The idiom imposes co-indexation between the NP complement and the possessor inside the PP complement, as well as strict ordering of the complements.

### V NP idioms

1. **dn hgdil rae**
   - **Dan made grow head**
   - ‘Dan assumed responsibility.’

2. **dn ind m-hyc**
   - **Dan went down from the tree**
   - ‘Dan conceded.’

3. **dn vmn at raew b-xvld**
   - **Dan, buried ACC head his, in the sand**
   - ‘Dan buried his head in the sand.’

### PP idioms

4. **dni hwcia at dnh m-klih**
   - **Danny took out ACC dana, from-dishes her**
   - ‘Danny took Dana out of her dishes.’ (literal) OR ‘Danny made Dana very angry.’ (idiomatic)

5. **dni hwcia at dnh m-klih**
   - **Danny took out ACC dana from-dishes his**
   - ‘Danny took Dana out of his dishes.’ (only literal)

6. **dni hwcia m-klih at dnh**
   - **Danny took out from-dishes her ACC dana**
   - ‘Danny took Dana out of her dishes.’ (only literal)

### Possessive Idiomatic Constructions: V NP PP

The idiom imposes co-indexation between the NP complement and the possessor inside the PP complement, as well as strict ordering of the complements. Without them, only a literal interpretation is available.

### Possessive Idiomatic Constructions: Zooming In

The analysis is inspired by Kay & Sag’s (2012) “A Lexical Theory of Phrasal Idioms”:

- Semantic relations are divided into literal-rels and idiomatic-rels. Idiomatic lexemes like *hwcia* (‘take out’) select for complements with specific *i*-rels.
- **TOPREL** identifies the main semantic relation denoted by a lexeme, and percolates from the head daughter.
- Possessed NPs project the index of their possessor via XARG, making it accessible for co-indexation between the possessor and one of the verb’s dependents.

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