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Chapter 1

Multi-verb Constructions in Palestinian Arabic

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This chapter investigates the phenomenon of Multi-Verb Construction (MVC) in the Abu Gosh dialect of Palestinian Arabic, focusing on its syntactic and semantic characterizations. MVC contains at least two verbs that are adjacent to one another without any overt markers of coordination or subordination. I refer to the verb that linearly appears first as V1, and I focus on the deictic verb raːħ 'go.3SGM.PRFV', in addition to a second verb referred to as V2. The string of the MVCs is ambiguous between two interpretations: a *consequential* bi-eventive inference or a *counter-to-expectations* inference. On the one hand, the *consequential* inference imposes an immediate temporal relationship between the two events denoted by the participating verbs. On the other hand, the *counter-to-expectations* inference is associated with a violation of expectations due to the main event being realized.

I provide a descriptive account of the properties of the MVCs, which are similar to the properties of the well-studied Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) found in the literature. Second, I suggest distinct syntactic analyses for the two inferences, based on whether V1 is functional or lexical V1 within each construction. Determining the status of V1 has implications on whether V1 underlies a full phrase or is a head of a functional projection. I motivate an adjunction-based structure for the MVC that is associated with the *consequential* reading, in which V2P is an adjunct to V1P. For the MVC that has the *counter-to-expectations* inference, I argue that the construction has a mono-clausal representation involving subordination, where V1 is the head of an EvaluativeP.

1 Introduction

The syntax of many languages around the world generates mono-clausal constructions that involve a minimum of two consecutive verbs without any inter-

vening functional marker, such as a coordinator or subordinator. These constructions are referred to as Multi-verb Constructions (MVCs), and they include a vast array of phenomena such as *serial verb constructions, pseudo-coordination, V+V complex predicate* (Aikhenvald 2006, Abarbanel 2019, Cruschina 2022, Baker 1989, Butt 2010, Keine & Bhatt 2016, Ouali & Bukhari 2016, Zribi-Hertz & Jean-Louis 2022, Veenstra 1993, Veenstra 2000, Boneh 2020, Accattoli & Todaro 2017, Sebba 1987, Ross 2021, 2016, de Vos 2004, Wiklund 2009).[1]

The Abu Gosh dialect of Palestinian Arabic (PA) features a string that can be associated with two distinct interpretations, as demonstrated in examples (1–3). This string contains a verb from a closed set that has the two deictic motion verbs raːħ 'go.3SGM.PRFV' eʤa come.3SGM.PRFV' and a verb of posture kaːm 'sit.3SGM.PRFV' (henceforth V1), in addition to a second verb from an open class (V2). In this paper, I focus on raːħ 'go.3SGM.PRFV', and I leave the other instances of V1s outside the scope of this paper.[2]

(1) ʕali [raːħ]$_{\mathbf{V1}}$ [eʃtara]$_{\mathbf{V2}}$ ħaliːb ʕaːdi
Ali go.3SGM.PRFV buy.3SGM.PRFV milk normal
i.'Ali went and bought some whole milk' CONSEQUENTIAL
ii.'Unexpectedly Ali bought some whole milk!'
COUNTER-TO-EXPECTATIONS

(2) ʕali [eʤa]$_{\mathbf{V1}}$ [eʃtara]$_{\mathbf{V2}}$ ħaliːb ʕaːdi
Ali come.3SGM.PRFV buy.3SGM.PRFV milk normal
i.'Ali came and bought some milk' CONSEQUENTIAL
ii. 'Ali bought some whole milk unexpectedly!'
COUNTER-TO-EXPECTATIONS

(3) ʕali [kaːm]$_{\mathbf{V1}}$ [tˤafa]$_{\mathbf{V2}}$ ettelfezjon
Ali got.up.3SGM.PRFV turned.off.3SGM.PRFV the.TV
i.'Ali got up and turned off the TV' CONSEQUENTIAL
ii.'Unexpectedly Ali bought some whole milk!'
COUNTER-TO-EXPECTATIONS

The first interpretation, which I call *consequential* following Déchaine (1993), denotes two spatio-temporally contiguous events. In other words, there is no temporal gap between the events. The second interpretation, which I term as

[1] See Butt (2010) for more information on V+V complex predicate.
[2] Previous accounts of MVCs in Arabic such as (Hussein 1990, Versteegh 1984, Drozdík 2008) are mainly descriptive.

the *counter-to-expectations* reading (henceforth CE), is mono-eventive, and it is accompanied by an inference of expectation violation due to the realization of the eventuality denoted by V2. Additionally, each reading is distinguished by a different intonation. I leave the characterization of this difference for future endeavors.

The presence of two distinct interpretations for the same surface order poses a challenge to compositionality. In this paper, I propose that the two interpretations are associated with different syntactic representations, aiming for an account based on syntactic ambiguity. By establishing this account, I rule out other analyses that, for example, suggest that the two interpretations are merely pragmatic inferences that share the same syntactic structure.

Specifically, I suggest that V2 heads a V2P, and it is an adjunct to V1P that is headed by V1, within the syntactic structure of the *consequential* reading; V1 with this inference is fully lexical and part of a phrase and lacks any auxiliary-like characteristics. Therefore, the *consequential* reading involves bi-eventive semantics. For the *counter-to-expectations* reading, I argue that it underlies a mono-clausal structure that involves subordination. V1 contributes the *counter-to-expectations* inference and does not denote a motion event. Thus, V1 assumes a functional role. Motivating the two syntactic structures for the inferences leads to uncovering two MVCs: the *consequential* MVC and the *counter-to-expectations* MVC.

The structure of the paper is as follows: in the remainder of this introductory section, I provide a preliminary characterization of the shared morpho-syntactic properties between the two readings. Section 2 establishes the differences between the two interpretations by exploring their interpretive properties and examining their interaction with negation. Moreover, I argue that V1 in each interpretation has either a functional or a lexical status. Section 3 proposes a syntactic representation involving subordination for the *counter-to-expectations* reading. Section 4 proposes an adjunction-based structure for the *consequential* interpretation, and characterizes further the bi-eventive and consequential inference of the overall reading. Section 5 concludes.

Focusing on the shared properties between the two readings under discussion, I show in example (4) that the participating verbs cannot be separated by a functional head such as the coordinator *w(a)*- 'and'.[3]

[3]As I argue that the readings correspond to two distinct types of MVCs, I follow the standard convention in the field by using * to indicate ungrammaticality.

(4) ʕali raːħ essobeħ **w-** eʃtara ħaliːb elmeɣreb
Ali went the.morning **and** bought milk the.evening
'Ali went in the morning and then (later) bought some milk in the evening.' SEQUENTIAL
Intended: *'Ali went in the morning and bought some milk in the evening.' CONSEQUENTIAL
Intended: *'Unexpectedly Ali bought some milk!' CE

The only possible interpretation is a sequential relationship between the events of V1 and V2, which is compatible with the presence of two distinct temporal adverbials. The felicity of these adverbs with the sequential reading indicates that the latter imposes a temporal gap between the two events. This reading can be achieved in two ways: The first, as demonstrated in the example above, uses an overt coordinator w(a)- 'and'. The second lacks an overt marker but requires a phonological pause between the verbs, suggesting that the coordinator is optional; The second option amounts to what Baker (1989) has termed as *covert coordination*.

Note that the *consequential* reading with the two adverbials that introduce temporal independence between the participating events is ruled out (more on this in subsection 4.2). The *counter-to-expectations* reading is mono-eventive, therefore it cannot admit two temporal adverbials.

Example (5) illustrates that the ordering of V1 and V2 is rigid in the surface order of the two readings under discussion.

(5) ʕali eʃtara ħaliːb raːħ
'Ali buy.3SGM.PRFV milk go.3SGM.PRFV'
'Ali bought milk and then (later) went.'
Intended: *'Ali bought milk and went.' CONSEQUENTIAL
Intended: *'Unexpectedly Ali bought milk!'

To get either a *consequential* or a *counter-to-expectation* inference, V1 must precede V2. Therefore, only the sequential reading is possible in the example above. The availability of a sequential reading points to a structure involving coordination, where the coordinator itself is optional, as mentioned earlier. In fact, that the order of the two elements can be reversed while maintaining grammaticality is characteristic of the coordination construction, as illustrated below:

(6) ʕali eʃtara ħaliːb **(w-)** raːħ
Ali buy.3SGM.PRFV milk and go.3SGM.PRFV
'Ali bought some milk and then (later) went.'

Next, the example in (7) demonstrates that both verbs in the shared sequence must have the same morphological aspect marking.

(7) a. * ʕali raːħ be-ttħawwaɰ
Ali went.PRFV ASP-do.shopping.IMPV
Intended: 'Ali went and doing shopping.'
Intended: 'Unexpectedly Ali went and doing shopping!'

b. ʕali be-ruːħ be-ttħawwaɰ
Ali ASP-went.PRFV ASP-do.shopping.IMPV
'Ali goes and does shopping.'
'Unexpectedly Ali goes and does shopping!'

Example (8) illustrates that a second subject DP cannot disrupt the strict adjacency of V1 and V2; this points to the fact that there must be only one subject DP in the syntax of both readings.

(8) *ʕali$_i$ raːħ Aħmad/ hu$_j$ eʃtara ħaliːb
Ali went Ahmad/he bought milk
Intended: 'Ali went and Ahmad/he bought some milk.'
Intended: 'Unexpectedly Ali went and Ahmad bought some milk!'

Additionally, the observation above that shows that the inferences under discussion do not allow a second subject DP, indicates that the underlying structures of both readings are not bi-clausal. Moreover, for Arabic complex predicates, Ouali & Fortin (2007) argue that two successive verbs with perfective morphology have a bi-clausal structure; below, I argue that this does not apply to the constructions in PA that are the focus of this paper.

As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, sharing the same aspectual morphology argues in favor of a mono-clausal structure, as has been observed for restructuring verbs. In example (9), I provide another argument to substantiate mono-clausality for the structures of both readings, based on extraction of the direct object.

(9) ʃu$_k$ ʕali raːħ tˤafa __$_k$
what Ali went turned.off
'What did Ali go and turn off?'
'What did Ali turn off unexpectedly?'

The example above illustrates that extraction of the direct object is possible with both readings, in contrast to the case where coordination is either overt or optional. Compare example (9) to the following example, which demonstrates that extraction of the direct object is ungrammatical with a coordinate structure:

(10) * ʃu$_j$ ʕali raːħ (w)-tˤafa __$_j$ elmeɣreb
what Ali went and-turned.off the.evening
'What did Ali go and then (later) turn off in the evening?' SEQUENTIAL

The ungrammaticality of the example above is due to a violation of the *coordinate structure constraint* (CSC) of Ross (1967), which is defined as follows:[4]

(11) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*
In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out.

The contrast between examples (9–10) emphasizes that the structures that are associated with the two readings in PA are not bi-clausal and that these structures are not coordinate structures. Otherwise, the extraction attempt would have resulted in ungrammaticality, as in example (10).

To sum up, I have established that both readings share the following characteristics:

1. There must be no intervening functional material between V1 and V2
2. V1 and V2 are non-permutable
3. V1 and V2 share the same aspect inflection
4. There must be only one subject DP
5. They have mono-clausal syntactic representations

These properties of both inferences are shared with those of the well-studied phenomenon of *Serial Verb Constructions*. Specifically, their morpho-syntactic properties are similar to the characteristics observed for asymmetric SVCs, which are discussed in Aikhenvald (2006).

[4]Cited in Déchaine (1993: p.246).

2 Disentangling the Inferences

I tease apart the two inferences under discussion, by providing contexts in which one of the readings is felicitous and the other is not. Moreover, I will investigate how the scope of negation and negation marking interact within each reading. Finally, I argue that V1 in each reading has a distinct status: V1 in the *consequential* is lexical, and V1 in the *counter-to-expectations* is functional.

2.1 Interpretive Differences

Starting with distinguishing the two interpretations, the context in example (12) describes a usual course of events without any expectation violation.

(12) CONTEXT: *Ali is sitting at his desk, working on his studies. The TV next to him is making some noise, so he goes and turns it off by pressing a button on the back. When someone asks who turned off the TV, the speaker responds.*
ʕali raːħ tˤafa ettelfezjon
Ali went turned.off the.TV
#'Unexpectedly Ali turned off the TV!'
'Ali went and turned off the TV.'

The *counter-to-expectations* interpretation is not felicitous in this context.

In contrast, the context in the following example (13) describes a *counter-to-expectations* situation:

(13) CONTEXT: *Ali was reading the news on his smartphone while his sister watched her favorite show. Suddenly, he turned off the TV without prior notice. His sister complained to their mother:*
ʕali raːħ tˤafa ettelfezjon
Ali went turned.off the.TV
'Unexpectedly Ali turned off the TV!'
'#Ali went and turned off the TV'

The *consequential* interpretation is not felicitous in a context that features a *counter-to-expectation* situation.

This subsection has shown that there are contexts in which only the *counter-to-expectations* reading is felicitous, excluding the other reading. The opposite also holds for the *consequential* reading.

2.2 Negation

In this subsection, I examine negation marking patterns and what falls under its scope in each reading.[5] I begin with the *counter-to-expectations* inference in example (14):

(14) CONTEXT: *A friend of the Ali owes him some money. Ali's wife expects him to request his money back when he meets his friend. However, Ali does not do so, and she says to their son:*
ʔabuk ma-raːħ-eʃ kaːl inna bedda menna masˁaːri
father.your NEG-went-NEG said.to.him COMP wants from.him money
'It is not the case that your father dared to say to him that he owes him some money!'

The example above demonstrates that sentential negation takes wide scope over the *counter-to-expectations* interpretation.

The following example (15) probes the scope of negation with respect to the *counter-to-expectations* reading when negation is marked on V2. The context in the example below is based on the previous one with a slight modification.

(15) CONTEXT: *someone owes Ali some money; Ali's wife expects that when her husband encounters that man, he will request his money back. After all, Ali did not do so out of choice. She says to their son:*
ʔabuk raːħ ma-kall-eʃ inna bedda menna masˁaːri
father.your went NEG-said.to.him-NEG COMP wants from.him money
'Your father did not dare to say to him that he owes him some money!'

Given that negation is marked below V1, the *counter-to-expectations* reading takes a wide scope over the negated constituent. Therefore, the contrast between (14) and (15) is about what was counter-to-expectations: In example (14), it was expected that the speaker's husband would ask for his money back, and he did not do so. While in (15), it was unexpected that the speaker's husband would decide not to ask for his money back, after all.

The negation marking in examples (14–15) are examples of sentential and constituent negation markings, following Ouali & Bukhari (2016). The authors argue that if a mono-clausal structure admits two negation markers, these markers cancel each other out, indicating the presence of two negation operators. Double negation marking is allowed with the sequence that has the *counter-to-expectations* inference, as I demonstrate this in example (16).

[5] See Alqassas (2019) for a thorough examination of negation in Arabic.

(16) CONTEXT: *someone owes money to the speaker's husband; she expects that when her husband encounters that man, he will request his money back. Eventually, he **did** ask, she says:*
ʔabuk ma-raːħ -eʃ ma-kall-eʃ inna bedda menna
father.your NEG-went-NEG NEG-said.to.him-NEG COMP wants from.him
masʕaːri
money
'It is not the case that your father dared not to say to him that he owes him some money.'
= 'Your father told him that he owes him some money.'

If negation is marked on V1, the *counter-to-expectations* reading is interpreted within the scope of negation, and when negation is marked on V2, the *counter-to-expectations* reading is interpreted above the scope of negation.

I now address negation marking and its scope within the string that is associated with the *consequential* reading. Consider the following example:

(17) ʕali **ma**-raːħ-**(e)ʃ** eʃtara ħaliːb
Ali NEG-went-NEG bought milk
= 'It is not the case that Ali went and bought some milk.'
≠ 'Ali went and did not buy some milk.'

The example above shows that when negation is marked on V1, the only available interpretation is one in which negation takes wide scope over both V1 and V2. This means that negation subsumes under its scope the *consequential* bi-eventive proposition. As shown by the translation line, a narrow scope interpretation, in which V1 has taken place and V2 did not, is precluded. I further corroborate this in the next example.

Marking negation on V2 with constituent negation in the *consequential* reading yields an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in example (18). Therefore, double negation marking is ruled out with the surface order of the *consequential* reading.

(18) * ʕali raːħ **ma**-eʃtara-**(e)ʃ** ħaliːb
Ali went NEG-bought-NEG milk
Intended: 'Ali went and did not buy some milk.'

The observation in the example above pertains to the *consequential* inference, which emphasizes that there cannot be a realization of the event denoted by

V1 without the realization of the event denoted by V2; see Todaro & Del Prete (2019).[6]

This last argument about negating one event and affirming the other in the *consequential* reading is made clear when compared to an observation from a different construction, which has V2 embedded in a purpose clause. This purpose clause is optionally headed by ʕaʃaːn 'to'. Example (19) contrasts the *consequential* reading and a sentence featuring the deictic verb with the same V2 embedded in a purpose clause. The example has a continuation that targets the non-realization of V2 in both constructions.

(19) a. ʕali be-ruħ ʕaddokaːn beʃtri ħaliːb kol xamis #bass
Ali ASP-go.IMPV to.the.store buys milk every Thursday but
belaːk-iʃ
finds-NEG
'Ali goes to the store every Thursday and buys milk, but he does not find any.'

b. ʕali be-ruħ ʕaddokaːn (ʕaʃaːn) jeʃtri ħaliːb kol xamis
Ali ASP-go.IMPV to.the.store to to.buy milk every Thursday
bass belaːk-iʃ
but finds-NEG
'Ali goes to the store every Thursday to buy milk, but he does not find any.'

Example (19a), which has the *consequential* interpretation, demonstrates that the continuation is infelicitous because the realization of the event denoted by V2 is entailed, hence the continuation leads to a contradiction. However, this is not the case in example (19b) since the purpose clause does not entail the realization of the second event, therefore the continuation is felicitous.

To sum up this subsection, I have shown that the *consequential* and the *counter-to-expectations* readings can be differentiated based on contexts in which only one reading but not the other is possible, in addition to differences with respect to the scope of negation and negation marking.

[6] I leave it outside the scope of this paper whether the events denoted by V1 and V2 constitute subevents of a larger mono-eventive interpretation.(Givón 1991, Bohnemeyer et al. 2011) for a cognitive account. Specifically Bohnemeyer et al. (2011) suggests that a complex mono-eventive conceptual description is segmented into subevents. The authors characterize this case with the *macro-event property*.

2.3 Distinct Statuses of V1s

I now turn the attention to an additional difference between the two interpretations that lies in the nature of V1; I argue that the syntax of the *consequential* reading contains a lexical V1, while V1 in the syntax of the *counter-to-expectations* reading is functional, hence semantically bleached. I employ semantic and syntactic tests to examine the lexical and syntactic properties of V1 in each case.

2.3.1 Lexical Properties of V1

The purpose of this subsection is to determine whether there are lexical restrictions on the animacy of the subject DP in both readings, in addition to restrictions on the lexical aspect of the V2. This step is crucial since it will indicate if V1s behave like raising verbs, the external argument would not be assigned a θ-role. Moreover, exploring combinations with different lexical aspect predicates would indicate if there are aspectual coercion effects.

I start by investigating constraints on animacy; This test is important because if V1 is lexical, the prediction is that it will not allow inanimate subject DPs, since deictic motion events require volitional subjects, hence agentive. Example (20) features a subject DP that denotes an inanimate entity.

(20) CONTEXT: *The speaker is at a construction site where there is a lot of wet concrete. He was trying to take a photo when they accidentally dropped his phone into the concrete.*
ettalafon ra:ħ weke$^{\varsigma}$ fel-bat$^{\varsigma}$on
the.phone went fell in.the-concrete
'Unexpectedly the phone fell into the concrete!' CE
Intended:'The phone went and fell down.' CONSEQUENTIAL

V1 with the *counter-to-expectations* reading shows a sign of semantic bleaching in that it is felicitous with an inanimate-denoting subject DP, contrary to the case of V1 with the *consequential* reading, in which an inanimate subject DP is ruled out.

Next, I discuss semantic restrictions on the lexical aspect of V2 (or the lack thereof). The idea is that if V1 is semantically bleached, it has no semantic restrictions on the lexical aspect of the complement. The prediction is that it will also combine with predicates that lack dynamicity, such as achievements and states, coercing them into an inchoative interpretation. Consider example (21), which contains an achievement V2 predicate:

(21) CONTEXT: *Ali forgot his keys at a friend's house. Ali 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
'Unexpectedly Ali forgot his keys!'
*'Ali went and forgot his keys.'

The example above shows that the *counter-to-expectations* inference featuring an achievement predicate is grammatical, but the opposite case holds for the *consequential* inference.

The felicity of combining with a stative V2 predicate signifies that V1 has no semantic restrictions on the lexical aspect of V2. The reverse is also true: if V1 does not admit a stative predicate, it retains its lexical content. Consider the next example:

(22) CONTEXT: Ali and his friend, Ahmad, were recently on a vacation in Paris. Neither of them know French, but Ali's mother spoke to him in French when he was a toddler. At a family gathering, Ahmad is talking about Ali's ability to speak in French: while at a restaurant, the waiter does not know English very well, so she speaks with Ali and Amad in French. Ali manages to order in French.
Ali raːħ ʕeref faransi
Ali went knew French
'Unexpectedly Ali knew French!'
*'Ali went and knew French'

The *consequential* reading is not obtained with stative and achievement V2, indicating that in the case of the *counter-to-expectations* reading, no lexical restrictions are involved. This suggests that V1 is auxiliary-like in the *counter-to-expectations* reading, contrary to V1 of the *consequential* reading.

An essential lexical property to examine in V1 is its ability to select a PP complement; specifically, a lexical V1 selects for a PP complement, whereas a functional V1 does not. In the following set of examples (23), I employ this test, comparing V1 in both readings and the canonical use of a deictic motion verb in a mono-clausal and mono-eventive sentence.

(23) a. jasmin raːħat ʕaddokan
Yasmine went to.the.store
'Yasmine went to the store.'

b. jasmin raːħat ʕaddokan eʃtarat ħaliːb ʔadi
Yasmine went to.the.store bought milk normal
#'Unexpectedly Yasmine went to the store and bought some whole milk!'
'Yasmine went to the store and bought some whole milk.'

The only available interpretation in example (23b) is a *consequential* reading. That V1 in the syntax of the *counter-to-expectations* reading is functional is evident from the ungrammaticality of a complement PP. In contrast, V1 in the syntax of *consequential* reading can have a complement PP, just like V1 in the mono-eventive sentence in (23a).

So far, I have illustrated that V1 with the *counter-to-expectations* reading presents properties of a functional verb, contrary to V1 in the case of the *consequential* reading. V1 in the former case does not take a goal PP complement, it allows inanimate subject DPs, and it combines with achievements and states. In contrast, V1 in the latter case is fully lexical, since it still can select for a goal PP complement, it does not allow inanimate subject DPs, and it does not admit achievement and stative predicates.

2.3.2 Syntactic Distribution of V1

Determining whether a certain verb or a construction belongs to the functional and the lexical domain in the clausal spine has been the focus of various works, such as (Laca 2004, Cinque 1999, 2006, Wurmbrand 2001, Wurmbrand 2004, Boneh 2020). These works use different syntactic tests to probe the functional or lexical status of the phenomenon under their scrutiny such as restrictions on co-occurences, ordering restrictions, and complement optionality.

In order to probe the status of V1s associated with each reading, I utilize the test of stacking that was proposed by Laca (2004), which is demonstrated in example (24). The test focuses on distinguishing two aspectual periphrases in Romance languages: functional vs. lexical aspectual periphrases, and they include the following verbs: repetitive *tornare a*+INF 'to return to +INF', inceptive *comminciare a*+INF 'to begin to+INF', and completive *finire di*+INF 'to finish to+INF', and the progressive *sta*+GER 'be+gerund'. The test below shows that linear precedence means stacking higher on the syntactic hierarchy, and the inverse also holds.

(24) a. Sta {tornando a/cominciando a/finendo di} riparare la machina
is {returning to/beginning to/ finishing of} repair the car
'He/She is repairing again/starting to/stopping to' repair the car'

b. * {Torna a/Comincia a/Finisce di} stare riparando la macchina
{returns to/begins to/finishes of} be repairing the car
(Laca 2004: exx.8b and 9b)

The contrast in the example above shows that the progressive belongs to the functional aspectual periphrases, as it stacks above the rest of the aforementioned aspectual periphrases, which are associated with eventuality modification. Stacking the progressive below these projections yields ungrammaticality, as shown by the example in (24b).

Next, I apply the test that was introduced above to the strings of the *consequential* reading and *counter-to-expectations* reading. As a lexical aspectual periphrasis, I use the continuative aspect ðˤall 'continue+V2.IMPV'.

(25) a. be-ruħ be-ðˤal jedok ʕal-baːb
ASP-go.IMPV ASP-continue.IMPV knocks.IMPV on.the-door
'He unexpectedly continues to knock at the door!'
*'He goes and continues to knock at the door.'

b. be-ðˤal be-ruħ jedok ʕal-baːb
ASP-continue.IMPV ASP-go.IMPV knocks.IMPV on.the-door
*'He continues to knock at the door unexpectedly!'
'He continues to go and knock at the door.'

Sentence (25a) illustrates stacking of V1 above the lexical aspectual periphrases, and the only available reading is the *counter-to-expectations* . In contrast, sentence (25b) demonstrates stacking of V1 beneath the lexical aspectual periphrasis, and the test shows that the only available reading is the *consequential* reading. This means that the construction that is associated with the *consequential* reading is hierarchically situated below the lexical aspectual periphrases, hence in the main predicate domain which contributes the *consequential* bi-eventive interpretation.[7]

As a representative from the functional domain, I use the modal *keder+V2.PRFV* 'can+V2.PRFV'. The next example in (26) illustrates stacking of the surface order of the two readings with respect to a modal verb. If the modal verb precedes V1 in surface order, this means that the surface order mirrors a higher hierarchal position for the modal, and *vice versa.*

[7] I elaborate on this in section 4.2.

(26) a. btekdar truħ tsawi elli bedha ja
can go.IMPV do that wants.F it
*'Unexpectedly she can do whatever she wants!'
'She can go and do whatever she wants.'

b. ra:ħat kedret sawwat elli bedha ja
go.3SGF.PRFV can.3SGF.PRFV do.3SGF.PRFV that wants.F it
'She unexpectedly was able to do what she wanted!'
* 'She goes and is able to do whatever she wants.'

In example (26a), the *consequential* reading is the only available inference, which means that the construction of the *consequential* reading cannot be situated within the functional domain. In contrast, example (26b) illustrates that V1 precedes the modal, hence it is higher than the modal. The sentence is judged as grammatical with a *counter-to-expectations* reading, indicating that the construction that has the *counter-to-expectations* reading is within the functional domain of the clause.

To conclude this section, I have established that the V1 associated with the *counter-to-expectations* reading is semantically bleached, and V1 within the *consequential* reading is fully lexical; this was shown via tests concerning the differing selectional restrictions between the two readings. The *counter-to-expectations* reading was demonstrated to allow inanimate subjects, achievement and stative V2 predicates, but to disallow a complement PP for its V1, while the reverse is true for the *consequential* reading.

Regarding the syntactic distribution, I have argued that V1 with *counter-to-expectations* reading is within the functional domain of the clause, and V1 in the *consequential* reading is within the lexical domain. These findings are summarized in Table 1.

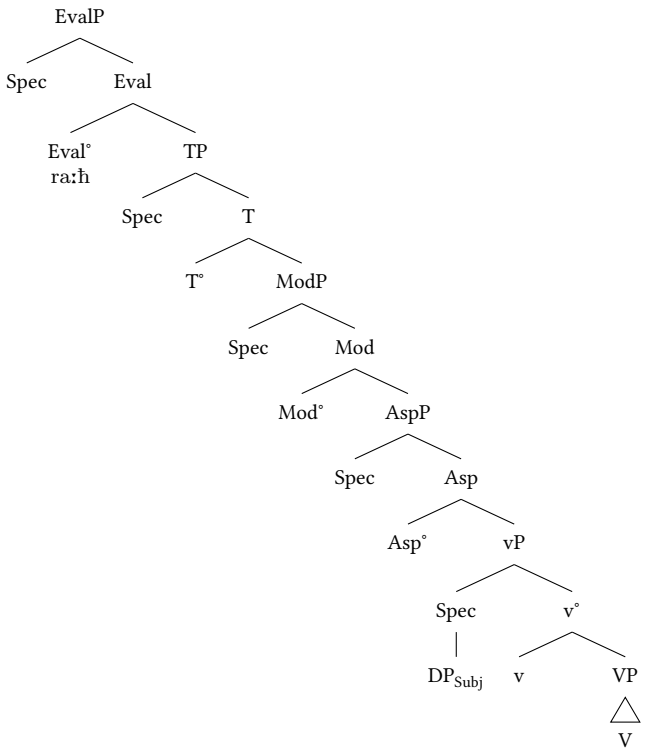
Table 1: Lexical and Functional Properties of V1s

	V1 in counter-to-expectations	V1 in Consequential
Semantic restrictions	×	✓
Complement PP	×	✓
Lexical periphrases	above	below
Functional periphrases	above	below

3 The *counter-to-expectations* MVC

I motivate a subordination syntactic analysis for the *counter-to-expectations* inference, and I argue that it captures the functional status of V1. Expanding on the conclusions from the previous section about the functional status, I show further that V1 with the *counter-to-expectations* does not denote an event. Hence, the denotation of mono-eventivity is contributed by the predicate of V2. In example (27), I provide the syntactic representation for the structure that the *counter-to-expectations* reading subsumes.

(27)



Now, I refer to the construction that has the *counter-to-expectations* reading as the *counter-to-expectations* MVC. In the introduction, I have shown that the construction is mono-clausal, following the observations of extraction of the direct object (9) and sharing the same aspect morphology (7). Other observations are also reflected in the structure, for instance, that there cannot be more than one subject DP, as was shown by example (8).

Section 2 has shown that V1 in the *counter-to-expectations* MVC is functional; therefore the structure above captures the functional status of V1 via situating

it in the left periphery of TP. Therefore, V1 is subordinating the extended projections of V2, which is similar to an analysis of functional restructuring. Since I have argued that the *counter-to-expectations* is linked to V1 in the *counter-to-expectations* MVC, I consider that V1 heads an Eval(uative)P, as in Cinque (1999). This projection is associated with the speaker's evaluation of an event or state as good, lucky, bad, or surprising.

According to Parsons (1994), events can be identified using modification with manner adverbials since the latter are predicates of events. Therefore, the presence of two contradicting manner adverbials in a given MVC is a telltale sign of bi-eventivity, and the failure to simultaneously admit two contradictory adverbials indicates mono-eventivity. This test is applied in (28).

(28) a. *jusef raħ ʃwaj-ʃwaj tˤafa ettelfezjon bsorʕa
Yousef go little-little turned.off the.tv quickly
Intended: 'Unexpectedly Yousef slowly turned off the TV quickly!'

b. jusef raħ ʃwaj-ʃwaj tˤafa ettelfezjon
Yousef go little-little turned.off the.tv
'Unexpectedly Yousef turned off the TV slowly !'

c. jusef raħ tˤafa ettelfezjon bsorʕa
Yousef go turned.off the.tv quickly
'Unexpectedly Yousef turned off the TV quickly!'

The example above shows that there cannot be two manner adverbials in the *counter-to-expectations* MVC; Since there is only one main predicate (i.e. V2), one adverb is allowed; Another observation for a functional status is the ungrammaticality of a manner adverbial to modify V1, which also shows that V1 does not head its own VP.

4 The *Consequential* MVC

I propose a mono-clausal adjunction analysis, where V2P is the adjunct to V1P for the syntactic structure of the *consequential* reading. By arguing for an adjunction analysis, I dismiss accounts of subordination, such as lexical restructuring and covert coordination of syntactic categories smaller than a TP (e.g., vP, AspP), in addition to the formation of a complex predicate via the incorporation of V1 and V2.[8] I tackle this in subsection 4.1.

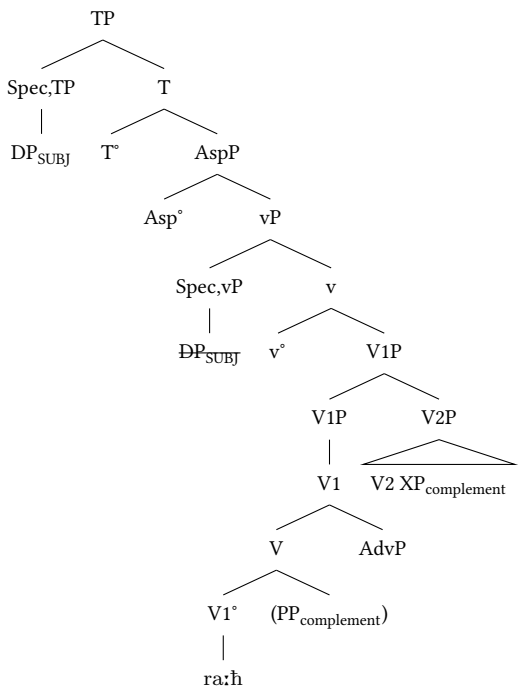
[8] A lexical restructuring analysis captures V1 as a light verb, subordinating VP.

In subsection 4.2, I examine further the *consequential* reading. I provide evidence that the construction denotes two events that are temporally contiguous, which lays the ground for a semantic account, but I leave developing a formal and a compositional account for future research.

4.1 The Syntax of the *Consequential* MVC

I propose the structure in (29), and I refer to the construction that is associated with the *consequential* reading as the *consequential* MVC. I argue that this representation is the one that best captures the syntactic and semantic properties of the construction and the status of V1 in it.

(29)



I have argued that the structure is mono-clausal, using syntactic tests such as extracting of the direct object, as well as by noting that the two verbs must share the same aspectual morphology. Moreover, I have argued in section 2 that V1 in the *consequential* MVC is fully lexical. Syntactically, the lexical status of V1 means that it selects for the complement that is specified as part of its argument structure (a PP) and that it projects its own V1P. These observations argue against any case of restructuring, including a lexical restructuring analysis, since these

accounts argue that V1 subordinates a VP (lexical restructuring) or some larger structure (functional restructuring).

Moreover, in subsection 2.2, I have shown that there is only one negation marker, amounting to sentential negation. The fact that constituent negation cannot be marked on V2 indicates that, syntactically, there is no v2P, since constituent negation targets vPs; I provide further support below for the lack of a second vP. Proving the lack of a second vP, which is a functional projection, indicates a rigid adjacency between V1P and V2P. This correlates with one of the essential properties presented in example (4), namely the lack of intervening functional material between V1 and V2. Therefore, this lack is captured in the structure by the lack of functional projections.

I show that there is no second vP by employing tests of modification by instrument phrases and floating quantifiers (FQ). Following (Harley 2005, Accattoli & Todaro 2017), instrument phrases are adjuncts of vPs. Therefore, the prediction is that if the *consequential* MVC admits two instrument phrases, it contains two distinct vPs. Consider the set of examples in (30) featuring the instrument phrases 'fe ʃʃoka 'with the fork' and fe ssajjara 'with the car'.

(30) a. # ʕali raːħ akal suʃi fe ʃʃoka
Ali went ate sushi with.the fork
'Ali went and ate sushi with the fork.'

b. # ʕali raːħ (fe ssajjara) akal suʃi (fe ssajjara)
Ali went in.the.car ate sushi in.the.car
'Ali went and ate sushi in his car.'

c. ʕali raːħ ʤaːb ibn-a fe ssajjara
Ali went pick.up son.his in.the.car
'Ali went and picked up his son in the car.'

Sentence (30a) is odd with the instrument 'fe ʃʃoka' because it contradicts the event denoted by V1P, while being compatible with the event denoted by V2P. In contrast, sentence (30b) demonstrates the opposite case, in which the adjunct is semantically compatible only with V1P. Moving to sentence (30c), this sentence is felicitous with the instrument 'fe ssajjara' since both events denoted by V1P and V2P can be done using a car.

Since FQs target subject positions, specifically Spec,vPs, I use this test to provide additional support for the absence of a v2P in the proposed structure.

(31) a. el-banaːt **kullhen** raːħu ʕaddokaːn eʃtaru buzʕa
the-girls all went.PL to.the.store bought.PL ice cream
'All the girls went and bought 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

Sentence (31a) is grammatical since it shows that the subject DP, which includes the FQ, precedes the two verbs, and it appears at the beginning of the sentence. This is reflected in the syntactic structure by the movement of the subject DP to Spec,TP.

The sentence (31b), which is also grammatical, shows that the subject DP without the FQ comes before the two verbs, whereas the FQ is tucked in between V1 and the complement PP. This indicates that the FQ is stranded in its base position, while the subject has moved, in addition to the movement of V1. The last two sentences in (31c–31d) are ungrammatical, and they indicate the lack of a subject position between V1 and V2, since the FQ cannot be stranded within the environment of V2.

Consider the contrast in the next set of examples, which features extraction of the direct object and differing potential positions of the subject DP. In (32a), the subject DP appears internal to V1P (it intercedes between V1 and a goal PP complement), while in (32b) the subject DP appears between V1P and V2P, aiming for a potential second subject position (Spec,V2P).

(32) a. $ʃu_j$ ra:ħat da:lja ʕaddok:an eʃtarat __$_j$
what went Dalia to.the.store bought
'What did Dalia go to the store and buy?'

b. * $ʃu_j$ ra:ħat ʕaddok:an da:lja eʃtarat __$_j$
what went to.the.store Dalia bought
Intended: 'What did Dalia go to the store and buy?'

The first sentence is grammatical, and it shows that the subject DP may remain in its base position. In contrast, extracting the direct object where the subject DP is in a potential subject position between V1P and V2P yields ungrammaticality, as shown in example (32b); this points to the lack of the targeted subject position in between the VPs, which is spec,vP2.

Having just demonstrated that there is no second vP, I argue in example (33) that there is no coordination at the VoiceP level, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of voice mismatch in the *consequential* MVC.

(33) * el-walad raːħ inʤaːb men el-medrasa
the-boy went picked.up.PASS from the-school
Intended: 'The child went and was picked up from the school.'

Now, I turn to motivate specifically the adjunction representation, arguing for a rightward adjunction analysis in the spirit of Déchaine (1993).[9]

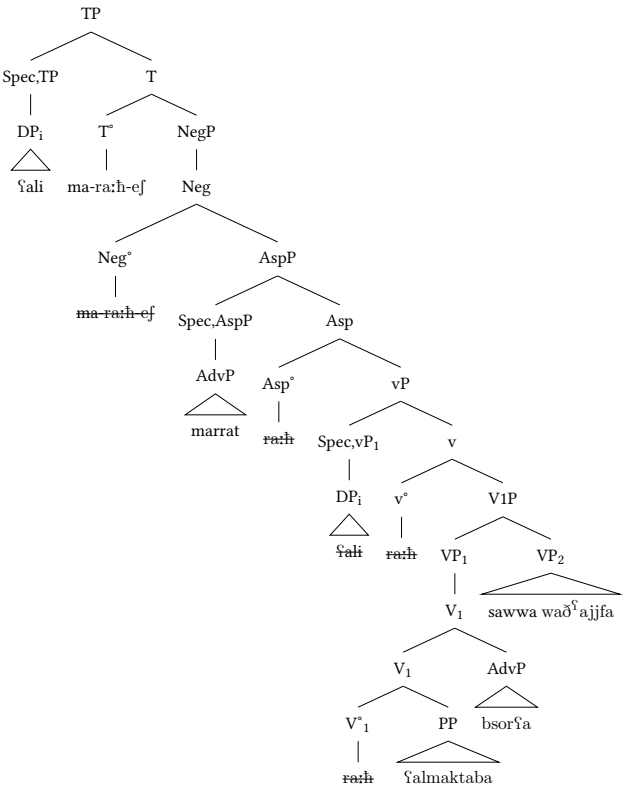
Since adjunction can be leftward or rightward, I motivate a rightward adjunction analysis for the MVC in Palestinian Arabic; hence, V2P is the adjunct, as seen in example (29). My motivation for positing rightward adjunction is based on syntactic reasons. In Arabic, V-movement, especially with perfective marking, is obligatory, following Benmamoun (1999). Consider the example below:

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

Following the *Mirror Principle* of Baker (1985), the example above demonstrates that V1 has picked up the morphological material of aspect and negation. This indicates that V1 has undergone movement through the projections of AspP, NegP, and landing at T, as seen in the structure (35). Given this analysis, incorporation, forming a complex predicate out of V1 and V2, is ruled out.

[9] Déchaine relies on X' theory to propose an account that involves combining two predicates in an asyndetic representation. A crucial aspect of her analysis is that X' theory allows for rightward and leftward directions of adjunction, and this structural relation can be generated by the grammars of all languages, not just in those that feature *serial verb constructions*.

(35)



From the structure above, the directionality of the adjunction must be rightward, since leftward adjunction (i.e., V1P is the adjunct) cannot explain that the head of the adjunction has undergone movement from an adjunction position, following the *Head Movement Constraint* of (Travis 1984).

Next, I discuss the possibility of extracting the direct object DP from a rightward adjunction structure, building on insights from Veenstra (1993). According to Veenstra (1993), cases of extracting out of an adjunction are felicitous as long as they are done from a small syntactic constituent such as a VP, but not an AspP. Veenstra examines this possibility following the (in)felicity of argument and manner extractions in two serializing languages: Haitian and Sranan, as demonstrated in examples (36–37). Veenstra (1993) argues that SVCs in Haitian involve rightward adjunction structure.

(36) 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. Kouman$_i$ Jan pran liv la montre Mari t_i
How John take book the show Mary
'How did John show the book to Mary?'

The example above shows that argument and manner extractions from the second predicate, which is in an adjunction position, are grammatical in Haitian. In contrast, manner extraction in Sranan yields ungrammatical sentences, as seen in example (37).[10]

(37) Sranan (Veenstra 1993: ex.14a)
*Ufa$_i$ mi=tei di faka koti di gwamba t_i
how 1SG-take the knife cut the meat

Veenstra's explanation for the contrast in the examples above is that extraction from an adjunct depends on the size of the syntactic chunk. In Haitian, extraction proceeds out of a rightwardly adjoined VP. In Sranan, extraction is precluded since it is done from a larger structure, containing the functional projection AspP. The existence of an AspP is motivated in the following set of examples.

(38) a. Sranan (Veenstra 1993: ex.21a)
Mi-tei faka **ta**-koti-en kii
1SG-take knife **ASP**-cut-3SG kill
'I was stabbing him dead with a knife.'

b. Haitian (Veenstra 1993: ex.21c)
*Jan pran mounda **ap** bat Jak
John take rifle's butt **ASP** beat Jack
'John was beating Jack with a rifle's butt.'

Examining the examples above, Sranan licenses the aspectual marker *ta* on V2, which indicates the presence of a low AspP in the clausal spine. In contrast, aspectual marking on the second verb in Haitian renders the sentence ungrammatical, indicating the lack of an AspP.

I have already shown in example (9) in section 1 that extraction of the direct object is grammatical. Therefore, in example (39) and following the discussion above, there are no functional projections between V1 and V2 in the *consequential* MVC. The example below shows that the frequency adverbial *marrat* 'sometimes', which is an adjunct to an AspP, cannot be licensed within the environment of V2P and below V1P.

[10] No intended translation for example (37) was given in the original paper.

(39) * ʕali raːħ bsorʕa sawwa waðʕajfa **marrat**
Ali went quickly did his.homework sometimes
Intended: 'Ali went quickly and did his homework sometimes.'

To further support the argument that it is possible to extract from an adjunct VP and not from an adjunct that is a larger syntactic constituent, I note that this pattern can be observed in other domains. For example, it is possible to extract from an adjunct comitative PP, as seen in example (40), but not from a temporal PP following example (41).

(40) a. ʕali raːħ maʕ axuː-h ʕaddokːan
Ali went with brother-his to.the.store
'Ali went to the store with his brother.'

b. miːn$_i$ ʕali raːħ maʕ-ah$_i$ ʕaddokːan
who Ali went with-RP.3SGM to.the.store
'Who Ali went with to the store?'

In the example above, forming a wh-question by extracting out of a comitative PP is felicitous; a resumptive pronoun must appear at the extraction site. In contrast, extraction from a temporal PP results in ungrammaticality.

(41) 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
'Whom Ali went to the store before got back home?'

I argue this is the same pattern as observed by Veenstra (1993): extraction from syntactically smaller adjuncts is fine, while extraction from syntactically larger adjuncts yields ungrammaticality.

To conclude, I proposed an analysis that accounts for the lexical status of V1 and that V1 projects V1P, following lexical restrictions and the ability to take a PP complement. Therefore, there are two VPs, and they are situated in an adjunction relation, which, due to syntactic motivations, the directionality of the adjunction is argued to be rightward.

4.2 The Semantics of the *Consequential* MVC

In this subsection, I present further evidence to support the argument of bi-eventivity. Additionally, I provide a characterization of the *consequential* inference, which imposes temporal contiguity on the bi-eventive component of the construction's semantics.

Another evidence for the argument of bi-eventivity is provided by employing the test of modification by manner adverbials, which I introduced in section 3. The example in (42) demonstrates that the *consequential* MVC is grammatical with two adverbs:

(42) jasmin ra:ħat ʃwaj-ʃwaj tˤafat el-ma:kena bsorʕa
Yasmine went little-little turned.off the-machine quickly
'Yasmine went slowly and turned off the machine quickly.'

The example above also gives support for having two underlying VPs in the syntactic structure.

In the next example, I illustrate the property of *temporal unity* of the *consequential* inference. The context in the example describes that the subject went to his friend's house to have dinner.

(43) Context: *The house of Ahmad's friend is just a 5-minute drive away. Ahmad is going there for dinner with his friend.*
#eħmad ra:ħ ʕal-xamsa etʕaʃa ʕend sˤaħba 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.'

The oddness of the example above is due to the presence of a temporal gap between the event of going and the event of having dinner. In other words, the two events are not within the scope of one temporal adverbial. This observation is reinforced in the next example (44).

(44) a. # embereħ eħmad ra:ħ dafaʕ el-fatura el-jum
yesterday Ahmad went paid the-bill today
'Yesterday Ahmad went and paid the bill today.'

b. embereħ eħmad ra:ħ dafaʕ el-fatura
yesterday Ahmad went paid the-bill
'Yesterday Ahmad went and paid the bill.'

On the one hand, the *consequential* MVC does not tolerate two temporal adverbials, as demonstrated in sentence (44a). This violates the *temporal unity* property due to the presence of a temporal gap, contrasting with sentence (44b), which is felicitous.

To summarize, I have demonstrated the *temporal unity* property, offering a further characterization of the *consequential* inference within the bi-eventive semantics of the *consequential* MVC. Additionally, I have provided further support for the denotation of two events.

5 Conclusion

This chapter began with the observation that there is a sequence of two verbs, featuring the deictic motion verb raːħ, in addition to a lexical verb, V2. This sequence is associated with two distinct inferences: the *consequential* reading and *counter-to-expectations* reading. The main claim is that each reading is linked to different syntactic structures. For the former reading, I have suggested a mono-clausal structure that has two VPs in a rightward adjunction analysis, where V2P is the adjunct. For the latter reading, I have argued that it subsumes a mono-clausal structure with subordination. Therefore, motivating these syntactic analyses has led to uncovering the *consequential* MVC and the *counter-to-expectations* MVC. I have established that the morpho-syntactic properties of both MVCs correspond to those of asymmetric *serial verb constructions*, such as extraction of the direct object, there being only one subject DP, there being no intervening functional material between V1 and V2, and mono-clausality. This characterization prohibits accounting for the *consequential* MVC and the *counter-to-expectations* MVC as bi-clausal structures such as subordination (as in control predicates) or coordination of clauses.

I have argued that the semantics of the *consequential* MVC involves two events, and these two events are restricted by the *consequential* inference, since it imposes a temporal dependency. This observation distinguished the semantics of the *consequential* MVC from the semantics of a coordinate structure. Moreover, the lexical, rather than functional, status of V1 in the *consequential* MVC also contributed to the bi-eventive analysis I provided. I showed that the lexical V1 in *consequential* MVC contributes a motion event. The full lexical status of V1 was established based on its semantic and syntactic features, such as restrictions on the animacy of the subject DP and the inability to compose with a predicate that denotes an achievement or a stative.

The rightward directionality of adjunction was motivated following V1's movement to higher projections. A leftward adjunction analysis erroneously predicts

head movement of the verb to proceed out of an adjunct. Following Veenstra (1993), I have argued that there are no functional projections between V1P and V2P, hence extraction out of adjunct is grammatical. I have also argued against other accounts, such as restructuring, by showing that V1 in the *consequential* MVC preserves its ability to take a goal PP complement, and does not subordinate V2P.

The adjunction analysis that was put forth in this chapter has a cross-linguistic implication for *multi-verb constructions*. Such constructions that denote bi-eventive semantics with a *consequential* inference are expected to involve an adjunction representation for the relation between V1 and V2.

Moving to the *counter-to-expectations* MVC, the semantics of the *counter-to-expectations* MVC denotes a mono-eventive interpretation with an inference that the realization of the main event violates the speaker's expectations. Mono-eventivity was established based on the argument that V1 in *counter-to-expectations* MVC is functional, which means that it does not contribute a motion event, and the main event is contributed by V2. The status of V1 in the *counter-to-expectations* MVC was established based on there being no semantic restrictions on the animacy of the subject DP, as well as V1 being able to combine with achievement- and state-denoting V2s.

Moreover, V1 in the *counter-to-expectations* MVC does not take a PP complement, but it is situated within the extended projections of the lexical predicate V2. The fact that V1 stacks above lexical periphrases and does not head its own VP, as shown by its inability to be modified by a manner adverb, suggests a subordination analysis, situating V1 as the head of an EvaluativeP.

Issues left for further endeavors are to provide a formal, compositional semantic account for both MVCs. Concerning the *consequential* MVC, I conjecture that there must be a semantic rule at the level of adjunction that captures the consequential inference. Todaro & Del Prete (2019) provide a semantic account for a similar construction to the *consequential* MVC in Sicilian, in which they argue that events in these constructions are concatenated via a semantic rule dubbed as *event extension*. However, on the authors' account, V1 and V2 must be syntactically incorporated into a complex predicate.

Considering the semantics of the *counter-to-expectations* inference, an open issue is related to how the *counter-to-expectations* inference is derived and what role V1 plays, since I have shown that V1 can coerce the lexical aspect of the predicate into an inchoative reading. In other words, the question is about whether the *counter-to-expectations* inference ensues at the lexical aspectual level or not. Moreover, extending the investigation to other potential V1s such as eʤa 'came'

and kaːm ‘got up’ is necessary in order to see each V1’s contribution to the overall meaning of the construction and in order to reach a uniform account.

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Abbreviations

ASP	Aspect
COMP	Complementizer
F	Feminine
IMPV	Imperfective
NEG	Negation
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
PRFV	Perfective
SG	Singular
3	3rd person

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