

the other hand, for **MT** we will show that the *seem* predicates allow both SSR (as in (9)) and expletive subject variants.

- (9) *Dehr-et indejjq-a/sejr-a*
 seem.PV-3SGF sad-SGF/go.ACT.PRT-SGF
 She seemed sad/ to be going.

As well as appearing in both SSR constructions and the expletive (non-raising) counterparts, we show that there is also a CR construction (10), with a pronominal copy in a range of GFs, as in MSA. Unlike English, no intervening *like* predication is required (though as we will exemplify, it can be added).

- (10) *T-i-dher ġa ta-w-ha xebġha xoġhol x't-aghmel!*
 3-FRM.VWL-seem.IMP.SGF already give.PV.3-PL-3SGF smacking work what.3-do.IMP.SGF
 She seems as if they already gave her a whole load of work to do.

The group of PR predicates includes a number of so-called pseudo-verbs, and in fact it is possible to combine a number of *seem* class predicates together, as in (11). We will argue that this involves a cascade of XCOMPS.

- (11) *Dehr-et qis-ha donn-ha ġħajjt-u magħ-ha*
 seem.PV-3SGF as.though-3SGF.ACC as.though-3SGF.ACC shout.PV.3-PL with-3SGF.ACC
 She seemed as though they shouted at her.

The MT *seem* class PR verbs show precisely the correlation between CR and available PSOURCE interpretations suggested by AT. That is, SSR *seem* (as in (9)) permits an aspect of the eventuality to be the PSOURCE, whereas the CR version requires the denotation of the SUBJ of *seem* to provide the PSOURCE. Thus CR (11) is infelicitous if inferred from a pile of files on the desk, but fully appropriate if she is present and looking panicky and stressed. To summarise: MT *seem* predicates have a SSR subcategorisation, with the **seem** semantics. They also have a distinct CR syntactic subcategorisation, in which they take a COMP containing a pronominal copy, and the **seem.cr** semantics.

We will argue that **ECA** and a number of other dialects make use of two main strategies to express CR interpretations: for reasons of space we limit our discussion here to just one: use of the MSG form of the active participle of the verb *bān* (Lit:‘show’) with an *ʕalē* ‘on’ PP whose denotation corresponds to the PSOURCE, and a complement clause introduced by *ʔin* or *kaʔin*.¹ There is a clear interpretive difference between (12) (in which the visible aspect of the denotation of the PP is PSOURCE - a CR CASE) and (13) (similar to (3) and (4)) which has the eventuality to be the PSOURCE.

- (12) *bāyen ʕalē-ha ʔinn-ohom darab-ō-ha*
 show.PTCP.SGM on-3SGF.ACC that-they beat.PV-3PL-3SGF.ACC
 She seems like they’ve beaten her.

- (13) *bāyen ʔinn-ohom darab-ō-ha*
 show.PTCP.SGM that-they beat.PV-3PL-3SGF.ACC
 It seems that they’ve beaten her.

While it is clear that (12) has a CR semantics several aspects of the syntax are less clear. The simplest analysis would be that the PP is an adjunct contributing a PSOURCE to the eventuality it modifies, along the lines of AT’s analysis of Swedish *på*-PP with *verkar* ‘seem’. However this would lead us to expect that examples with no copy pronoun in the *ʔinn* clause would be grammatical, and this does not seem to be the case. We will explore the ramifications of a different approach in the paper, namely the possibility that the PP may in fact correspond to a P-marked subject, serving as antecedent to a pronoun within the clausal complement. Some support for this position comes from the agreement on the verb in (14), and from other constructions in Semitic with PP subjects.

- (14) *kon-t bāyen ʕalē-k ʔinn-ak mabsōt*
 be.PV-2SGM show.PTCP.SGM on-2SGM.ACC that-2SGM.ACC happy.PTCP.SGM
 You seemed happy.

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¹ Complementisers in the *ʔinna* group in Arabic are followed by a nominal element, which if pronominal, appears as a suffix. This is completely independent of the construction under discussion here.