Multi-verb Constructions in Palestinian Arabic

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Outline

A Tale of Two MVCs

Introduction

In (Abdel-Rahman 2023), I focus on the phenomenon of *Multi-verb Constructions* in the Abu Gosh dialect:[1]

(1) ʕali raːħ/eʤa/kaːm tˤafa etelfezjon
Ali go/come/got up.3SGM.PRF turn.off.3SGM.PRF the.TV

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- V1 constitute a closed set of verbs
- V2 are an open class
- There is no overt intervening material of coordination or subordination

⇒ There are two inferences for this linear order

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(b) A DARE-TO inference: denotes an event that was a counter-to-expectation to the speaker

(2) CONTEXT: Ali is working in his room. The TV in the living room is making some noise. He goes and turns it off. Ali's father asks who turned off the TV, and the speaker responds.

ʕali	raħ	tˤafa	etelfezjon
Ali	go.3SGM.PRF	turn.off.3SGM.PRF	the.TV

i. 'Ali went and turned off the TV.' CONSEQUENTIAL

ii.#'Ali dared to turn off the TV!' DARE-TO

One linear order - Two inferences

(3) CONTEXT 2: The speaker's brother was sitting next to her, while she was watching TV. The brother turns off the TV without prior notice. The speaker complains to their mother saying:

ʕali	raħ	tˤafa	etelfezjon
Ali	go.3SGM.PRF	turn.off.3SGM.PRF	the.TV

i. #'Ali went and turned off the TV.' CONSEQUENTIAL

ii. 'Ali dared to turn off the TV!' DARE-TO

Observations from Negation Marking

(4) *Negation marking on V1*:

ʕali ma-raħ-(e)ʃ tˤafa etelfezjon
Ali NEG-go-NEG turned.off the.TV

i. 'Ali did not dare to turn off the TV!'

ii. 'Ali did not go and turn off the TV.'

(5) *Negation marking on V2*:[2]

ʕali raħ ma-tˤafa-(e)ʃ ettelfezjon
Ali go NEG-turned.off-NEG the.TV

i. 'Ali dared **not** to turn off the TV!'

ii. #'Ali did not go and turn off the TV.'

[2] See Ouali & Bukhari (2016) on constituent negation

The Puzzle: A challenge for compositionality

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Pragmatic inferences: one syntactic structure with two pragmatic inferences
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Syntactic ambiguity: the inferences are derived from two syntactic structure

The goals of this work are:

1. To provide a descriptive account of the MVC phenomenon in the Abu Gosh dialect
   - I establish that these constructions share properties common to well-studied *serial verb constructions* (SVCs)
2. To analyze the syntax and semantics of each MVC

Preliminary Charachterization

Shared Morpho-syntactic properties

In what follows, I establish that MVCs in Palestinian Arabic are similar to SVCs:[3]

- Subject sharing
- Tense/Aspect sharing
- Rigid ordering of V1 and V2
- Monoclausality

[3] See (Aboh 2004, 2009, Aikhenvald 2006, Baker 1989, Déchaine 1993) among others

Shared Morpho-syntactic properties

(6) *ʕali raħ **eħmad** tˁafa ettelfezjon
Ali go.3SGM.PRF Ahmad turn.off.3SGM.PRF the.TV
i. Attempted: 'Ali dared to Ahmad turn off the TV!'
ii. Attempted: 'Ali went and Ahmad turned off the TV.'

[4] See Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) on *feature sharing*

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Ali ASP-go.3SGM.PRF turn.off.3SGM.PRF the.TV
i. Attempted: 'Ali dares/is daring to turn off the TV!'
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i. Attempted: 'Ali dares/is daring to turn off the TV!'
ii. Attempted: 'Ali goes/is going and turned off the TV.

⇒ No tense/aspect mismatch[4]

[4]See Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) on *feature sharing*

Shared Morpho-syntactic properties

(8) Rigid ordering of V1 and V2:

*ʕali tˤafa ettelfezjon raħ
Ali turn.off.3SGM.PRF the.TV go.3SGM.PRF

i. Attempted: 'Ali dared to turn off the TV!'

ii. Attempted: 'Ali turned off the TV and went.'

iii. OK: 'Ali turned off the TV and went.'
CONJUNCTIVE

Shared Morpho-syntactic properties

The *consequential* MVC and the *dare-to* MVC are monoclausal:

(9) ʃu$_k$ ʕali raːħ tˤafa __$_k$
the.TV Ali went turn.off
'What did Ali go and turn off?'
'What did Ali dare to turn off?'

⇒ Extraction of the direct object is felictious
⇒ No violation of the coordinate structure constraint of J. R. Ross (1967)

Short Summary

These properties are the hallmarks of *serial verb constructions* (SVCs).

Although there are common properties between both MVCs, I argue that

- The *dare-to* MVC underlies a subordination structure in which V1 has a functional status
- In contrast, the *consequential* MVC is assigned an adjunction structure, where VP2 is the adjunct to VP1. V1 is fully lexical and phrasal

The status of the V1s

Different Statuses of V1

Claim: V1s have a different status in each construction:[5]

- V1 in the *consequential* MVC is fully lexical and projects a full VP
- V1 in the *dare-to* construction is functional and heads a ModP[6]

[5] Wurmbrand (2001,2004, et seq) and Laca (2004)
[6] See Cinque (1999,2004)

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This claim is corroborated by probing the lexical and syntactic properties of V1s

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Lexical Properties of V1s

Imposing (or not) lexical restrictions on the subject DP:

(10) CONTEXT: while at a construction site, the speaker attempted to take a photo but accidentally dropped his phone into the concrete.

ettalafon ra:ħ wekeʕ fel-batʕon
the.phone went fell in.the-concrete

i.'The phone fell into the concrete! [contrary to the speaker's expectation]'

ii. Attempted: 'The phone went and fell down.'

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⇒ V1 in the *dare-to* MVC permits inanimate subject

⇒ V1 in the *consequential* MVC rules out inanimate subjects

Lexical Properties of V1s

Another lexical property is maintaining the ability to take a PP complement:

(11) a. jasmin raːħat **ʕallɣorfa**
Yasmine went to.the.room
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Attempted 'Yasmine dared to go to the room and turn off the TV!'

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'Yasmine went to the room and turned off the TV!'

Syntactic properties of V1s

Following Laca (2004) Following Laca (2004), I use the stacking test to probe the status of V1 in both constructions[7]

(12) lexical periphrasis *ðˤall* 'continue+V2.IMPV

a. **beruħ** beðˤal jedok ʕal-baːb
goes continues knocks on.the-door
i. 'He dares to continue to knock at the door!'
ii. *'He goes and continues to knock at the door.'

b. beðˤal **jeruħ** jedok ʕal-baːb
continue goes knocks on.the-door
i.'*He continues to dare to knock at the door!'
ii. 'He continues to go and knock at the door.'

[7] See (Guglielmo Cinque 1999, 2006, Boneh 2020, Boneh & Abravanel to appear)

Syntactic properties of V1s

$\Rightarrow$ staking above $\delta^{\Gamma}all$: *dare-to* MVC

$\Rightarrow$ staking below $\delta^{\Gamma}all$: *consequential* MVC

Syntactic properties of V1s

⇒ staking above ðʕal: *dare-to* MVC
⇒ staking below ðʕal: *consequential* MVC

(13) Functional periphrasis *bekdar+V2*.IMPV

a. btekdar truħ tsawi elli bedha ja
can go do that wants.F it
i. *'She can dare to do whatever she wants!'
DARE-TO
ii.'She can go and do whatever she wants.'
CONSEQUENTIAL

b. betruħ tekdar tsawi elli bedha ja
go can do that wants.F it
i. *'She dares to be able to do whatever she wants!'
ii. 'She can go and do whatever she wants.'

Syntactic properties of V1s

⇒ staking above *ðʳall*: *dare-to* MVC
⇒ staking below *ðʳall*: *consequential* MVC

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b. betruħ tekdar tsawi elli bedha ja
go can do that wants.F it
i. *'She dares to be able to do whatever she wants!'
ii. 'She can go and do whatever she wants.'

⇒ *consequential* MVC stacks below
⇒ V1 in the *dare-to* MVC is in complementary distribution with modals.

Interim Summary

V1 in the *dare-to* MVC is functional; V1 in the *consequential* MVC is lexical

The table below summarizes the lexical and syntactic properties of V1s:

	V1 in Dare-to	V1 in Consequential
Semantic restrictions	×	✓
Complement PP	×	✓
Stacking with lexical periphrases	above	below
Stacking with functional periphrases	head of Mod	below

Table 1: Lexical and Functional Properties of V1s

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Table 1: Lexical and Functional Properties of V1s

There is a systematic correlation between the lexical properties and the syntactic behavior

Towards Syntactic Analyses

Representing the structures of MVCs

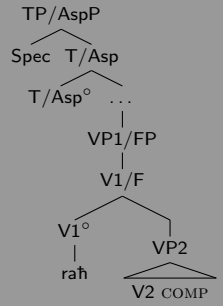
What are the syntactic representations of monoclausality in light of the statuses of V1?

- Subordination:[8] A functional/lexical restructuring verb
- Adjunction:[9] Lexical status

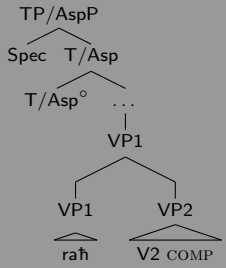
[8] See (Aboh 2004, 2009, Keine & Bhatt 2016)
[9] See Déchaine (1993)

Syntactic Analyses

There are two main analyses for the syntactic representation of SVCs that can be applied to the MVCs in Arabic:



(a) *Subordination*



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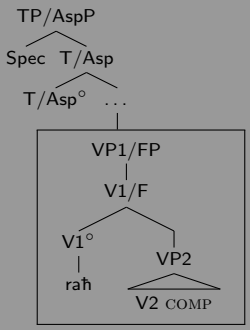
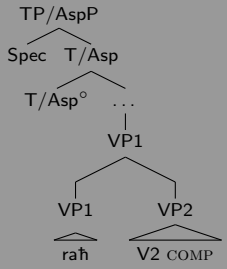


(a) *Subordination*



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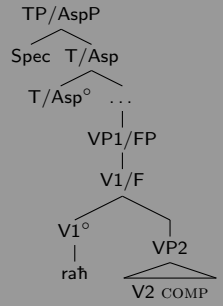

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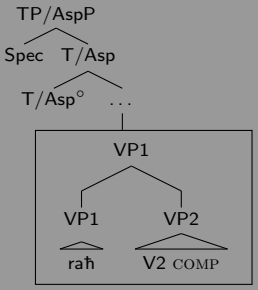

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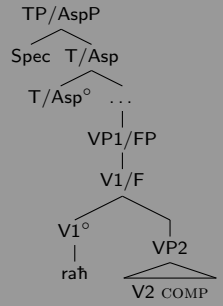
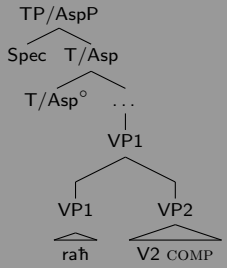


(a) Dare-to MVC



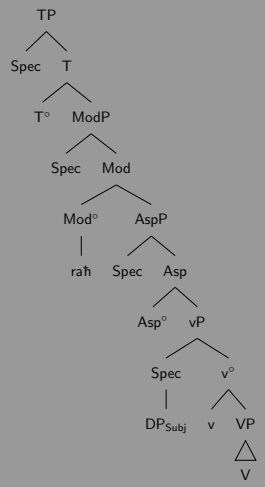
(b) Consequential MVC

Dare-to MVC

Motivating Subordination

I propose the following syntactic representation for the *dare-to* MVC:

(14)



The structure:

- captures the morpho-syntactic properties
- Constituent negation attaches to vP
- accounts for the functional status of V1
  - V1 does not take complement
  - V1 competes with modals to head ModP[a]

[a] Cf. Cinque (1999, 2004)

Consequential MVC

Semantic properties of consequential MVC

V1 in the consequential MVC can be modified by a manner adverbial:

(15) jasmin ra:ħat ʕallɣorfa **ʃwai-ʃwai** tˤafat ettelfezjon **bsorʕa**
Yasmine went to.the.room slowly turned.off the.TV quickly
'Yasmine went to the room slowly and turned off the TV quickly.'

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'Yasmine went to the room slowly and turned off the TV quickly.'

⇒ Modification of both verbs indicates bi-eventivity

Semantic properties of consequential MVC

The consequential inference is captured via the property of *temporal unity:*[10]

(16) CONTEXT: *The house of Ahmad's friend is just a* **5-minute** *drive away. Ahmad is going there for dinner with his friend.*

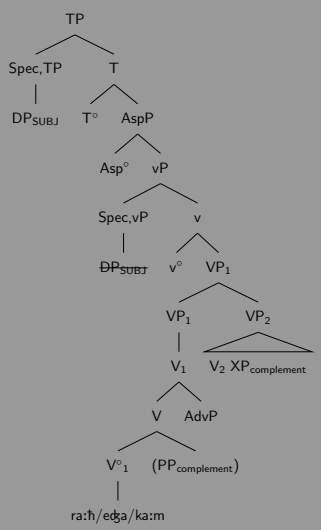
#eħmad raːħ **ʕal-xamsa** etʃaʃa ʕend sˁaħba **ʕal-sabʕa**
Ahmad went on.the-five had.dinner at friend.his on.the-seven

'Ahmad went at five o'clock and had dinner with his friend at seven.'

[10] See also Bohnemeyer et al. (2011) on the *Macro-event property*

Motivating the Adjunction Analysis

(17)



An Adjunction Analysis:

- Captures the morpho-syntactic properties[a]
- Accounts for the lexical status of V1
  - V1 takes a complement
  - Full projection of V1 - Manner adverbs

[a] See (Déchaine 1993, Veenstra 1993) for extraction out of an adjunction

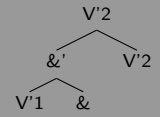
Adjunction Analysis

Déchaine (1993) proposes a *bivalent predicate* account for *consequential and* construction in English and *multi-event constructions* in Yoruba

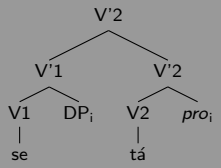
(18) I went to the store and bought some whiskey

(19) Jìmọ̀ ọ́ se ẹran$_i$ tá ∅$_i$.
Agr cook meat sell
'Jìmọ̀ cooked some meat and sold [it]'

(20)



(21)



Directionality of Adjunction: Rightward

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

(22) *V1 undergoes head movement:*[11]

a. Ali ma-raħ-(e)ʃ **marrat** ʕalmaktaba bsorʕa sawwa waðʕjfa
Ali NEG-went-NEG sometimes to.the.library quickly did his.homework
'It is not the case that sometimes Ali went to the library quickly and did his homework.'

b. *Ali raħ bsorʕa ʕalmaktaba sawwa waðʕajfa **marrat**
Ali went quickly to.the.library did his.homework sometimes

⇒ V1 has raised above the projection of *marrat* and attached eventually to sentential negation
⇒ There are no low projections of AspP above V2; see Aboh (2009)

[11] Aoun et al. (2009), Benmamoun (1999)

Against Covert Coordination

Floating Quantifiers:[12]

(23)

a. el-bana:t **kullhen** ra:ħu ʕaddoka:n eʃtaru buzʕa
the-girls all went.PL to.the.store bought.PL ice cream
'All the girls went and some ice cream'

b. el-bana:t ra:ħu **kullhen** ʕaddoka:n eʃtaru buzʕa
the-girls went.PL all to.the.store bought.PL ice cream

c. *el-bana:t ra:ħu ʕaddoka:n eʃtaru buzʕa **kullhen**
the-girls went.PL to.the.store bought.PL ice cream all

d. *el-bana:t ra:ħu ʕaddoka:n **kullhen** eʃtaru buzʕa
the-girls went.the to.the.store all bought.PL ice cream

[12] refer to Ouali & Bukhari (2016) for more info on FQ

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⇒ There is no second vP

[12] refer to Ouali & Bukhari (2016) for more info on FQ

Conclusion

Conclusions

In this study:

- I have uncovered two multi-verb constructions in Palestinian Arabic
  - The *dare-to* MVC denotes monoeventive semantics with a counter-to-expectation inference. V1 in this construction is functional and merges as the head of ModP in a structure of subordination
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  - The consequential MVC denotes bi-eventive semantics that lack a temporal gap (consequential)
- I established the similarity with *serial verb constructions*, which contributes to the formal study of such constructions
- I showed that an adjunction structure is the appropriate syntactic representation to accommodate consequential bi-eventive semantics $\rightarrow$ cross-linguistic implications?

Open ends

Issues left for further research are:

- to provide a formal semantic account for the consequential bi-eventive inference; see Butt (2010) on types of complex predication
- to account for the differences among V1s in the *dare-to* MVC1
- What is the source of the *dare-to* inference? does deixis play a role, as suggested in Boneh & Abravanel (to appear)
- Do the V1s in the *dare-to* encode pragmatic roles such as Speaker vs. Addressee?
- Is the consequential inference limited to the constellation deictic/positional verbs + V2?
- Does the sharing of aspectual marking have semantic implications?

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Appendix

(24) *Extraction out of conjunctive and*

*ʃu$_j$ ʕali raːħ **w-**tˤafa ___$_j$
the.TV Ali went **and-**turn.off

'What did Ali go and turn off?'

Appendix

(25) CONTEXT: *Ali forgot the house keys at a friend's house. He and his wife, the speaker, are stuck outside. She says on the phone to that friend:*

#ʕali raːħ nisi mafatiħa
ali went forgot his.keys

'Ali dared to forget his keys!'

'Ali went and forgot his keys.'

(26) *Statives*

*ʕali raːħ ʕeref faransi
Ali went knew French

'Ale dared to know French! [contrary to the speaker's epxectation]'

#'Ali went and knew French.'

Extraction out of a VP adjunct

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

(27) *Haitian* (Veenstra 1993: ex.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'

(28) *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

(29) *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)

(30) *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.21b)

Extraction out of Adjunction

(31) Comitative PP

a. ʕali raːħ maʃ axuː-h ʕaddokːan
Ali went with brother-his to.the.store
'Ali went to the store with his brother.'

b. maʃ miːn$_i$ ʕali raːħ __$_i$ ʕaddokːan
with whom Ali went to.the.store
'With whom Ali went to the store?'

(32) Temporal PP Adjunct

a. ʕali raːħ ʕaddokːan kabel la-jasmiːn trawweħ
Ali went to.the.store before COMP-Yasmine get.back
'Ali went to the store before Yasmine got back home.'

b. miːn ʕali raːħ ʕaddokːan kabel la-__ trawweħ
who Ali went to.the.store before COMP-Yasmine get.back
'Ali went to the store before Yasmine got back home.'