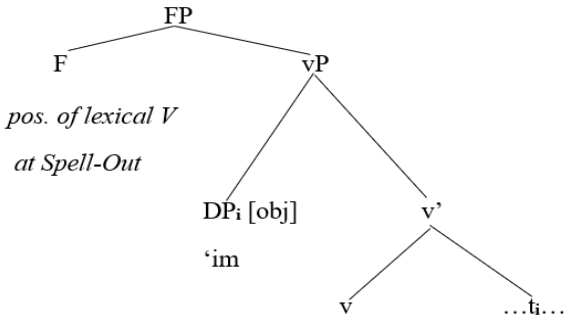
The difference between Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) account and that of Quinn's (2005) can be attributed to a controversy about what structure should be available for a pronoun to be strong. So, for Cardinaletti & Starke's (1994;1999), a pronoun is strong (and consequently can undergo modification by adverbs) only if it has the C-layer as '[t]hese modifiers always modify a full clause, nominal or verbal, and never a subpart of the clause' (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999: 187). Therefore, lack of the C-layer is what makes a pronoun deficient according to this analysis. On the other hand, Quinn (2005) takes a different position in that she considers a

pronoun to be strong (and consequently can license modifiers) if it has lower structural layers, i.e. NumP and NP, therefore, what makes a pronoun weak is the lack of these lower layers. That is to say that according to this analysis, a pronoun can be a DP and still be strong if it has these internal layers, otherwise it is weak.

Quinn distinguishes three types of Case that can be assigned to a pronoun: *Argument Case*, a Case assigned to the pronoun in its Θ-position. *Positional Case*, a Case that is assigned to the pronoun in a derived position. *Default Case*, a Case assigned to the pronoun when it is not governed by positional Case.[40]

As for the weak objective pronouns, Quinn claims that they are assigned positional Case in that they can only be licensed in the syntax by being in Spec-head agreement with a particular functional head, little v: [41]

(24)



(Quinn 2002: 69)

Quinn argues that in (24), the weak pronoun must move out of its base position before Spell-Out, to [Spec, vP] while the V-v complex moves to a higher functional head, F. This functional head is lower than T and the latter can be filled by an auxiliary (25a) or only [NOM] (25b):

[40] Quinn (2005) considers the objective Case as the default Case in Modern English.

[41] In this respect, Quinn (2005) follows Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) analysis that as long as the weak pronoun needs Case, the local relation between the pronoun and the Case assigner (the functional head) needs to be maintained.

(25) a. I have seen'im.

b. I saw'im.

As they are licenced only by Spec-head relation either by v in the active clause or by T in the passive clause, weak pronouns cannot show in peripheral positions, i.e. topicalized, left dislocated, or in isolation. On the other hand, strong pronouns can occur in these positions as they can either be licensed before movement by v, T, or a preposition, or by default objective Case:

(26) Him I like.

Wallenberg (2008) observes that the distribution of weak pronouns is not the same as that of the strong ones. One piece of evidence for this observation is that certain constructions in English permit only strong versions of pronominal object (p.493). For example, he draws attention to the fact that in American English there are some instances in which the subject can bind an object pronoun, but only if it has the (full) strong form, as in (27a), not if it is reduced, as in (27b):

(27) a. They$_i$'re gonna get them$_i$ a new car.

b.*They$_i$'re gonna get'em$_i$ a new car.

c. They$_k$'re gonna get'em$_i$ a new car.

Wallenberg argues that the variation in binding shown in (27) is an indication that the syntactic distribution of these two types of pronouns is not exactly the same. Furthermore, Wallenberg identifies some cases where a weak pronominal object appears adjacent to the verb, where a corresponding lexical object would not:[42]

(28) a. *John gave the boy it.

b. John gave'im it.

[42] Gerwin (2014) found that (28a) was rare but not entirely absent, in the two corpora she searched.

The example (28a) is ungrammatical as the full DP Recipient cannot occur adjacent to the verb when the Theme is a weak pronoun, but it improves when Recipient is a weak pronoun (28b). This claim is supported by Gerwin's data on altDOC discussed in section 7.2.:

(29) a. *She gave the book her.

b. She gave it her.

While (29a) in which a lexical object occurs adjacent to the verb is not attested at all in the two corpora which entails that a lexical object does not occur in this position, (29b) is widespread in some dialects, including Lancashire dialect (Siewierska & Hollmann 2007). This phenomenon is even attested in Early Modern English:

(30) a. I think he will carry this island home in his pocket, and give it his son for an apple.
(Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, II, i, 92-93)
(Wallenberg 2008:492)

The importance of Quinn's (2005) account is that it considers strong pronouns as DPs not CPs as she attributes the complexity of pronouns to their internal structure especially the nominal part of the structure rather than to some external layer (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

Nevertheless, I will not adopt Quinn's analysis of English reduced pronouns. The hypothesis that reduced pronouns are bare D's fails to account for the obvious fact that they have phi-features: person, number, and (sometimes) gender. So, I assume that what makes them reduced pronouns is that they lack both the N-component and the D-component, retaining just the φ-feature component. Moreover, reduced forms in ditransitives of English may exhibit the clustering phenomenon, a characteristic feature of clitics not weak pronouns (Cardinaletti & Starke1999), as in (31) where reduced-form objects surface as a clitic cluster:

(31) Give him it /gɪvɪmɪt/.
(Dixon 2007)

The clustering of reduced pronouns attested in (31) can be explained if these are clitics not weak pronouns.

In addition, being defective, the Agree relation between the defective object and the Probe (little v) will cause the former to incorporate into the Probing head itself rather than moving to its specifier (Roberts 2010). This is because the phi-features of the defective object are a subset of the Probe's. That is to say that licensing of a defective will be by agreement/incorporation rather than Spec-head relation as Quinn (2005) assumes. In other words, under this analysis of the pronouns, reduced forms of English fall together with clitic pronouns analyzed in the previous chapter.

Due to the above-mentioned problematic points in Quinn's (2005), her account will not be adopted here. Still, I partially agree with her analysis which considers reduced forms as deficient pronouns but, instead of taking these pronouns as being weak, I propose that they are syntactic clitics.

The rest of the chapter will be organized as follows: Section 7.5.2 discusses the claim that reduced forms are simple clitics, while in section 7.5.3 I present an alternative proposal to this idea by proposing that they are syntactic clitics, instead. Section 7.5.4 discusses the difference in structure between full and reduced-form pronouns in English. Section 7.5.5 deals with the difference in the syntactic behavior of each category of these pronouns as regards Agree relation between them on the one hand and a functional head on the other hand. Section 7.5.6 aims to distinguish between the two categories of pronouns as regard their syntactic distribution. Section 7.5.7 will apply the proposal presented here to the ditransitives with pronominal objects in British English dialects. In the section I argue that the appearance of reduced forms in these constructions is a manifestation of cliticization resulting from an Agree relation between the functional heads, v, Appl or a preposition (the Probes) on the one hand and the defective pronominal objects (Recipients, Themes and Goals) on the other hand. Section 7.5.8 will discuss passivization in the ditransitive constructions of the British English dialects**.** Finally, a summary of the chapter will be presented in section 7.6.

7.5.2 The deficient objects as clitics

It is argued in the literature that reduced-form objects in English pronouns are simple clitics (Zwicky 1977; Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Anderson 2005) while full-form pronouns in English are accented free morphemes (Zwicky 1977). The reason behind classifying reduced-form object pronouns of English as simple clitics is due to the belief that they are "optional variants of full forms and occur in the same positions in sentences as the corresponding full forms" (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 503). According to this view, the cliticization of simple clitics into

the host is a purely phonological process due to the phonological deficiency of these clitics which makes them "phonologically subordinate to a neighboring word. Cliticization of this sort is usually associated with stylistic conditions, as the casual speech cliticization of object pronouns in English" (Zwicky 1977: 5). Given that the cliticization is only phonologically motivated, they are also referred to as "phonological" clitics (Anderson 2005).

7.5.3 Alternative proposal

As an alternative proposal to the theories reviewed above, I propose that there are two categories of objective pronouns in English: full-form pronouns which are DPs,[43] and reduced-form pronouns which are syntactic clitics. This proposal is due to the syntactic behavior of reduced-form pronouns which is very similar to that of the syntactic clitics attested in Iraqi Arabic, as discussed in the previous chapter. They are similar to clitics in Iraqi Arabic in observational/descriptive terms, and this can be explained if they are analyzed as defective goals that can be probed by a Probe and can be spelled out on it, following Roberts' (2010) theory of cliticization by agreement.

These deficient objects are syntactic clitics in the sense that they surface in syntactic positions not available to the full forms. This is particularly clear in the dialects which allow Theme-Recipient order in the DOC:

(32) a.*She gave THEM me.
b. She gave 'em me.
c. She gave it me.

Haddican and Holmberg (2012: 203) draw attention to the fact that in the dialects which accept Theme-Recipient order without a preposition, pronominal Themes cannot show in a full form (32a) but only reduced-form Themes are allowed, as shown in (32b and c) above. The reason for why (32a) is bad is that the Theme here is a DP not a defective pronoun as in (32b and c), therefore, it will yield the order DP Theme > DP Recipient which is not acceptable in English. The example (32a) can be compared with the example (33):

(33) *She gave a book me.

[43] The idea that full-form pronouns in English are DPs will be discussed further in section 7.5.4.

The example (33) is ungrammatical as the DP Theme precedes the DP Recipient. But when the DP Theme is replaced with a defective pronoun, it results in the examples (32b and c) which are fully acceptable in some British English dialects.[44]

A similar example for the syntactic difference between reduced-form and full-form pronouns is reported in Larson (1988:364) where, this time, the pronominal Recipient cannot show in its full form where only the clitic form is allowed:

(34) A letter was given {'im/*HIM}by Mary.

The Theme passive is bad in (34) for many speakers of English, but it has been reported that it improves if the Recipient shows in a pronominal reduced form rather than the full form.

Moreover, the Theme position cannot be occupied by a reduced form if the Recipient is a full DP, as shown in (35):

(35) a. John gave'im it.
b.*John gave HIM it.
c. She gave John the balls.
d.*She gave John 'em
e. They showed Mary's aunt their daughter.
f. *They showed Mary's aunt 'er

These remarks argue against Zwicky and Pullum's claim mentioned above that the reduced-form pronouns are merely optional variants which occur in the same positions in the sentence available for the corresponding full forms. What happens here is that the choice between full-form and reduced-form pronouns follows Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999:160) argument that "where possible, deficient pronouns are preferred over strong ones". They propose that the choice between classes of pronouns is subject to the *Economy of Representations* principle, shown in (36):

[44] Biggs (2015) reports that Liverpool dialect allow the DP Theme to precede the DP Recipient:

(i) Mary gave a book John.

This construction will be discussed in section 7.5.8.1.2.

(36) *Economy of Representations*:
Minimise Structure.
(Cardinaletti & Starke 1999: 198)

Taking the syntactic structures of pronoun classes into consideration, the principle (36) specifies that where possible, pronouns with the smaller structure must be chosen first. The bigger structure is possible only when the alternative small structure is ruled out, therefore, in casual speech, object pronouns in English cliticize onto the verb:

(37) a. Get 'em while they are hot.
b. ? Get them while they are hot

Under the principle (36), the reduced form *'em* will be chosen first as it is deficient and minimal in structure when compared with the full form *them*. The reduced form *'em* (37a) will always show unless there is some reason not to. This is in cases where reduced forms cannot be used, as in cases of contrastive stress, coordination or modification for example, consider (38):[45]

(38) A: I saw Mary and Bill.
B: Did you give'er a book?
A: No, I gave HIM a book.

Since clitics are the most deficient pronouns, they are the first choice in normal conversation (B's reply) but in case of contrastive stress (A's reply), clitics are not the first choice as what should be used here is the full form. The example (38) and the above-mentioned examples contradict the idea that the reduced and the full form are just optional variants.

In conclusion to this section, I have proposed that pronominal objective in English are of two types: Full forms which are DPs and reduced forms which are syntactic clitics.

7.5.4 Full vs reduced pronouns: The difference in structure

To understand the behavior of full and reduced pronouns in English, we should know their structure first as it correlates with the syntactic, phonological and morphological properties of these two categories of pronouns. Following Quinn (2005), full-form pronominal objects in

[45] Edwin Williams (p.c.)

English are treated, here, as DPs with a complex structure. This is based on the observation that (full-form) pronouns cannot be destressed or contracted (Quinn 2005: 66), and can appear in syntactic positions usually occupied by strong pronouns, as in focus, coordination, modification, *it*-cleft as well as contrastive emphasis (the examples 39-42 are adopted from Quinn 2002: 2005), e.g.: [46]

Modification:

(39) Marie saw only him.

Coordination

(40) a. Marie saw him and Paul.

b. Rob saw them and us in the library.

Contrastive Topic

(41) a. Her I like.

b. Them I would never (ask anyone else to) taste.

c. Him they never talk about.

d. Him I consider [to be a genius].

[46] Following Quinn (2005), the full-form pronouns with primary focus and those with secondary focus will both be treated, here, as strong pronouns since both are prosodically independent and always bear some degree of stress and may appear in syntactic positions devoted to strong pronouns. According to Quinn the difference between these two forms of pronouns is in the C-system, so, while *her* in (i) occupies a specifier of a Topic Phrase and has secondary stress, *HER* in (ii) occupies the specifier of a Focus Phrase and has primary stress.

(i) So what about Kimberley? How do you get on with her?

Her I LIKE. (her = topicalised and secondary focus)

(ii) So your problem with Kimberley and Kevin is really Kimberley; him you

like. -No, HER I like. (HER = topicalised & primary focus)

(Quinn 2005: 208)

It-cleft

(42) a. It was him that she saw.

b. It was not them we wanted.

c. It is her you should consult on such a matter.

Contrastive emphasis

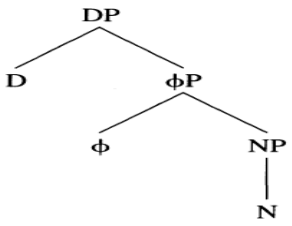
(43) I didn't pick up HIM, I picked up HER!

(Wallenberg 2008)

In section 7.5.1, I raised some problematic points in Quinn's (2005) account. A better analysis that can be adopted, here, is that of Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002). Though their theory shares some traits with Quinn's account, in that they also consider the full-form pronouns in English as DPs, the theory bridges the gaps found in Quinn's. Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) propose that a full-form pronoun is made up of a D-layer and φP which, in turn, can have, but need not have a spelled-out NP. The most enriched form of an extended projection of the full-form pronouns according to this analysis is shown in (44) below, which they term *pro-DP*:

(44) a. Them linguists.

b.



pro-DPs (Dechaine & Wiltschko 2002:410)

Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) point out that in (44), the pro-DP pronoun can be decomposed into a D-morpheme, *th-* and a clitic φ-morpheme, *'em*; which encodes the φ-features:

(45) a. I like [φ 'im] [aylaykim]

b. I like [φ 'em] [aylaykəm]

(Dechaine & Wiltschko 2002:422)

That is to say that, according to this analysis, reduced forms in English are clitics whose role is to encode φ-features while full forms are DPs.

Based on the discussion made so far in this section and following Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002), the full form pronouns in English will be treated here, syntactically, as DPs, whereas the reduced ones are clitics that are made up of φ-elements, following Roberts (2010).

Apart from structural differences between full and reduced pronouns shown above, there are phonological differences between these two categories of pronouns. For example, though both types are phonologically composed of one syllable, the reduced forms are phonologically weaker than the strong ones in that the former lack the onset of the syllable (Quinn 2005). The phonological differences between the two categories of pronouns is shown in (46):[47]

(46) a. him [ˈhɪm] /ɪm/
b. her [ˈhɜ:(r)] /ə(r)/
c. it [ˈɪt] /ɪt/
d. them [ˈðem] /əm/

Based on the phonological difference shown above, reduced forms can form a phonological unit with a host, while their full-form counterparts cannot.

Semantically, reduced forms are anaphoric in that that they lack independent reference. Rather, they have a prominent antecedent in the conversation:

(47) A: Look – it's him!
B: Where? I can't see'im.

(48) A: Do you know that woman?
B: No, I don't recognise'er.

7.5.5 Agree with the two types of pronouns

Having argued that the reduced-form pronouns in English are syntactic clitics and the full-forms are DPs, this section aims to discuss the difference in the syntactic behaviour of each category as regards the Agree relation between the pronouns of each of these categories on the

[47] The pronoun *it* is treated, here, as reduced pronoun basically that cannot be reduced any further.

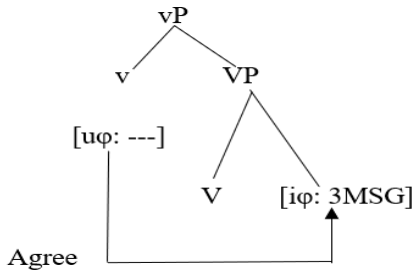
one hand and a functional head on the other hand, which shows variation. The variation in the syntactic behaviour is due to the difference in the structure of each category as discussed in the previous section. Since reduced forms are just a bundle of φ-features, when pronouns of this category enter an Agree relation with a functional head (the Probe) with matching but unvalued φ-features, the features of the pronoun will be a subset of the features of the Probe. Thereby, the Probe and the goal (the pronoun) will form a chain, and consequently the pronoun will be deleted in PF, its features being spelled out on the Probe (Roberts 2010). The pronoun is a defective goal in Roberts' terms.

The other category of pronouns is the full-form ones which are strong pronouns in the sense of being DPs. consequently, when an Agree relation is established between a functional head and a pronoun in this category, the result of Agree will be the spell out of the DP pronoun, as the DP will have features that are not copied by the Probe. That is to say, pronouns of the first category are defective goals and can cliticize (by agreement) onto a Probe, while pronouns of the second type are spelled out as DP pronouns in their base-generated position (following Van der Wal 2015), as shown in (49) and (50):

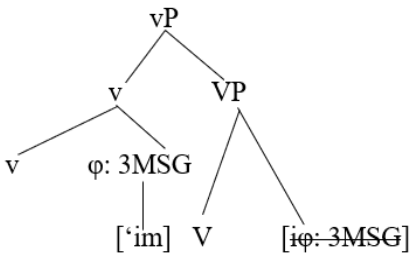
(49) a. She met him

Clitic form: [mɛtɪm]

b.



c.

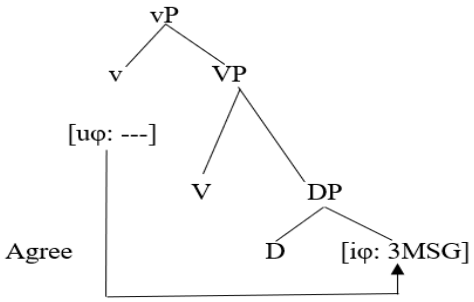


→ *spell out of φ on v as a clitic*

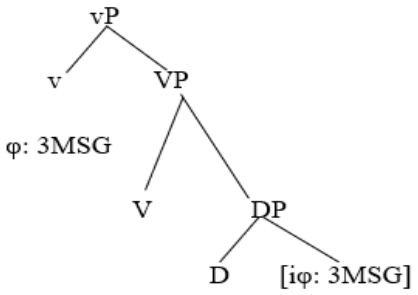
(50) a. She met him

Full form: [mɛt hɪm]

b.



c.



→ *spell out of DP pronoun*

Here, it is assumed that [uCase] is a feature of D, therefore, Accusative Case is assigned by v in connection with Agree. As for the clitic, it does not have any Case. The incorporation substitutes for Case (Baker 1988; Roberts 2010) (see also footnote 18).

This analysis can be generalized to the ditransitive constructions where Agree can be between Appl and a defective Theme or between a preposition and a defective Goal as well, as will be discussed further in the following sections. In the case where the goal is not defective, the Agree will be spelled out as a DP pronoun e.g:

(51) I gave it to HIM not to HER!

7.5.6 Reduced forms vs full forms: different structure, different syntax

In this section a distinction will be made between reduced-form and full-form pronouns as regards their syntactic distribution. The examples that will be given in this section show that the syntactic distribution of these categories differs as a direct reflex of the variation in their

structure, which may explain why some pronouns may appear in some syntactic positions where other pronouns cannot appear.

One of the examples of syntactic diversity between the two categories is the verb-particle alternation. While the full form pronouns can appear after the verb particle as other full DPs do, the reduced forms cannot. Johnson (1991) points out that the order particle > pronoun is allowed when the pronoun is focused (52a) or conjoined with another pronoun (52b), which is typical of strong pronouns:

(52) a. Betsy threw out THEM/the cats!

b. Mikey looked up him and her/the authors.

(Johnson 1991: 594)

In (52 a and b), the full form object occurs after the particle just as is the case with the full DP object. On the other hand, the reduced form object only occurs before the particle adjacent to the verb, e.g.:

(53) a. Betsy threw ‘em out.

b.* Betsy threw out ‘em.

(54) a. Mickey looked ‘em up.

b. *Mickey looked up ‘em.

That is to say that the full-form pronouns follow the behaviour of lexical DPs as shown in (52a and b) above, contrary to the reduced-forms (53b) and (54b) which do not follow this behaviour. Dixon (2007) argues that the object pronoun in cases such as (53) and (54) cannot occur after the particle as the pronoun is an enclitic and the particle cannot intrude between an enclitic object pronoun and its host (the verb).

Similarly, the reduced forms cannot show in contrastive emphasis as this construction allows only full forms:

(55) She met HIM /*IM not HER /*ER

(Spencer & Luís 2012: 42)

Some further syntactic differences between the two categories are shown by the following examples:

(56) a. John saw him and her in the school. (coordinated pronouns)

b. * John saw ‘im and ‘er in the school.

(57) a. It was THEM that she saw. (focus pronoun in an *it*-cleft)

b.* It was ‘em that she saw.

(58) a. Him, I like. (topicalised pronoun)

b.*’im, I like.

(adopted from Quinn 2005:75)

Further, the reduced forms cannot occur in isolation, e.g.:

(59) Who did she see? Him /*’im.

(Spencer & Luís 2012: 42)

As a conclusion to this section, the distribution of the reduced forms is much restricted if compared with that of the full forms. This is due to the deficient structure of the reduced forms, therefore, they cannot be focused, modified or coordinated for example. Further, they cannot be realized at their base-generated position, but only at a Probe as a result of the Agree relation between them, as will be demonstrated and discussed further in the following section. On the other hand, due to their complex structure, full forms can be focused, modified or coordinated. Besides that, they can remain in their base-generated position at spell-out, or move by A or A bar movement, or occupy peripheral positions.

7.5.7 Reduced forms in the ditransitive constructions: A manifestation of cliticization

As this project addresses ditransitive constructions in the first place, this section will discuss ditransitive constructions with pronominal objects in British English dialects by applying Roberts’ (2010), van der Wal (2015) together with Holmberg’s *et al* (2018) to the data. Ditransitive constructions in British English dialects give support to the idea that the spell-out of reduced-form pronouns on the Probe is a manifestation of cliticization resulting from the

Agree between a Probe, for example v or Appl and a defective goal, a reduced form pronoun. By Agree, the defective goal incorporates into the Probe:

(60) Did he give him it~Did he give it him? /dɪdɪgɪvɪmɪt~dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm/
(Spencer&Luís.2012: 193)

According to the proposal adopted here, v agrees with the reduced Recipient *'im* in the variant *Did he give'im it*? /dɪdɪgɪvɪmɪt/ while Appl agrees with the reduced Recipient *'im* in the variant *Did he give it 'im?* /dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm /.

The variant *Did he give'im it* /dɪdɪgɪvɪmɪt/ is a representative of SET B in Gerwin's data, whereas the variant *Did he give it'im*? /dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm/ represents SET J in the data. The latter pattern is solely British (Siewierska & Hollmann 2007). The cliticization of a reduced form into a Probe is also attested in the pattern *She gave 'er a book* attested in SET A (the most frequent pattern in Gerwin's data with 95% and 98% in the two corpora), which is a manifestation of cliticizing a defective pronominal Recipient into the functional head, little v (the Probe). Of course, this is the case as long as there is no focus, contrast or coordination in the structure. In this case, the clitic is the first option as it is the most minimal form according to the principle (36) mentioned above:

(61) a. *She gave her a book.
b. She gave 'er a book.

The example (61a) is bad in a context with no reason to pick the full form, but consider (62):

(62) His parents had only just begun to give him/*'im and his sibling the lore of their territory.

BYU-BNC (British National Corpus) . Last accessed 30 April 2018, from: https://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/.

Under coordination, the full form *him* is the only option.

On the other hand, in the variant *Did he give it'im?* /dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm/, the reduced form *it* can be seen adjacent to the verb although it is a Theme, in that it incorporates to little v by virtue of Agree as will be detailed in the next section.

The above-mentioned examples provide evidence for the clitic behavior of the reduced pronominal objects in the British English dialects, which can be incorporated in the Probe, along the lines of Roberts' (2010) theory discussed in the Chapters 4 and 6.

7.5.7.1 *she gave him it~ she gave it him*: the derivation

The derivation of the pattern *she gave it'im* is discussed by Haddican & Holmberg (2012) where they term this pattern *Theme-Goal ditransitive*. In this account, Haddican & Holmberg assumes that this pattern follows the structure shown in (63):

(63) [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v[Acc] [$_{LkP}$ Lk [Acc] [$_{ApplP}$ RECIPIENT [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V THEME]]]]]]

In (63), the external argument appears as a specifier of vP, the Theme as the complement of the verb while Recipient is the specifier of an Appl head taking VP as its sister. Lk is a linker morpheme that does not affect the thematic interpretation of arguments. Rather, its role is to assign Case vP-internally (partly following Baker and Collins 2006). Here, Haddican & Holmberg (2012:202) point out that "the person and number probe […] is merged as a separate linker head, immediately above ApplP […]and assigns Accusative to the Recipient from this position". Meanwhile, v is also a Probe with the feature [Acc], as shown below in (64):

(64) [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v$_{[Acc]}$ [$_{LkP}$ Lk $_{[Acc]}$ [$_{ApplP}$ RECIPIENT [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V THEME]]]]]]

Here, the Recipient is invisible to the higher Probe, v as the Recipient is probed by its closest Case assigner, Lk. Consequently, the Theme can pass the Recipient as it becomes visible to the higher Probe, v.

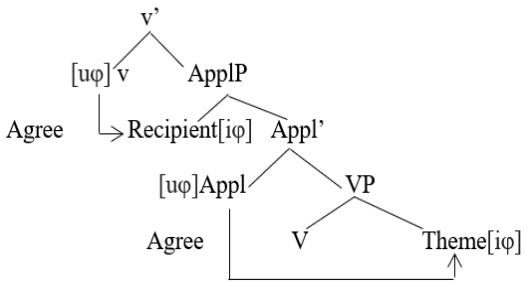
This analysis makes use of the theory of clitic-incorporation as agreement (Robert 2010), which considers defective pronouns as purely φPs that contain only φ-features. Accordingly, as a result of the valuation, all feature values of φPs will show on the Probes. As such, φP turns out as copy of the Probe, so the Probe v and the pronoun form a chain. Due to chain reduction, the features of the pronoun *it* in the case of *She gave it'im* is spelled out at little v (the probing head), the highest copy of the chain:

(65) [$_{vP}$ EA [$_{v'}$ v$_{[\varphi,Acc]}$ [$_{LkP}$ Lk $_{[\varphi,Acc]}$ [$_{ApplP}$ ~~RECIPIENT$_{[\varphi,Acc]}$~~] [$_{Appl'}$ Appl [$_{VP}$ V ~~THEME$_{[\varphi,Acc]}$~~]]]]]]

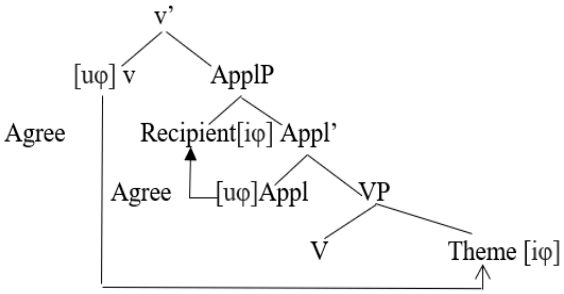
Still, the analysis in (65) will leave the φ-features of Appl unvalued as v agrees with the pronominal Theme whereas Lk will agree with the pronominal Recipient.

In the structure of the DOC adopted in the present research, following Holmberg *et al* (2018), Appl assigns Case to one of the two internal arguments, either the Recipient or the Theme depending on the language, which makes the Lk superfluous. Therefore, I propose that the alternation *She gave'im it* ~ *She gave it'im* is best seen as the result of a flexible licensing by Appl in the British English dialects which is somehow similar to the case of Zulu discussed earlier in Chapter 6 in that v may agree either with Recipient or Theme, as shown in (66a and b):

(66) a.



b.



In Zulu, either of the pronominal objects can be probed by v triggering object marking on v as φ-features of the pronominal object can be spelled out on v only, whereas the other object agrees with Appl and is spelled out as a DP, as shown in (67), repeated from Chapter 6:

(67) a. UJohn u-**ba**-nik-a imali (abantwana). (Zulu)

1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-FV 9.money 2.children

'John is giving them money (the children).'

b. UJohn u-**yi**-nik-a abantwana (imali).

1a.John 1SM-9OM-give-FV 2.children 9.money

'John is giving it to the children (the money).'

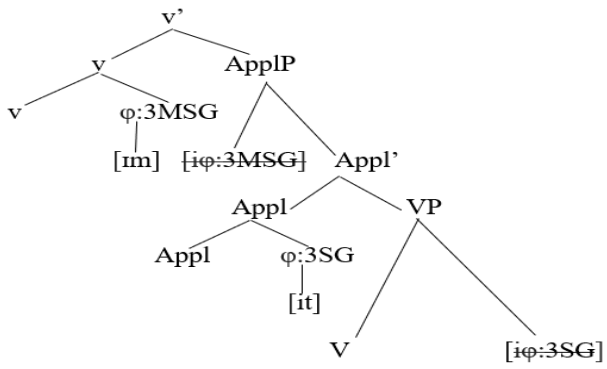
(Holmberg *et al* 2018:18)

Here, I assume that what distinguishes British English dialects from Zulu is that Appl in the former is endowed with φ features which accounts for the occurrence of multiple clitics. Furthermore, I propose that, in some of these dialects, Appl has an upwards licensing property. When discussing this property on Appl, van der Wal (2017: 137) argues that: '[w]hen the language gives evidence that the higher object is sometimes licensed by a lower functional head, then an upwards licensing property must be postulated for such heads'. Therefore, I suggest that Appl in the British dialects may agree either with the Theme (downwards Agree) or Recipient (upwards Agree).

Based on this property on Appl, I argue that British dialects are of two types. In the first type, as in Standard English, Appl is not endowed with the upwards licensing property. It will exhibit only downwards Agree, therefore, the φ-features of the pronominal Recipient can be spelled out on little v only, whereas the φ-features of the pronominal Theme are spelled out on Appl yielding the variant *Did he give'im it* /dɪdɪgɪvɪmɪt/. Here the Probe, little v agrees with the defective goal, the pronominal Recipient and the agreement is spelled out on little v in the form of a clitic. On the other hand, the other Probe, Appl probes to find a defective goal (the pronominal Theme) with matching φ-features and the established agreement is spelled out on Appl in the form of a clitic, too:

(68) a. Did he give'im it? /dɪdɪgɪvɪmɪt/

b.

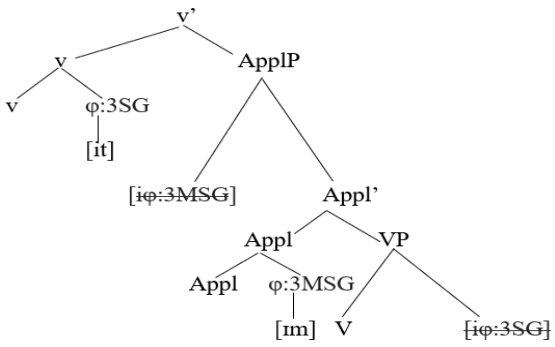


In the second type, Appl is endowed with the upwards licensing property, as in Northwest British dialects (Haddican & Holmberg 2012; 2014), where the two alternations are possible. Here, the φ features of both pronominal objects may be spelled out either on little v or Appl as a result of valuing φ- features of the two functional heads with that of the two pronominal objects. In the case of *Did he give it him?* /dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm/, the Probe, Appl agrees with the pronominal Recipient (a defective goal), which is spelled out as a clitic on Appl. Consequently, the pronominal Theme (another defective goal) will be visible to the higher Probe, v, which paves the way for Agree between the two which is spelled out as a clitic on v. The structure of the variant *Did he give it'im* is shown in (69):[48]

[48] An alternative analysis to the one presented here is that this is a PDC with a null P. The reason why this analysis is not adopted here is that most speakers of these dialects treat the altDOC construction (69), semantically, as a true DOC, not a PDC (Haddican 2010; Haddican & Holmberg 2012). For example, unlike the PDC, the altDOC is poor with Latinate verbs such as *donate* and *contribute*, whereas it is fine with "prevention of possession" verbs such as *refuse* and *deny*. The only exception here is the dialect of Liverpool where the speakers treat the PDC and the altDOC as having identical semantics (Biggs 2015), as will be discussed further in section 7.5.8.1.2.

(69) a. Did he give it'im? /dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm/

b.



Though it is usually the highest copy that is spelled out, the chain reduction and spell-out work different in the upwards agree shown in (69b), since the spell out of the clitic is on a lower head (the Probe). In fact, there isn't any principled reason why it should always be the higher one that is spelled out. But there is a principled reason why the copy with fewer features is deleted: If the copy with more features is deleted there will be unrecoverable loss of information. The copy with more features is maybe more often the higher one (think of the case of null subjects, for example, the deletion of the subject pronoun when agreeing with T), but this is not a rule.[49]

The view of flexible licensing by Appl in British English dialects can be supported by the fact that passivization of the DOC in Northwest British dialects is symmetrical (Haddican & Holmberg 2012; 2014), which means that Appl can agree with either Theme or the Recipient, as will be discussed further in section 7.5.8.

7.5.7.2 Solving the dilemma of clitic clustering in Standard Arabic

In Chapter 4, I have claimed that Shlonsky' (1997) analysis could not solve the dilemma of analyzing clitic clustering in the DOC with two pronominal objects attested in Standard Arabic, e.g.:

(70) ʔəʕtʿə -t **-ni** **-h** (Standard Arabic)

give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-1SG.IO-M.3SG.DO

'She gave me it'

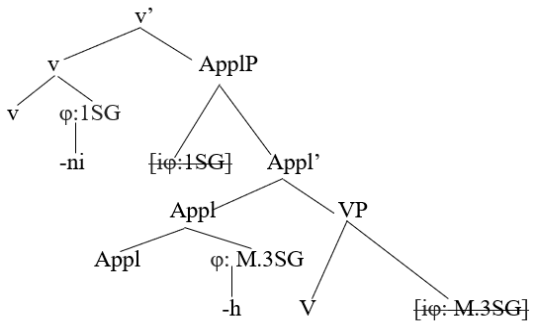
[49] Nunes (2004) shows cases in which a low chain copy is spelled out, besides cases of more than one chain copy that is spelled out.

Shlonsky (1997) claims that such clustering is illicit in Arabic. This is true in Iraqi Arabic and other Arabic varieties as was shown in the Chapters 4 and 6 earlier. In Iraqi Arabic for example the form *-iya* (which is a realization of Appl) is used to carry the Theme clitic on the one hand and to prevent clitic clustering on the other hand, therefore, Iraqi Arabic does not exhibit clitic clustering, as shown in (71):

(71) Fatma intˤə -t **-k** -iya **-hin** (Iraqi Arabic)
Fatma give.PAST-F.3SG.SU-M.2SG.IO-IYA-F.3PL.DO
'Fatma gave you them'

But this is not the case with Standard Arabic as shown in (70) above. Here, I propose that, in this variety of Arabic, the pronominal Recipient agrees with (cliticizes to) little v, while the pronominal Theme will agree with (cliticize to) Appl, but the difference, here, is that Appl needn't be realized, as such, the two pronominal objects will surface as a clitic cluster, as shown in (72):

(72)



On the other hand, when comparing Standard Arabic with some varieties of British English, only the Recipient-Theme cluster is allowed but not the Theme-Recipient one. This would be because while Appl can license either pronominal objects in the British English dialects, it licenses only pronominal Theme in Standard Arabic. Consequently, Standard Arabic is an asymmetric language as only the Recipient can passivize, as shown in (73a and b):

(73) a. ʔoʕtˁi -tu -ho (Recipient passivization-Standard Arabic)

give.PAST.PASSIVE-1SG.NOM-M.3SG.DO

'I was given it'

b.*ʔoʕtˁi -ho -tu (Theme passivization-Standard Arabic)

give.PAST.PASSIVE-M.3SG.DO-1SG.NOM

Intended: "It was given me"

7.5.7.3 The altPDC *She gave to her a book*

The altPDC *She gave to her a book* is attested in SET M of Gerwin's data, but the construction is not widely used (counts only % 0.06 in BNCreg). This pattern was reported also in (Siewierska & Hollmann 2007) with a pronominal as well as a full DP Recipient:

(74) She gave to him a book.

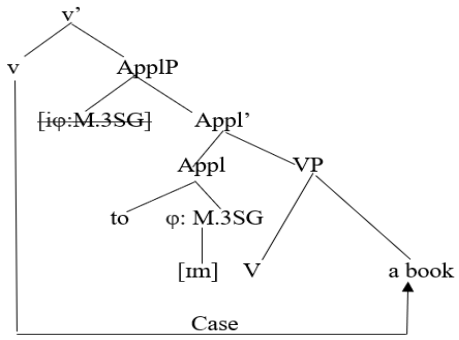
(75) She gave to her brother a signet ring.
(Siewierska & Hollmann 2007)

Siewierska & Hollmann point out that this pattern has rarely been discussed in the literature, though it seems acceptable to native speakers in the North West of England. Instead of showing in the canonical order of a PDC, e.g. *She gave a signet ring to her brother* where the Goal is location, the altPDC has an order which is similar to a DOC and also has the same animacy constraint on the Recipient:

(76) *I sent to France a book.

But the altPDC diverges from the DOC in that Recipient in the former is preceded by the preposition *to*. Williams (1997: 622) argues that the pronoun such as that in (74) is "fully cliticizable" to the preposition, therefore, the pronominal Recipient will show as a clitic. Here, I propose that Appl will introduce the Recipient as well as agreeing with it, consequently, a pronominal Recipient will be spelled out on Appl as a clitic. The preposition *to* can be a realization of Appl. On the other hand, v assigns Case to the Theme, as shown in (77):

(77)



As such, under passivization, the Theme, which no longer gets Case from v, moves to Spec-TP:

(78) A book was given to ‘im.

Heidi Quinn (p.c.) suggests that reduced-form pronoun can occur after a preposition in the ditransitive structure most likely when the PP is an argument of the verb and the preposition acts more like a case marker than a contentful preposition. The structure may appear without the preposition in the passive clause indicating that what really agrees with the Recipient is Appl, e.g.:

(79) A book was given ‘im.[50]

[50] A similar example is reported in Larson (1988) in which the lexical Theme can passivize when the Recipient is pronominal:

(i) A letter was given {‘im/*HIM} by Mary.

It is not clear what the correlation is between the restriction on the Recipient to be pronominal on the one side and passivization of the lexical Theme on the other side. Holmberg *et al* (2018) includes examples from North-West English of Theme passivization though the Recipient is lexical:

(ii) A book was given/sent/handed John.

In the current discussion, the example (i) is just to be taken as case of licensing a defective Recipient by Appl regardless of the lexical or pronominal nature of the Theme. It is possible, though, that Appl can license only defective Recipient in some dialects.

As I adopt Roberts' (2010) view that the clitic does not have any Case as the [uCase] is a feature of D, as was discussed in section 7.5.5, I will call the Agree relation between Appl and the defective Recipient *inherent Agree* as, here, Appl assigns the REC role to Recipient and agrees with it. When the Recipient is a full DP, it will be assigned inherent Case by Appl and is spelled out in its base-generated position (Spec-ApplP), while v assigns Case to the Theme. As such, under passivization, the Theme can be attracted to Spec-TP by T:

(80) A signet ring was given to her brother.

The passive shown in (80) is similar to Theme-passive in the DOC of Italian discussed in Chapter 5:

(81) Queste idee sono state date a Maria.
these ideas are been given to Maria
'These ideas were given to Maria'

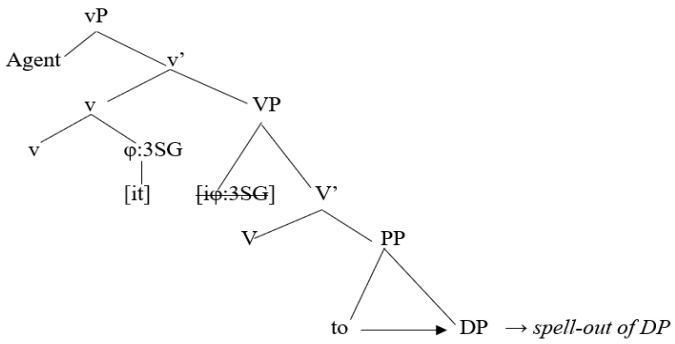
I assume that the similarity between (80) and (81) is that the Recipient does not have an active [uCase] feature. This is why it cannot be probed by T. As such, the passivization in this case will be similar to that in the PDC in which only Theme can passivize. The passivization of the altPDC can be taken as an example of an asymmetrical passivization in the British English dialects in which only Theme may passivize, as will be discussed further in section 7.5.8.

7.5.7.4 The pronominal PDC

This section will discuss cliticization (by agreement) of the defective pronouns into Probes attested in the previous sections but this time in the PDC with one or two pronominal objects. In the case where the Theme is a pronoun and the Goal is a DP, the uF of v is matched with iF of the pronominal Theme, and if the latter is defective, it will get spelled out as clitic on the Probe, v. Meanwhile, the uF of the preposition is valued by the iF of the DP Goal and the latter is spelled out as a complement of the preposition *to* because it cannot be incorporated into the preposition, as shown in (82):

(82) a. She gave it to the women.

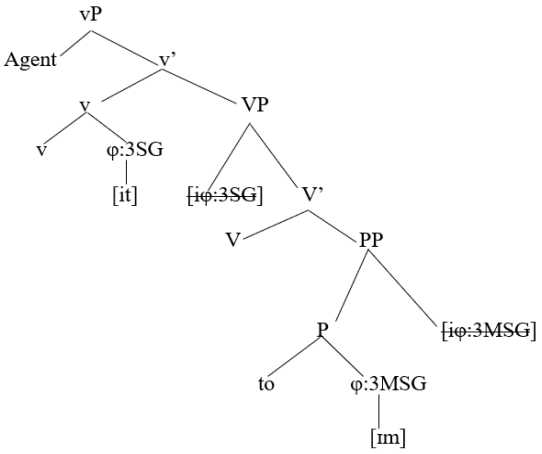
b.



When the PDC has two defective pronominal objects, v agrees with the pronominal Theme as usual, while the preposition will agree with the pronominal Goal triggering cliticization on the preposition, in the form of a reduced pronoun, i.e. a clitic:

(83) a. The teacher gave it to 'im.[51]

b.



7.5.8 Passivization in British English dialects

Symmetrical passivization can be found in some British English dialects, even though Standard English is an asymmetric language as regards passivization of DOC, where only Recipient can be passivized, e.g.:

[51] Joel Wallenberg (p.c.)

(84) a. John was given the book. (Standard English)

b.*The book was given John.

(Holmberg *et al* 2018:4)

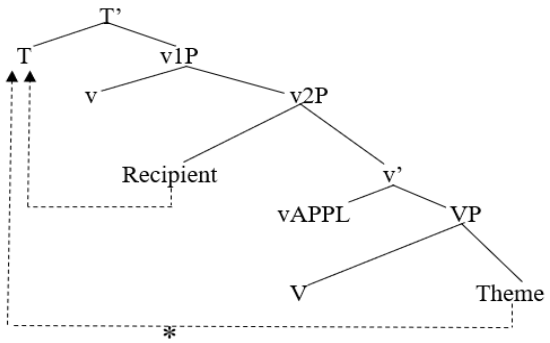
(85) a. She was given it. (Manchester, Ormskirk dialect)

b. It was given her.

(Biggs 2015: 219)

The passive construction in (84a) can be accounted for in accordance with the Locality and Case-centered approaches discussed in Chapter 5. Following the Locality approach, only the higher active argument (the Recipient in 84a) in the active context can be passivized while the other argument (the Theme in 84a) is trapped inside the VP as its movement up to Spec-TP is blocked by the intervening Recipient, as shown in (86) (repeated from Chapter 5):[52]

(86)



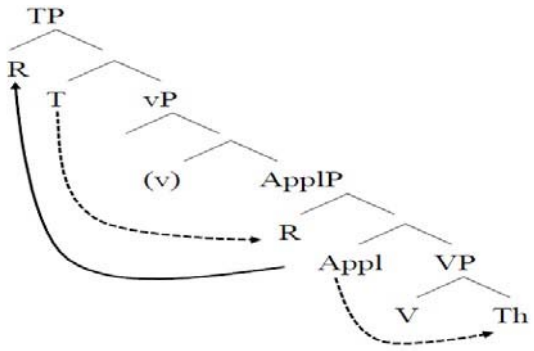
(Anagnostopoulou 2003: 152)

On the other hand, following the Case-centered approach, only arguments assigned Case by v in the active context can be passivized (the Recipient in 84a) while the other argument (the Theme) will get Case from Appl. In the passive, v behaves differently in that it does not assign

[52] v2P in (86) stands for ApplP

a theta role to a subject or Case to an object paving the way for T to probe past v. Appl does not change in the passive, therefore, Theme is licensed in situ as in the active, as shown in (87):

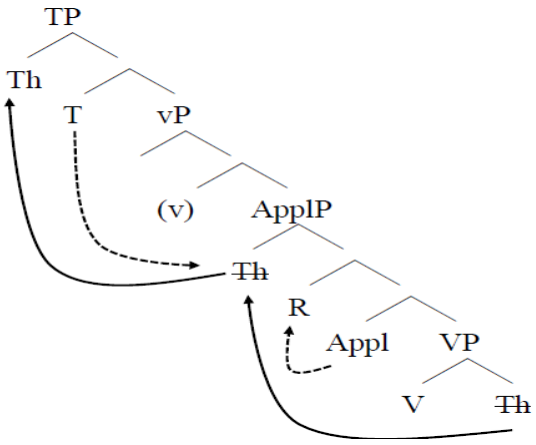
(87)



(Holmberg *et al* 2018: 23)

Still, symmetrical passivization in DOC is attested in some British English dialects as shown in (85) above (Haddican 2010; Haddican & Holmberg 2012; 2014). Haddican and Holmberg (2012) conduct a judgment experiment on object movement symmetries in British English dialects. They point out that results show a correlation between Theme-Recipient orders in active contexts and Theme passivization. More precisely, the acceptance of *It was given her* implies the acceptance of *He gave it her* but not vice-versa. This positive correlation between Theme-Recipient orders in active contexts and Theme passivization can be accounted for in accordance with the Locality approach found in Ura (1996); McGinnis (1998); Bobaljik (2002); Anagnostopoulou (2003); Doggett (2004); Jeong (2007). The argument here is that, in symmetric passives, Theme passivization is carried out when the Theme "skips" the Recipient by movement of the former to an outer specifier of projection hosting the latter. When this movement of the Theme is impossible for any reason, the intervening Recipient will block movement of the Theme to Spec-TP. The movement of the Theme to an outer specifier of the projection hosting the Recipient is sketched in (88):

(88)



(Holmberg *et al* 2018: 24)

When analyzing Theme passive according to the Case-centered approach, Holmberg *et al* (2018) argue that, the parameter in this case, is whether Appl can assign Case to the Recipient or not. What happens in the Theme passive is that the Recipient is assigned Case by Appl, therefore, the movement of the Theme is obligatory to the edge of the ApplP phase (outer Spec-Appl).[53] This is due to the unvalued [uCase] feature of the Theme within ApplP, which triggers its movement to the phase head.[54] In that position, T can agree with it and, as result of agreement, the Theme is assigned nominative Case and attracted to Spec-TP.

The analyses of passivization presented here have consequences for the controversial question of whether asymmetry is attributed to Locality in the first place or to the lack of Case in one of the arguments. This will be discussed further in the next section.

7.5.8.1 Theme passivization in the British English dialects

British English dialects differ as regards Theme passivization. Some of these dialects allow only pronominal Theme passivization as in the Manchester dialect (Biggs 2015). On the other hand, the dialect of Liverpool permits passivization of full DP Themes (Biggs 2015). The

[53] According to Holmberg *et al* (2018), a functional head is said to be phase head if it introduces a highest argument in a predicate. Appl is a phase head in this sense in that it is a functional head which introduces the Recipient.

[54] Holmberg *et al* (2018:22) argues that '[t]he edge of a phase is the outermost specifier of the phase head'.

variation in the two cases can be explained if the first passivization is derived from a DOC while the second is derived from a PDC. This idea is elaborated in the next section.

7.5.8.1.1 Passivization of pronominal Theme

This section tries to discuss the difference between the British English dialects which accept the variant *she gave it him* and those that do not on the one hand, and how this acceptance or rejection is reflected on passivization of the pronominal Theme on the other hand.

Haddican & Holmberg (2012) have addressed this issue.[55] They claim that British English dialects exhibit three Grammars: Grammar 1 represents speakers who accept the order pronominal Recipient- pronominal Theme in the DOC while they reject the order Theme-Recipient, consequently, for these speakers only the Recipient can passivize which is in line with Locality and Case-centered approaches as in this Grammar the Recipient is the higher argument with which v agrees in the active context. Here, both functional heads, v and Appl, have unvalued φ-features, as such, they can agree with a defective Recipient and Theme respectively (as discussed in the previous sections) resulting in the cliticization (by agreement) of the two pronominal objects on the functional heads. Meanwhile, the external argument satisfies the EPP feature on v. In the passive, there will be a lack of a person feature on v, therefore, the defective Recipient cannot incorporate into v. However, v still retains its EPP feature which attracts the Recipient to Spec-vP and from that position it can agree with T, and move to Spec-TP.

On the other hand, Grammar 2 represents speakers who accept the order pronominal Theme-pronominal Recipient. Speakers adopting this Grammar allow passivization of the pronominal Theme. Here, v agrees with the defective Theme while Appl agrees with the defective Recipient in the active context. Similar to the case of Grammar 1, the external argument satisfies the EPP feature on v. Under passivization, the Theme fails to incorporate to v due to the absence of a person feature on the latter. Nevertheless, the EPP feature on v is still present and helps the Theme to raise to Spec-vP, a position from which it can be probed by T, then raise to Spec-TP due to the EPP feature on T.

[55] My review here ignores the Linker head postulated by Haddican and Holmberg (2012), assuming instead that the Recipient can be assigned Case by Appl in some varieties of English. This is in order to relate the analysis more directly to the theory assumed in the present work.

Meanwhile, Grammar 3 represents speakers that accept the order pronominal Theme-pronominal Recipient in active context, however, they do not accept passivization of the Theme. The derivation is thus similar to that in Grammar 2 in the active context yielding the order Theme-Recipient but diverts from Grammar 2 in that little v in Grammar 3 lacks the EPP feature, which means that the Theme is unable to move to the edge of the vP. Consequently, the Theme cannot be attracted and assigned Case by T and the derivation will crash.

So, the answer to the question raised at the beginning of this section is that speakers of British English dialects adopt different grammars. Only those speakers who adopt Grammar 2 will accept the variant *she gave it him* along with accepting passivization of pronominal Theme *It was given him*. Speakers of Grammar 1 essentially rejects the variant *she gave it him* in the active clause while speakers of Grammar 3 accept this variant in the active clause whereas they reject it in the passive. If this is right, variation as regards Agree with little v is what lies behind variation in word order and passivization with ditransitives. After all, whatever a defective goal little v agrees with, will surface first in the order, and passivize.

7.5.8.1.2 Full-DP Theme passive in Liverpool dialect

This section concerns the altDOC construction *Mary gave the book the teacher* which has Theme-Recipient order with two full-DP objects attested in SET L in Gerwin's data, a pattern which appears only in BNCreg but not FRED. In this construction, the full DP Theme precedes the full DP Recipient. Biggs (2015) investigates this construction, especially Theme passivization of full DPs in the dialect of Liverpool. Such passivization was not reported as accepted by speakers of other British dialects. Passive of full DP Theme is shown below:

(89) a. The book was given the teacher. (Liverpool)

b. The package was sent her nan's.

(Biggs 2015: 218)

Further, Biggs reports that Liverpool speakers accept altDOC with two full DP objects as well as altDOC with pronominal objects, e.g.:

(90) a. Mary gave the book the teacher.

b. Mary sent the package her nan's.

(Biggs 2015: 220)

(91) a. Mary gave it the teacher.

b. It was given the teacher.

(Biggs 2015: 219)

This is where other British dialects such as that of Manchester permits only altDOC with pronominal objects. Meanwhile, Recipient passives are always fine with the speakers of Liverpool (Biggs p.c.), e.g.:

(92) a. John was given a book.

b. He was given it.

c. John was taught French by Mary.

d. The student was shown a picture by the teacher.

Biggs argues that there is no correlation in Liverpool dialect between the existence of Theme passive in (85b) and that of the altDOC. This correlation was reported in other British dialects (Haddican 2010; Haddican and Homberg 2012). Instead, Biggs argues that Theme passive in Liverpool dialect is derived from an altDOC which is underlyingly a PDC with an inherent abstract Case. Biggs' argument is built on the semantic distinction between the DOC and the PDC as the DOC implies transfer of possession while the PDC expresses allative semantics (i.e. the semantics of 'motion to X'). According to Biggs, speakers in Liverpool treat the PDC and the altDOC as having identical semantics, the allative one. This in contrast to their usage of the DOC which has the possessive interpretation. The identical semantic interpretation of the PDC and the altDOC the speakers in Liverpool are making can be seen in the following examples:

(93) a. She pushed/hauled/lifted it to me. (PDC)

b. *She pushed/hauled/lifted me it. (DOC)

c. She pushed/hauled/lifted it me. (altDOC)

(94) a. She whispered/shouted it to me. (PDC)

b. *She whispered/shouted me it. (DOC)

c. She whispered/shouted it me. (altDOC)

On the other hand, altDOC is rejected in Liverpool English with verbs that are usually show in the DOC but not in the PDC. These verbs include *refuse, cost, deny* for example:

(95) a. *The car cost five grand to Beth. (PDC)

b. The car cost Beth five grand. (DOC)

c. *The car cost five grand Beth. (altDOC)

(96) a. *She denied the ice cream to the child. (PDC)

b. She denied the child the ice cream. (DOC)

c. *She denied the ice cream the child. (altDOC)

Based on the above data which indicates the similarity between the semantics of the PDC and the altDOC in contrast to the DOC in the Liverpool dialect, Biggs relates Theme passives to verbs associated with the PDC only:

(97) a. The code was whispered Mary before Sally knew what was happening.

b. The winnings from last week's draw were donated Alder Hey Hospital.

(98) a. It was whispered her before she knew what was happening.

b. It was donated the hospital last week.

(99) a. *Five grand was cost the car.

b. *The ice cream was envied the child.

Biggs argues that the lack of a morphological marker in the Recipient appearing in the Theme passive suggests that it is derived from an active PDC with null preposition which licenses the Goal, as shown in (100):

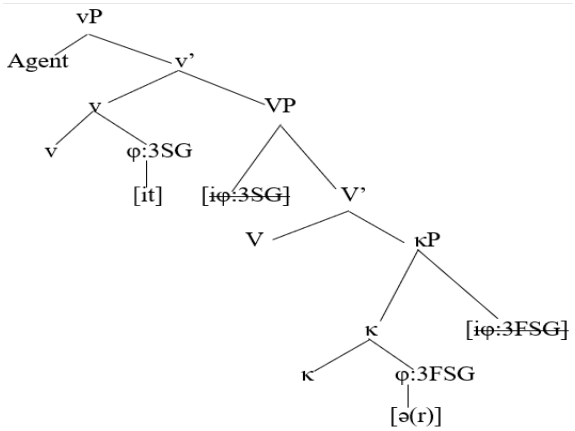
(100) a. It was given her. (Theme passive)

b. I gave it [*to*$_{\text{NULL}}$] her. (altDOC =PDC)

(Biggs 2015: 222)

Biggs terms the *to*$_{\text{NULL}}$ proposition κ. Accordingly, the altDOC in (100b) can be sketched in (101):

(101)



In (101), v agrees with the defective Theme which is spelled out as a clitic on the Probe v, whereas the preposition κ agrees (inherent Agree) with the Goal which is spelled out on the Probe κ. When the two objects are lexical, v will agree with the Theme and is spelled out as a DP in its base-generated position, Spec-VP, whereas κ agrees with the lexical Goal and is spelled out as a complement of the preposition κ as it cannot be incorporated into the preposition. That is to say that under Biggs's account, the Liverpool English facts are consistent with the theory I propose here in that only the object with which v agrees in the active clause may passivize. The object in the Goal position is satisfied by the Agree with the preposition κ, therefore stays within κP.

Based on the analysis made in this section, the Theme passive in Liverpool dialect is asymmetrical and compatible with the passive in the PDC in that it, as predicted by theories of passivization discussed above, allows only Theme to passivize in this construction.

In conclusion to the section of passivization in British English dialects, these dialects exhibit three types of passivization: Asymmetrical which allows only passivization of the Recipient as in Standard English, the second type which is also asymmetrical but allows only passivization of the Theme as, shown in this section and section 7.5.7.3. The third type is symmetrical in that it permits both arguments to passivize.

7.6 Summary

This chapter aims to present the descriptive facts of ditransitives in British English dialects then analyze them in accordance with the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis. The chapter starts by giving the descriptive facts of ditransitives in these dialects based on data from Gerwin (2014). The data shows that British English dialects exhibit the following ditransitive patterns: The PDC construction with two full DP objects *She gave a book to the women*; the DOC with two full DP objects *She gave the women a book*; the PDC with a pronominal Theme and a full DP Goal *She gave it to the woman*; the DOC with a pronominal Recipient and a full DP Theme *She gave him a book*; the PDC with two pronominal objects *She gave it to her*; the DOC with two pronominal objects *She gave her it*; the altDOC with two pronominal objects *She gave it her*. Furthermore, some dialects may exhibit the altPDC with pronominal or full DP Recipient e.g. *She gave to him a book*; *She gave to her brother a signet ring* (Siewierska & Hollmann 2007). Besides, Liverpool dialect exhibits the altDOC with two full DP objects *Mary gave the book the teacher* (Biggs 2015).

In analyzing these constructions, I have applied the proposals of Holmberg *et al* (2018), Roberts (2010), and Van der Wal (2015) to the English data. Here, I have adopted a theory of Agree between the functional heads v, Appl and a preposition on the one hand and the objects in these constructions on the other hand. It is argued that the Recipient in the DOC is introduced by Appl while the Theme will be a complement of V. In the DOC with full DP objects, v will agree with and assign Case to the Recipient whereas Appl agrees with and assign Case to the Theme (Holmberg *et al* 2018). Following Van der Wal (2015), since the features of the full DP Recipient are not a subset of the Probe's (little v), the result of Agree between them will be a spell out of a DP in the base-generated position. The same thing applies for Agree between Appl and the full DP Theme, the latter will spell out as a DP in its base-generated position.

As for pronominal objects in the British English dialects, I argue that they are of two types: the full forms which I claimed are DPs and the reduced forms which I claimed they are syntactic clitics which in observational/descriptive terms are similar to those seen in Iraqi Arabic. Following Roberts (2010), I treat these reduced forms as defective goals that can cliticize into a Probe as a result of Agree between the Probe e.g. v, Appl, or a preposition, and a defective goal, a reduced form pronoun. By Agree, the defective goal will incorporate into Probe and spell out there. In the DOC, I have pointed out that British English dialects exhibit the features of asymmetrical and symmetrical languages. An example of asymmetrical dialects is Standard English where v agrees only with defective Recipient while Appl will agree with defective Theme. I have argued that symmetrical features attested in the DOC of some British English dialects result from flexible licensing by Appl in these dialects as the latter may agree either with the Recipient or Theme.

In the PDC with two defective objects, v will probe the pronominal Theme only which is spelled out on v in the form of a reduced pronoun, i.e. a clitic. Meanwhile, the defective Goal is probed by the preposition triggering cliticization of the Goal on the preposition. If the Goal is a DP, it will be spelled out as a complement of the preposition *to* without incorporation of the former into the latter.

In discussing the passive, I argued that these dialects exhibit three types of passivization two of them are asymmetrical. The first of which allows only passivization of Recipient as in Standard English for example, whereas the second allows passivization of the Theme only as in dialects exhibiting the altPDC pattern. The third type is symmetrical in that any of the two arguments may passivize.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates the ditransitive constructions in two historically unrelated languages: Iraqi Arabic, a poorly documented language, and English (including British English dialects). The aim of this investigation is to obtain insight into possible cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the ditransitive constructions, which is a controversial issue in generative theory, and thus, contribute to the development of linguistic theory. I have shown that Iraqi Arabic provides a rich environment for the study of ditransitives as it exhibits many patterns of these structures. The main questions that the thesis tries to answer are, what are the properties of ditransitives in the two languages? How is the word order derived? How is theta-role assigned? How is Case assigned? What is the difference between full DP and pronominal objects in these constructions and what impact does this difference have on the derivation? In the course of answering these questions, the thesis first has reviewed the facts related to the structure of ditransitives, among which the syntactic properties of functional heads contained in these constructions, the semantic and syntactic relation between the two objects, word order options, Case-marking, and passives. Then, the difference between the syntactic features of lexical and pronominal objects in both languages is investigated and how this difference affects ditransitive patterns and other syntactic operations such as passivization.

For each of the two languages under investigation, the thesis, first, has given a descriptive account of ditransitive constructions. Second, it has presented a generative account of how the ditransitive structures are derived in each language with a special focus on the case of pronominal objects. This chapter summarizes the findings of the thesis.

Chapter 2 has two aims the first of which is to introduce a typological overview of ditransitive constructions and their alignments. The second aim of the chapter is to introduce the reader to the descriptive facts in Iraqi Arabic which are related to ditransitive constructions such as word order options, Case-marking, and passives. As for Case marking, it has been shown that the DOC in Iraqi Arabic exhibits different Case-marking. The two objects are not marked in the double accusative construction including constructions with Spray-Load verbs. In the case of the DOC with the ditransitive *it ʕṭa* 'give', the full DP Recipients is marked with the prefix *l-* and the full DP Theme is not marked. On the other hand, in the DOC with two pronominal objects, the Theme is marked with the special the form *-iya*. As for passive, it has

been shown that Iraqi Arabic has two types of passive but in either of which only the Recipient can passivize.

8.2 Chapter 3: Ditransitives -Theoretical Background

This chapter has reviewed the current approaches on ditransitives within a generative theory of grammar. I have argued that one area of debate about the ditransitives concerns the nature of the relationship between DOCs and PDCs, in particular whether it is derivational or projectional. The derivational view is led by Larson (1988); den Dikken (1995) among others, and claim that the DOC is derived from the PDC by *Dative Shift* (Larson1988), a passive-like operation in which the Recipient is promoted to the indirect object position while the Theme assumes adjunct status within V'.

On the other hand, the projectional point of view has been adopted by Marantz (1993); Pesetsky (1995), Harley (2002); Pylkkanen (2002; 2008), Bruening (2010, 2014), among others. This view denies that the DOC and the PDC are underlyingly related, instead it claims that each of them has its own (independent) projection. Within this view, there are mainlytwo competing hypotheses: the first argues that the DOC is headed by an Appl head, an analysis that is taken from languages that have an overt Appl head such as Chichewa and other Bantu languages. This hypothesis is adopted by Marantz (1993), Pylkkanen (2002: 2008) and Bruening (2010, 2014), among others.

The second hypothesis (Pesetsky 1995) claims that the DOC is headed by a prepositional phrase containing a null preposition that Pesetsky terms *G* whose role is to assign Case to the Theme in the construction, an analysis developed further in Harley (2002) who argues thatthe prepositional phrase in the ditransitive construction is headed either by a null possessive preposition, P_{HAVE} in the DOC or by a locative null preposition, P_{LOC} in the PDC.

In this thesis, I have adopted the projectional point of view by assuming that DOC and PDC are underlyingly different structures. This view is supported by the behavior of idioms and some cases attested in English and Iraqi Arabic where neither DOC nor PDC is derived from each other, which argues against "Dative Shift" (Larson 1988). This is in addition to the difference in the semantics of the indirect object in the two structures pointed out by Oehrle (1976) where it is a Recipient i.e. a Possessor in the DOC while it is a Goal i.e. location in the PDC.

8.3 Chapter 4: The theory of pronouns

This chapter has introduced the reader to the theory of pronouns where a distinction has been made between terms such as strong, weak pronouns, affixes and clitics. One aim of this chapter is to make a clear distinction between these terms and to discuss their syntactic properties. A special consideration has been given to clitics. This is due to the fact that pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic always surface as clitics.

One area of debate has been dealt with in this chapter concerns the derivation of pronominal clitics, whether they are X°s or XPs. Following Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, clitics are considered X°s in that they are heads at the surface structure while weak pronouns are XPs at the surface structure.

When the diagnostics of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) is applied to the pronominal objects of Iraqi Arabic, I have pointed out that the language does not have weak pronouns and claimed that pronominal objects in Iraqi Arabic are clitics in that they cannot constitute a phrase-level category. They cannot to be coordinated with other DPs, appear in the base-generated object position, appear in isolation or be clefted. As clitics, they must be attached to a host.

This chapter introduces Shlonsky's (1997) and Roberts' (2010) accounts of the theory of clitics. Shlonsky' (1997) argues that Semitic clitics are not viewed as arguments whose heads lean on or raise and incorporate into their hosts. Rather they are Agr° elements merged with VP to which a lower head (the host) adjoins, not the other way around. Therefore, object clitics are seen as AgrO°s.

Roberts' (2010), on the other hand, proposes a theory of clitic-incorporation in which cliticization is viewed as a result of Agree between a Probe (such as little v for example) of uF on the one hand with a defective goal (such as a pronominal object that is solely made up of φ-features) of a matching iF on the other hand. This Agree will cause the defective goal to incorporate into and spelled out on the Probe.

8.4 Chapter 5: Ditransitives with Lexical Objects of Iraqi Arabic

The chapter has two aims: First, it introduces the reader to the structure of the ditransitive constructions adopted in the thesis, proposed by Holmberg *et al* (2018). The reason for adopting this structure specifically in this thesis is that it solves the dilemma encountered in generative syntactic theory regarding the way by which the two objects are assigned their theta- role and Case. Further, it can be applied to both asymmetric as well as symmetric languages. The structure assumes that, in the DOC, little v introduces and assigns Θ-role to the external

argument whereas the Recipient is introduced and assigned its Θ-role by an Appl head. Meanwhile, V assigns Θ-role to its complement (the Theme). As for Case assignment, there are two possibilities in the asymmetric languages. In the first of which, little v will assign Case to the Recipient and Appl assigns Case to the Theme, as in the case of Iraqi Arabic and Standard English for example. The other possibility realized in the asymmetric languages is that Appl assigns inherent Case to the Recipient and the Theme is assigned Case by little v, as in the case of Italian.

The second aim of Chapter 5 has been to discuss the ditransitive constructions of Iraqi Arabic with full DP objects by applying Holmberg's *et al* (2018) theory to the data. It has been argued that the prefix *l-* introducing the lexical Recipient in the DOC with the ditransitive *intʿə* 'give', is to be taken as the spell-out of Accusative Case assigned by little v. In the DOC with ditransitives such as *dərrəs* 'teach', *wəkkəl* 'feed', *ʔimtiħən* 'test' as well as some Spray-Load verbs, the language exhibits a double accusative construction in which the two objects are assigned abstract Case.

In discussing the semantic relation between the two objects in the DOC, it has been claimed that it is a possession relation in that the IO functions as a Possessor of the DO. As regards the syntactic relation between the two objects, it has been argued it is asymmetrical in that the IO (which is base-generated higher than DO in the structure) asymmetrically c-commands the DO resulting in a restricted word order in the construction where the IO must precede the DO.

In discussing passive, I have argued that the language exhibits two types of passive: Passive1 in which the IO can check EPP and Case on T under passivization supported by the categorical and the Case feature it has, therefore, it is assigned Case by T and raises to Spec-TP. In Iraqi Arabic, only the IO can do such checking. As such, the DO stays in its original inner position as a complement of V where it is assigned Accusative Case by Appl.

In passive 2, little v does not lose the capacity of assigning Accusative Case to the IO under passivization as the accusative object agreement on the verb indicates. Therefore, the IO enters only an EPP (but not Case) relation with T which triggers movement of the IO to Spec- TP. As for Case assignment of the DO in Passive 2, the latter is still assigned Case by Appl which disallow any movement of the DO to Spec-TP.

I have also argued that the same analysis of Passive1 and Passive 2 can be applied to constructions with Spray/Load verbs.

8.5 Chapter 6: Ditransitives with pronominal objects of Iraqi Arabic

The chapter discusses the ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic with pronominal objects. I have claimed that pronominal objects are syntactic clitics in the sense that they do not have full form pronouns. In analyzing the ditransitives with pronominal objects of Iraqi Arabic, I have applied Roberts' (2010), van der Wal's (2015) along with Holmberg's *et al* (2018) accounts to the data. I have argued that, following Roberts (2010), the functional heads in the ditransitives i.e. little v, Appl or a preposition function as Probes that agree with defective objects (defective in the sense of having fewer features than the Probe). Accordingly, cliticization in the ditransitives of Iraqi Arabic is seen here as a result of Agree between these Probes and the defective pronominal objects. When applying Holmberg *et al* (2018) to the data, the Agree in the DOC of Iraqi Arabic is between little v and a defective Recipient on the one hand, and Appl and a defective Theme on the other hand.

I have pointed out that Iraqi Arabic exhibits two types of Appl heads: the first is *Appl1* attested in the DOC which introduces a Recipient argument and I have termed it *possessive Appl*. The second is *Appl 2* attested in the TOC of Iraqi Arabic for example which introduces a Benefactive argument and I have termed it *benefactive Appl*. I have also pointed out that while Appl1 may introduce both pronominal and lexical objects, Appl 2 can introduce only pronominal Benefactives but not lexical ones.

In the chapter, I have claimed that both Appl 1 and Apple 2 tends to be realized in Iraqi Arabic as the form *-iya* and that this form is used as a 'carrier' of the φ-features of a defective object in such a way that the φ-features of the latter are spelled out on the form *-iya*. Therefore, the φ-features of a defective Theme can be spelled out on the form *-iya* (Appl1) in the DOC while φ-features of a defective Recipient can be spelled out on the form *-iya* (Appl 2) in the TOC.

8.6 Chapter 7: Ditransitives in British English dialects

The chapter discusses ditransitives in British English dialects and has two aims: it provides the reader with descriptive facts of ditransitives in British English dialects. The second is to analyze these constructions according to the theory adopted in this thesis. Based on data from Gerwin (2014), the chapter starts by giving the descriptive facts of ditransitives in these dialects. Having shown the descriptive facts of ditransitives in British English dialects, I have proceeded to analyze these constructions by adopting a theory of Agree between the functional heads, little v, Appl and a preposition on the one hand and the internal arguments on the other hand.

In the analysis, I have applied the proposals of Roberts (2010), Van der Wal (2015) and Holmberg *et al* (2018), presented in the Chapters 4, 5 and 6, to the ditransitives with full DP as well as pronominal objects. Following, Holmberg *et al* (2018), I have argued that, in the DOC, the Recipient will be introduced by the Appl head while the Theme will be a complement of V.

In the chapter, I have pointed out that British English dialects exhibit the features of asymmetrical as well as symmetrical languages. Standard English is an example of an asymmetrical dialect in that little v can only agree with the Recipient. As for the case of symmetrical dialects, I have claimed that this symmetry is a result of flexible licensing by Appl in these dialects as Appl may agree either with the Recipient or the Theme.

In discussing the pronominal objects in the British English dialects, I have pointed out that there are two types: full forms and reduced forms. I have argued that full forms are DPs while the reduced ones are syntactic clitics similar to those attested in Iraqi Arabic in observational/descriptive terms. As such, they can be analyzed as defective goals following Roberts' (2010) theory of cliticization by agreement in that the spell-out of reduced-form pronouns on the Probe is a manifestation of cliticization resulting from the Agree between a Probe, for example little v or Appl, and a defective goal, a reduced form pronoun:

(1) a.*She gave THEM me.

b. She gave 'em me.

(2) A letter was given {'im/*HIM} by Mary.

(3) a.*I gave the woman it.

b. I gave it the woman.

I have then proceeded to argue that, in British English dialects, both little v and Appl can probe either the defective Recipient or the Theme depending on whether the dialect is asymmetrical or symmetrical. The φ-features of the pronominal Recipient can be spelled out only on little v in the asymmetrical dialects, therefore, the defective Recipient can cliticize (by agreement) to little v. The φ-features of the pronominal Theme, on the other hand, can only be spelled out on Appl, so, the defective Theme cliticizes (by agreement) to Appl yielding the variant *Did he give him it* /dɪdɪgɪvɪmɪt/. Symmetrical dialects, on the other hand, have an additional option in

that either of the defective objects may be probed and spelled out on Apple. So, when Appl probes the defective Recipient, the latter cliticizes to Appl paving the way for little v to probe the defective Theme which, as a result of Agree, cliticizes to little v yielding the variant *Did he give it him?* /dɪdɪgɪvɪtɪm/.

In the PDC, there is no such flexibility. When the PDC has two defective pronominal objects, little v probes only the defective Theme which will be spelled on little v in the form of a reduced pronoun, i.e. a clitic, while the preposition will probe the pronominal Goal triggering cliticization on the preposition. When the Goal is a DP, the uF of the preposition is valued by the iF of the DP Goal and the latter is spelled out as a complement of the preposition *to* without incorporation of the DP Goal into the preposition.

In discussing the passive in the ditransitives of British English dialects, I have claimed that three types of passivization is manifested in these dialects: The first type is asymmetrical, which allows only passivization of the Recipient; the second type is also asymmetrical but allows passivization of the Theme only. The third type is symmetrical in that it permits both arguments to passivize.

The main findings of the thesis lead to the conclusion that the two languages under investigation are more similar than what traditionally is thought to be the case especially as regards exhibiting syntactic clitics. Taking this analysis into consideration, the similarity between the two languages can be seen especially in the DOC construction in that both languages exhibit the DOC with a defective Recipient and full DP-Theme. Besides, both disallow the DOC with a full DP-Recipient and a defective Theme. Also, both languages allow the DOC with two defective objects. Moreover, both languages exhibit the DOC with two full-DP objects as well as the PDC with pronominal or lexical objects. As regards passive, Iraqi Arabic is similar to Standard English in that both of them are asymmetrical languages allowing the passivization of the Recipient only in the DOC.

Still, there are differences in that while the altDOC *she gave it'im/John* is attested in some British English dialects; it is not in Iraqi Arabic. The flexibility of Appl to agree with either the defective Recipient or the Theme shown in some British English dialects is not found in Iraqi Arabic as, in the latter, Appl agrees only with the Theme in the DOC. The implication here is that while the uF of little v can be valued either by the Recipient or Theme in the British English dialects, it can be valued only by the Recipient in Iraqi Arabic. Another difference between the two languages is that while British English dialects exhibits Appl 1 only, Iraqi Arabic exhibits Appl1 and Appl2.

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