

Packaging Bi-eventivity in a Monoclausal Construction

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On MVCs

The focus of the current talk is on the phenomenon of *Multi-Verb Construction* (MVC) in Abu Gosh (abu ʔoʃ) dialect of Palestinian Arabic

- (1) ali rah/eʕa/kam eʕtara ḥalib
 Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf milk

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(1) ali [rah/eɟa/kam]_{V1} [eʃtara]_{V2} ḥalib
 Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf milk

- V1 constitutes a restricted class
- There is relative flexibility on V2 candidates

On MVCs

There are two readings for this surface order:

(2) ali rah/eđa/kam eštara ħalib
 Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf milk

i. 'Ali went and bought some milk'

CONSEQUENTIAL

ii. 'Ali dared to buy some milk'

DARE-TO READING

- ▶ The focus of this talk is on the *Consequential MVC*

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DARE-TO READING

- ▶ Different readings indicate different syntactic and semantic properties, hence **different constructions**

Outline

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- 2 Properties of MVC**
- 3 Syntactic Analyses
- 4 V1 is Lexical and Phrasal
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Semantic Characterization

Consequential Reading

Word order precedence reflects temporal precedence

(3) *V1 precedes V2*

*ali *eftara* ħalib *rah*
'Ali buy.3sgm.prf milk go.3sgm.prf'

Felicitous only in the case of *conjunctive and*

(4) *Flexible order*

ali *eftara* ħalib *w-rah*
Ali buy.3sgm.prf milk and go.3sgm.prf
'Ali bought some milk and went'

► Temporal precedence = Consequential reading

Semantic Characterization

Consequential Reading

V1 and V2 that underlie the consequential reading are temporally dependent:

(5) *Temporal Unity*

#embereħ ali raħ eftara ħalib el-jum
yesterday Ali go.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf milk def-today
'Yesterday Ali went and bought some milk today'

- ▶ The two verbs must be within the scope of **only** one temporal adverbial

Morpho-Syntactic Characterization

(6) *No intervening functional material*

ali raḥ/eḡa/kam #w- eḡtara ḥalib

Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf **and** buy.3sgm.prf milk

'Ali went/came/got up and bought some milk'

Morpho-Syntactic Characterization

(7) *Same Subject*

*Ali_i rah Ahmad/ hu_j eftara halib

Ali went Ahmad/he bought milk

Intended: 'Ali went and Ahmad/he bought some milk'

- ▶ No overt subject for V2

Morpho-Syntactic Characterization

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(8) *No tense/aspect mismatch allowed*

*Ali rah bet-hawwaç

Ali went IMP-go.shopping.IMP

'Ali went doing the shopping'

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'Ali went doing the shopping'

- ▶ No Tense/Aspect mismatch allowed emphasizes the temporal unity property

Monoclausality

The MVCs is monoclausal

(9) *Wh-extraction*

fu_i ali raħ/eđa/kam eftara___i
What Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf
'What did Ali go and buy?'

Monoclausality

(10) *One Negation Marker*

*ali **ma-rah-(e)ʃ** **ma-estara-(e)ʃ** ḥalib
 Ali neg-go.3sgm.prf-neg neg-buy.3sgm.prf-neg milk

(11) *Negation has only wide scope*

a. ali **ma-rah-(e)ʃ** **estara** ḥalib
 Ali neg-go-neg buy.3sgm.prf milk
 = It is not the case that Ali went and bought some milk
 ≠ Ali went and did not buy some milk

b. ali **rah** **ma-estara-(e)ʃ** ḥalib
 Ali go.3sgm.prf neg-buy.3sgm.prf-neg milk
 Only reading: 'Ali dared not to buy milk (on me)'

Characterizations - Recap

Up to this point, I have shown that the consequential MVC has the following properties:

- Semantic properties:
 - Lack of temporal independence of V1 and V2
 - Wide scope negation
- Morpho-syntactic properties
 - No intervening functional material
 - Same subject and tense/aspect inflection
 - Monoclausality

This renders the MVC similar to *Serial Verb Constructions* (SVCs)

Accounting for the Consequential MVC

How is the consequential reading packed into a monoclausal structure?

My goals are :

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Accounting for the Consequential MVC

How is the consequential reading packed into a monoclausal structure?

My goals are :

- (a) to show that the consequential reading is **bi-eventive**
- (b) to propose an adjunction analysis of V2 to V1 that accommodates the morpho-syntactic properties and bi-eventivity

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Representing Monoclausality

What is the syntactic representation of monoclausality within the current context?

What is the status of V1 in a monoclausal structure?

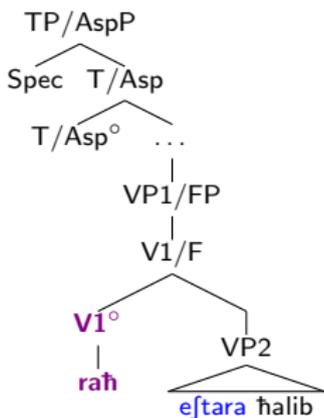
- Subordination:
A functional/lexical restructuring verb¹
- Adjunction:
Lexical ²

¹(Cinque 1999, 2004; Wurmbrand 2001, 2004, *et seq.*)

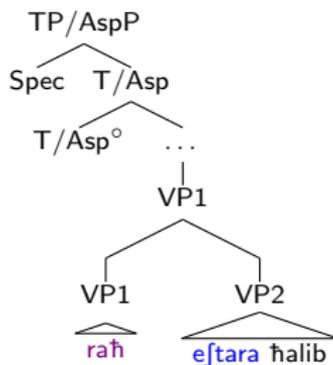
²Veenstra (1993); Déchaine (1993)

Syntactic Analyses

There are two main analyses for the syntactic representation of SVCs that can be applied to the MVC in the current context:



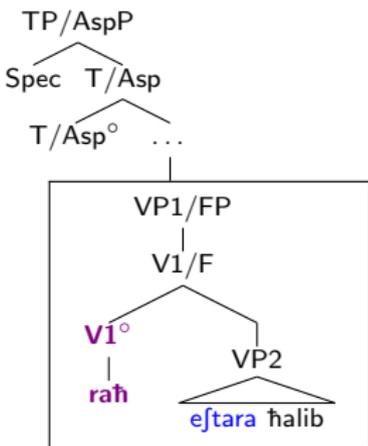
(a) *Subordination*



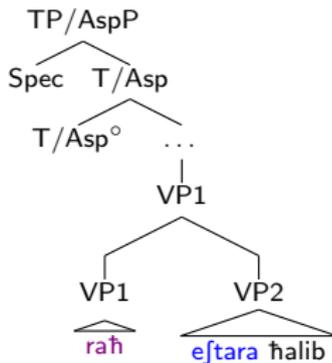
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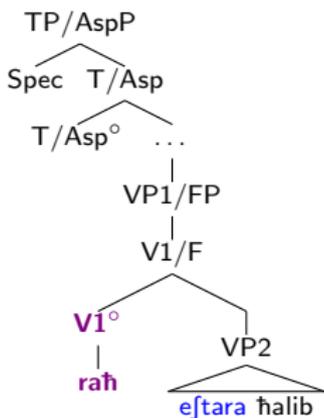
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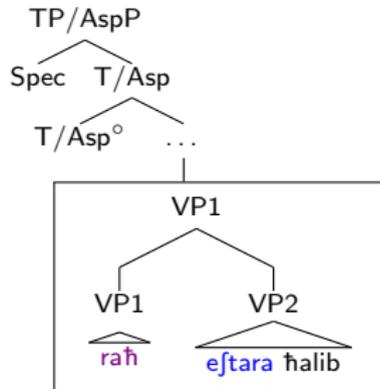
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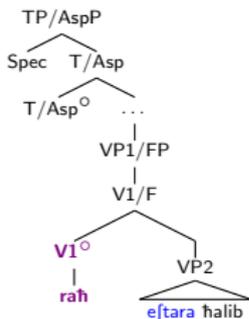


(b) *Adjunction*

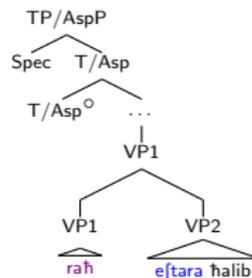
Syntactic Analyses

Both representations capture the properties seen in the previous section:

- Same Subject and Tense/Aspect³
- Absence of any functional material
- Extraction
- Negation
- Rigid ordering of V1 and V2



(a) *Subordination*



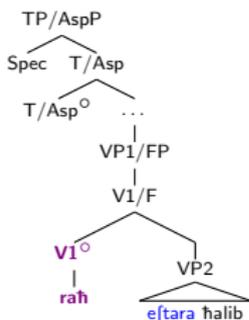
(b) *Adjunction*

³via *feature sharing* Pesetsky and Torrego (2007)

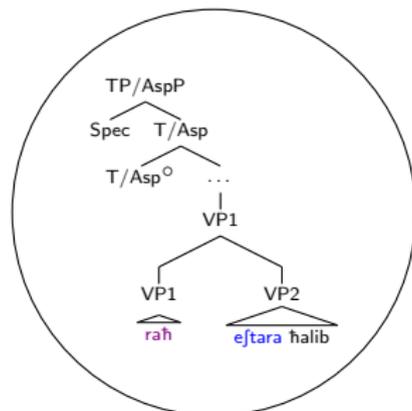
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On the nature of V1

V1 in the MVC shows the following properties:

(12) *Restrictions on subject animacy*

- a. #elḡarra raḡat wekʕet
the vase went fell
'The vase went and fell down'

- b. # el-fekra raḡat wekʕet
the idea went fell
'The idea went and fell down'

► V1 imposes selectional restrictions

Against Functional V1

V1 imposes lexical restrictions on V2 in *Consequential MVC*

(13) *Lexical V1 vs. Aspectual/modal V1*

#ali rah nisi mafatiha
ali went forgot his.keys

Only reading: 'Ali dared to forget his keys'

Phrasal Nature of V1

- (14) *V1 selects a goal PP*

ali raḥ ʔaddokan eʔtara ḥalib
Ali go.3sgm.prf to.the.store buy.3sgm.prf milk
'Ali went to the store and bought some milk.'

- (15) *V1 in monoverbal sentence*

ali raḥ ʔaddokan
Ali go.3sgm.prf to.the.store
'Ali went to the store.'

- ▶ V1 takes a complement goal PP similar to its monoverbal use
- ▶ Therefore, V1 does not C-select VP2 as in restructuring analyses

Phrasal Nature of V1

Modification by manner adverbials indicates a full projection of VP

(16) *Adverbial Modification*

jasmine **raħat** **ħasoket** **t^ħafat** el-makena **bsorħa**

Yasmine went quietly turned.off the-machine quickly

'Yasmine went quietly and turned off the machine quickly'

► Modification of both verbs indicates **bi-eventivity**

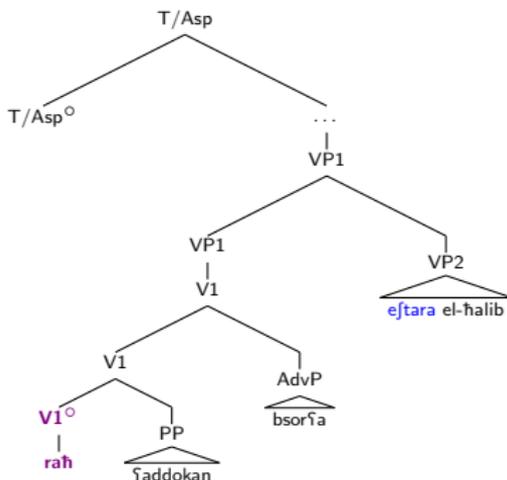
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Motivating Adjunction

Claims established so far:

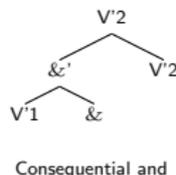
- ▶ V1 is fully lexical and it projects a **VP**
 - V1 selects a goal PP
 - It can be modified by a predicate of events (**manner adverbial**)
 - The two events denoted by VP1 and VP2 scope under one temporal adverbial, and one Tense/Aspect operator



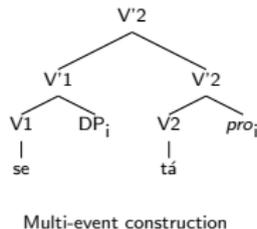
Adjunction Analysis

Déchaine (1993) proposes a *bivalent predicate* for *Consequential and* construction in English and *multi-event constructions* in Yoruba⁴

- (17) I went to the store and bought some whiskey



- (18) Jìmò ò se ẹran_i tá Ø_i.
Agr cook meat sell
'Jimò cooked some meat and sold [it]'



⁴(Déchaine 1993, p.301, ex.113a)

Adjunction Analysis

In the consequential MVC, the directionality of adjunction must be rightward:

(19) *V1 undergoes head movement:*⁵

Ali ma-rah-(e)ʃ **marrat** ʃalmaktaba bsorʃa sawwa

Ali neg-went-neg sometimes to.the.library quickly did

wað^ʃjfa

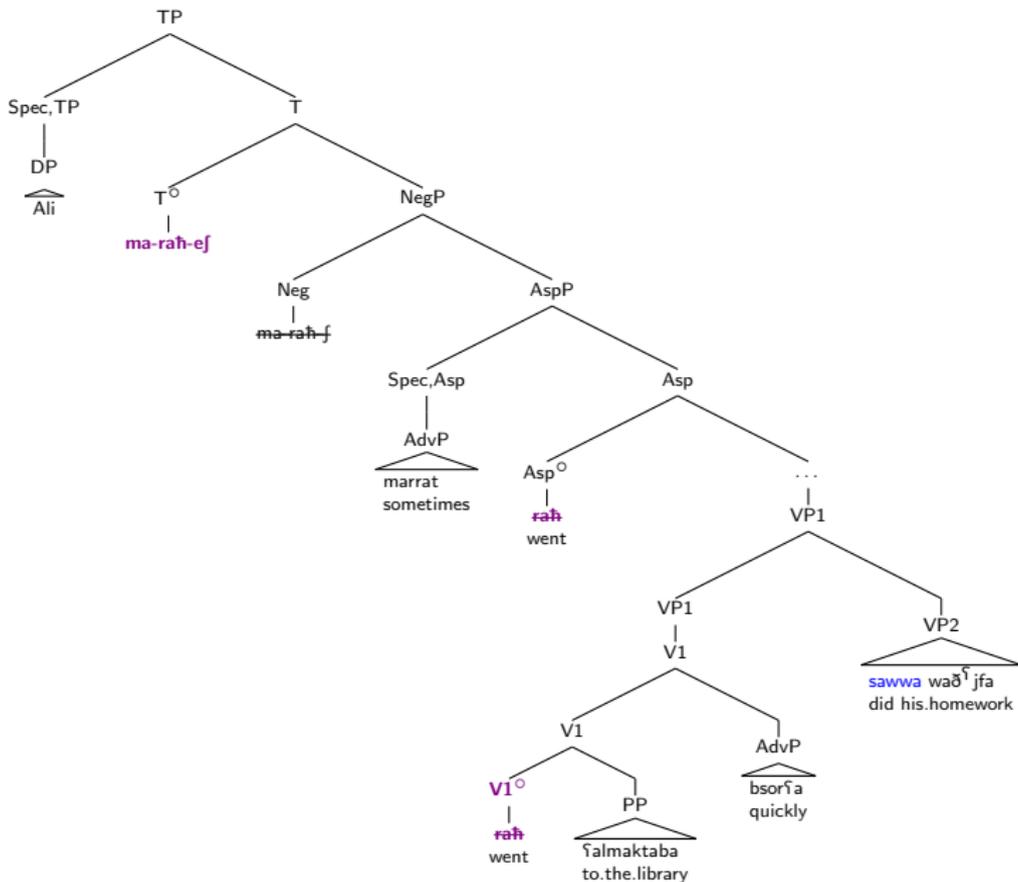
his.homework

'It is not the case that sometimes Ali went to the library quickly
and did his homework

► V1 has raised above the projection of *marrat* and attached eventually to sentential negation.

⁵Benmamoun (1999); Aoun et al. (2009)

Adjunction Analysis



Extraction out of an VP adjunct

(20) *Wh-extraction*

ʃu_i ali raħ/eçə/kam eʃtara_____i
What Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf
'What did Ali go and buy?'

Extraction out of a VP adjunct

Similar to Arabic, Veenstra (1993) argues that Haitian but not Sranan allows wh-extraction out of a rightward adjunct:

(21) *Haitian* (Veenstra 1993, exx.20)

- a. Kimoun_i Jan pran liv la montre t_i
 who John take book the show
 'Who did John show the book to'
- b. Kimoun_i Jan pran liv la montre Mari t_i
 How John take book the show Mary
 'How did John show the book to Mary'

(22) *Sranan*

- *Ufa_i mi=tei di faka koti di gwamba t_i
 how 1sg-take the knife cut the meat

Extraction out of a VP adjunct

Extraction out of a rightward adjunct in Sranan is blocked by the presence of a low AspP projection

(23) a. *Sranan*

Mi-tei faka **ta**-koti-en kii
1sg-take knife **ASP**-cut-3sg kill

'I was stabbing him dead with a knife' (Veenstra 1993, ex.21a)

b. *Haitian*

*Jan pran mounda **ap** bat Jak
John take rifle's butt **ASP** beat Jack

'John was beating Jack with a rifle's butt' (Veenstra 1993, ex.21a)

Lack of Lower Functional Projections

There are no low projections of AspP above V2 in Consequential MVC:⁶

(24) *Frequency adverbials are not licensed above VP2*

*Ali **rah** bsorfa **sawwa** wað^sajfa **marrat**

Ali went quickly did his.homework sometimes

Intended: Ali went quickly and did his homework sometimes

⁶see Aboh (2009)

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Conclusion

This talk has characterized the consequential MVC in dialectal Arabic and has accounted for its morpho-syntactic representation and semantics

- The construction denotes bi-eventivity
- I have proposed an adjunction representation that allows expressing the lexical status of V1
- General Implications?

Thank you!

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I am grateful to Prof. Nora Boneh, Prof. Luka Crinč, Prof. Malka Rapoport Hovav, Noa Bassel, Si Berebi, Nir Segal, Noga Syon, Fatima Jaber and two native speakers of the Abu Gosh dialect

Dare-to MVC

- (25) *Context: The speaker who is lactose intolerant told Ali to buy almond milk. Instead, Ali bought some regular milk*

ali rah eftara ħalib

Ali go.3sgm.prf bought milk

'Ali dared to buy milk (contrary to the speaker's expectation)'

The status of V1 in this construction is functional:

- (26) ali rah (*ħaddokan) eftara ħalib

Ali went to.the.store bought milk

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