

# *The syntax of silent directional prepositions in Jordanian Arabic*

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## *Abstract*

In Jordanian Arabic (JA), the complement of some motion verbs optionally appears without a visible preposition in what is known as (P)reposition-drop (Ioannidou and den Dikken 2009). This article offers a detailed description of P-drop in JA, showing that the common properties of P-drop found in languages with P-drop hold in JA. I argue that Gehrke and Lekakou's (2013) pseudo noun incorporation approach to P-drop cannot account for the P-drop facts in JA. I show, through different diagnostics, that the prepositionless noun in JA does not exhibit the typical properties of pseudo-incorporated nouns. Instead, I argue that P-drop in JA involves a full PP–DP structure with a silent P head (Ioannidou and den Dikken 2009, Myler 2013, Biggs 2014, Bailey 2018). The findings of this article add insights to the ongoing debate regarding the underlying mechanisms involved in P-drop.

**Keywords:** Jordanian Arabic, P-drop, directional PPs, silent P, pseudo noun incorporation

## *Résumé*

En arabe jordanien (AJ), le complément de certains verbes de mouvement peut éventuellement apparaître sans préposition visible dans ce qu'on appelle (P)reposition-drop ou 'chute de P' en français (Ioannidou et den Dikken, 2009). Cet article propose une description détaillée de la chute de P en AJ, montrant que les propriétés communes de la chute de P trouvées dans les langues avec chute de P tiennent aussi en AJ. Je soutiens que l'approche de pseudo-incorporation nominale de Gehrke et Lekakou (2013) pour la chute de P ne peut pas rendre compte des faits P-drop dans l'AJ. En utilisant divers diagnostics, je montre que les noms sans préposition en AJ ne comportent pas les propriétés typiques des noms pseudo-incorporés. Je propose plutôt que la chute de P en AJ implique une structure PP–DP complète avec une tête P silencieuse (Ioannidou et den Dikken, 2009; Myler 2013, Biggs

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2014, Bailey 2018). Les conclusions de cet article ajoutent des éclaircissements au débat en cours concernant les mécanismes sous-jacents impliqués dans la chute de P.

**Mots-clés:** Arabe jordanien, chute de P, PP directionnels, P silencieux, pseudo-incorporation nominale

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In Greek and some varieties of British English, the complement of some motion verbs can optionally appear without an overt preposition or a determiner. The following examples illustrate this:<sup>1,2</sup>

(1) Greek

Pame (stin) paralia?  
go.1PL at.the beach.ACC  
'Shall we go to the beach?'

(Gehrke and Lekakou 2013: 92)

(2) John came (to) the pub with me.

(Adapted from Myler 2013: 189)

This phenomenon is known as P(reposition)-drop (Ioannidou and den Dikken 2009). P-drop happens mostly in directional contexts in a number of languages like Greek (Terzi 2010, Gehrke and Lekakou 2013), some varieties of British English (Haddican and Holmberg 2012, Myler 2013, Biggs 2014, Bailey 2018, Hall 2019);<sup>3</sup> and in some Italian dialects (Longobardi 2001).

In Jordanian Arabic (JA), directional prepositions like *ʕa* and *li* 'to' can be dropped with certain motion verbs like *yiruuḥ* 'go' and *yewsal* 'arrive', as seen in (3).<sup>4</sup>

- (3) a. Faisal rah ʕa-l-dukkanih  
Faisal went.3MS to-the-shop.FS  
'Faisal went to the shop.'
- b. Faisal rah il-dukkanih  
Faisal went.3MS the-shop.FS  
'Faisal went to the shop.'

Research on P-drop in Greek and varieties of British English identified two main approaches to this phenomenon. A number of researchers argue that P-drop involves a full PP and DP structure with a silent P head (Ioannidou and den Dikken 2009, Terzi 2010, Myler 2013, Biggs 2014, Bailey 2018). Others argue in favour of the radical absence of PP structure. Under this view, the prepositionless goal noun is a pseudo-incorporated nominal (Gehrke and Lekakou 2013, Hall 2019).

<sup>1</sup>Note that the preposition forms a clitic with the definite article in Greek.

<sup>2</sup>Abbreviations used: AT: at; CS: Construct State; PNI: pseudo noun incorporation; TO: to.

<sup>3</sup>In most dialects of English, P-drop is limited to nouns like *home* (Emonds 1985, Collins 2007, Pearl and Caponigro 2008).

<sup>4</sup>The Arabic data used in this article are from JA, unless stated otherwise above any given example. The prepositions *li-* and *ʕa-* are used interchangeably to denote direction in JA, with *ʕa* being more widespread.

In this article, I offer a formal description of P-drop in JA. I show that the pseudo noun incorporation (PNI) analysis of P-drop cannot capture the JA P-drop facts. In particular, I show that the prepositionless goal noun in JA does not exhibit the typical properties of a pseudo-incorporated nominal. I apply a number of diagnostics to detect the presence of a silent PP structure, and argue that P-drop in JA involves a full PP and DP structure with a silent P head, in line with Myler's (2013) analysis of P-drop in the Ormskirk variety of English spoken in the Northwest of England, and Biggs's (2014) analysis of the same phenomenon in Liverpool English. The discussion in this article adds to the ongoing debate regarding the underlying mechanisms involved in P-drop.

This article is organized as follows. In section 2, I provide an overview of languages with P-drop. I also discuss the two main approaches to P-drop, with representative examples. In section 3, I set out the JA P-drop facts and note the similarities and differences between JA and other P-drop languages. In section 4, I discuss and refute an analysis of JA P-drop in terms of pseudo noun incorporation. Section 5 shows that a silent P analysis of P-drop fares better at capturing the JA P-drop data. In section 6, I argue for an analysis of P-drop in JA where PP and DP are present, showing that the analysis neatly captures the JA P-drop facts. Section 7 is a brief conclusion.

## 2. AN OVERVIEW OF P-DROP

There are a number of properties that broadly hold for languages with P-drop. These include: (i) the presence or absence of a determiner on the goal noun; (ii) the range of motion verbs available with P-drop; (iii) the possible interpretations of the goal noun; and (iv) well-establishedness/familiarity of the goal noun. Discussion of P-drop has consistently shown that there is language-specific variation with respect to these aforementioned properties. In London English (Hall 2019), for instance, the goal noun in P-drop contexts must appear without a visible determiner (4), whereas in Ormskirk English (Myler 2013), the determiner must be present on the goal noun (5).

(4) I went (to the) chicken shop every day last week. (Hall 2019: 1)

(5) John came \*(the) pub with me. (Adapted from Myler 2013: 189)

As mentioned in section 1, there are two main approaches to P-drop:

### (6) *Approaches to P-drop*

- a. Absence of PP structure: the prepositionless goal noun undergoes pseudo noun incorporation (Gehrke and Lekakou 2013, Hall 2019)
- b. A silent P head: P-drop involves a full PP and DP structure with a silent P (Ioannidou and den Dikken 2009, Terzi 2010, Myler 2013, Biggs 2014, Bailey 2018).

Each of these approaches will be discussed extensively below with representative examples.

## 2.1 Pseudo noun incorporation (PNI)

Gehrke and Lekakou (2013) show that P-drop in Greek is only possible with the preposition *se* ‘to/at’. Additionally, only certain motion verbs are allowed to P-drop (e.g., *pao/pijeno* ‘go’, *ftano* ‘arrive’, *beno* ‘enter’, *epistrefo* ‘return’). Gehrke and Lekakou (2013) argue in favour of a pseudo-incorporation analysis of P-drop in Greek, showing that P-drop in this language displays hallmark properties of pseudo-incorporation (Baker 1988, Massam 2001, Dayal 2011: among others).<sup>5</sup> In what follows, I report on the main properties of P-drop in Greek as discussed in Gehrke and Lekakou (2013).

Gehrke and Lekakou (2013) note that the goal noun in P-drop lacks definite marking, and that the noun must be a well-established (i.e., familiar) place (7a), similar to pseudo-incorporated nominals (Borik and Gehrke 2015). Also, the goal noun lacks number marking, yet the noun can receive a non-singular interpretation, suggesting that the noun is number-neutral (7b).

### (7) Greek

- a. Pao        jimnastirio / sxolio        / grafio        / eklisia.  
 go.1SG    gym.ACC / school.ACC / office.ACC / church.ACC  
 ‘I go to (the) gym / school / office / church.’
- b. To            proi        pigame        paralia:    i        misi        sto  
 the            morning    went-IPL    beach    the        half-NOM    to.the  
 Mavrovuni    ki  
 Mavrovuni    and  
 i                ali            misi        sta        Trinisa.  
 the            other        half-NOM    to.the    Trinisa.  
 ‘In the morning we went to the beach: half of us to Mavrovuni and the other half to Trinisa.’  
 (Gehrke and Lekakou 2013: 94, 100)

According to Gehrke and Lekakou (2013), another shared property between pseudo-incorporated nominals and the prepositionless goal noun is the absence of nominal modifiers (apart from kinds modifiers). The examples in (8) show that adjectives and relative clauses cannot modify the goal noun.

### (8) Greek

- a. \*Pigame    kondini    paralia        / kenurjo    jimnastirio / omorfi  
 went.IPL    nearby    beach.ACC / new        gym.ACC / beautiful  
 eklisia.  
 church.ACC  
 Intended: ‘We went to the nearby beach/new gym/beautiful church.’
- b. \*Exun        pai        taxidromio    to opio    apexi    elaxista    apo    do.  
 have.3PL    gone    post-office.ACC    which    is.away    least    from    here  
 Intended: ‘They have gone to the post office which is very close to here.’  
 (Gehrke and Lekakou 2013: 96)

<sup>5</sup>See Terzi (2010) for an alternative analysis of Greek P-drop where she argues in favour of a silent PP structure.

Gehrke and Lekakou (2013) show that, like pseudo-incorporated nominals, the goal noun in P-drop obligatorily takes narrow scope with respect to quantificational elements in the clause. In (9), for instance, negation takes scope over *paralia* ‘beach’ such that the subject will not go to any beach, and not that there is a particular beach the subject will not go to.

(9) Greek

I Anna de tha pai paralia.  
 the Anna NEG FUT go.3SG beach.ACC  
 ‘Anna will not go to the beach.’

(Gehrke and Lekakou 2013: 95)

Finally, the goal noun in Greek P-drop is discourse-opaque; that is, the noun cannot support pronominal anaphora (10).

(10) Greek

Pao paralia. \*Tin episkeptome sixna.  
 go.1SG beach.ACC her.CL visit.1SG often  
 Intended: ‘I am going to the beach. I visit it often.’

(Gehrke and Lekakou 2013: 96)

For Gehrke and Lekakou (2013), the goal noun is a predicate, denoting a property, not an individual. Thus, the noun cannot serve as an antecedent of pronominal anaphora.

Hall (2019) offers a similar analysis of P-drop in London English. He shows that the prepositionless goal noun in this variety exhibits most of the properties associated with pseudo-incorporated nominals. First, the goal noun in P-drop contexts lacks both definite marking and number marking, as seen in (11).

(11) a. We went (\*the) pub last night.

b. \*We went pubs last night.

(Hall 2019: 6)

Second, despite the fact that the goal noun cannot be plural, Hall (2019) shows that a non-singular interpretation of the goal noun is available (12).

(12) a. We all went pub yesterday.

b. *Possible continuation*: Sam went to the Lord Tredegar, Katie went to the Morgan Arms, and I went to the Horn of Plenty.

(Hall 2019: 6)

Third, like pseudo-incorporated nominals, the goal noun cannot be modified by interjective modifiers (13a–c), and only a specific set of kind modifiers are allowed (13d).

(13) a. \*Can we go park with the big swings?

b. \*I’m going pub we met at last year.

c. \*We went new cinema last weekend.

d. I went {corner, chicken} shop.

(Hall 2019: 7)

A fourth similarity between P-drop in London English and pseudo-incorporation is the well-establishedness of the goal noun. Hall (2019) shows that the set of possible goal nouns in P-drop is restricted to well-established (i.e., familiar) places (14).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Hall (2019) shows that proper names are allowed in P-drop in London English. According to him, this behaviour is very uncommon in pseudo-incorporated nominal contexts, since

- (14) a. We went {shop, school, church, cinema, post office, pub, park, chicken shop}.  
 b. \*We went car dealership. (Hall 2019: 7)

Finally, Hall (2019) points out that the goal noun in P-drop obligatorily takes narrow scope with respect to negation, as seen in (15).<sup>7</sup>

- (15) Sam didn't go pub yesterday. ( $\neg > \text{pub}$ ;  $*\text{pub} > \neg$ ) (Hall 2019: 8)

Following Gehrke and Lekakou (2013), Hall (2019) argues that the goal noun in London English is a pseudo-incorporated nominal since it exhibits all properties of PNI objects. For Hall, pseudo-incorporation is a last-resort case-licensing mechanism that allows a structurally reduced nominal to be licensed. This way, a violation of the Case Filter is avoided (Levin 2015).<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2 A silent P

Several authors have argued that P-drop involves a silent PP structure (Ioannidou and den Dikken 2009, Terzi 2010, Myler 2013, Biggs 2014, Bailey 2018).<sup>9</sup> Myler (2013), for instance, shows that in Ormskirk English, the definite article is obligatorily present in P-drop contexts (16).

- (16) John came the pub with me. (Myler 2013:189)

In this variety, P-drop is possible with a wider range of motion verbs. This includes verbs such as *go*, *run*, *drive*, *jog*, *pop*, and *nip* (17).

- (17) a. He came/ran/jogged the pub.  
 b. I haven't nipped the shops yet. (Myler 2013: 196, 203)

Surprisingly, well-establishedness of the goal noun does not seem to hold in Ormskirk English, as seen in (18).

proper names are assumed to be full referential DPs. However, Hall follows Elbourne (2005) and Matushansky (2008) by assuming that proper names are definite descriptions that enter the syntax as simple predicates in a way similar to common nouns.

<sup>7</sup>Hall (2019) notes that it is possible to force a wide scope reading for the goal noun when the preposition is overt. However, a wide scope reading for the goal noun is unavailable when the preposition is absent, as in (15).

<sup>8</sup>As concerns the absence of pronominal anaphora as a diagnostic of PNI, Hall (2019) shows that Pdrop in London English can in fact support pronominal anaphora. In particular, he shows that it is possible to refer back to the goal noun using the pronoun *it*. This is unexpected under a pseudo-incorporation analysis. Hall, however, questions the robustness of this diagnostic by referring to similar patterns observed with non-referential noun phrases (e.g., weak definites in English (Scholten and Guevara 2010)), which can also support pronominal anaphora, similarly to the goal nouns found in P-drop.

<sup>9</sup>Bailey (2018) investigates P-drop in Southeast English. She shows that the determiner is obligatorily absent in P-drop contexts, and the verbs allowed in P-drop are always *go* or *come*. Also, the noun must be interpreted as a directional Goal, and well-establishedness of the goal noun in P-drop is also required in Southeast English. Bailey (2018) argues in favour of a silent P, as in Myler (2013).

- (18) The ball went (to) the other end of the field (because I kicked it so hard).  
(Myler 2013: 194)

Taking these facts into account, Myler argues in favour of a fully represented PP–DP structure with a silent P head (TO). The silent P incorporates into *v* in den Dikken's (2010) sense in order to be licensed. Myler (2013) shows that the goal noun has properties of direct objects in Ormskirk English. Thus, like direct objects, the goal noun moves to spec-*v*P where it is assigned accusative case in line with Johnson (1991).<sup>10</sup>

A similar analysis has been proposed to account for P-drop in Liverpool English. Biggs (2014) shows that the definite article is obligatorily present in P-drop contexts, and manner of motion verbs are allowed (19a). Unlike Ormskirk English, P-drop is possible with stative *at* in Liverpool English (19b). Also, the goal noun can be embedded in the nominal domain (19c), and strict adjacency to the verb is not required (19d).

- (19) a. Swim \*(the) end and back.  
b. She's staying (at) John's tonight.  
c. A trip (to) the pub is called for!  
d. Come with me (to) the pub. (Adapted from Biggs 2014: 53, 54, 63)

Biggs (2014) argues that P-drop in Liverpool English does not involve a null lexical P, but rather that P-drop is licensed by a null case head dubbed *k*. According to Biggs (2014), *k* corresponds to Svenonius's (2007) higher *p* in a split *p*/P structure.<sup>11</sup> However, she relabels *p* as  $\kappa$  to cover the distribution of both *to* and *at* in P-drop.

There are two main difference between TO in Ormskirk English and  $\kappa$  in Liverpool English. First, TO is a null lexical P that theta-selects its complement goal DP, whereas  $\kappa$  does not theta-select its complement. Also,  $\kappa$  licenses and assigns case to its complement in situ, whereas TO must incorporate into the verb in order to be licensed, with concomitant movement of TO's complement into spec-*v*P for case assignment. These differences account for the differences between Ormskirk English and Liverpool English with respect to P-drop.

### 3. P-DROP IN JORDANIAN ARABIC

In this section, I report on the main properties of P-drop in JA, which can be summarized as follows:

- (i) The definite article is obligatorily present on the goal noun.  
(ii) P-drop is only allowed with certain motion verbs.

<sup>10</sup>Myler (2013) motivates A-movement of the goal noun by showing that a goal noun in P-drop is allowed in gerunds, similarly to accusative objects. Also, the goal noun is disallowed in derived nominals. This behaviour is similar to ordinary direct objects, but is not similar to ordinary PP complements. See Myler (2013) for a detailed discussion of A-movement and accusative case assignment in P-drop.

<sup>11</sup>Svenonius's (2007) split *p*/P hypothesis is discussed in section 6.

- (iii) The noun must be interpreted as a directional Goal.
- (iv) The well-establishedness requirement is relatively less obvious in JA than it is in other P-drop languages.

In JA, the definite article is obligatorily present when the preposition is dropped (20).

- (20) a. Faisal rah \*(il)-jamfa  
 Faisal went.3MS the-university.FS  
 'Faisal went to university.'
- b. Leila weselat \*(il)-bait  
 Leila arrived.3FS the-home.MS  
 'Leila arrived at home.'

Only motion verbs like *yiruuḥ* 'go', *yiwṣal* 'arrive', and *yidxul* 'enter' are allowed (21). Manner of motion verbs are disallowed in P-drop contexts (22).

- (21) a. Faisal wesel il-jamfa  
 Faisal arrived.3MS the-university.FS  
 'Faisal arrived at the university.'
- b. Leila daxlat il-mall  
 Leila entered.3FS the-mall.MS  
 'Leila entered the mall.'
- (22) a. \*Faisal saag il-jamfa  
 Faisal drove.3MS the-university.FS  
 'Faisal drove to the university.'
- b. \*Leila rakDat il-dukkaniḥ  
 Leila ran.3FS the-shop.FS  
 'Leila ran to the shop.'

Also, P-drop in JA is limited to the prepositions *ʕa* 'to', and *-li* 'to'. The prepositionless noun cannot have source or locative readings.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the prepositions *min* 'from' and *fi* 'in' must be overt, as seen in (23a) and (23b) respectively.

- (23) a. Faisal ija \*(min)-l-jamfa  
 Faisal came.3MS from-the-university.FS  
 'Faisal came from the university.'
- b. Leila ištaylat \*(fi)-l-maktab  
 Leila worked.3FS in-the-office.MS  
 Intended: 'Leila worked at the office.'

Unlike most P-drop languages, the well-establishedness requirement on the goal seems to be less strict in JA. The prepositionless goal in JA can be an unfamiliar place or institution, as long as the directional interpretation is available (24).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>The unavailability of P-drop with locative and source Ps in JA confirms Pearl and Caponigro's (2008) observation that, cross-linguistically, only directional and unmarked stative prepositions can remain silent.

<sup>13</sup>Note that the goal noun in (24a) and (24b) forms a Construct State (CS) with the following noun, thus explaining the absence of the definite article. The head noun in the CS cannot



- (24) a. ruhna            maʕrad            il-fan            il-taškiili  
 went.1MPL    gallery.MS    the-art.MS    the-graphic.MS  
 ‘We went to the graphic art gallery.’
- b. daxalt            mahal            il-alʕaab  
 entered.1MS    shop.MS    the-toys.MPL  
 ‘I entered the toy shop.’

Additionally, P-drop is possible with proper names, as seen in (25).

- (25) a. yalla    nruuh            (ʕa)-Dubay  
 lets    go.3MPL    (to)-Dubai  
 ‘Let’s go to Dubai.’
- b. ana    rah    asaafir            (ʕa)-turkia    il-isbuuf            il-jay  
 I    will    travel.1MS    (to)-Turkey    the-week.MS    the-next.MS  
 ‘I will travel to Turkey next week.’

Terzi (2010) notes that P-drop in Greek is not possible with parts of locations (e.g., ‘garage’, ‘balcony’, ‘garden’). Such examples are acceptable in JA:

- (26) a. ruht            il-karaaj            ajeeb            mafak  
 went.1MS    the-garage.MS    bring.1MS    screwdriver.MS  
 ‘I went to the garage to bring a screwdriver.’
- b. ruht            il-hadiiʕa  
 went.1MS    the-garden.FS  
 ‘I went to the garden.’

Summing up, the broadly attested four main properties of P-drop seem to hold in JA with the exception of the well-establishedness requirement. The requirement seems to be less restrictive in JA than it is in Greek and in London English. Thus, JA seems to be more similar to Ormskirk English and Liverpool English in this regard.

#### 4. AGAINST PSEUDO NOUN INCORPORATION

As mentioned in section 2, Gehrke and Lekakou (2013) and Hall (2019) argue in favour of a pseudo-incorporation analysis of P-drop in Greek and London English respectively. In this section, I investigate the possibility of analyzing the preposition-less goal in JA as being similar to PNI objects. The following properties are generally true of PNI objects:

- (27) *Morphosyntactic and semantic properties of PNI* (Borik and Gehrke 2015)
- Absence of definite marking and number marking.
  - Well-establishedness and restrictions on modification.

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overtly realize the definite article, yet the noun is interpreted as definite (Ritter 1991, Borer 1996, Kremers 2003, Shlonsky 2004: among many others).

- c. Obligatory narrow scope.
- d. Discourse opacity (i.e., absence of pronominal anaphora).<sup>14</sup>

In what follows, I show that the prepositionless goal noun in JA does not have the typical properties of PNI objects.

One of the defining properties of PNI is the absence of definite marking and number marking. As mentioned above, the definite article is obligatory on the goal noun. Also, the prepositionless goal noun in JA can be plural (28).

- (28) daxalt            il-dakakiin            illi    ʔla    zaowit            il-šaariʔ  
 entered.1MS    the-shops.MPL    REL    on    corner.FM    the-street.MS  
 ‘I entered the shops on the corner of the street.’

Another well known property of PNI is the absence of nominal modifiers (apart from kinds modifiers). In JA, the goal noun can be modified by an adjective (29), a PP (30), or a relative clause (31).

- (29) rayih            il-dukkanih            il-bʔiidih  
 going.1MS    the-shop.FS    the-far.FS  
 ‘I’m going to the far shop.’
- (30) rayih            il-dukkanih            illi    bi-axer    il-šaariʔ  
 going.1MS    the-shop.FS    REL    in-end    the-street.MS  
 ‘I’m going to the shop at the end of the street.’
- (31) rayih            il-dukkanih            illi    kunna            fii-ha            imbarih  
 going.1MS    the-shop.FS    REL    was.MPL    in-it.FS    yesterday  
 ‘I’m going to the shop that we have been to yesterday.’

In addition to kind modifiers, the prepositionless goal noun in JA can be modified by intersective adjectives like *old* and *new* (32), which are typically analyzed as predicates of individuals (Kamp and Partee 1995, Partee 2010).<sup>15</sup>

- (32) rayih            il-dukkanih            il-jdiidih  
 going.1MS    the-shop.FS    the-new.FS  
 ‘I’m going to the new shop.’

As mentioned in section 3, well-establishedness (i.e., familiarity) of the goal noun is less restrictive in JA. Prepositionless goal nouns can be unfamiliar places (33a), parts of locations (33b), and proper names (33c).

- (33) a. ruht            maħal            il-hadaaya            aštari            hadiieh  
 went.1MS    shop.MS    the-gifts.FPL    buy.1MS    gift.FS  
 ‘I went to the gift shop to buy a gift.’

<sup>14</sup>As mentioned above, absence of pronominal anaphora is not a robust diagnostic for PNI. Other nonreferential DPs can also support pronominal anaphora (e.g., weak definites in English; see Scholten and Guevara 2010).

<sup>15</sup>Modification of the goal noun by intersective modifiers and restrictive relative clauses excludes the possibility of analyzing the noun as a “weak definite” (Carlson et al. 2006, Aguilar Guevara and Zwarts 2013).

- b. ruht            il-balakounih    ashim        hawa  
 went.1MS    the-balcony.FS    smell.1MS    air  
 'I went to the balcony for some fresh air.'
- c. nifs-I            aruuh        Ibiza        ši-youm  
 wish-I.1MS    go.1MS    Ibiza        some-day.MS  
 'I wish to go to Ibiza someday.'

Typically, proper names are assumed to be full referential DPs (Longobardi 1994). The availability of proper names in P-drop suggests that the goal noun in JA is a full DP denoting an individual, as opposed to being a property-denoting NP, as in Greek (Gehrke and Lekakou 2013).

Borik and Gehrke (2015) note that obligatory narrow scope is a stable cross-linguistic property of pseudo-incorporated nominals. In JA, a definite noun following overt *ʔa* 'to' would always have a wide scope reading with respect to logical operators, such as negation. This behaviour is not surprising given the neo-Russellian idea that definite descriptions presuppose both the existence and the uniqueness of the noun.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, it is possible to force a narrow scope reading for a definite goal noun with respect to negation. For instance, the sentence in (34) has two possible readings: (i) there is a specific mall that Faisal did not go to (i.e., wide scope); and (ii) Faisal did not go to any mall (i.e., narrow scope), with the latter reading being forced.

- (34) Faisal    ma        rah            ʔa-l-mall        il-youm  
 Faisal    NEG    went.3MS    to-the-mall.MS    today  
 'Faisal did not go to the mall today.'

My JA informants had the exact same intuitions for the example in (35), where the preposition *ʔa* is absent.

- (35) Faisal    ma        rah            il-mall        il-youm  
 Faisal    NEG    went.3MS    the-mall.MS    today  
 'Faisal did not go to the mall today.'

Both (34) and (35) show that the presence or absence of an overt preposition does not affect the scope properties of the goal noun. Thus, the goal noun in P-drop seems to behave like a regular PP-object in this regard. This is unexpected if the prepositionless goal noun is a pseudo-incorporated nominal.

Finally, the prepositionless goal noun in JA can support pronominal anaphora (36). This lends further support to the status of the goal noun as a full referential DP.

- (36) Leila    rahat        il-mall.        hi    kul        youm    bitruuhl-uh  
 Leila    went.3FS    the-mall.MS.    she    every    day        go-it.3FS  
 'Leila went to the mall. She goes there every day.'

Summing up, it is safe to say that the prepositionless goal noun in JA does not behave like a pseudo-incorporated noun. In fact, a number of observations suggest that the goal noun in P-drop is a full referential DP that is similar to regular PP objects. First, the noun can bear definite marking and number marking. Second,

<sup>16</sup>See Rothschild (2007) for a detailed discussion of the scope properties of both definite and indefinite descriptions.

the goal noun in P-drop can be a proper name. Third, a variety of nominal modifiers (e.g., intersective adjectives, PPs, and relative clauses) can modify the goal noun. Fourth, the goal noun exhibits the same scope properties regardless of the presence or absence of an overt preposition. Finally, the goal noun can introduce a discourse referent, and as such, it can be the antecedent of pronominal anaphora. Given this, the presence of a full referential DP in JA P-drop is empirically motivated. In the next section, I provide evidence for a fully represented PP structure.

## 5. IN FAVOUR OF PP-HOOD

Myler (2013) shows that null prepositions have narrower semantics than overt prepositions. P-drop in Ormskirk English can only have a directional interpretation, and not a locative one (37).

- (37) a. Today I'm going the library.  
 b. \*Today I'm working the library (Intended: working at the library).  
 c. \*Today I'm staying the library. (Myler 2013: 194)

The same is true in JA. The examples in (38) show that null P in JA can never have a locative interpretation.

- (38) a. ištayalt            il-maktab  
           worked.1MS    the-office.FS  
           Intended: 'I worked at the office.'  
 b. \*rah    aDal            il-maktab  
           will stay.1MS    the-office.FS  
           Intended: 'I will stay at the office.'

The question that now arises is: What accounts for the narrower semantics of null TO? To answer this question, Myler (2013) adopts den Dikken's (2010) idea that directional PPs involve a Path head which can be overtly realized by *to* and *from* in English (see also Koopman 2010). This head embeds a locative PP indicating Place instantiated by prepositions like *in*, *on*, and *at*.

- (39) [P<sub>PATH</sub> [P<sub>PLACE</sub> DP]]  
 to/from in/on/at... (Adapted from Myler 2013: 195)

Myler (2013) proposes that null TO is more semantically restricted than overt *to* because it is compatible with only one variant of the Place head, namely silent AT. On the other hand, overt *to* may co-occur with a much wider range of Place heads.<sup>17</sup>

Hall (2019) notes that PPs and other adverbials cannot intervene between the verb and the prepositionless goal noun in London English (40), which suggests the absence of a PP structure.

<sup>17</sup>It is generally accepted that overt PPs are different from their silent counterparts. Polinsky (2016), for instance, shows that overt and silent PPs have different extraction and subextraction properties.

- (40) a. \*Come with me shop.  
 b. \*I went quickly shop.  
 c. \*Come with me quickly Stratford. (Adapted from Hall 2019: 2)

In JA, strict adjacency between the verb and the goal noun is not always required. For instance, PP and adverbial intervenors may occur in multiple positions relative to the main verb. The following data show that the positioning possibilities of such intervenors are the same regardless of the presence or absence of an overt preposition.<sup>18</sup>

- (41) a. ruht (ʕa)-l-dukkanih **imbarih**  
 went.1MS (to)-the-shop.FS yesterday  
 'I went to the shop yesterday.'  
 b. ruht **imbarih** (ʕa)-l-dukkanih  
 went.1MS yesterday (to)-the-shop.FS  
 'I went to the shop yesterday.'  
 c. **imbarih** ruht (ʕa)-l-dukkanih  
 yesterday went.1MS (to)-the-shop.FS  
 'I went to the shop yesterday.'
- (42) a. taʕaal (ʕa)-l-mall **maʕ-i**  
 come.2MS (to)-the-mall.MS with-me  
 'Come with me to the mall.'  
 b. taʕaal **maʕ-i** (ʕa)-l-mall  
 come.2MS with-me (to)-the-mall.MS  
 'Come with me to the mall.'

Another argument for the presence of a PP comes from *straight/right* modification, a classic diagnostic of prepositions (Emonds 1985, Biggs 2014, Polinsky 2016). In JA, overt PPs can be modified by *duyri* 'straight', and in such a case, *duyri* have three possible positions: (i) before the verb (43a); (ii) between the verb and the PP (43b); and (iii) following both the verb and the PP (43c).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>In JA, comitative PPs (e.g., *maʕ* 'with') cannot appear before the verb, even in the presence of an overt P (i).

- (i) \*maʕ-I taʕaal (ʕa)-l-mall  
 with-me come.2MS (to)-the-mall.MS  
 Intended: 'Come with me to the mall.'

This seems to suggest that comitative PPs occupy a position lower than T<sub>0</sub>, given the mainstream assumption that verbs in Arabic raise to T<sub>0</sub> at least in past tense sentences (Aoun et al. 2009).

<sup>19</sup>In addition to its adverbial use, *duyri* can be used as an adjective to describe an honest person, as seen in (i).

- (i) Faisal šaxs duyri  
 Faisal person.MS honest.MS  
 'Faisal is an honest person.'

- (43) a. *duyri ruht ʕa-l-bait*  
 straight went.1MS to-the-home.MS  
 'I went straight home.'
- b. *ruht duyri ʕa-l-bait*  
 went.1MS straight to-the-home.MS  
 'I went straight home.'
- c. *ruht ʕa-l-bait duyri*  
 went.1MS to-the-home.MS straight  
 'I went straight home.'

Note that the use of *duyri* as an adverbial requires the presence of a directional PP, as seen in (44).<sup>20</sup>

- (44) *Leila u Faisal raahu duyri \*(ʕa-l-mall)*  
 Leila and Faisal went.3PL straight to-the-mall.MS  
 'Leila and Faisal went straight to the mall.'

As in overt PPs, *duyri* 'straight' can appear in all three positions in P-drop contexts, as seen in (45).<sup>21</sup>

- (45) a. *duyri ruht il-bait*  
 straight went.1MS the-home.MS  
 'I went straight home.'
- b. *ruht duyri il-bait*  
 went.1MS straight the-home.MS  
 'I went straight home.'
- c. *ruht il-bait duyri*  
 went.1MS to-the-home.MS straight  
 'I went straight home.'

<sup>20</sup>The adverb *duyri* can sometimes be used without an overt PP with verbs like *rawwah* (went back), as in (i).

- (i) *Faisal u Leila rawwahu duyri*  
 Faisal and Leila went-back.3PL straight  
 'Faisal and Leila went straight back home.'

I do not have a concrete explanation for the acceptability of (i), but should point out that the absence of a PP with *duyri* 'straight' is illicit with other verbs. I hypothesize that the semantics of the verb (or the verbalizing head *v0*) in (i) makes the sentence acceptable without an overt PP. In particular, the verb *rawwah* (went-back) is used only when referring to the action of going back home. The sentence in (ii), for instance, can only mean that I'm going back home, and not to some other place.

- (ii) *ana rawwaht*  
 I came-back.1MS  
 'I went back home.'

<sup>21</sup>Some of my JA informants preferred to assign emphatic stress on *duyri* 'straight' when it occurs in medial position, namely in (43b) and (45b). For those informants, stress assignment happens irrespective of the presence or absence of an overt preposition.

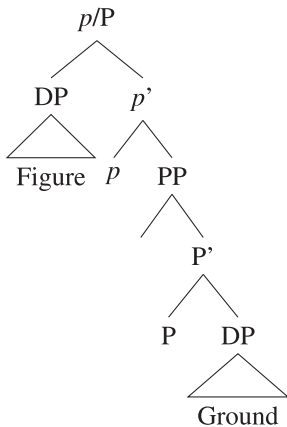
The availability of modification by *duyri* ‘straight’ in (45) is a robust piece of evidence for the presence of a silent PP structure.

## 6. DERIVING P-DROP IN JORDANIAN ARABIC

As shown in section 5, the P-drop patterns in JA suggest that there is a silent PP structure. Moreover, in section 4, I established that the prepositionless goal noun in JA P-drop is a full referential DP. In this section, I propose my analysis of P-drop in JA. In the remainder of this article, I will refer to the prepositionless goal noun in P-drop as “the goal DP”.

To begin with, I adopt the split *p*/P hypothesis of Svenonius (2007), for whom PPs and VPs share similarities in argument structure. In particular, adpositions have a split *p*/P structure that corresponds to split *v*/V in the verbal domain. Svenonius’s (2007) primary motivation for a split *p*/P is to capture the argument structure of adpositions consisting of Figures and Grounds (Talmy 1975). By analogy to *v* (or Voice<sup>0</sup> in Kratzer 1996), *p* introduces the external argument (i.e., the Figure) as its specifier, whereas the lower lexical P introduces the internal argument (i.e., the Ground) as its complement. Both positions are depicted in (46).

(46)



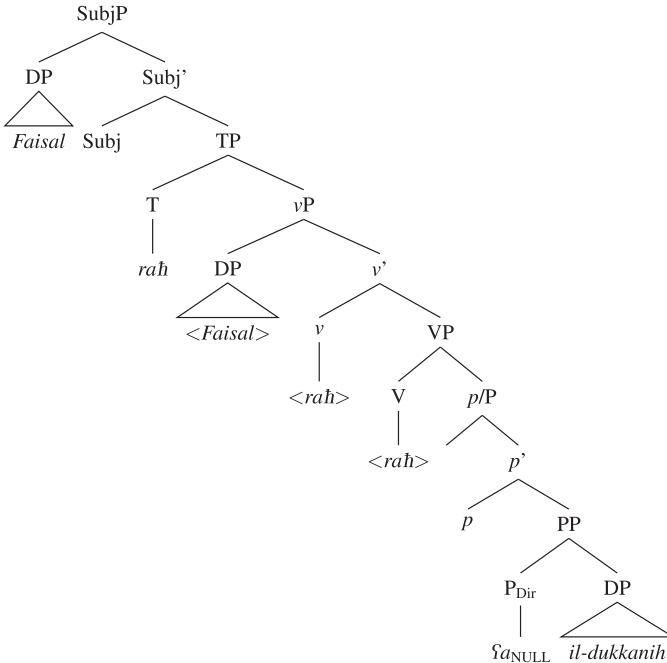
I argue that P drop in JA involves a silent P head that corresponds to an overt directional P (i.e., P<sub>Dir</sub> in den Dikken’s 2010 sense). I label this head as  $\mathfrak{fa}_{\text{NULL}}$ . I assume that  $\mathfrak{fa}_{\text{NULL}}$  theta-selects the goal DP as its complement, similarly to overt P<sub>Dir</sub> in JA.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup>den Dikken (2010) argues that directional PPs have a fine-grained structure consisting of P<sub>Dir</sub> and P<sub>Loc</sub>. den Dikken motivates the presence of P<sub>Loc</sub> in directional PPs by showing that locative Ps can sometimes be used in directional contexts. According to him, P<sub>Loc</sub> remains null in the presence of an intrinsically directional P. Motivating the presence of P<sub>Loc</sub> in directional PPs in JA is a task beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, one could entertain the possibility that P<sub>Loc</sub> is underlying in the structure of all intrinsically directional Ps in JA. For the purpose of the current discussion, I maintain that P<sub>Dir</sub> immediately theta-selects the goal DP as its complement.

Taking the structure in (46) into consideration, I propose that the P-drop example in (47) has the structure in (48).<sup>23</sup>

- (47) Faisal rah il-dukkanih  
 Faisal went.3MS the-shop.FS  
 ‘Faisal went to the shop.’

(48)



At this point, two questions need to be resolved: (i) how  $\text{fa}_{\text{NULL}}$  is licensed; and (ii) how case assignment to the goal DP takes place in P-drop. In addressing both questions, I will first examine two existing accounts of silent Ps in the literature, namely Myler (2013) and Biggs (2014). Then I will show that the answers to both questions are found in both accounts. More precisely, I will show that  $\text{fa}_{\text{NULL}}$  in JA is licensed similarly to TO in Ormskirk English (Myler 2013), whereas case assignment to the goal DP in JA takes place as in Liverpool English (Biggs 2014).

Myler (2013) offers two options regarding the licensing of null TO in Ormskirk English. The first option is to assume that TO is a null lexical P that not only theta-selects the goal DP, but also assigns non-structural case to it. Under this option, null P is deleted under adjacency with the verb. The second option is to assume that null TO

<sup>23</sup>For ease of exposition, I put aside the issue of introducing the subject (i.e., the Figure) in spec-*p*, since it has no crucial effect on the licensing of  $\text{fa}_{\text{NULL}}$ . I follow Jarrah (2017), who argues that the pre-verbal position of the thematic subject in JA is derived via movement of the subject from Spec-*vP* to Spec-SubjP (Rizzi 2005).



is licensed via P-incorporation into  $v$  (den Dikken 2010).<sup>24</sup> Myler (2013) argues in favour of P-incorporation rather than deletion of P under adjacency with the verb by showing that linear adjacency is not always required. In particular, if linear adjacency between the verb and the goal DP is what licenses null P, then we predict that there should be no cases where the goal is separated from the verb. This prediction is not borne out, since P-drop is possible with ditransitives in Ormskirk English (49). As for case assignment, Myler (2013) argues that a goal DP in P-drop moves to direct object position Spec- $v$ , where it is assigned accusative case. This means that the goal DP behaves like a regular direct object, as opposed to ordinary goal PPs. According to Myler (2013), the DP in P-drop displays an adjacency effect similar to direct objects, as seen in (50).

(49) Me nan sent me the shops. (Myler 2013: 189)

(50) a. Come the pub with me.

b. \*Come with me the pub. (Myler 2013: 198)

Now back to JA: I argue that  $\text{fa}_{\text{NULL}}$  is licensed via P-incorporation into  $v$  (den Dikken 2010), as opposed to linear adjacency with the verb. Evidence for P-incorporation into  $v$  comes from non-adjacency between the verb and the goal DP. In particular, P-drop in JA is possible in ditransitives, as seen in (51).

(51) a. ummi waddat Faisal il-suug řařaan yeřtari zait  
mother-my sent.3MS Faisal the-market.MS to buy.3MS oil  
'My mother sent Faisal to the market to buy oil.'

b. axaDit Faisal il-mustařfa řařan mawřiduh  
took.1MS Faisal the-hospital for appointment-his.MS  
'I took Faisal to the hospital for his appointment.'

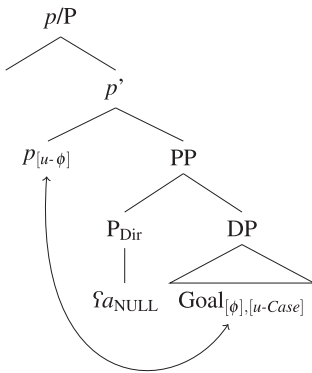
One advantage of P-incorporation is that it can explain the absence of P-drop with manner of motion verbs in JA. den Dikken (2010) assumes that manner of motion verbs have a manner head adjoined to  $v$ . Thus, incorporation of a silent P is blocked with manner of motion verbs, since it would violate the ban on multiple adjunction to a single host (Kayne 1994).

The second question to address is how the goal DP gets case. Based on the non-adjacency effects observed above (and also in section 5), it is safe to say that the case assigned to the goal DP in JA has to be structural. I adopt Biggs's (2014) Agree-based account of structural case assignment in Liverpool English. Biggs (2014) argues that the higher  $p$  (K for her) is endowed with a set of unvalued [ $u-\phi$ ] features, similarly to  $v$  in the verbal domain.<sup>25</sup> The unvalued features of  $p$  are valued via Agree with the goal DP in its c-command domain, and in return,  $p$  assigns case to the goal DP which bears an unvalued case feature [ $u$ -Case]. Agree between  $p$  and the goal DP is illustrated in (52).

<sup>24</sup>den Dikken (2010) argues that in directional PPs, an overt  $P_{\text{Dir}}$  can license a null  $P_{\text{Loc}}$  in its command domain. A null  $P_{\text{Dir}}$ , on the other hand, is licensed via incorporation of  $P_{\text{Dir}}$  into  $v$ .

<sup>25</sup>See Kayne (2005) and Režáč (2008) for evidence that adpositions can be Probes, carrying unvalued [ $\phi$ ] features.

(52)



Before concluding this section, it is worthwhile highlighting the similarities/differences between  $\sqrt{a}_{NULL}$  in JA, and TO and K in Ormskirk and Liverpool English respectively.

Under the analysis developed in this section,  $\sqrt{a}_{NULL}$  is similar to Myler's (2013) TO in that both heads are null Ps that theta-select the goal DP as their complement, but do not assign case to it. Moreover, both  $\sqrt{a}_{NULL}$  and TO are licensed via P-incorporation into *v*. The difference between JA and Ormskirk with regard to Pdrop is in the way the goal DP is assigned case. In particular, Myler (2013) argues that the goal DP in Ormskirk is similar to regular direct objects, and as such, the DP raises to spec-*vP* for accusative case assignment. On the other hand, I argued above that the goal DP is assigned case via Agree with *p*.

As for the similarities/differences between P-drop in JA and Liverpool English, I argued above that  $\sqrt{a}_{NULL}$  theta-selects its complement. For Biggs (2014), however, the structure of the *PP* in P-drop lacks the lower lexical P found in a split *p/P* structure. Biggs's K is a semantically bleached case head that corresponds to Svenonius's (2007) higher *p*. This means that K does not theta-select its complement. The view that K is not a lexical head explains why P-drop in Liverpool English is possible with both directional *to* and stative *at*. Another difference between JA and Liverpool English is that  $\sqrt{a}_{NULL}$  in JA is licensed via P-incorporation into *v*, whereas in Liverpool English, K is licensed in situ. This difference could potentially explain the availability of P-drop with manner of motion verbs in Liverpool English, and its absence in JA. Finally, both JA and Liverpool English are similar in the case licensing mechanism involved in P-drop. In particular, the goal DP in P-drop is assigned case in situ via Agree with the higher *p* in JA, which corresponds to K in Liverpool English.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup>I have nothing to say on P-drop in Greek and London English, but should point out that alternative Silent-P analyses of P-drop in Greek have already been proposed by Terzi (2010) and Kouneli (2014). As for London English, it seems obvious that British dialects of English exhibit considerable variation with respect to P-(D)-drop. More research is needed to precisely identify the source of variation among British dialects of English in this regard.

## 7. CONCLUSION

In this article, I provided a detailed description of P-drop in JA. I showed that the main properties of P-drop found in other P-drop languages hold in JA. I refuted an analysis of P-drop in terms of pseudo noun incorporation (Gehrke and Lekakou 2013, Hall 2019), showing that the prepositionless goal noun in JA does not behave like a pseudo-incorporated nominal. I showed that the noun in JA P-drop exhibits the typical properties of a regular referential DP. I applied some diagnostics of PP-hood to show that there is a silent PP structure involved in JA P-drop. Thus, I argued for an analysis of P-drop in which a PP structure is present but unpronounced (Myler 2013, Biggs 2014, Bailey 2018, among others). The silent P is licensed via incorporation of P into  $v$  (den Dikken 2010), which in turn explains the absence of P-drop with manner of motion verbs. Also, the goal DP is assigned case in situ via Agree with a higher  $p$  head in a split  $p/P$  structure (Svenonius 2007). P-drop is a relatively understudied phenomenon due to its restrictive nature. The arguments and analysis presented in this article contribute to the ongoing debate on the underlying mechanisms involved in P-drop.

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