LOCATIVE ALTERNATION IN ENGLISH 
AND JORDANIAN SPOKEN ARABIC

SHEHDEH FAREH – JIHAD HAMDAN

University of Jordan, Amman

1. Introduction

Contrastive studies have a long history. Fisiak (1981: 3) suggested that the roots of theoretical contrastive linguistics, as the term is used today, go back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. While phonology and syntax are the core of a large number of contrastive studies, semantics has started to catch up only recently. One of the areas that has attracted considerable attention over the past two decades is verb subcategorization and the type of semantic constraints that govern verb argument structure in English and other languages as well (Pinker 1989; Radford 1981, 1988; Haegeman 1991).

Pinker (1989) investigated four linguistic phenomena in English, viz., the dative, causative, passive, and locative alternations; his basic concern was to suggest a theory that can adequately answer the question of why particular verbs subcategorize for particular argument structures. For instance, the verb scatter in (1) below sounds natural while the verb disperse in (2) sounds natural in (2a) and odd in (2b) though the two verbs often appear in monolingual dictionaries as synonyms (Cowie 1989).

(1a) Ali scattered the seeds onto the field. [NP onto-NP]
(1b) Ali scattered the field with seeds. [NP with-NP]
(2a) Ali dispersed the seeds in the field. [NP in-NP]
(2b) *Ali dispersed the field with seeds. [NP with-NP]

Examples (1) and (2) show that the locative verb scatter alternates (i.e., occurs in two lexically related constructions) but the locative verb disperse does not.

Pinker (1989: 97) posited that he is unaware of any cross-linguistic surveys of locative constructions. However, he mentioned (through reference to other studies) that alternations similar to the English locative, but often marked with verb affixation, were found in Hungarian, Indonesian, Russian, German, Berber, Igbo and
Japanese. To our knowledge, this observation is still valid, particularly in relation to English and Arabic.

2. Objectives of the study

This is a preliminary paper that aims at investigating the locative structures in Jordanian spoken Arabic (JSA) and comparing them with their English equivalent forms. It also aims at establishing semantic criteria to account for the locative shift in JSA. Specifically, the study attempts to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Showing that JSA has a locative alternation marked with a preposition as is the case in English.
2. Amassing locative verbs in JSA.
3. Classifying these verbs into two categories; alternating and nonalternating on the basis of acceptability judgements by native speakers of JSA (see section 4 below).
4. Establishing semantic criteria to account for alternation or nonalternation in JSA by testing Pinker’s constraints of locative alternation in English against the Arabic data and specifying special constraints wherever Pinker’s constraints fail to apply.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 3 below defines the concept of locative alternation and provides illustrative examples showing that JSA has a locative alternation marked with a preposition as is the case in English. Furthermore, it reviews Pinker’s theory of argument structure and the constraints he proposed for the locative alternation in English. Section 4 describes the procedure followed by the researchers for amassing the locative verbs in JSA and classifying them into alternators and nonalternators. Section 5 reports on the researchers’ attempt to apply Pinker’s constraints to the Arabic data with a view to testing the extent to which these constraints succeed in accounting for the locative alternation in JSA. Concluding remarks are presented in section 6.

3. Locative alternation

3.1. Concept and forms of locative alternation in English and JSA

The locative alternation in both English and JSA is a process that implies change in the meaning of the verb undergoing alternation since it involves a transfer of a substance, a mass or a set of objects (theme, content) into or onto a container or surface (goal, container). The alternation in English is realized by two major types of constructions. In the first type, as in (3) below, the preposition into or onto alternates with the preposition with. In the second type, the preposition from alternates with the preposition of, as in (4) below.

(3a) Ali loaded the cart with sugar.
(4a) Ali emptied water from the bucket.
(4b) Ali emptied the bucket of water.

On the other hand, the locative alternation in JSA is realized by four types of constructions. In the first type, the preposition fi ‘into/onto’ alternates with the preposition bi ‘with’. In the second, fä ‘on (to)’ alternates with bi ‘with’. In the third, fi ‘into’ alternates with fi ‘into’. In the fourth, min ‘from’ alternates with min ‘of’ or with fän ‘off’. Below are illustrative examples. It is worth noting that the JSA sentences are broadly transcribed as spoken.

(5a) muusa sattaf likyaas fi ddukkaan.
    Musa crammed the-sacks in the-store
    ‘Musa crammed the sacks into the store.’

(5b) muusa sattaf iddukkaan bi likyaas.
    Musa crammed the-store with the-sacks
    ‘Musa crammed the store with sacks.’

(6a) muusa rashag il-mayyi fi l-walad.
    Musa splashed the-water on the-boy
    ‘Musa splashed water on the boy.’

(6b) muusa rashag il-walad bi l-mayyi.
    Musa splashed the-boy with the-water
    ‘Musa splashed the boy with water.’

(7a) muusa daxtal isba’u fi l-xaatim.
    Musa inserted finger-his into the-ring
    ‘Musa inserted his finger into the ring.’

(7b) muusa daxtal ila-xaatim fi sbayn.
    Musa inserted the-ring into finger-his
    ‘Musa put the ring onto his finger.’

(8a) muusa faththa zzeet min ittanaki.
    Musa emptied the-oil from the-tin
    ‘Musa emptied oil from the tin.’

(8b) muusa faththa ttnaki min izzeet.
    Musa emptied the-tin from the-oil
    ‘Musa emptied the tin of oil.’

As is clear, each type of locative constructions in both JSA and English has two different but related forms. In his analysis of the locative alternation in English, Pinker (1989: 124-125) suggested that one of these forms is the base for the other, i.e., the base functions as an 'input' to the derived form. This classification is based on whether the content or goal is obligatory or not. For example, we can say he piled the books but not he piled the shelf. In such a case the content (theme) is obligatory
and this suggests that the verb naturally takes the theme as object and thus it is the base form from which the second one is derived. Although these judgments are compatible with the judgments of many native speakers of English, Pinker (1989: 125) holds that they are still subjective.

As for JSA, we also find it difficult to determine objectively which form is the base. However, the distinction, as it stands, seems to be more important to determining which form is acquired earlier in the process of language acquisition than to theoretical contrastive studies. Therefore, we decided not to investigate this issue any further.

In both JSA and English locative alternations, the two alternating forms are not synonymous. For example in (3a), i.e., the content-oriented form, the theme (sugar) does not necessarily fill or cover the container (cart), whereas in (3b), i.e., the container-oriented form, the goal (the cart) must be completely filled or covered by the content. This means that applying the locative alternation rule to constructions like (3a) above must result in the holism effect; otherwise, the verb does not undergo alternation. The lack of the holism effect accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (9b):

(9a) Ali pushed the car into the road.
(9b) *Ali pushed the road with the car.

In the second type of English locative alternations, the application of the alternation rule should result in complete depletion of the container (e.g., the bucket in (4b) above). If the application of the rule does not result in the depletion effect, the verb will not alternate.

(10a) Ali read a chapter from the book.
(10b) *Ali read the book of a chapter.

Sentence (10b) is unacceptable because the application of the alternation rule to (10a) does not result in the complete depletion of the goal/container (i.e., the book); the chapter whether read by Ali or not will continue to be a part of the book.

Likewise, the four forms of the locative alternation in JSA, i.e., fi → bi, sa → bi, bi → fi, min → min, are not synonymous. In the first three types, the application of the alternation rule to (5a), (6a) and (7a) above results respectively in the holism effect as in (5b), (6b) and (7b). In the fourth type of alternation, the application of the alternation rule to (8a) above results in the depletion effect in (8b).

Now let us review, though rather sketchily, Pinker’s theory of argument structure and the constraints he proposed for the locative alternation in English.

3.2. Pinker’s theory of argument structure and constraints on English locativization

3.2.1. Pinker’s theory

Pinker’s theory of argument structure is based on a principal assumption: every set of grammatical functions (e.g., subjects, second objects, and prepositional objects) which a verb can appear with ‘... is licensed by a different, fully formed argument structure associated with that verb’ (Pinker 1989: 71). By way of exemplification, the verb go has one argument structure, corresponding to (11) below, whereas the verb eat has two, corresponding to (12a) and (12b).

(11) Ali went.
    Subj V

(12a) Ali ate.
    Subj V

(12b) Ali ate an apple.
    Subj V Obj

In other words, the term argument structure is used ‘... to refer to a strictly syntactic entity, namely the information that specifies how a verb’s arguments are encoded in the syntax’ (Pinker 1989: 71). Thus a lexical entry of a verb specifies, among others, rich collections of information including the verb argument structure and its meaning, or semantic structure (see also Bresnan 1982). In light of this, a verb like eat, which has two different argument structures, has two distinct lexical entries sharing morphology and components of their semantic structures. The two lexical entries are linked by means of a lexical rule, which takes one entry as its input and produces the second as its output. In his theory, Pinker focuses on changes of argument structures among verbs, i.e., alternations. Below is a further example of the alternation between the argument structures of the locative verb pile.

(13a) Ali piled the books onto the table.
(13b) Ali piled the table with books.

What is worth noting here is that the argument structure of a certain verb is determined by a set of broad-range and narrow-range semantic constraints. The former are often viewed as universal and the latter as language-specific (Gropen et al. 1989). However, Pinker (1989: 95) hopes that the kind of constraints on locativization in English ‘... should show tendencies towards universality’. After all, it may turn out that the constraints that govern a certain alternation in two languages (or even more than two) have many things in common. Moreover, it is quite natural to find in a language a verb or a set of verbs that can subcategorize for two argument structures, while their nearest semantic equivalents in another language can subcategorize for one argument structure only.

3.2.2. Constraints on locativization in English

Pinker (1989) observed that locativizable verbs in English should meet a number of constraints. Some of these constraints are general in nature or broad-range; others are specific or finer-grained. Below are more details about them.
3.2.2.1. Broad-range constraints

Pinker (1989: 124) argued that a locativizable verb in English should “... allow one to predict both a type of motion and an end state.” In other words, an alternating verb should meet two broad-range semantic constraints. The first is that the verb specifies the manner in which an object or a substance moves to a container (e.g., in a continuous stream as in pouring or as a mist as in spraying). The second constraint is that this kind of motion causes the container, i.e., the goal to change state (e.g., to be filled). These constraints work in coordination. If one is lacking, the verb will not alternate. The cooperative nature of these constraints explains why the alternation of verbs such as fill and pour is not possible.

(14a) John filled the tank with gas.
(14b) *John filled gas into the tank.
(15a) John poured water into the bucket.
(15b) *John poured the bucket with water.

The verb fill in (14a) allows us to predict only the state of the container, i.e., it is completely filled with gas, but it does not specify the manner in which the object (the gas) moved into the container. Thus sentence (14b) is unacceptable. Likewise, the verb pour in (15a) specifies the motion of the object (water) to the container (bucket); the motion here takes the form of a continuous stream. However, the verb does not allow us to predict the end state of the container (e.g., whether the bucket became full, half-full or even continued to be empty because it was leaking). The failure of such verbs to meet the two broad-range constraints, as one whole, renders them nonalternating.

Although the broad-range constraints allow us to identify the basic semantic features of alternating locative verbs in English, they are not sufficient conditions for the alternation to occur (Pinker 1989: 124). In fact, these constraints, as Pinker noted, fall short of answering the question of why some verbs specify a motion or end state and others do not. For instance, it is not sufficient to say that pour does not alternate because it does not specify an end state. Still, one needs to know why the verb pour is not capable of having a component of meaning specifying that the container is completely filled, in which case a sentence like (16b) will be licensed.

(16a) Ali poured water into the container.
(16b) *Ali poured the container with water.

This leads us to outline another set of constraints, i.e., the finer-grained constraints.

3.2.2.2. Finer-grained constraints

Pinker suggested a set of finer-grained criteria (or narrow-range constraints) that “... determine whether the verb can retain components of meaning for end states or mo-

tions” (1989: 124), the two broad-range criteria for locativization. Below is a summary of the narrow-range constraints which Pinker (1989: 126-128) proposed for the English locative alternation, regardless of which argument structure is the base.

1. Verbs that indicate “simultaneous forceful contact and motion of a mass against a surface” (Pinker 1989: 126), e.g., smear, brush, dab, daub, plaster, rub, slather, smudge, spread and streak.

(17a) He smeared grease on his hands.
(17b) He smeared his hands with grease.

2. Verbs that indicate vertical arrangement on a horizontal surface, e.g., heap, pile, and stack.

(18a) He heaped bricks on the floor.
(18b) He heaped the floor with bricks.

3. Verbs indicating the application of force to a mass causing ballistic motion in a specified spatial distribution along a trajectory, e.g., splash, inject, spatter, spray, sprinkle and squirt.

(19a) She splashed water on the car.
(19b) She splashed the car with water.

4. Verbs that cause a mass to move in a widespread or nondirected distribution, e.g., scatter, bestrew, sow, and strew.

(20a) The farmer scattered seeds onto the field.
(20b) The farmer scattered the field with seeds.

5. Verbs that indicate that “… a mass is forced into a container against the limits of its capacity” (Pinker 1989: 126), e.g., pack, cram, crowd, jam, stuff and wad.

(21a) They packed the crack with oakum.
(21b) They packed oakum into the crack.

6. Verbs which indicate that “… a mass of size, shape, or type defined by the intended use of a container … is put into the container, enabling it to accomplish its function” (Pinker 1989: 126), e.g., load and stock.

(22a) He loaded the gun with bullets.
(22b) He loaded bullets into the gun.

7. Verbs that indicate a specific kind of empty end state regardless of manner, e.g., clean, cleanse, clear, empty and strip.

(23a) He cleared dishes from the table.
(23b) He cleared the table of the dishes.
On the face of it, alternators in this class do not meet the first broad-range constraint for locativization, (see 3.2.2.1. above) which indicates that an alternator should allow one to predict the type of motion. It seems that this constraint is not as powerful with verbs showing depletion (e.g., clean, empty, etc.) as it is with verbs showing holism (e.g., load, smear, fill, etc.). This claim will also be tested against verbs of depletion in the Arabic data.

Before closing this section, it is useful to observe that Pinker (1989: 129-130) reported two other subsets of alternators where the alternation occurs between the from and a form without an of-phrase, as in she wiped crumbs from the table / she wiped the table of crumbs and he vacuumed lint from the carpet / he vacuumed the carpet of lint. The two subsets specify either a particular manner of removal via contact with the source, or a particular instrument of removal.

The fact that these structures do not reflect alternation between two argument structures, each with a preposition, may cast some doubt on their inclusion amongst alternators.

4. Amassing and classifying locative verbs in JSA

To the authors’ knowledge, locative verbs in Arabic have not been studied. Therefore, a primary objective of this paper was to identify and amass such verbs in one variety of Arabic, viz., JSA, the variety that the researchers speak natively. To achieve this objective, the authors followed the following procedure:

1. The authors compiled a preliminary list of 90 locative verbs in JSA. As the authors were, at the time of data collection, teaching a course in English syntax to two groups of fourth year English majors at the University of Jordan, they thought it would be a good idea if they could engage their students in the task of compiling a larger list of locatives in JSA. For this purpose, the authors introduced a sample of locative constructions in English representing both alternating and nonalternating verbs and compared and contrasted them with similar forms in JSA. The students, who were speakers of JSA, were encouraged to collect more locative verbs in this variety and hand them in to their instructors. Through this assistance, the authors, at this stage, were able to expand their list to 134 locatives.

2. The amassed collection of verbs was tentatively classified into two groups: 65 alternating and 69 nonalternating. Each alternator was used in two short but informative sentences representing its two possible argument structures, whereas each nonalternator was represented by one sentence only. All sentences were audio taped by one of the researchers as spoken in JSA. The exact word order of this variety still awaits further research; however, El-Yasin (1985) argued that it is SVO. We shall adopt this order when we present the JSA data.

3. At a later stage, two Jordanian colleagues who have research interest in contrastive linguistics were requested to review the taped sentences with a view to determining their acceptability. They were also requested to suggest further locative verbs, if any. Most of their judgments were found to be compatible with those of the researchers, particularly in connection with nonalternators. However, they noted that some of the examples containing alternators were rather odd or ‘forced.’ They also suggested the addition of five verbs to the list, four alternators and one nonalternator. The addition of these verbs to the original list rendered it almost exhaustive. It contained 69 alternators and 70 nonalternators.

4. To further validate the resultant list of alternators and nonalternators, the authors tested their acceptability against the intuition of 40 native speakers of JSA. The informants were graduate students in the Department of Linguistics and Phonetics at the University of Jordan. The informants did the task in a language lab under no time constraints. However, most of them completed it in 50-60 minutes. They were requested to judge the stimulus sentences as acceptable or unacceptable on the basis of their first response to each sentence. Furthermore, the subjects were requested not to change their answers. Any sentence that was judged as unacceptable by 15% or more of the informants was excluded from the data. The final version of the list (after the exclusion of two alternating verbs) contained 67 alternators and 70 nonalternators. Further analysis of the data was confined to this list. The complete list of alternators and nonalternators appear in the Appendix. For space limitation, only alternators appear in short illustrative sentences.

5. Constraints on locative alternation in JSA

The authors tested Pinker’s constraints against the Arabic data first, then they proposed new constraints for alternation where Pinker’s constraints actually failed to apply. This section proceeds as follows: 5.1. and 5.2. below test Pinker’s broad-range and finer-grained constraints against the Arabic data, whereas 5.3. presents the proposed constraints for those alternations in JSA which were not licensed by Pinker’s constraints.

5.1. Broad-range constraints

As reported earlier (see 3.2.2.1), the inherent semantic structure of locativizable verbs in English makes it possible for one to predict both a specific type of motion and a change in the end state. Likewise, alternators in Arabic enable us to make similar predictions. On examining the alternating verbs in our list, we found that they tend to indicate a specific type of movement (for the object or content) followed by a change in the state of the container. The verb hasha ‘stuff’, for example, involves causing a mass (e.g., cotton) by means of stuffing to completely fill a container (e.g., a pillow).
(24a) muusa hasha l-gūṭun fi liwsaaedī. Musa stuffed the-cotton into the-pillow. ‘Musa stuffed cotton into the pillow.’

(24b) muusa hasha liwsaaedī bi l-gūṭun. Musa stuffed the-pillow with the-cotton. ‘Musa stuffed the pillow with cotton.’

On the other hand, the verb bahhar ‘spice’ in (25) below does not alternate because it does not show the specific manner of spicing, whereas the result of the verb dagg ‘hammer’ (26) does not guarantee the holism effect.

(25a) muusa bahhar ittabiix bi l-fīfil wi l-lamaun. Musa spiced the-food with the-pepper and the-lemon. ‘Musa spiced the-food with pepper and lemon.’

(25b) *muusa bahhar il-fīfil wi l-lamaun ūa ittabiix. Musa sprinkled pepper and lemon onto the-food. ‘Musa sprinkled pepper and lemon onto the food.’

(26a) muusa dagg il-musmaar fi l-heet. Musa hammered the-nail into the-wall. ‘Musa hammered the nail into the wall.’

(26b) *muusa dagg il-heet bi l-musmaar. Musa hammered the-wall with the-nail. *Musa hammered the wall with the nail.

So far, it has been demonstrated that both English and JSA alternating locatives are governed by the same set of broad-range constraints. Now let us examine the other set of constraints where one naturally expects the two unrelated languages to start to diverge.

5.2. Finer-grained constraints

Prior to testing Pinker’s finer-grained constraints against the Arabic data, it is useful to remember that such constraints are often viewed as language-specific. Moreover, it was claimed that some of them may turn out to be dialect-specific (Gropen et al. 1989: 243). If this is correct, then one would logically expect that some speakers of JSA may not always find themselves at ease with some of the examples cited in this paper.

To test Pinker’s constraints against the Arabic data, the following procedure will be adopted. Each constraint will be taken up at a time. All verbs governed by the constraint in question will be cited. However, for space limitation only one or two illustrative examples will be provided. An attempt will also be made to show why some English locatives alternate while their nearest JSA equivalents do not.

5.2.1. Constraint 1: Verbs indicating simultaneous forceful contact and motion of a mass against a surface

On examining the amased list, the researchers found that this constraint licensed the alternation of the following verbs: laghmāt ‘smear’, dāhān ‘paint’, dāhān ‘spread’, labbas ‘coat’, tārrāz ‘embroider’, xāthīhab ‘smudge’, rātwāsh ‘slather’, and labbā ‘daub’.

(27a) muusa laghmāt idee bi shshahmeh. Musa smeared hands-his with the-grease. ‘Musa smeared his hands with grease.’

(27b) Musa laghmāt ishshahmeh ūa idee. Musa smeared the-grease on hands-his. ‘Musa smeared grease on his hands.’

(28a) muusa dāhan irghīf bi zziūdī. Musa spread the-loaf with the-butter. ‘Musa spread the loaf with butter.’

(28b) muusa dāhan izziūdī ūa irghīf. Musa spread the-butter on the-loaf. ‘Musa spread butter on the loaf.’

The verb plaster in the sense of ‘cover a wall with a soft mixture’ alternates, whereas its nearest equivalents in JSA ma‘ṣīfān, tāyyān and jāfsān do not. This may be ascribed to the fact that these verbs and their themes are cognates (i.e., ma‘ṣīunu, ‘paste’, tīti ‘clay’ and jāfsīn ‘gypsum’, respectively). In reality, the meaning of the theme is inherent in the semantic structure of the verb, hence it does not appear with the verb. For instance, muusa ma‘ṣīfān ilheeet ‘Musa plastered the wall’ sounds more natural in JSA than muusa ma‘ṣīfān ilheeet bi l-ma‘ṣīunu ‘Musa plastered the wall with paste’. In other words, such verbs seem to subcategorize for the goal (e.g., ilheeet) only. That is, they occur in one argument structure.

5.2.2. Constraint 2: Verbs indicating vertical arrangement on a horizontal surface

This constraint accounts for the alternation of sattaf, taras and rass whose nearest English equivalent is ‘stack’.

(29a) muusa sattaf likyaas fi l-ma‘zzān. Musa stacked the-sacks in the-store. ‘Musa stacked the sacks in the store.’

(29b) muusa sattaf il-ma‘zzān bi likyaas. Musa stacked the-store with the-sacks. ‘Musa stacked the store with sacks.’
It seems that kawwam ‘pile’, and saffat ‘stack’ do not alternate, unlike their English relevant forms, because their inherent semantic structure does not necessarily require a specific form of arrangement. For instance, saffat may indicate vertical as well as horizontal arrangement on a surface; kawwam, on the other hand, may imply heaping a mass or objects on a surface, not necessarily in a certain specific manner.

5.2.3. Constraint 3: Verbs indicating the application of force to a mass causing ballistic motion in a specified spatial distribution along a trajectory

Alternators in this class include tārāsh ‘splash’, bāx ‘squirt’, rashīsh ‘spray’, rashag ‘splash’.

(30a) muusa tārāsh ʔawaʃii bi l-mayyī.
Musā splashed clothes-his with-the-water
‘Musā splashed his clothes with water.’

(30b) muusa tārāsh il-mayyī ʕa waʃii.
Musā splashed the-water on clothes-his
‘Musā splashed water on his clothes.’

Pinker included the verb inject in this class. The nearest equivalent of this verb in JSA is dagg, which does not seem to alternate. The meaning of Musa injected penicillin into Salma’s arm is often conveyed by muusa dagg ibtit bansalini fi ʔōraʔ salma ‘Musā gave Salma a penicillin shot in her arm’.

5.2.4. Constraint 4: Verbs that cause a mass to move in a widespread or nondirected distribution

Alternators in this class include the karkab ‘strew’, baḍar ‘sow’, zara? (when it means baḍar) and farash ‘bestrew’, e.g., muusa farash il-ward ʕa itṭariq ‘Musā be-strewed flowers on the road.’

(31a) muusa baḍar il-ḥabb fi l-hagil.
Musā sowed the-seeds into the-field
‘Musā sowed the seeds onto the field.’

(31b) muusa baḍar il-hagil bi l-ḥabb.
Musā sowed the-field with-the-seeds
‘Musā sowed the field with seeds.’

It is noteworthy that when zara? means ‘plant’, not ‘sow’, it alternates under one condition only, i.e., when the theme is a plural noun, probably to ensure holism.

(32a) muusa zaraʔ ʔiʃʃajaraʔ/ʔiʃʃajjar fi l-hagil.
Musā planted the-tree/the-trees in-the-field
‘Musā planted the tree/the trees in the field.’

(32b) muusa zaraʔ il-hagil bi ʔiʃʃajaraʔ/ʔiʃʃajjar.
Musā planted the-field with-the-tree/the-trees
‘Musā planted the field with ‘the tree/ the trees.’

5.2.5. Constraint 5: Verbs indicating that a mass is forced into a container against its capacity

This constraint accounts for the alternation of hasha ‘stuff’, lašam ‘wad’ and zaṭam ‘cram’.

(33a) muusa hasha l-kuusa bi ruz.
Musā stuffed the-marrow with-the-rice
‘Musā stuffed the marrow with rice.’

(33b) muusa hasha ruz fi l-kuusa.
Musā stuffed the-rice into the-marrow
‘Musā stuffed rice into the marrow.’

The verb jammaʔ, the nearest equivalent to ‘crowd’ in Pinker’s list, does not alternate because it does not imply forcing a mass/objects/people into a container, e.g., a hall, against its capacity. For instance, one can say:

(34) muusa jammaʔ xamsi min ansaarū fi l-qaʔaʔa
Musā grouped five of supporters-his in-the-hall
‘Musā grouped five of his supporters in the large hall so that they would vote for him.’

As is clear, jammaʔ simply means ‘grouped or asked to come, probably with some insistence.’ Similarly, hashar, which may translate as ‘crowd’ in one sense, does not alternate because its inherent semantic structure does not necessitate ‘crowdness’. In fact, hashar can be used with singular animate nouns, in which case it becomes synonymous with ‘kept someone inside a place against his will’.

(35) muusa hashar ʔitaʔlib/iṭullab fi sga.
Musā kept the-student/the-students in-the-class
‘Musā kept the student/the students (against his/ their will) in the class.’

5.2.6. Constraint 6: Verbs indicating that a mass of size, shape, or type defined by the intended use of a container … is put into the container, enabling it to accomplish its function

This constraint can account for the alternation of ṣābba ‘pack’ and hashar/Yabba ‘load’.
5.2.7. Constraint 7: Verbs indicating a specific kind of empty end state regardless of manner

On examining our proposed list of alternating verbs, we found that this constraint can account for the alternation *faḥda* ‘empty’, *ʔazzal* ‘clear’, *naffax* ‘puff off’, *nādāh* ‘bale out’, and *naddaf* ‘clean/cleanse’.

(37a) muusa *faḥda* șšooba min il-kaaz.  
Musa emptied the-stove from the-kerosene
‘Musa emptied the stove of kerosene.’

(37b) muusa *faḥda* l-kaaz min șšooba.  
Musa emptied the-kerosene from the-stove
‘Musa emptied kerosene from the stove.’

(38a) muusa *ʔazzal* ɪttawlii min iʃshuun.  
Musa cleared the-table from the-dishes
‘Musa cleared the table of the dishes.’

(38b) muusa *ʔazzal* iʃshuun ʃan ittawlii.  
Musa cleared the-dishes from the-table
‘Musa cleared dishes off the table.’

However, *ʃarrá* and *shalláh* the possible equivalents of ‘strip off one’s clothes’ do not alternate because, according to Talmy (cited in Pinker 1989: 130), verbs that indicate the removal of objects/conditions from people’s possession never alternate. In Pinker’s list of empty-end state alternating verbs, it seems that the verb strip is not used in the sense of ‘strip off one’s clothes’, but in the sense of ‘removing something off nonhuman objects’ (e.g., *strip the bark off a tree*/*strip a tree of its bark*).

In 3.2.2.1. above, the researchers noted that the verbs of depletion in English do not seem to fully obey the broad-range condition regarding motion in a specific manner. It seems that the Arabic verbs are not an exception. In fact, the acts of *tʃʃaayi* ‘emptying’ and *tʃandīf* ‘cleaning’ may be carried out in different manners.

5.3. Additional constraints for alternation in JSA

A final and closer examination of the list of JSA alternators revealed that a number of them were left unaccounted for by Pinker’s narrow-range constraints. These verbs may classify into three subsets:

1. the *masah* ‘wipe’ subset
2. the *daxsal* ‘insert’/*talaʃ* ‘pull out’ subset
3. the *laʃ* ‘put round’ subset.

The authors were able to suggest three additional finer-grained constraints to account for alternation in connection with these verbs.

5.3.1. Constraint 8: Verbs indicating removal of substance via forceful contact with and/or motion against the goal.

This constraint applies to the *masah* subset that includes *nashṣaf* and *jaffaf* ‘dry’.

(39a) muusa masah il-ghabara ʃan ittawlii.  
Musa wiped the-dust off the-table
‘Musa wiped the dust from the table.’

(39b) muusa masah ittawlii min il-ghabara.  
Musa wiped the-table from the dust
‘Musa wiped the table from the dust.’

5.3.2. Constraint 9: Verbs whose content and goal are both involved in a bi-directional motion by means of which either the content or the container is caused to get into/onto or out of the other.

This constraint applies to the *daxsal/talaʃ* subset which includes *xashṣash*, *dass*, *fawwat*, *hatt* and *zarrag*, which all translate here as ‘insert’. It also applies to *fallai, talaʃ* ‘pull out’, *mazzai* and *mallaʃ* ‘slip off’ or ‘free’.

(40a) muusa fawwat iʃbaʃu ʃi l-xaʃtim.  
Musa inserted finger-his into the-ring
‘Musa inserted his finger into the ring.’

(40b) muusa fawwat il-xaʃtim ʃi ʃbaʃu.  
Musa inserted the-ring into finger-his
‘Musa put the ring onto his finger.’

If the content or the container lacks the ability of motion, the verb will not alternate. In (41) below, the container (e.g., *il-xuzug* ‘the hole’) cannot move, in which case the verb *daxsal* does not alternate.

(41a) muusa daxsal iʃbaʃu ʃi l-xuzug.  
Musa inserted finger-his into the-hole
‘Musa inserted his finger into the hole.’

(41b) *muusa daxsal il-xuzug ʃi ʃbaʃu.  
Musa inserted the-hole into finger-his
*Musa inserted the hole into his finger.*
It seems that the locative arguments of the daxnal verbs are obligatory. If either is deleted, the sentence becomes unacceptable.

(42a) *muusa daxnal isbān.
Musa inserted finger-his

(42b) *muusa daxnal il-xaatim.
Musa inserted the-ring

5.3.3. Constraint 10: Verbs indicating that a stretch of flexible mass (cloth, string, leather) is caused to wind round an object and stay there for a while before subsequent removal

This constraint applies to laff, ṣassāb ‘wind’ or ‘wrap’ (e.g., a bandage round one’s head), rabaj, hazzam ‘tie’ (e.g., a belt round one’s waist) and kāwāfat ‘put round’.

(43a) muusa laff raasu bi l-hatta.
Musa wrapped head-his with the-head cover
‘Musa wrapped his head with the head cover.’

(43b) muusa laff il-hatta ūa raasu.
Musa wrapped the-head cover on head-his
‘Musa wrapped the head cover round his head.’

6. Conclusion

In this paper we compared and contrasted locativizable verbs in English and JSA within the framework of the theory of verb argument structure as outlined by Pinker (1989). Below is a summary of our findings:

1. Both English and JSA have a locative alternation marked with a preposition. The prepositions involved in English are:

   a) into/onto → with or vice versa
   b) from → of

   In JSA the prepositions are:

   a) fi ‘into’ → bi ‘with’ or vice versa
   b) bi ‘with’ → ūa ‘onto’ or vice versa
   c) fi ‘into’ → fi ‘into’
   d) mi‘ from’ → min/īm ‘off/from’.

2. Though many locative verbs in English share subcategorization with their JSA relevant forms, one-to-one correspondence does not always exist. For instance, load and hammal alternate; however, pile alternates but kawwam, does not.

3. Locativizable verbs in both English and JSA allow one to predict a specific type of motion (of the content/theme) and a change in the end state (of the container/goal). The verbs of depletion, however, seem to be an exception.

4. Some JSA and English verbs alternate only when the theme (content) is a non-count mass noun, e.g., fajm ‘coal’ or when it is a count noun but in the plural form, e.g., kyaas ‘sacks’). Such verbs include hammal ‘load’ ṣabba ‘load’, and zarat ‘plant’.

(44a) muusa hammal il-fahim fi ssayyara.
Musa loaded-the coal into the-car
‘Musa loaded coal into the car.’

(44b) muusa hammal issayyara bi l-fahim.
Musa loaded-the-car with the-coal
‘Musa loaded the car with coal.’

(45a) muusa hammal il-kis/līkyaas fi ssayyara.
Musa loaded-the sack/the sacks into the-car
‘Musa loaded the sack/the sacks into the car.’

(45b) muusa hammal issayyara bi *l-kis/līkyaas.
Musa loaded-the-car with the sack/the sacks
‘Musa loaded the car with *the sack/the sacks.’

5. Pinker’s finer-grained constraints can account for the alternation of a large number of locative verbs in JSA. However, they fail to account for the alternation of three subsets of verbs, namely, the masah ‘wipe’, the daxnal ‘insert’/tallال ‘pull out’ and the laff ‘put round’ subsets. Therefore, three new constraints have been proposed to account for the alternation of these verbs.

The fact that Pinker’s finer-grained constraints can account for the majority of locative alternations in JSA provides some preliminary evidence that such constraints show tendencies toward universality. To validate this point, further research on locativization in other languages is needed.

6. Some verbs in both JSA and English seem to be similar or synonymous as pile and kawwam, but it was found that unlike pile that alternates, kawwam does not. This lack of correspondence in argument structure may be attributed to some subtle differences between the semantic structures of these verbs. Pinker (1989: 126) holds that pile indicates vertical arrangement of objects on a surface. Upon examining the use of kawwam, we found that its meaning does not necessarily require a specific form of arrangement; it implies a disorderly heap of objects or mass on a surface.
7. Some Arabic locativizable verbs alternate when used in a particular sense only such as "rukab" (in the sense of "wind" or "wrap") not in the sense of "tie", and "hatt" (in the sense of "insert") not in the sense of "place" or "put.

In fact, researchers who may suggest that certain verbs are alternating need to provide the reader with illustrative examples in complete sentences since the same verbs may alternate in one sense and may not alternate in another. Unfortunately, Pinker (1989) does not provide the context for many verbs which he cited as alternating. We tried to address this need by providing a complete list of JSA alternating verbs with illustrative examples (see Appendix).

8. It seems that languages do not have a large number of locative verbs. Rappaport and Levin’s (1985) list included 142 locative verbs in English, of which only 34 are alternating. Similarly, the number of locative verbs in JSA is very close to the English total. We have amassed 137 verbs: only 67 of them appear in both forms. Whether or not other varieties of Arabic as well as other languages have a relatively small set of locatives and why is still open to further research.

9. The findings of this study suggested some differences between English and JSA in terms of the finer-grained constraints that govern locativization. Yet, one may wish to know how such differences may influence the process of foreign/second language learning in this domain. Moreover, further research in this area may determine which type of locative verbs, i.e., alternators or nonalternators, are acquired earlier.

REFERENCES


APPENDIX

ALTERNATING VERBS

1. daxsal insert a) muusa daxsal il-xatim fi sba'yu.
   b) musa daxsal i-xatim. fi the-ring.
   a) musa daxsal i-xatimin fi i-xatim.
   b) musa daxsal i-xatimin fi the-ring.

2. fi'dha empty a) musa fi'dha l-mayyi min il-barmii.
   b) musa fi'dha l-barmii min il-barmii.

3. haa put a) musa haa li-ghraam.
   b) musa haa li-ghraam fi the-blanket.

4. baxx squirt a) musa baxx il-mayyi fi l-gami.".
   b) musa baxx il-gami." fi l-gami.".

5. ba'dar sow a) musa babar il-gamih fi the-water.
   b) musa babar il-gamih fi the-water.

6. baram wrap a) musa baram haalu bi li-ghraam.
   b) musa baram haalu bi li-ghraam.

7. balaq tile a) musa balaq issa"ah bi shshuha.
   b) musa balaq issa"ah bi shshuha.

8. satta stack a) musa satta likyaas fi the-store.
   b) musa satta likyaas fi the-store.

9. jaffad dry a) musa jaffad il-mayyi fi the-water.
   b) musa jaffad il-mayyi fi the-water.

10. hazzam wind a) musa hazzam isha bi waist-his.
    b) musa hazzam isha bi waist-his.

11. hasha stuff a) musa hasha rruz fi the-maraows.
    b) musa hasha rruz fi the-maraows.

12. hamal load a) musa hamal il-kutub bi the-wagon.
    b) musa hamal il-kutub bi the-wagon.

Musa loaded the-books into the-wagon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 91</th>
<th>Locative alternation in English and Jordanian spoken Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. xashash</td>
<td><strong>insert</strong> (see 1 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. xaddab</td>
<td><strong>smudge</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. musa</td>
<td>xaddab il-hinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. musa</td>
<td>xaddab idee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>smudged hands-his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>dahan il-booy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>dahan il-heet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>painted the-wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>dahan izzibdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>dahan il-zuxib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>spread the-bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. dass</td>
<td><strong>insert</strong> (see 1 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. rabat</td>
<td><strong>wind</strong> (see 10 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. rashag</td>
<td><strong>splash</strong> (see 10 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>rashag il-mayyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>rashag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>splashed the-car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. rashsh</td>
<td><strong>spray</strong> (see 19 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. rass</td>
<td><strong>stack, pack, jam</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>rass likyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>rass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>stacked the-sacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. rasaw</td>
<td><strong>stud</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>rasaw il-xashab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>rasaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>studded the-sheets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. rasaf</td>
<td><strong>pave</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>rasaf lihjaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>rasaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>paved the-road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. zaraw</td>
<td><strong>sow</strong> (see 5 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. zaraw</td>
<td><strong>plant</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>zaraw ishabajar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>zaraw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>planted the-trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. zarrag</td>
<td><strong>insert</strong> (see 1 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. zaqm</td>
<td><strong>wad</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>zaqm il-xuzug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>wadded the-hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>zaqm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>wadded the-cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. shadd</td>
<td><strong>wind</strong> (see 10 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. tarraz</td>
<td><strong>embroider</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. mu'a</td>
<td>tarraz il-hariir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. mu'a</td>
<td>tarraz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>embroidered the-dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. tartrash</td>
<td><strong>splash</strong> (see 19 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. tamm</td>
<td><strong>put into</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>tamm ittraab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>put the-soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>tamm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>put the-hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. tanjaw</td>
<td><strong>pile</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>tanjaw il-ʔufr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>tanjaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>piled the-books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. ʔaybab</td>
<td><strong>fill</strong> (see 12 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. ʔaybab</td>
<td><strong>load</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>ʔaybab raqq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>loaded the-bullets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>ʔaybab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>loaded the-pistols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. hash</td>
<td><strong>load</strong> (see 34 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. tarram</td>
<td><strong>pile up</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>tarram issidir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>piled up the-tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>tarram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>piled up the-rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. ʕaṣal</td>
<td><strong>remove, clear off</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>ʕaṣal il-gḥufi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>cleared off the-room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>ʕaṣal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>cleared off the-chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. ʔassab</td>
<td><strong>wrapped (tightly)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>ʔassab raasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>wrapped head-heis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>ʔassab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>wrapped the-scarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. hawwag</td>
<td><strong>surround</strong> (see 10 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. ʕaffar</td>
<td><strong>scatter</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>ʕaffar irramil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>scattered the-dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>ʕaffar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>scattered clothes-his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. ghammas</td>
<td><strong>dip</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>ghammas il-xubiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>dipped the-bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>ghammas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>dipped the-oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. farash</td>
<td><strong>spread</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>farash il-gḥufi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>spread the-room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>farash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>spread the-carpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. fawwat</td>
<td><strong>insert</strong> (see 1 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. ʔanjar</td>
<td><strong>pile up</strong> (see 32 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. kaddas</td>
<td><strong>stack</strong> (see 21 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. karkab</td>
<td><strong>strew</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>karkab il-gḥufi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>strewed the-room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>karkab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>strewed the-books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. labbax</td>
<td><strong>taint, smudge</strong> (see 14 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. labbad</td>
<td><strong>cramp, jam</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. muusa</td>
<td>labbad il-ʔiθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>crammed the-cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. muusa</td>
<td>labbad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musa</td>
<td>crammed the-sack</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Locative Alternation in English and Jordanian Spoken Arabic

**NONALTERNATING VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. atxam 'fill'</td>
<td><code>atxam il-jeet</code></td>
<td>2. naṭar 'spread'</td>
<td><code>naṭar il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. shaṭṭ 'remove'</td>
<td><code>shaṭṭ il-jeet</code></td>
<td>4. waggaf 'drop'</td>
<td><code>waggaf il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. sakkar 'close'</td>
<td><code>qālar il-jeet</code></td>
<td>6. nazzal 'let fall down'</td>
<td><code>nazzal il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. hayyal 'let fall down'</td>
<td><code>hayyal il-jeet</code></td>
<td>8. ḫāṭ 'deposit'</td>
<td><code>ḥāṭ il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. waggaf 'park'</td>
<td><code>waggaf il-jeet</code></td>
<td>10. taff 'spit'</td>
<td><code>taff il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ballal 'drench'</td>
<td><code>ballal il-jeet</code></td>
<td>12. ḥasbar 'crowd'</td>
<td><code>ḥasbar il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. bahhar 'spice'</td>
<td><code>bahhar il-jeet</code></td>
<td>14. ḥabbat 'fix'</td>
<td><code>ḥabbat il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. shalah 'strip off one's clothes'</td>
<td><code>shalah il-jeet</code></td>
<td>16. shallah 'imprison'</td>
<td><code>shallah il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. hakk 'scratch'</td>
<td><code>hakk il-jeet</code></td>
<td>19. xabba 'hide'</td>
<td><code>xabba il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. xardag 'make holes into'</td>
<td><code>xardag il-jeet</code></td>
<td>21. xazzan 'store'</td>
<td><code>xazzan il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. xalaš 'take off'</td>
<td><code>xalaš il-jeet</code></td>
<td>23. dagg 'hammer'</td>
<td><code>dagg il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. dallas 'let down'</td>
<td><code>dallas il-jeet</code></td>
<td>25. dabbas 'staple'</td>
<td><code>dabbas il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. dalag 'spill'</td>
<td><code>dalag il-jeet</code></td>
<td>27. zaḥaž 'move'</td>
<td><code>zaḥaž il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. rahhal 'deport'</td>
<td><code>rahhal il-jeet</code></td>
<td>29. zarkash 'decorate'</td>
<td><code>zarkash il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. zayyan 'decorate'</td>
<td><code>zayyan il-jeet</code></td>
<td>31. sajan 'imprison'</td>
<td><code>sajan il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. sadd 'close'</td>
<td><code>sadd il-jeet</code></td>
<td>33. sarag 'steal'</td>
<td><code>sarag il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. sabb 'pour'</td>
<td><code>sabb il-jeet</code></td>
<td>35. nahab 'rob'</td>
<td><code>nahab il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. jaraf 'dig out'</td>
<td><code>jaraf il-jeet</code></td>
<td>37. kabb 'throw'</td>
<td><code>kabb il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. mazzaž 'tear out'</td>
<td><code>mazzaž il-jeet</code></td>
<td>39. shaft 'suck'</td>
<td><code>shaft il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. mass 'suck'</td>
<td><code>mass il-jeet</code></td>
<td>41. ẓaffa 'pierce'</td>
<td><code>ẓaffa il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. ḥarad 'kick out'</td>
<td><code>ḥarad il-jeet</code></td>
<td>43. ṭayar 'let fly'</td>
<td><code>ṭayar il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. ḥallag 'hang'</td>
<td><code>ḥallag il-jeet</code></td>
<td>45. ẓaffa 'cover'</td>
<td><code>ẓaffa il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. gharra 'glue'</td>
<td><code>gharra il-jeet</code></td>
<td>47. ghammar 'cover'</td>
<td><code>ghammar il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. ghammas 'make wet'</td>
<td><code>ghammas il-jeet</code></td>
<td>49. gashtar 'rob'</td>
<td><code>gashtar il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. kabb 'spill'</td>
<td><code>kabb il-jeet</code></td>
<td>51. gashtar 'scrape'</td>
<td><code>gashtar il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. ghashtar 'scrape'</td>
<td><code>ghashtar il-jeet</code></td>
<td>53. kawwam 'pierce'</td>
<td><code>kawwam il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. ḥafṣan 'shroud'</td>
<td><code>ḥafṣan il-jeet</code></td>
<td>55. ṭawwaḍ 'pollute'</td>
<td><code>ṭawwaḍ il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. māhā 'clean'</td>
<td><code>māhā il-jeet</code></td>
<td>57. maḥa 'fill'</td>
<td><code>maḥa il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. nafta 'blow'</td>
<td><code>nafta il-jeet</code></td>
<td>59. nagaṭ 'put in water'</td>
<td><code>nagaṭ il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. nagaṭ 'transfer'</td>
<td><code>nagaṭ il-jeet</code></td>
<td>61. nafta 'drop'</td>
<td><code>nafta il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. ḥarrab 'smuggle'</td>
<td><code>ḥarrab il-jeet</code></td>
<td>63. wasṣṣax 'dirty'</td>
<td><code>wasṣṣax il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. ṣammar 'nail'</td>
<td><code>ṣammar il-jeet</code></td>
<td>65. lazzag 'plaster'</td>
<td><code>lazzag il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. ẓanḥa 'lick'</td>
<td><code>ẓanḥa il-jeet</code></td>
<td>67. ghasal 'wash off'</td>
<td><code>ghasal il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. farsha 'paint'</td>
<td><code>farsha il-jeet</code></td>
<td>69. daṣṣ 'push'</td>
<td><code>daṣṣ il-jeet</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**P'ractical Examples:**

- **Labbaš 'coat':**
  - Musa labbaš il-jeet
  - Musa labbaš il-jeet

- **Ghazz 'pierce':**
  - Musa ghazz il-laṭṭaš
  - Musa ghazz il-laṭṭaš

- **Lašam 'scold':**
  - Musa lašam il-laṭṭaš
  - Musa lašam il-laṭṭaš

- **Laṭt 'taint':**
  - Musa laṭt hašaš
  - Musa laṭt hašaš

- **Džazz 'press':**
  - Musa ḏžazz il-laṭṭaš
  - Musa ḏžazz il-laṭṭaš

---

**S. Farhs and J. Hamdan**