

**Counter-Cyclic Merge as a Last Resort for Adjuncts:
Evidence from Levantine Arabic Attitude Datives¹**

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Abstract

It has been argued that adjunction as pair merge, unlike substitution or set merge, may or even must occur counter-cyclically. I present evidence from optional datives in Levantine Arabic, a category of pronouns that merge as applicative adjuncts, to show that adjunction may behave on a par with set merge and give priority to cyclicity. More specifically, I show that Levantine Arabic Attitude Datives as applicative adjuncts must merge cyclically by default and that they only opt for counter-cyclic merge as a last resort.

Keywords

Arabic – datives – applicatives – adjuncts – adjunction – cyclic merge – counter-cyclic merge

Adjunction has typically been considered as a distinct structure building operation. One main reason is that adjuncts behave differently from arguments. Adjuncts are not normally selected;

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the choice of structures they merge with is less restrictive; they may have multiple merging sites that may or may not lead to different interpretations. These observations have led researchers, and rightly so, to analyze adjuncts as a special category. As a result, different claims have been made about them. Some of these claims are listed in (1):

- (1) a. Adjuncts undergo pair merge and behave syntactically as if they are not there (Chomsky 2004).
- b. Adjuncts dangle, or undergo concatenation without labelling (Hornstein and Nunes 2008).
- c. Adjuncts merge in different dimensions or on separate planes (Chomsky 2004; Uriagereka 2003).
- d. Adjuncts *may* merge late or counter-cyclically (Lebeaux 1988, 1991; Abe 2018).
- e. Adjuncts *must* merge late or counter-cyclically (Stepanov 2001).

The claims in (1) have helped account for different phenomena. For example, Lebeaux's hypothesis in (d) has helped account for argument/adjunct asymmetry with respect to A'-movement and its interaction with Condition C. Consider the sentences in (2). Both contain an R-expression, *Tom*, in a wh-phrase. Only the R-expression in (2a) violates Condition C under the intended reading. According to Lebeaux (1991), this is the case because the R-expression in (2a) merges within the wh-phrase in its base position before A'-movement. The R-expression in (2b) does not induce the same violation because it is part of an adjunct (the relative clause) that undergoes late merge within the wh-phrase after A'-movement. Prior to movement, the wh-

phrase only includes *which claim*; since it does not contain the R-expression in its base position, there is no Condition C violation.

- (2) a. *Which claim that Tom_i was guilty did he_i accept?
- b. Which claim that Tom_i had heard did he_i accept?

This article is concerned with the last two claims in (1). I provide evidence from optional dative pronouns in Levantine Arabic, a category of pronouns that merge as applicative adjuncts, to show that adjunction may behave on a par with other structure building operations that obey the Extension Condition or the requirement that all merge must be cyclic (Chomsky 1993: 22–23). I also show that applicative adjuncts in Levantine Arabic only violate the cyclicity requirement and merge counter-cyclically as a last resort.

The article is organized as follows. Section 1 provides a descriptive overview of optional datives, also known as Attitude Datives, in Levantine Arabic and highlights an unexpected issue that will be relevant to the question of cyclicity. Section 2 presents a summary of Haddad's (2014) analysis of Attitude Datives as applicative adjuncts that merge counter-cyclically. It goes on to show that Haddad's analysis is not able to account for the unexpected issue highlighted in Section 1. Section 3 shows that the issue is resolved once we realize that applicative adjuncts in Levantine Arabic must merge cyclically and that they only opt for counter-cyclic merge as a last resort. Section 4 concludes by discussing some implications for the interplay between syntax and pragmatics, as well as their respective autonomy.

1. Attitude Datives in Levantine Arabic: The Empirical Landscape

The different varieties of Levantine Arabic (Jordanian, Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian) license a category of optional dative pronominal enclitics known as Attitude Datives (Haddad 2018a).

These datives are interpersonal pragmatic markers that may be added to utterances without altering their truth conditions. Instead, they serve two broad pragmatic functions: (i) an attitudinal function to express an evaluative stance toward an event, a behavior, an object, or an individual, and/or (ii) a relational function to manage (affirm, maintain, challenge, etc.) relationships between interlocutors. Four types of ADs are licensed in Levantine Arabic. These are Speaker-Oriented Attitude Datives or SP-ADs, Hearer-Oriented Attitude Datives or HR-ADs, Topic/Affectee Attitude Datives or TOP/AFF-ADs, and Subject-Oriented Attitude Datives or SUBJ-ADs. Examples of the four types are presented in (3) through (7) below. All ADs are in boldface.

Each type of AD makes distinct pragmatic contributions. Consider the SP-AD in (3) for example. This type of AD profiles the speaker/writer as a source of authority – in this case, moral authority. The writer is indignant about what she evaluates as despicable behavior by Syrian expatriates who pretend to be concerned about the Syrian civil war by posting comments on social media from their comfortable locations outside Syria.

(3) SP-AD Construction

Context: A reader of www.souriat.com, an online Syrian newspaper, reposts a quote originally posted on Facebook by Carol Maalouf, a journalist, during the Syrian Civil war that started in 2011.

feysbu:kya:t ... su:riyya:t ... katabat l-sʿahafiyya karo:l
 Facebook.entries ... Syrian ... wrote the-journalist Carol
maʕlu:f ʕala sʿafhati-ha: ... baddak tinquz ʕalab
 Maalouf on page-her ... you.want save Aleppo
w-sizin ʕama: ? nʔibir ʔu:m ʕan l-Facebook
 and-prison Hama ? the.hell rise from the-Facebook
w-rʒa:ʕ da:fiʕ ʕann-a: mitil l-rʒa:l .
 and-return defend for-it like the-men .
ʔa:ʕid-li: bi-l-mukayyif bi-l-xali:ʒ ʔaw bi-bru:da:t
 staying-**me.D** in-the-air.conditioner in-the-Gulf or in-cool.weather
ʔorobba: w-ʕam-titbakbak . xallisʕ-na: minn-ak baʔa:
 Europe and-PROG-you.cry . spare-us from-you already

‘Syrian Facebook Entries – The journalist Carol Maalouf wrote on her page: You want to save Aleppo and the prison of Hama you say? Get the hell away from Facebook, go back to Syria and defend them like men. Don’t just cry over them while staying [**me**] in your air-conditioned residence in the Arab Gulf or in the cool weather in Europe. Spare us already!’

فيسبوكيات.. سوريات... كتبت الصحفية “كارول معلوف” على صفحتها: يدك تتقد حلب
 وسجن حماه؟ انتقير قوم عن الفيسبوك وأرجح دافع عنها مثل الرجال. قاعدلي بالمكيف بالخليج
 او بيروادات اورويا وعم تتبكيك. خلصنا منكم بقى.
 المزيد <https://www.souriat.com/2016/05/21949.html>: موقع سوريات

<https://www.souriat.com/2016/05/21949.html>

HR-ADs fulfil a similar pragmatic function; in addition, they invoke the hearers’/readers’ shared identity and cultural membership in order to solicit their engagement and positive

alignment. This is illustrated in (4) in which a Palestinian Facebook user invokes the shared membership of his Facebook friends, soliciting their positive alignment with his negative evaluation of young men’s violation of what he considers manly dress code and hairstyle. Notice that (4) also contains a SP-AD; in fact, multiple ADs in the same utterance are not uncommon and usually mark strong feelings about and emotional involvement in the subject of discussion.

(4) HR-AD Construction

Context: A Palestinian complains on Facebook about the ‘unmanly’ behavior of today’s young men.

<i>ʕalayy-i:</i>	<i>l-tʕirba:f</i>	<i>ʔinno</i>	<i>l-xitya:riyye</i>	<i>ʔaħla:</i>
upon-me	the-divorsh ²	that	the-elderly	better
<i>min</i>	<i>ʕaba:b</i>	<i>lyo:m ..</i>	<i>ha:d</i>	<i>lli:</i>
than	youth	today ..	that	who
				<i>bitʕlaʕ-lak</i>
				appear- you.D
<i>ra:fiʕ-li:</i>	<i>ʕaʕra:t-o ..</i>	<i>w-ha:d</i>	<i>lli:</i>	<i>byilbis-lak</i>
do.up- me.D	hair-his ..	and that	who	wear- you.D
<i>sinse:l</i>	<i>w-ʔiswa:ra</i>	<i>mitil</i>	<i>l-sʕaba:ya:</i>	<i>w-nda:ri:</i>
necklace	and-bracelet	like	the-young.women	and-I.don’t.know
<i>ʕu: ..</i>	<i>si:d-i:</i>	<i>ruzu:le</i>	<i>w-ʒama:l</i>	<i>rabba:ni:</i>
what ..	sir-my	manliness	and-beauty	divine

² The expression is normally *ʕalayy-i: l-tʕala:ʕ* ‘upon me is divorce’ or ‘I swear I am not lying/wrong/etc. and if I am I will divorce my wife as a penalty.’ The speaker avoids the word ‘divorce’ by using a nonsense word in order to eliminate the penalty portion of the oath. This is similar to using *darn it* in English to avoid saying *damn it*.

‘I swear that the elderly are better than today’s young men. A young man would show up [you] having done up [me] his hair. Another would wear [you] a necklace and a bracelet and other jewelry like young women. Brother, what can we say; they are all manifestations of manliness and divine beauty!’

على الطرباش انو الختيارية احلى من شباب اليوم .. هاد اللي بطلعك رافعلي
شعراتو .. وهاد اللي بيلبسك سنسناك واسواره مثل الصبايا وانداري شو .. سيدي
رجولة وجمال رباني !!

TOP/AFF-ADs make different, more individual rather than communal or cultural evaluative contributions. Consider the TOP/AFF-AD in (5), for example; it depicts the referent of the AD – in this case, the wife whose husband stays at home all the time – as topic and portrays her as affected by the behavior of her idle husband.

(5) TOP/AFF-AD Construction

Context: A Syrian Facebook user jokingly posts a sign advertising a husband daycare center and, addressing women, he writes:

triki: zo:z-ek ĩinn-a: ... fu: raʔiy-kun sʕaba:ya:

leave husband-your with-us ... what opinion-your young.women

w-sitta:t w-xa:sʕatan lli: zawz-a: ʔafid-la: bi-l-be:t

and-ladies and-especially who husband-her staying-**her.D** in-the-house

‘Leave your husband with us. What do you think, ladies, especially the one among you whose husband stays [**her**] at home.’



Note that the AD in (5) may also be interpreted as a possessive dative, in which case ‘the house’ would be interpreted as a possessum and the wife as possessor. This interpretation, however, is pragmatically determined and is parasitic on the Topic/Affectee reading, as Haddad (2016) shows. In other words, unlike Hebrew (Landau 1999), German (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006), or Nez Perce (Deal 2013), in which similar datives are analyzed as the outcome of raising and may thus be accounted for syntactically, Haddad (2016) shows that the possessive reading in structures like (5) is not the outcome of syntax (raising) or even semantics (binding), but rather pragmatics; see also Al-Zahre (2003). One piece of evidence comes from the fact that the possessive reading is not enforced, as we can see in (5). Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that “instances of external possession that are blocked in possessor-raising languages due to violation of the Minimal Link Condition” are possible in Levantine Arabic, as (6) illustrates (Haddad 2016: 61; (73)). In (6), the AD is associated with a possessum buried inside a larger DP. Such external possession cases are impossible in German. Lee-Schoenfeld takes this as support

for her raising analysis; she holds that “in a case where the direct object is a complex DP ... the PD [Possessive Dative] must be associated with the larger (containing) DP, rather than with the genitive, which is properly contained in (i.e., a subpart of) the larger DP” (2006: 113).

- (6) *tʿaraft-illa:* *be:t* *xayy-a:*
I.painted-**her.D** house brother-her
‘I painted her brother’s house.’

Finally, SUBJ-ADs also make unique pragmatic contributions; they may be used to evaluate events as insignificant and of minimal cost in relation to the speaker’s expectations of the referent of the subject and the benefit that the event may bring about. In (7), for example, the writer of the comment sarcastically suggests that a customs officer should volunteer to write an autobiography about his struggle and the secret to his success and wealth as a guide to other individuals who would like to emulate him and get rich. By using a SUBJ-AD, the writer evaluates the request as a task that a customs officer should be able to fulfil with minimal effort; the writer also sarcastically evaluates the cost of performing such a task as minimal compared to the benefit of solving the problem of poverty in Syria. See (Haddad 2018a) for a detailed account of the social functions and pragmatic contributions of Attitude Datives in Levantine Arabic.

- (7) SUBJ-AD Construction

Context: A reader of an Online Syrian newspaper, <http://syria-news.com>, posts a comment about an article that describes Syrian customs officers as honest. The comment starts as follows: ‘Where do you have all this (wealth) from? If most customs officers are

honest people, how come they have cars and villas and houses on a 1,500-pound-per-month salary? Why don't they tell us their secret; perhaps we could do what they do and solve the problem of poverty. Who knows, perhaps if they are kind enough to give us some advice, the Syrian people will become one of the richest in the world!!' The comment continues:

bas law yaʕmel-lo fi: dʕabet zama:rek

only if would.undertake-**him.D** some officer customs

fi: kta:b ʕan kifa:h-o w-sirr naza:h-o

some book about struggle-his and-secret success-his

'Only if a/some customs officer wrote **[him]** a/some book about his struggle and the secret of his success.'

18:30:43 2010-01-25	الداعي
من أين لك هذا إذا كان جل من في الجمارك شرفاء، كيف يسير عندون سيارات وقلل وبيوت مزارع براتب ١5٠٠٠ ليرة بالشهر. يخبرونا يمكن نعمل متلون وبنقضي على مشكلة الفقر. ما حدا يعرف يمكن إذا تكرموا علينا بشوي نصايح يسير الشعب السوري من أغنى شعوب العالم!! بس لو يعمللو شي ضابط جمارك شي كتاب عن كفاحو وسر نجاحو.	
بريطانيا	-

http://syria-news.com/newstoprint.php?sy_seq=108553

The pragmatic contributions of these datives are not inherent in their denotations or phi features. Rather, their social meanings and functions are conventionalized and context dependent. In this sense, ADs serve as linguistic indices, whereby a linguistic index is a structure – in this case, a clitic – “that is used variably from one situation to another and becomes conventionally associated with particular situational dimensions such that when that structure is used, the form invokes those situational dimensions” (Ochs 1996: 411). In fact, it is not uncommon for ADs – and for interpersonal pragmatic markers in general – to receive different

interpretations in different contexts, and thus each type of AD may serve more than one function; see Haddad (2018a). Consider (8), for example; *-li*: ‘me.D’ may be interpreted as a SP-AD, in which case the speaker plays the role of a moral authority or cultural police who evaluates the behavior of the young man who speeds in his car as wrong. If the speaker is the driver’s parent, the AD may alternatively be interpreted as a TOP/AFF-AD, portraying the referent as affected by the son’s behavior and as concerned about his well-being. Note that the AD may also convey that the speaker is the possessor of the car. As I explained above, however, the possessive reading is optional; the referent of the AD may be an affectee without being a possessor, and the car may very well belong to the driver. Importantly, when the possessive reading is available, it is a pragmatically-determined reading that is parasitic on its TOP/AFF counterpart.

- (8) *ha-l-sʿabi: bidʿall yisraf-li: bi-ha-l-siyya:ra*
 this-the-boy remain speed-**me.D** in-this-the-car
 ‘This boy keeps speeding [**me**] in this car.’

The observation made about the dative in (8) and the fact that an AD may receive alternative interpretations is true of all Levantine Arabic ADs except one: SUBJ-ADs. If an AD refers to the subject, it may only be interpreted as a SUBJ-AD; no alternative interpretation is possible. Consider (9) as an example; the speaker/writer is also the subject, and technically the AD refers to both. Thus, it could in principle have been possible for this dative to serve as a SUBJ-AD or a SP-AD. This is not the case, however; the dative may only be interpreted as a SUBJ-AD.

(9) SUBJ-AD that also refers to the speaker

Context: A Syrian student posts a comment alerting other students that the biochemistry instructor expects them to turn in a notebook with all the experiments they have done over the course of the semester neatly copied/handwritten and organized. Another student responds by confirming that the comment is true. The student adds that s/he most certainly will not waste time copying stupid formulae for a stupid proctor/instructor. The student goes on to write:

bas law darast-illi: fi: ʕafer s'afha:t

but if I.studied-**me.D** some ten pages

Basic Histology ʔaw hatta: Guyton ʔaw

Basic Histology or even Guyton or

ʔay fi: ye:ro bid'all ʔahsan !!

any thing else it.remain better !!

'But if I studied [**me**] about ten pages of Basic Histology or even Guyton (author of textbook of Medical Physiology) or anything else, that would be more beneficial (the benefit would outweigh the cost).'

الكلام مطبوع ..

ولكن أكيد مارح ضييع وقت بكتابة معادلات غبية لمخبر غبي ..

پس لو درستلي شي 10 صفحات Basic Histology أو حتى Guyton
أو أي شي غيرو بضل أحسن !!

<http://www.hakeem-sy.com/main/node/9242>

Example (10) presents a similar situation. In this case, the referent of the subject is also the hearer/reader. Therefore, it could in principle have been possible for the AD to be interpreted as

a HR-AD. No such reading is possible, however; the dative in (10) may only serve as a SUBJ-AD.

(10) SUBJ-AD that also refers to the hearer

Context: A Jordanian supporter of Barcelona is happy after his team wins a soccer match against Real Madrid. Addressing the Real Madrid fans on Facebook, he writes:

<i>l-madri:di:</i>		<i>naʃkur-ak</i>	<i>liʔann-ak</i>	<i>shirit</i>
the.Real.Madrid.supporter		we.thank-you	because-you	stayed-up
<i>maʃ-na:</i>	<i>law</i>	<i>darast-illak</i>	<i>ʔakam kilme</i>	<i>ʔaḥsan-lak</i>
with-us	if	you.studied- you.D	a.few words	better-for.you
<i>law</i>	<i>ʃtayalt</i>	<i>bi-l-sa:ʃte:n</i>	<i>w-tʃallaʃt-illak</i>	
if	you.worked	in-the-two.hours	and-earned- you.D	
<i>ʔakam di:na:r</i>	<i>ʔaḥsan-lak</i>	<i>batʃal</i>	<i>ʔisba:nya:</i>
a.few dinars	better-for.you	champion	Spain
<i>batʃal</i>	<i>ʔorobba:</i>	<i>batʃal</i>	<i>l-ʃa:lam</i>	
champion	Europe	champion	the.world	
<i>ʃan ʔari:b</i>	<i>barʃelooooooooona</i>	...		
soon	Barcelooooooooona	...		

‘To the Real Madrid fan, I say, thank you for staying up (to watch the game) with us. If you’d studied [**you**] a little, that would’ve been better for you. If you’d worked during the two hours (of the match) and earned [**you**] a few dinars, that would’ve been better for you. La Liga Champion, Europa League Champion, soon World Champion: Barcelooooooooona!’

المديدي تشكر لانيك سهرت معنا لو درستك اكم كلمة احسنك لو اشتغلت
بالساعتين و طلعتك اكم دينار احسنك
بطل اسبانيا بطل اوروا بطل العالم عن قريب
برشلوووووووووووووووووووننة ...

The same observation applies to (7) above; the AD in (7) refers to a third-person entity that could in principle serve as a subject or a topic/affectee; however, the AD may not portray its referent as a topic/affectee, and a SUBJ-AD reading is the only interpretation it may receive. For a dative to be interpreted as a SP-, HR-, or TOP/AFF-AD, it may not be coreferential with the subject.

It should be noted that the strict SUBJ-AD reading is not the outcome of an attempt to eliminate ambiguity. SUBJ-ADs, unlike the three other types, impose a requirement on the constructions that host them. Constructions with a SUBJ-AD are required to contain an adverb or an indefinite object in the form of a vague measure, such as *fî: ʕaʕer sʕafha:t* ‘some ten pages’ in (9) and *ʔakam kilme* ‘a few words’ in (10) (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010, 2016; Haddad 2014, 2018a, b). In the absence of a vague measure, the possibility of a SUBJ-AD reading is eliminated even if the AD refers to the subject. Therefore, one would expect it to be possible for the AD to be interpreted as, say, a SP-AD if it simultaneously refers to the speaker. This is not the case, however; in the absence of a vague measure, the use of an AD coreferential with the subject becomes infelicitous and the structure is judged as unacceptable. To illustrate, consider the three examples in (11); (11c) shows that an AD referring to the subject is only possible in the presence of an indefinite object in the form of a vague measure. In the absence of such a vague measure, one would expect the AD to serve as a SP-AD, but it does not; the ungrammaticality of (11b) is evidence that an AD that refers to the subject may only serve as a SUBJ-AD.

- (11) a. *ma: darasna: la-l-ʔimtiħa:n*
 NEG we.studied for-the-exam
 ‘We didn’t study for the exam.’
- b. * *ma: darasne:-l̥na: la-l-ʔimtiħa:n*
 NEG we.studied-**us.D** for-the-exam
 Intended meaning: ‘We didn’t study for the exam (and that is unacceptable)’
- c. *ma: darasne:-l̥na: wala: kilme la-l-ʔimtiħa:n*
 NEG we.studied-**us.D** any word for-the-exam
 ‘We didn’t study at all for the exam (not even a word, an insignificant quantity in comparison to what is expected from us as students).’

An important question follows: Why should coreference with the subject block an AD from serving as a SP-, HR-, or TOP/AFF-AD? Before attempting to answer this question, I present a brief overview of the derivational history of ADs as applicative adjuncts as presented in Haddad (2014).

2. Attitude Datives as Applicative Adjuncts

Haddad (2014) analyzes ADs as high applicatives that merge above *v*P (Boneh and Nash, 2010; Jouitteau and Rezac, 2007; McGinnis, 2001; Roberge and Troberg, 2009). Drawing on Sigurðsson and Maling’s (2010) and Sigurðsson’s (2014) Context-Linked Grammar, Haddad further maintains that Attitude Datives as referential material determine their referent via a

valuing relation with elements in the left periphery, which Sigurðsson and Maling call as edge linkers and which include speakers, hearers, topics, and subjects. Edge linkers, in turn, scan the context for matching referents in order to determine their identities. To illustrate, example (3), repeated here as (12), involves a direct quote by a journalist reported by a Facebook user. The speaker as an edge linker scans the context and determines that the journalist and not the Facebook user is its matching referent; this is why the SP-AD refers to the journalist. In other words, ADs acquire their phi features and determine their referents via a two-step process: syntactically (via feature valuation) and pragmatically (via context scanning and identity match), as (13) shows (adapted from Haddad 2014: 92 (87)).

(12) SP-AD Construction

Context: A reader of www.souriat.com, an online Syrian newspaper, reposts a quote originally posted on Facebook by Carol Maalouf, a journalist, during the Syrian Civil war that started in 2011.

<i>feysbu:kya:t ...</i>	<i>su:riyya:t ...</i>	<i>katabat</i>	<i>l-sʿaħafiyya</i>	<i>karo:l</i>
Facebook.entries ...	Syrian ...	wrote	the-journalist	Carol
<i>maʕlu:f</i>	<i>ʕala</i>	<i>sʿafħati-ha: ... baddak</i>	<i>tinquz</i>	<i>ħalab</i>
Maalouf	on	page-her ...	you.want	save Aleppo
<i>w-siz̄in</i>	<i>ħama: ?</i>	<i>nʔibir</i>	<i>ʔu:m</i>	<i>ʕan l-Facebook</i>
and-prison	Hama ?	the.hell	rise	from the-Facebook
<i>w-rza:ʕ</i>	<i>da:fiʕ</i>	<i>ʕann-a:</i>	<i>mitil</i>	<i>l-rza:l .</i>
and-return	defend	for-it	like	the-men .
<i>ʔa:ʕid-li:</i>	<i>bi-l-mukayyif</i>	<i>bi-l-xali:ʒ</i>	<i>ʔaw</i>	<i>bi-bru:da:t</i>

staying-**me.D** in-the-air.conditioner in-the-Gulf or in-cool.weather

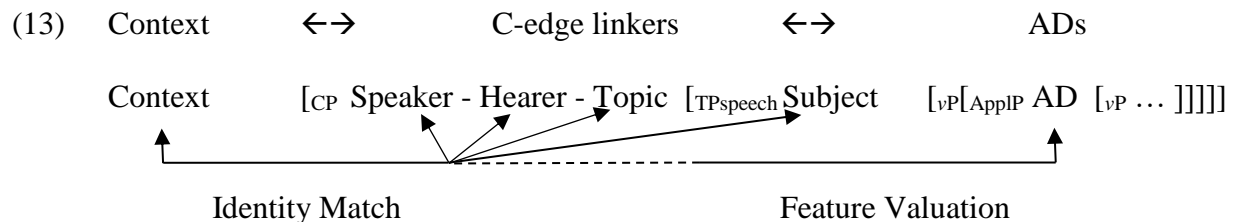
ʔorobba: *w-ʕam-titbakbak . xallis^ʕ-na:* *minn-ak baʔa:*

Europe and-PROG-you.cry . spare-us from-you already

‘Syrian Facebook Entries – The journalist Carol Maalouf wrote on her page: You want to save Aleppo and the prison of Hama you say? Get the hell away from Facebook, go back to Syria and defend them like men. Don’t just cry over them while staying [**me**] in your air-conditioned residence in the Arab Gulf or in the cool weather in Europe. Spare us already!’

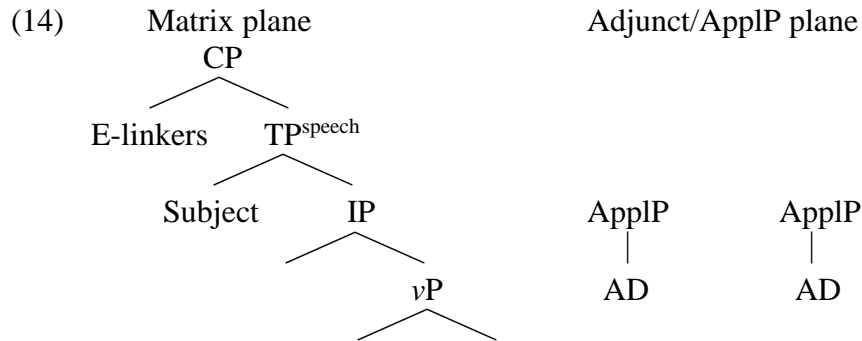
فيسبوكيات... سوريات... كتبت الصحفية "كارول معلوف" على صفحتها: يدك تنفذ حلب وسجن حماه؟ انتقير قوم عن الفايبيوك وأرجح دافع عنها مثل الرجال. قاعدلي بالمكيف بالخليج او بيروقات اوروبا وعم تنتيك. خلصنا منكم بقي.
المزيد <https://www.souriat.com/2016/05/21949.html> موقع سوريات

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Note that the subject in (13) occupies TP^{speech}, which according to Sigurðsson and Maling (2012) and Sigurðsson (2016: 5) belongs to the left periphery and is “under contextual control as identical or simultaneous with speaker NOW.” This is significant because, as Haddad (2014) maintains, when speakers use a SUBJ-AD, they express a stance that is based on what they know about the subject at the speech time.

Drawing on Uriagereka (2003) and Chomsky (2004), Haddad also argues that ADs as applicatives start out as adjuncts in a separate plane or dimension as in (14) (Haddad’s (103)).



According to Haddad (2014), ADs enter the computation with a valued discourse feature (e.g., speaker, hearer) and unvalued phi features. This results in provocation à la Branigan (2011).

According to Branigan, provocation “occurs in the course of feature valuation when certain *probes* seek a value for their unvalued features by identifying a goal to supply what they lack” (2011: 5). The probe is considered provocative in the sense that it forces the generation of a copy of the goal and the generation of a new position, such as a specifier position, for the copy to merge in, all for the purpose of feature valuation, as (15) (an adaptation of Haddad’s (104)) demonstrates.³

³ A reviewer asks whether a complement position could be generated instead. Drawing on Branigan (2011), I assume that the generation of a specifier position at the root expands the structure and allows for the merging of phrases (e.g., a subject DP). Feature valuation follows via Agree in a Spec-Head configuration.

According to Haddad (2014), the adjunction approach is justified by a number of AD behaviors that are characteristic of adjuncts. For example, like adjuncts, ADs as non-arguments are not thematically linked to predicates. Also, ADs make pragmatic contributions to utterances but they are not part of their semantic interpretation, a characteristic normally attributed to adjuncts (Chomsky 2004: 117). And as is the case with adjuncts, there is no restriction on where or how many ADs are licensed in a given structure as long as there is a verb or verbal element (e.g., an auxiliary) to host it, as evident in (4) above.⁴

⁴ Al-Zahre and Boneh (2016) observe that Syrian Arabic does not allow unselected datives like the ADs under examination to cliticize to auxiliaries. This observation seems to be true of Jordanian Arabic as well; Lebanese and Palestinian Arabic, on the other hand, are less restrictive in this respect, as the following example from the Palestinian show *watʿan ʿa watar* ‘a nation on a string’ (episode: *dawa:wi:n faba:b* ‘young people’s anthologies’) illustrates (from Haddad 2018a: 111; (18)):

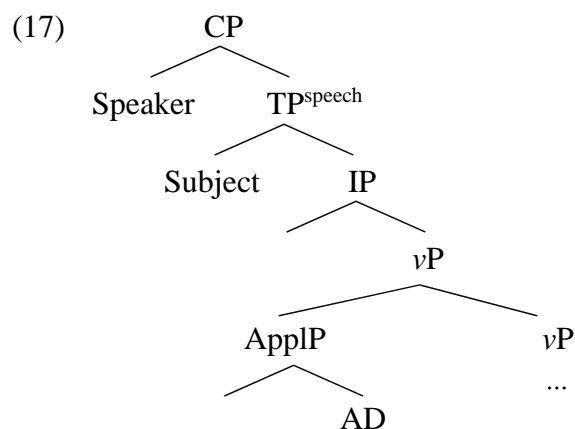
(i) HR-AD Construction

Context: A man tries to impress an acquaintance with the outlandish story that he replaced a flat tire on his car with his child’s bicycle wheel. This excerpt comes from a YouTube show making fun of individuals like the speaker who think others are too naïve to see through their obvious lies.

<i>kunt-lak</i>	<i>ma:fi:-lak</i>	<i>bi-l-tʿari:k</i>	<i>l-sʿahra:wi:</i>	...	<i>hop</i>
I.was- you.D	driving- you.D	in-the-road	the-desert	...	oops
<i>?illa:</i>	<i>l-ʿaʒal mbanʿar</i>	<i>fu:</i>	<i>biddi:</i>	<i>ʕmel ?</i>	<i>fatiht-lak</i>
all.of.a.sudden	the-tire flat .	what	I.need	do ?	I.opened- you.D
<i>l-sayya:ra</i>	<i>min wara: , la?e:t</i>	<i>baskale:tit</i>	<i>?ibni:</i>	...	
the-car	from behind , I.found	bicycle	son-my	...	

‘I was [**you**] driving [**you**] on a desert road, when all of a sudden I had a flat tire. What did I do then? I opened [**you**] the trunk of the car and found my son’s bicycle.’

The derivation in (14) through (16), along with counter-cyclicity as presented there, violates the Extension Condition which maintains that merge always “extends its target” (Chomsky 1993: 22–23). The advantage of this approach, however, is that it allows a higher edge linker (e.g., a topic) to value the features on an AD without the intervention of a lower edge linker (e.g., the subject). In other words, if an AD, along with the applicative adjunct it originates in, merges cyclically and values its phi feature as the structure expands, as in (17), it should only be possible for the subject in Spec, TP^{speech} to value these features, which may take place via upward agree à la Zeijlstra (2012). It should not be possible for the speaker or another edge linker to do so because the subject as a closer edge linker creates an intervention effect.



If the analysis in Section 2 is correct, it still needs to answer an important question: why is it that in constructions where the subject is coreferential with another edge linker (speaker, hearer, or topic), an AD that refers to the subject must be interpreted as a SUBJ-AD and may not be interpreted as linked to that edge linker (as a Speaker-, Hearer-, or Topic-oriented AD) instead?

3. Counter-Cyclic Merge as a Last Resort

To answer the question posed at the end of the previous section, I first consider a proposal put forth by Al-Zahre and Boneh (2016) and show that it does not resolve the issue under examination. I then proceed to provide an alternative solution.

Al-Zahre and Boneh agree that both SUBJ-ADs (their Coreferential Datives) and SP/HR-ADs (their Discursive Datives) undergo first merge in an ApplP which in turn merges “above ν P and below IP.” They go on to state that the difference between the two types of ADs is “which of the c-commanding referential DPs can serve as a goal for the uninterpretable phi features on Appl” (2016: 28). If this is correct and different c-commanding DPs give rise to different readings, then the (b) example in (11) above, repeated here as (18) should be grammatical under the intended reading of the dative as a SP-AD, but it isn’t. Also, the dative in (18c) should have two interpretations, one as a SUBJ-AD and another as a SP-AD, but it doesn’t.

- (18) a. *ma: darasna: la-l-?imtiħa:n*
 NEG we.studied for-the-exam
 ‘We didn’t study for the exam.’
- b. * *ma: darasne:-**lna**: la-l-?imtiħa:n*
 NEG we.studied-**us.D** for-the-exam
 Intended meaning: ‘We didn’t study for the exam (and that is unacceptable)’
- c. *ma: darasne:-**lna**: wala: kilme la-l-?imtiħa:n*
 NEG we.studied-**us.D** any word for-the-exam

‘We didn’t study at all for the exam (not even a word, an insignificant quantity in comparison to what is expected from us as students).’

In a footnote, the authors contemplate the idea of countercyclic merge. They write:

“Alternatively, ApplP in this case [the case of SP/HR-ADs] can be merged countercyclically (cf. Wurmbrand 2014), and thus does not interfere with feature checking of I. (For an analysis of non-core datives along similar lines see Haddad 2014)” (2016: 23; fn. 8). While this alternative may be on the right track, the optionality implied in it is not. If countercyclic merge is an option for ApplPs, it should also be an option for the ones in (18b) and (18c), rendering the former grammatical and the latter with two interpretations. This does not seem to be the case.

A more fine-tuned alternative is needed. The rest of this section offers just that. I posit that applicative adjuncts give priority to cyclic merge in accordance with the Extension Condition and opt for counter-cyclic merge, not as an alternative but as a last resort. To illustrate, consider (9) above, repeated here as (19), and the step-by-step derivation in (20) through (24). In this example, the subject is also the speaker. The AD referring to the subject may only be interpreted as a SUBJ-AD; a SP-AD reading is not available.

(19) SUBJ-AD that also refers to the speaker

Context: A Syrian student posts a comment alerting other students that the biochemistry instructor expects them to turn in a notebook with all the experiments they have done in class neatly copied/handwritten and organized. Another student responds by confirming that the comment is true. The student adds that s/he most certainly will not waste time copying stupid formulae for a stupid proctor/instructor. The student goes on to write:

bas law darast-illi: fi: ʕafer sʕafha:t

but if I.studied-**me.D** some ten pages

Basic Histology ʔaw hatta: Guyton ʔaw

Basic Histology or even Guyton or

ʔay fi: ye:ro bidʕall ʔaḥsan !!

any thing else it.remain better !!

‘But if I studied [**me**] about ten pages of Basic Histology or even Guyton (author of textbook of Medical Physiology) or anything else, that would be more beneficial!!’

الكلام مطبوع ..

ولكن أكيد مارح ضيع وقت بكتابة معادلات غبية لمخير غبي ..

بس لو درستلي شي 10 صفحات Basic Histology أو حتى Guyton
أو أي شي غيرو بضل أحسن !!

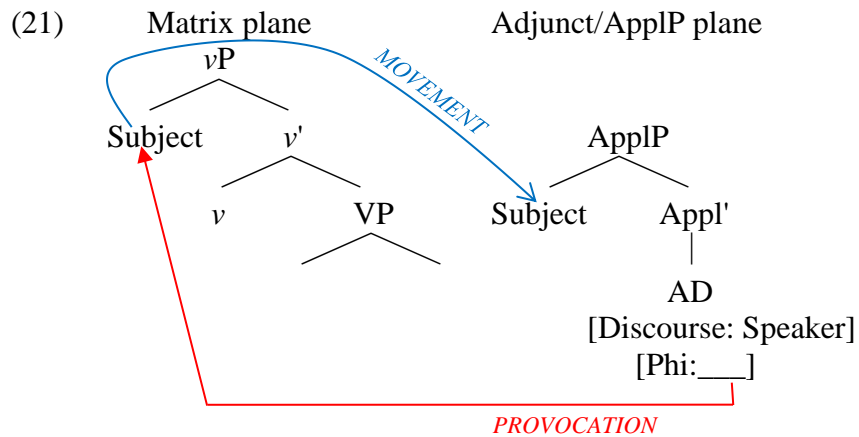
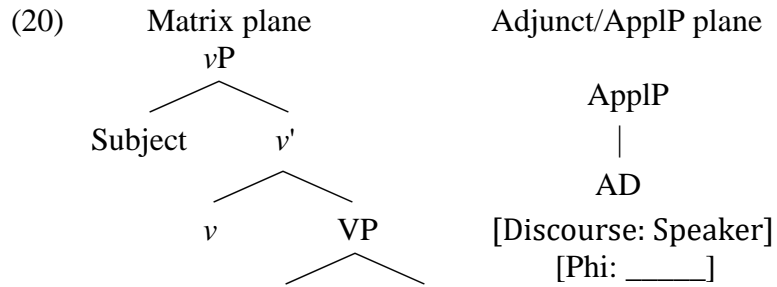
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The relevant part of the utterance in (19), the part that contains the AD, starts out with two planes, as in (20). The AD in the adjunct plane has a discourse feature valued as [Speaker] and phi features that need to be valued. These phi features are provocative in the sense that they convert the AD into a probe that scans the computational workspace (the subarray or sub-
numeration of the adjunct phrase and the structure in the matrix plane) to identify a goal that could value its unvalued features. Unlike the analysis in Haddad (2014), the AD does not wait until all structure building takes place in the matrix plane. Instead, the AD starts scanning the computational workspace the moment matrix νP is complete and the AppIP is eligible for merge. This is so because ADs are non-argument participants that are not eligible for merge in the

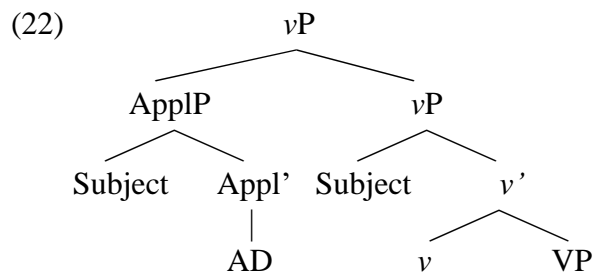
thematic domain.^{5,6} We know that the subject in (19) is also the speaker; it is merged into the structure with a first-person feature, though its actual referent (the actual speaker it refers to) is determined later syntactically via matching with an edge linker and pragmatically via context scanning and identity match (Sigurðsson and Maling 2010; Sigurðsson 2014); see (13) above. We also know that the discourse feature of the AD is valued as [Speaker]. This is why once the subject merges at the edge of ν P in the matrix plane in (21), the AD identifies it as a goal, leading to its movement – sideward movement à la Nunes (2004) – to Spec, ApplP.

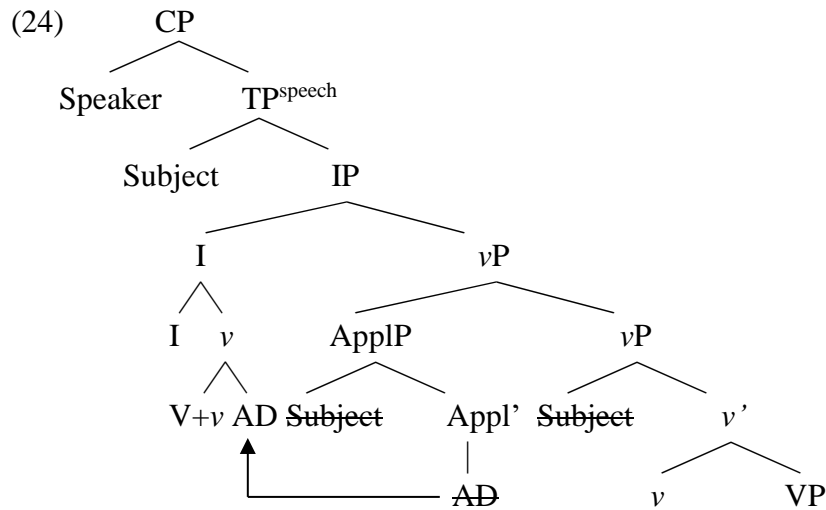
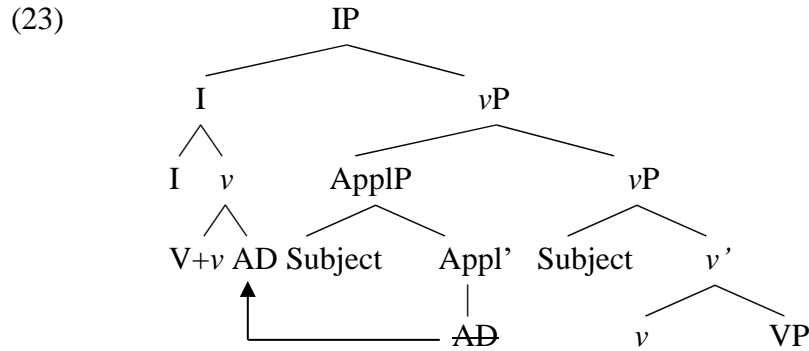
⁵ A reviewer pointed out that some adjuncts do appear to be interspersed among arguments within ν P. Whether the statement that non-thematic material must always merge above ν P is correct is beyond the scope of this article. As far as ADs are concerned, however, one could postulate that since ADs are pronominal material that could easily be confused with arguments, they avoid the ν P phase in order to avoid this confusion. Also, since ADs are evaluative in a fashion reminiscent of high-merging adverbials, it is expected that they belong to the CP phase. Assumed in all this is Abe's (2018: 95) proposal that an adjunct may merge late but that it must merge no later than the completion of the phase it belongs to.

⁶ Another reviewer raised two questions. The first question reads as follows: If the AD provokes copying of the subject as soon as it possibly can, that implies that it was scanning all along. Why should it wait until the matrix ν P was complete to begin scanning? In other words, an object rather than the subject may be the target of provocation. In response, I assume that ADs only target elements at the edge of phases. ADs enter the derivation with a discourse feature, which is why they target discourse-relevant elements. These elements occupy phase edges, either by undergoing first merge there or by movement. The second question is the following: Could adjunction precede provocation? I maintain that Adjunction before provocation is not possible because the creation of a specifier at the root of ApplP and thus the valuation of AD's phi features will no longer be possible once ApplP adjoins to ν P.



Once the phi features of the AD are valued, it merges cyclically with matrix vP, as (22) demonstrates. This is due to a restriction on applicative adjuncts to merge cyclically when possible. The projection of IP and the head movement of the AD follows in (23), allowing the dative to cliticize to the verb. By the time CP projects in (24), making the speaker available for the probe of any potential AD, it is already too late. The AD has already identified the speaker earlier, and the speaker happened to coincide with the subject.





So when does counter-cyclic merge take place? I posit that an AD – or rather, the ApplP that hosts it – merges counter-cyclically only if it is not able to find an edge linker with a matching discourse feature early enough in the derivation to allow it to merge cyclically. For example, in (3) above, repeated here as (25), the AD, like its counterpart in (19), has a discourse feature valued as [Speaker]. In (25), however, the AD has to wait until CP, along with the speaker as an edge linker, has projected in the Matrix plane before it is able to find a syntactic object with a matching discourse feature, as (26) illustrates.⁷ Only then will the AD be able to have its phi

⁷ The derivation here assumes that the numeration contains subarrays (Chomsky 2000). ApplP has access to its own subarray and to other syntactic objects in the computational workspace. However, it does not have access to the

features valued and undergo merge with the Matrix clause; as a result, the AD is interpreted as a SP-AD. By the time CP projects in the Matrix plane, however, the only available type of merge for ApplP is counter-cyclic merge, which the applicative adjunct only opts for as a last resort.

(25) SP-AD Construction

Context: A reader of www.souriat.com, an online Syrian newspaper, reposts a quote originally posted on Facebook by Carol Maalouf, a journalist, during the Syrian Civil war that started in 2011.

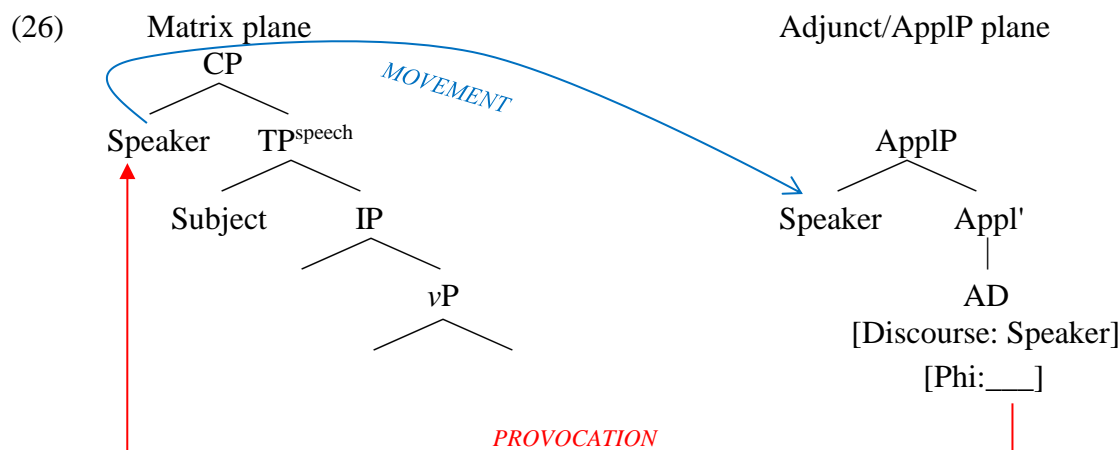
<i>feysbu:kya:t ...</i>	<i>su:riyya:t ...</i>	<i>katabat</i>	<i>l-sʿahafiyya</i>	<i>karo:l</i>
Facebook.entries ...	Syrian ...	wrote	the-journalist	Carol
<i>maʕlu:f</i>	<i>ʕala</i>	<i>sʿafhati-ha: ... baddak</i>	<i>tinquz</i>	<i>ħalab</i>
Maalouf	on	page-her ...	you.want	save Aleppo
<i>w-siʒin</i>	<i>ħama: ?</i>	<i>nʔibir</i>	<i>ʔu:m</i>	<i>ʕan l-Facebook</i>
and-prison	Hama ?	the.hell	rise	from the-Facebook
<i>w-rʒa:ʕ</i>	<i>da:fiʕ</i>	<i>ʕann-a:</i>	<i>mitil</i>	<i>l-rʒa:l .</i>
and-return	defend	for-it	like	the-men .
<i>ʔa:ʕid-li:</i>	<i>bi-l-mukayyif</i>	<i>bi-l-xali:ʒ</i>	<i>ʔaw</i>	<i>bi-bru:da:t</i>
staying- me.D	in-the-air.conditioner	in-the-Gulf	or	in-cool.weather
<i>ʔorobba:</i>	<i>w-ʕam-titbakbak .</i>	<i>xallisʕ-na:</i>	<i>minn-ak</i>	<i>baʔa:</i>
Europe	and-PROG-you.cry .	spare-us	from-you	already

elements in the matrix subarray. This is why it cannot detect the speaker or provoke its movement until the speaker has merged as an edge linker.

‘Syrian Facebook Entries – The journalist Carol Maalouf wrote on her page: You want to save Aleppo and the prison of Hama you say? Get the hell away from Facebook, go back to Syria and defend them like men. Don’t just cry over them while staying [me] in your air-conditioned residence in the Arab Gulf or in the cool weather in Europe. Spare us already!’

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If this analysis is on the right track, it explains why SUBJ-ADs in constructions like (11b-c/18b-c) above, in which the subject is also the speaker, may not receive a SP-AD interpretation.

4. Conclusion

Attitude Datives in Levantine Arabic present a clear case of the interplay between syntax (clause-bounded computation) and pragmatics (clause-context) relations (Haddad 2014). This,

however, does not mean that syntax and pragmatics always have to fully cooperate. Haddad (2016) provides examples of possessively-construed datives that illustrate the autonomy of pragmatics. As the brief discussion of examples (5) and (8) above shows, the possessive interpretation of ADs is pragmatically determined in isolation of syntactic interference. If, in the context of ADs, syntax and pragmatics can operate independently, and in particular, pragmatics can act autonomously, then it is unsurprising to find that syntax can also act autonomously with no regard for pragmatics. This article has presented an example of such autonomy. The article shows that the adjunction of high applicatives in Levantine Arabic obeys cyclicity and that these applicatives opt for counter-cyclicity only as a last resort. In the case of Attitude Datives, satisfying cyclicity whenever possible takes priority over the satisfaction of contextual needs and speaker intentions. This structural requirement presents a clear case of syntactic autonomy. Importantly, it illustrates that adjuncts must merge cyclically unless independent properties of the derivation force them to merge countercyclically.

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