

# 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 γof) dialect of Palestinian Arabic

- (1) ali rah/edga/kam eʃtara ħalib  
Ali go/come/get up.3sgm.prf buy.3sgm.prf milk

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- (1) ali [rah/edʒa/kam]v<sub>1</sub> [eftara]v<sub>2</sub> 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/edʒa/kam*                    *eʃtara*                    *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

On MVCs

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i. 'Ali went and bought some milk' CONSEQUENTIAL  
 ii. 'Ali dared to buy some milk' DARE-TO READING

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# On MVCs

There are two readings for this surface order:

(2) ali rah/edga/kam eftara halib  
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

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

# Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Properties of MVC
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# Semantic Characterization

## Consequential Reading

Word order precedence reflects temporal precedence

- (3) *V1 precedes V2*

\*ali **e**ftara      ḥalib **r**aḥ  
'Ali buy.3sgm.prf milk go.3sgm.prf'

Felicitous only in the case of *conjunctive and*

- (4) *Flexible order*

ali **e**ftara      ḥalib **w**-raḥ  
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*

#embereḥ ali rah                eftara                ḥalib 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 **raħ/edga/kam** #**w- estara** ħalib  
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<sub>i</sub> **raħ** Aħmad/ hu<sub>j</sub> **eħtara** ħalib  
Ali went Ahmad/he bought milk

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

- ▶ No overt subject for V2

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## (8) *No tense/aspect mismatch allowed*

\*Ali **raḥ** **bet-ḥawwaḍ**  
Ali went IMP-go.shopping.IMP  
'Ali went doing the shopping'

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

# Monoclausality

The MVCs is monoclausal

(9) *Wh-extraction*

ſu<sub>i</sub> ali rah/ed̥ga/kam eſtara\_\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
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)f**      **ma-estara-(e)f**      ḥalib  
Ali neg-go.3sgm.prf-neg neg-buy.3sgm.prf-neg milk

(11) *Negation has only wide scope*

- a. ali **ma-rah-(e)f 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)f**      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

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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 verb<sup>1</sup>

- Adjunction:

Lexical<sup>2</sup>

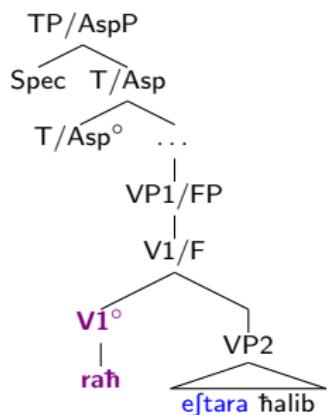
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<sup>1</sup>(Cinque 1999, 2004; Wurmbrand 2001, 2004, *et seq.*)

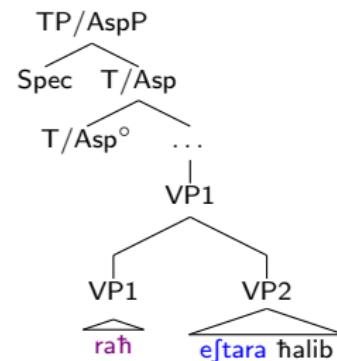
<sup>2</sup>Veenstra (1993); Déchaine (1993)

# Syntactic Analyses

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



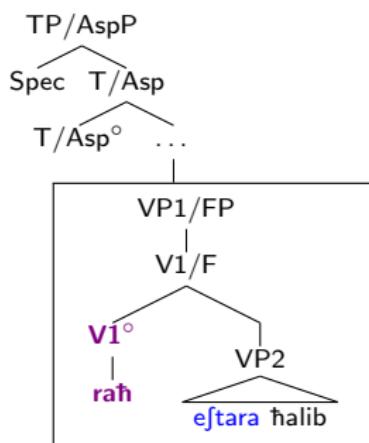
(a) *Subordination*



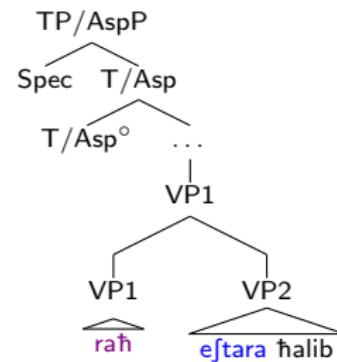
(b) *Adjunction*

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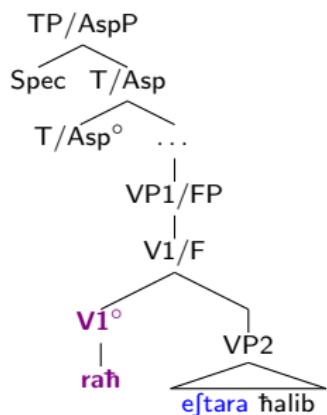
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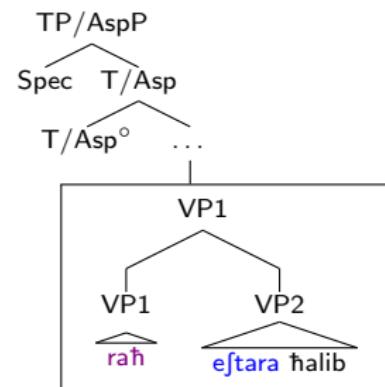
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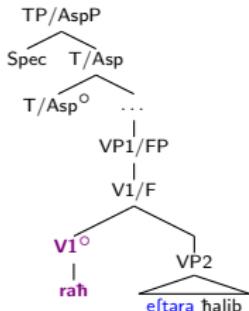


(b) *Adjunction*

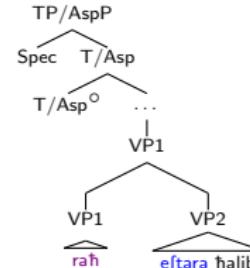
# Syntactic Analyses

Both representations capture the properties seen in the previous section:

- Same Subject and Tense/Aspect<sup>3</sup>
- Absence of any functional material
- Extraction
- Negation
- Rigid ordering of V1 and V2



(a) Subordination



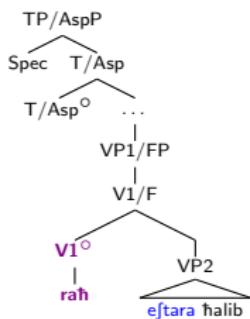
(b) Adjunction

<sup>3</sup>via feature sharing Pesetsky and Torrego (2007)

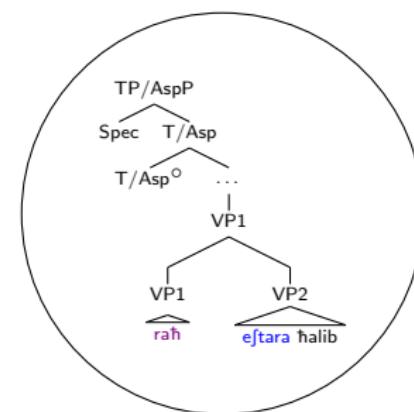
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# On the nature of V1

V1 in the MVC shows the following properties:

- (12) *Restrictions on subject animacy*
- a. #elðgarra raħat wekʃet  
the vase went fell  
'The vase went and fell down'
  - b. # el-fekra raħat wekʃet  
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 **raħ** nisi mafatiħa  
ali went forgot his.keys

Only reading: 'Ali dared to forget his keys'

# Phrasal Nature of V1

(14) *V1 selects a goal PP*

ali **rah**            **Σaddokan** **eftara**            halib  
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 **rah**            **Σaddokan**  
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 fasoket tafat el-makena bsorfa  
Yasmine went quietly turned.off the-machine quickly  
'Yasmine went quietly and turned off the machine quickly'

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

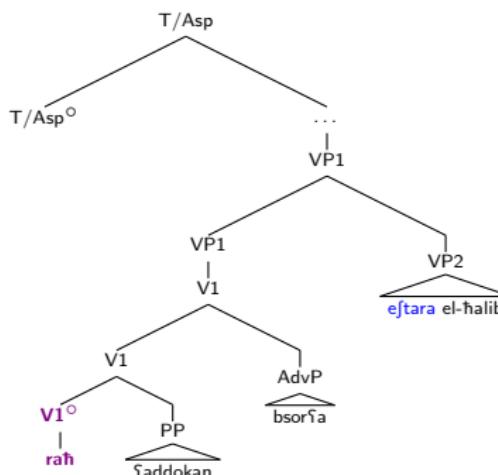
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# Motivating Adjunction

Claims established so far:

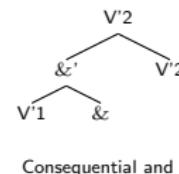
- ▶ V1 is fully lexical and it projects a **VP**
  - V1 selects a goal PP
  - It can be modified by a predicate of events (**manner adverbial**)
  - The two events denoted by VP1 and VP2 scope under one temporal adverbial, and one Tense/Aspect operator



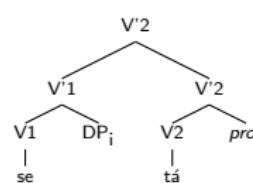
# Adjunction Analysis

Déchaine (1993) proposes a *bivalent predicate* for *Consequential and* construction in English and *multi-event constructions* in Yoruba<sup>4</sup>

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



- (18) Jímò ó se eran<sub>i</sub> tá Ø<sub>i</sub>.  
Agr cook meat sell  
'Jímò cooked some meat and sold [it]'



Consequential and

Multi-event construction

<sup>4</sup>(Déchaine 1993, p.301, ex.113a)

# Adjunction Analysis

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

- (19) *V1 undergoes head movement:*<sup>5</sup>

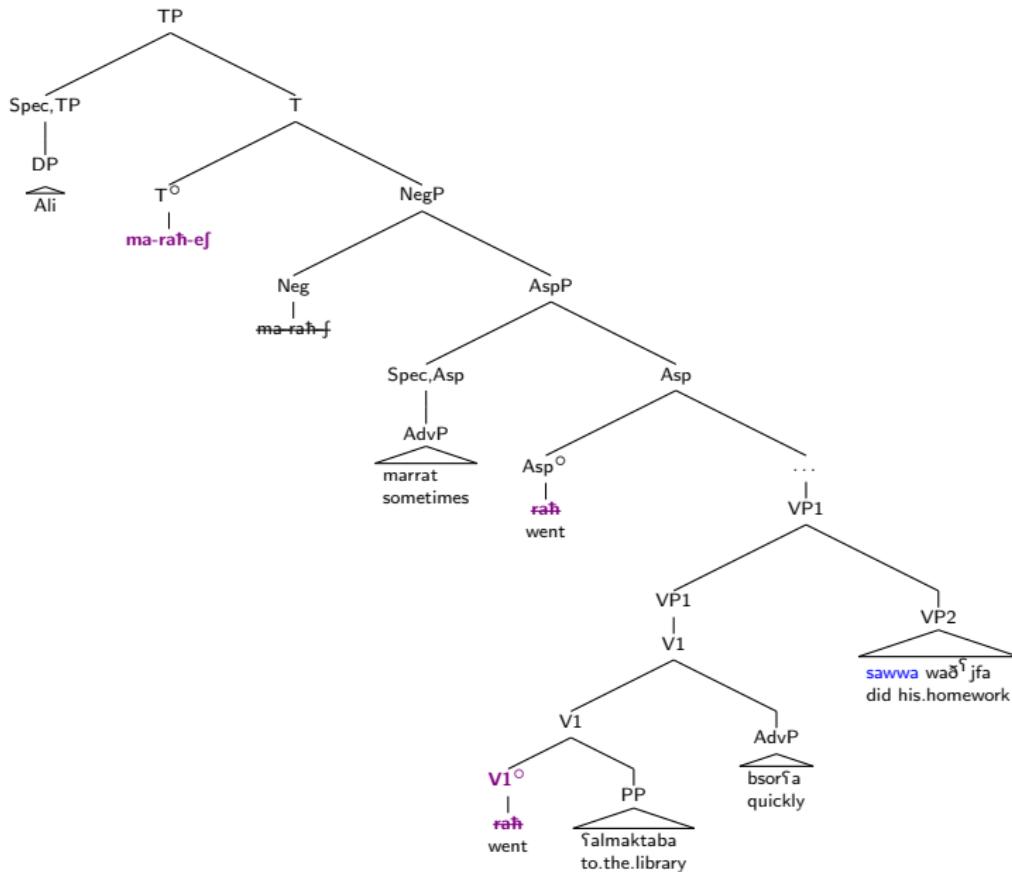
Ali ma-rah-(e)ʃ marrat ʃalmaktaba bsorfa sawwa  
Ali neg-went-neg sometimes to.the.library quickly did  
waðʃjfa  
his.homework

'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.

<sup>5</sup>Benmamoun (1999); Aoun et al. (2009)

# Adjunction Analysis



# Extraction out of an VP adjunct

(20) *Wh-extraction*

ʃu<sub>i</sub> ali raħ/eðga/kam eʃtara\_\_\_<sub>i</sub>  
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<sub>i</sub> Jan pran liv la montre t<sub>i</sub>  
who John take book the show  
'Who did John show the book to'
- b. Kimoun<sub>i</sub> Jan pran liv la montre Mari t<sub>i</sub>  
How John take book the show Mary  
'How did John show the book to Mary'

(22) *Sranan*

\*Ufa<sub>i</sub> mi=tei di faka koti di gwamba t<sub>i</sub>  
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:<sup>6</sup>

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

\*Ali **raħ** bsorfa **sawwa** wað'ajfa **marrat**  
Ali went quickly did his.homework sometimes

Intended: Ali went quickly and did his homework sometimes

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<sup>6</sup>see 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!

# Acknowledgments

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# Dare-to MVC

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

ali **raḥ**            **eṣṭara** ḥalib

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 **raḥ** (\*faddokan) **eṣṭara** ḥalib  
Ali went to.the.store bought milk

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