

Yesterday's syntax is today's syntax?

Multi-verb constructions featuring **semi-lexical GO** and **COME** in the history of Hebrew

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Observation

Languages have a category of **semi-lexical verbs** consisting of such verb as *be, have, get, do, come, make, let, want, say* (cf. e.g. Corver & Riemsdijk 2001, and references therein).

Some of these verbs were shown to be part of diachronically stable constructions: orthogonal to the grammaticalization cline creating TAM forms (Butt 2003: 16, also Butt & Ramchand 2005):

Main verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix

|

Light verb

Question

Is there a historical relation akin got grammaticalization relating lexical verbs to cognate semi-auxiliaries?

> Hard to answer empirically, given the observed stability, e.g. Sanskrit > Hindi; Urdu; also in Semitic (later)

> Hard to answer theoretically, given an approach like Roberts & Roussou's (2003), where grammaticalization is merely a realization of a functional head by a lexical verb inserted in the appropriate syntactic slot.

It'll be asked whether:

Yesterday's syntax is today's syntax in this case; Namely, are semi-lexical verbs an instance of lexical change resulting in polysemy in the lexicon indirectly showing a syntactic change?

Outline

Part 1:

Setting the scene through English data

Part 2:

Semitic constructions

Early Hebrew: Biblical and Rabbinic

Part 3:

Emergence of a semi-auxiliary? COME in the history of Hebrew

Part 1: Setting the scene

English as a starting point

- (1) I **went** to the store and **bought** some whisky. (J. R. Ross 1967,4-100a)
- (2) She's **gone** and **ruined** her dress now (J. R. Ross 1967,4-107a)

Terminology (non-official):

Non-conjunctive 'and'

- (1) Macro-event construction (cf. Bohnemeyer et al. 2007, 2011)
 - (2) "Aspectual/Mirative" construction (cf. Pseudo-Coordination, Ross 2016 a.o.)
-
- (3) #He went and arrived to class on time as planned. (D. Ross 2016, ex. 31)

Common properties

- Same subject (mostly animate?)
- Same tense & agreement
- Consequential 'and' (Ross 1967, Déchaine 1993):
 - > Single "event" (modification by *both, also, too*)
 - > Permutability between V1 and V2 impossible
 - > Negation – only wide scope
 - > Extraction from V2P – possible:

(1') What did he go to the store and buy ___?

(2') What has she gone go and ruin ___ now?

Differences

- Set of V1 is restricted for the aspectual/mirative construction
- Strict adjacency between V1 and V2: The possibility for V1 to have complements and adjuncts

(1') I **went** (to the store) and bought some whisky.

(2') She's **gone** (#to the store) and ruined her dress now.

Descriptive question

What is the source for the distinction?

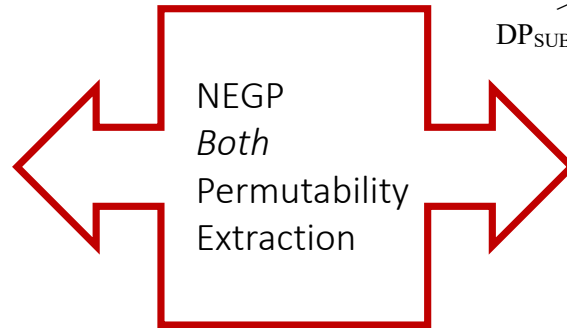
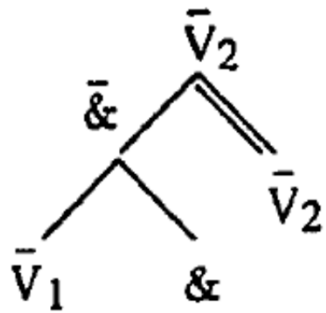
- > Syntactic structure: V1P vs. V1⁰
- > Lexical: full lexical verb (1) vs. (2) semi-auxiliary?
- > Combination of both?

Syntactic accounts

Adjunction for (1)

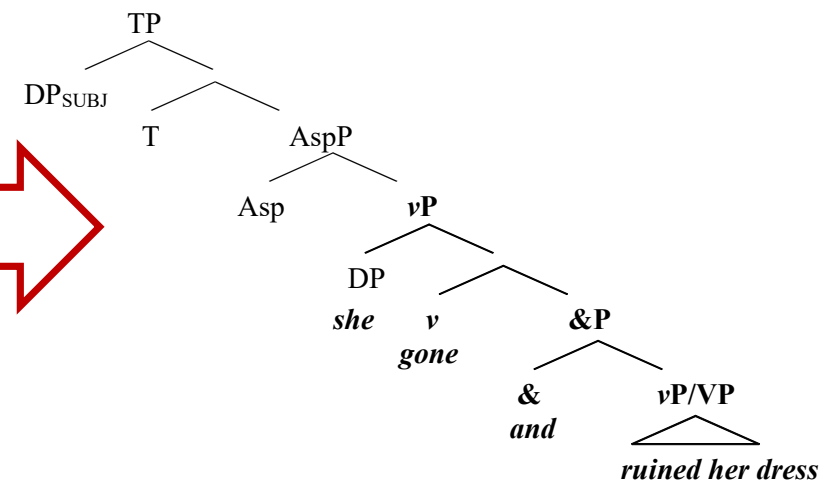
(Déchaine 1993 exx. 165)

'consequential' *and*

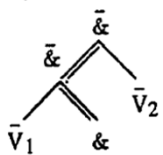


Semi-auxiliary verb for (2)

(Biberauer & Vikner 2017, Boneh 2019 a.o.)

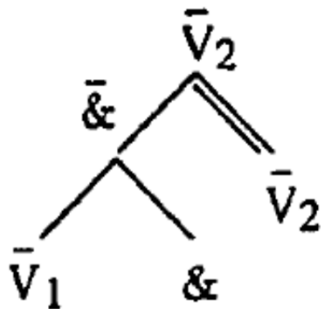


'conjunctive' *and*

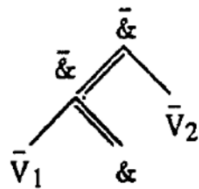


Adjunction account (Déchaine 1993)

'consequential' *and*



'conjunctive' *and*



- Bi-valent predication
- One of the possibilities of X-bar theory
- Multiple adjunction, category free

e.g. resultatives are cases of right adjunction in English

Serial Verb Constructions in Yoruba and Igbo can be captured by this type of analysis (see Zribi-Hertz & Jean-Louis 2022, for SVC in French based creoles.

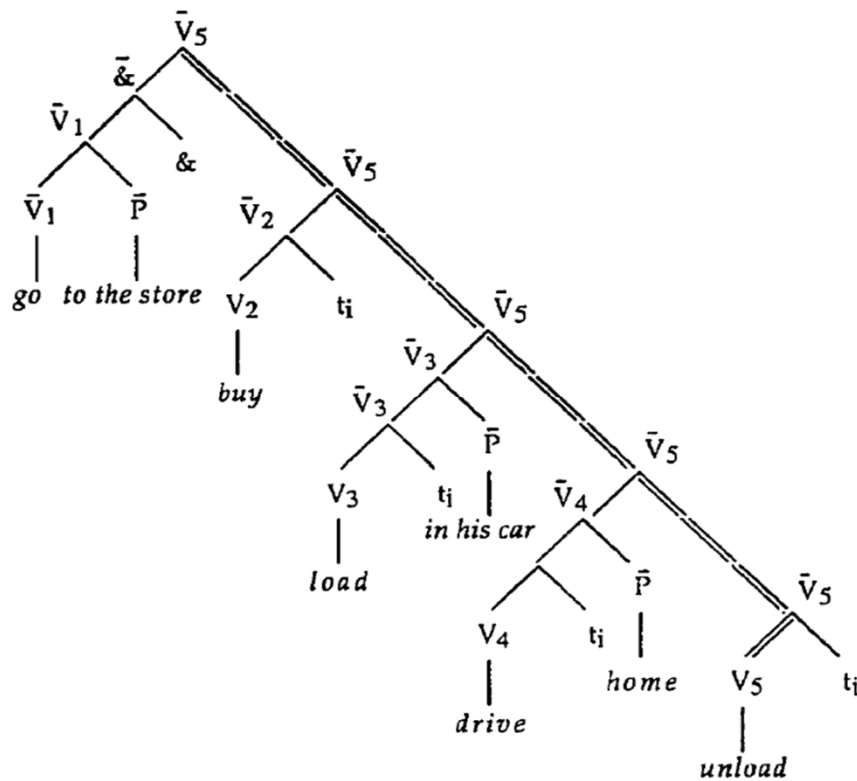
> Freely available structure



Adjunction account (Déchaine 1993)

225. What_i did he [go to the store], [buy_i], [load_i in his car], [drive_i home] and [unload_i]?

225'.

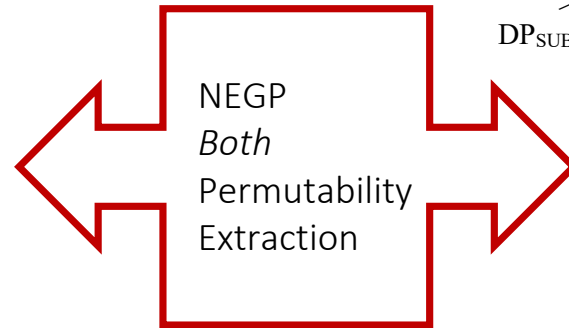
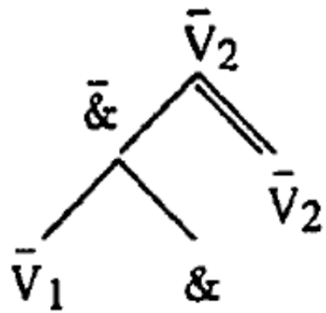


Syntactic accounts

Adjunction for (1)

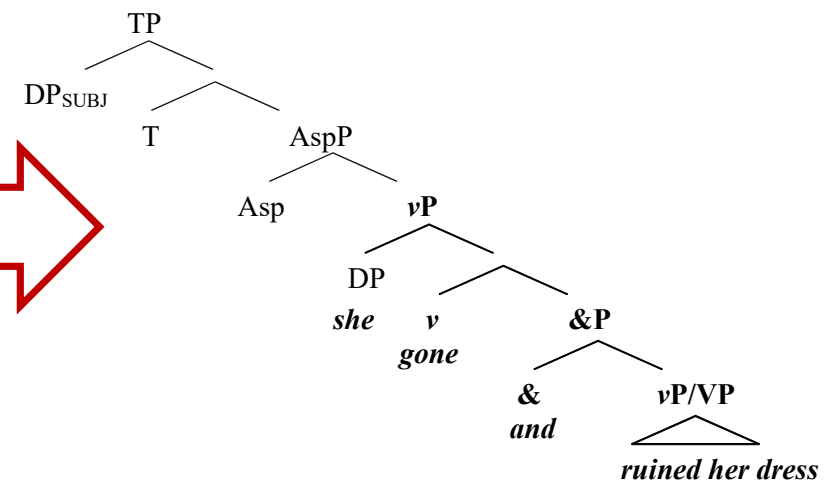
(Déchaine 1993 exx. 165)

'consequential' *and*

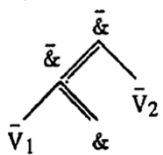


Subordinating semi-auxiliary (2)

(Biberauer & Vikner 2017, Boneh 2019 a.o.)

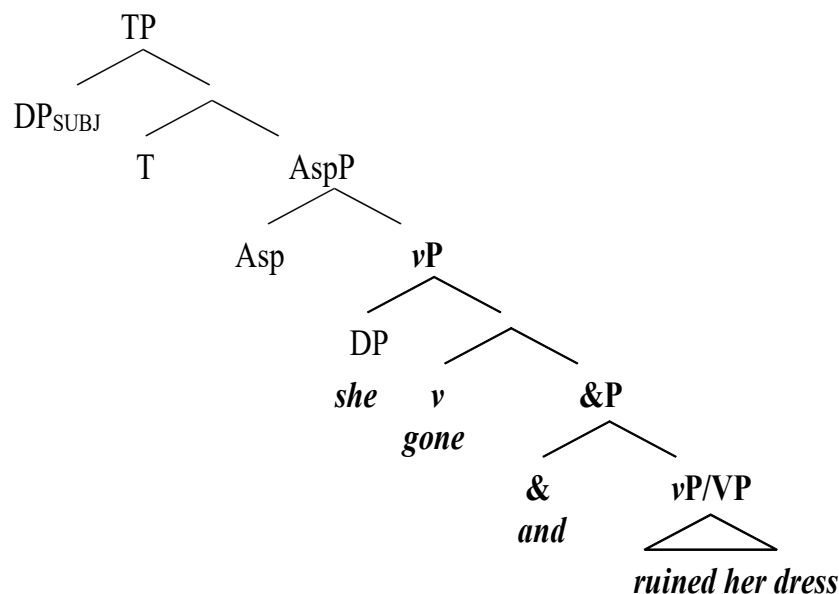


'conjunctive' *and*



Subordinating semi-auxiliary

Biberauer & Vikner 2017, Boneh 2019 a.o.



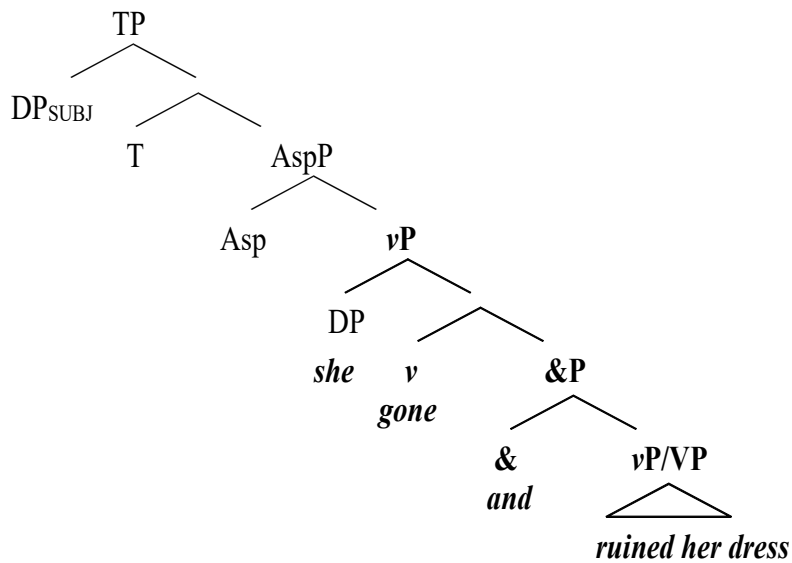
V1 'go' is a semi-auxiliary (light verb/lexical restructuring verb) cf. Butt & Geuder 2001 et seq.; Wurmbrand 2001 et seq. Cinque 1999, 2004, among others.

Explains:

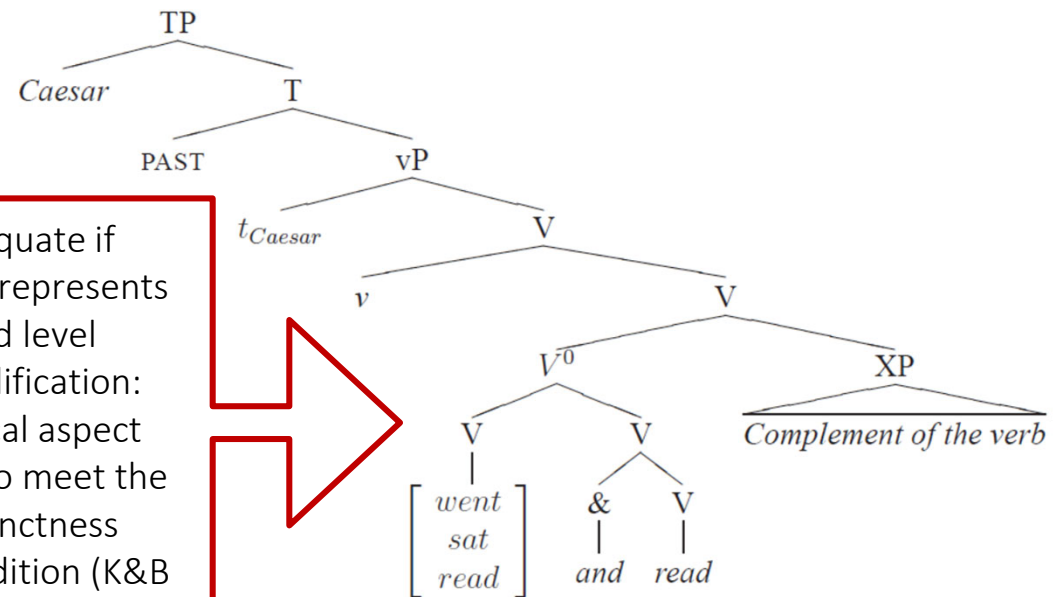
- > The restricted nature of V1
- > Relative adjacency with V2
- > Lack of PP complement

Subordinating semi-auxiliary

(Biberauer & Vikner 2017, Boneh 2019 a.o.)



Head adjunction (de Vos 2004, 2007, also Keine & Bhatt 2016)



Adequate if this represents word level modification: lexical aspect Or to meet the distinctness condition (K&B 2016)



Central question

Is there a historical change linking the different constructions?

Can it be shown that the subordination construction arose following the adjunction construction inducing a lexical semantic change to V1 from fully lexical to semi-auxiliary (see, e.g. Corver & Riemsdijk 2001, among many others)?

Analogous to syntactic change in the case of future *is going to* (e.g. Eckardt 2011):

- i. John is [_{VP} [_{V'} going [_{CP} to talk to the king]
- ii. John is [_{F°} going [_{VP} to talk to the king]

Or rather, is this a lexical change, syntax being influenced indirectly, through a change in the selectional properties of the verb?

Next sections

Part 2:

Semitic constructions

Early Hebrew: Biblical and Rabbinic

Part 3:

Emergence of a semi-auxiliary? COME in the history of Hebrew

On the importance of being deictic > the Hebrew mirative construction

Part 2: The Semitic Languages

Canaano-Akkadian 14th c. BCE

Taken from Andrason 2019: exx. 1, 3, corpus of letters

(5) ...**a-nu-ma** i-ti-lik / ʾù ʾaḥ(?)-ta-ni ʾÉRIN.ʾMEŠ a-na / [na-ša-ri-š]i...

Now I went and I urged the troops to [guard i]t

(6) ʾù lu-ú iz-zi-ba ʾù / ʾil-la-ka ʾù lu-ú / ʾur-ra-da LUGAL EN-ia / UD.ʾKAMv- ma ʾù mu-ša a-di / ʾda-ri-ia-ta

I would verily **leave** and I **would come** and I **would truly serve** the king, my lord, day and night, forever

[transcriptions unchanged]

Indications for macro-events: common temporal adverb (5); V in a larger sequence (6)

Canaano-Akkadian 14th c. BCE

Andrason 2019: exx. 2, 4, corpus of letters

(7) **a-lik-mi i-zi-iz** a-na URU Şu-mu-ur / ʾaʾ-di ka-ša-ʾdiʾ-ia

Go and **stay** (take up position) in Şumur until my arrival

Reply: ù úul i-le-ʾhéʾ! **a-la-[ka]m** “I was/have been unable to go.”

(8) ʾalʾ-ʾkaʾ-ʾmìʾ ʾùʾ [du-gu-ul pa-ni] / ʾLUGALʾ be-ʾlí ʾ-ʾkaʾ

Come and [view the face] of the king, your lord

[transcriptions unchanged]

> Adjacent constructions, but with indication that lexical meaning is preserved

Additional observations:

- COME is not an independent lexeme
- Alternation between ±&

Ugaritic 13th-12th c. BCE

Andrason & Vita 2020: exx. 14, 16:

- (9) ...tbkynh w tqbrnh... (1.6:l:16-17; Ba'lu Myth)
3SG.F.cry.him and 3SG.F.burrry.him
'She wept and she buried him; Weeping she buried him'
- (10) ilm tgrk tšlmk (2.11:7-9; a letter)
gods 3PL.protect.you 3PL.preserve health.you
'By protecting you, the gods may restore/preserve your health.'

[transcriptions unchanged]

Macro-events

Ugaritic 13th-12th c. BCE

Andrason & Vita 2020: exx. 8-10:

- (11) b'l ytlk w ysd (1.12:I:34; The Devourers)
Balu 3SG.M.go and 3SG.M.hunt
'Balu went and hunted.' (iterative?)
- (12) tlk w tr b[] (1.10:III:17; Ba'lu and 'Anatu)
3SG.F.go and 3SG.F.turn
'She (Goddess Anat) went and turned/escaped.' (instantaneous)
- (13) lk hrg ar[b']ymm (1.13.4; Hymn to 'Anatu)
go.IMP kill.IMP 4 days
'Go kill (for) 4 days.' (unclear lexical status of GO)

**Indications for semi-
auxiliaries**

Ugaritic 13th-12th c. BCE

Comments on 11-13:

- Contextual knowledge to determine whether change of location took place
- V1 + another motion verb indicates semi-lexical status (bleached verb) >> ex. 12
- Other V1 that appear in similar constructions: *qm* 'stand/rise'; *nš* 'stand/go up, rise'; *ndd* 'go, move; hurry, rush, launch oneself'; *twb* 'return, come back'; *hwš* 'hurry up, hasten';
- *yd* 'know be able';
- COME is not mentioned in the list of V1s

Other semitic languages

Gəʿəz, since the 4th c. CE (Edzard 2021 ex. 10, citing Rubin 2005, 33)

(14) ʾaqdämku wa-nägärku-kəmu

precede.PF.1SG and-tell.PF.1SG-2PL.M

‘I told you beforehand.’ (1 Thess. 3.4)

Macro-event?

Colloquial Arabic (Hussein 1990, ex. 8, see also Versreegh 2003; Drozdík 2008 and Abdel Rahman *in prep.*)

(15) ma^c kull ha ššarḥ, bi:ži biʾu:l ʾinnu miiš- fa:him

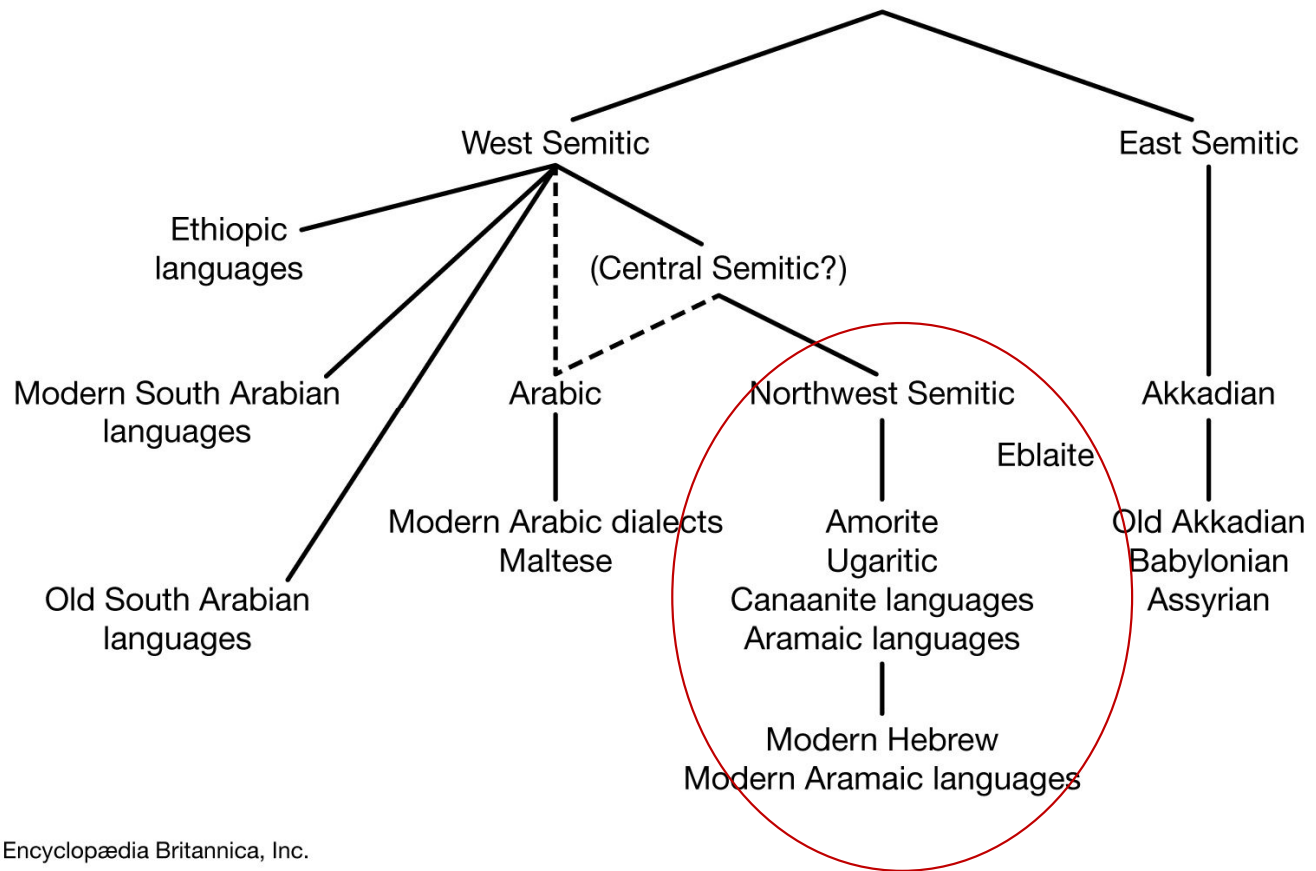
with all this explanation, PRES.3SG.come PRES.3SG.say that not understanding

‘Despite this (thorough) explanation, he still says that he does not understand’

Aspectual-mirative construction

These types of construction largely attested in Babylonian Aramaic (Shitrit 2021, Bar-Asher Siegal 2017)

Semitic languages: prevalence of the constructions throughout the language family



Biblical Hebrew from 10th c. BCE

(16) *wayyēleḵ rə'ūbēn biyemē qəṣīr ḥiṭṭīm wayyiməšā' dudā'īm bbaśśāde ...*

And Reuben **went** in the days of wheat harvest, and **found** mandrakes in the field, [and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes.] (Genesis 30, 14)

Macro-event

(17) *... wattēleḵ wattēta' bəmidəbbar bə'er šāba'*

[And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave *it* unto Hagar, putting *it* on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away:] and **she departed**, and **wandered** in the wilderness of Beer-Sheba. (Genesis 21, 14)

Aspectual V1?

> Throughout: English bible translations from King James Version

Biblical Hebrew from 10th c. BCE

(18) *wattāqām wattlek wattāsar š'īpā me'ālehā*

And she **arose**, and **went** away, and **laid** by her vail from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood. (Genesis 38, 19)

Macro-event?

(19) *bə'ābārəkem 'et-barīt yhwh 'ēlohēykem, 'āšer šiwwā 'etkē,*

(If you) violate the covenant of the Lord your God, which he commanded you *wahlakatem wa'abadatem 'ēlohīm 'āhērīm...*

and **go** and **serve** other gods [and bow down to them, the Lord's anger will burn against you, and you will quickly perish from the good land he has given you]. (Joshua 23, 17)

Aspectual/mirative?

Comments on Biblical Hebrew

Evidence for two distinct constructions

In the cases without a complement, lexical contribution of the verb is not clear (“Literal translation is awkward or impossible” Lambdin 1971: 239)

Other such verbs are listed by Snider 2021:

Hebrew	IPA	Standalone Meaning	Construction Meaning
שָׁב	šab	return	to do something again
הוֹסִיף	hosip	add	to do something again/more
הוֹאִיל	ho'il	agree, be willing	to do something willingly, to be content to do something
מָהַר	mihēr	hurry	to do something quickly
הִשְׁעִימוּ	hišeqīm	wake up early	to rush to do something
הִרְבָּה	hirbā	increase	to do something a lot
קָם	qām	rise, get up	to begin to do something, to do something immediately

Note: COME is not on the list

Rabbinic Hebrew, 2nd c. CE

(20) ... *še sāk_or lanu po'alim. halak_u u-ḥasaq lahem mezonot*

[There was an incident involving Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Matya, who said to his son:] **Go out** and **hire** laborers for us. His son **went**, **hired** them, and pledged to provide sustenance for them... (Mishna, Bava Metzia 7, 1)

Macro-event?

(21) *halak_u Yehuda ben Gerim ve-siper divrehem...*

Yehuda, son of converts, **went** and **related** their statement to his household...and they were heard by the monarchy. (Shabbat 33, 2)

Macro-event? Aspectual GO?
Topic setting GO (Aramaic
influence)

> translations from Sefarya

Summary

Both macro-event constructions and semi-auxiliary/light verb V1 constructions are attested in the Semitic languages: determined on the basis of interpretation and availability of lexical and syntactic cues in the verses.

The data from Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew (prevalently VSO languages) raise a **syntactic puzzle** for the adjunction analysis:

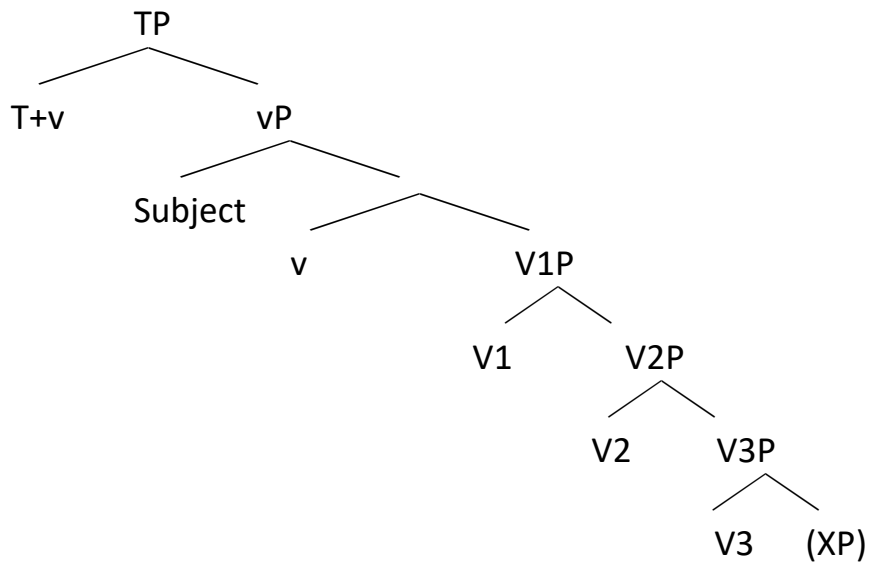
How does V1 raise from an adjunct position?

This is not a problem for the subordination analysis (which is inadequate if an overt PP is present)

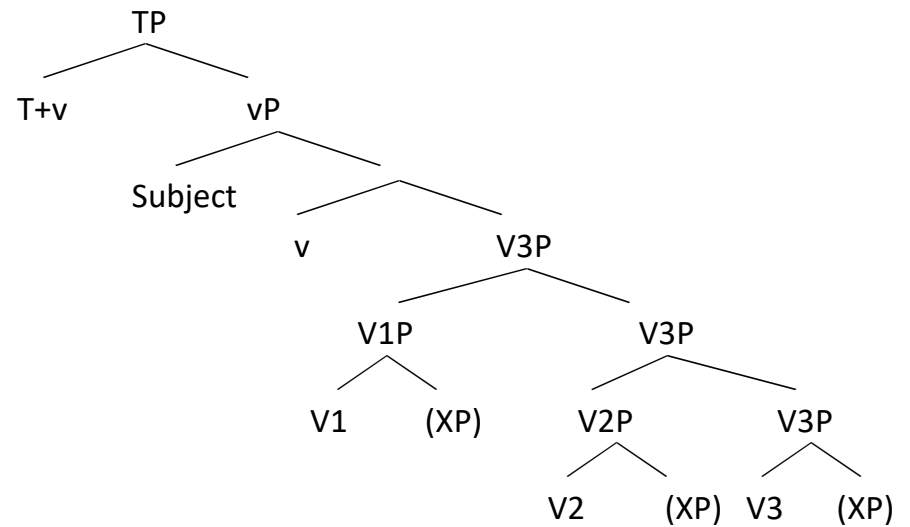
> Historical relation cannot be determined on the basis of these data.

Syntactic analyses

(22) a. Subordination



b. Adjunction



Part 3: Rise of the semi-auxiliary COME in Hebrew?

Important factual and methodological comment:

There's no historical continuity between the stages of Hebrew surveyed here

Outlook

Biblical Hebrew (from 10th c. BCE):

COME is only a lexical verb, non-deictic change of location (macro-event constructions); not semi-aux, nor auxiliary

Rabbinic Hebrew (2nd c. CE)

COME is a lexical verb non-deictic goal-oriented change of location; emerging semi-aux (avertive; topic introduce due to contact with Aramaic)

Modern Hebrew (from 20th c. CE)

COME is a deictic lexical verb; semi-aux (mirative; avertive)

(Based on Boneh 2019)

COME + infinitive: The proximative/avertive

(23) 'ani bidyuk **ba'a** **lacet** me-ha-bayit, 'ani 'exzor 'ela-'ix **Modern Hebrew**
I just **come** **to.go-out** from-the-house, I FUT.get.back to-you.F
'I am just about to go out of the house, I'll get back to you.' (Tzuberi 2018)

(24) %ha-agartal **ba** **lipol**
The-vase come to.fall
Intended: 'The vase was about to fall.'

(25) ...'im **banu liktob** 'eyn 'anu maspikin... **Rabbinic Hebrew**
Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel said: We also hold dear the memory of the troubles from which Israel was saved, but what can we do? If **we came to write** all the days of that kind, we would not manage to do so... (Talmud Bavli, Shabbat, Chapter 1, 13b)

> In **Biblical Hebrew** only purpose clauses are attested with COME as the first verb preceding an infinitive.

Biblical Hebrew COME

(24) *...wəhā 'iš mihar wayyābō' wayyagēd lə- 'ēlī*

Lexical verb/macro-event

And when Eli heard the noise of the crying, he said, What meaneth the noise of this tumult?
And the man **came** in hastily, **and told** Eli. (Samuel1, 4, 14)

(25) *wayyābō' hā 'ām bēt- 'ēl wayyešəbū šām 'ad hā 'ereb liḵnē hā 'elohīm*

Lexical verb/macro-event

And the people **came** to the house of God, and **abode** there till even before God, and lifted up
their voices, and wept sore (Judges 21, 2)

(26) *wayyāsūrū šām lābō lālūn baggibə 'ā, wayyābō' wayyešəb birəḥōb hā 'ir...*

Lexical verb/macro-event

And they turned aside thither, **to go in and to lodge** in Gibeah: and when he **went in**, he **sat**
him down in a street of the city: for there was no man that took them into his house to lodging.
(Judges 19, 15)

Rabbinic Hebrew 2nd c. CE

(27) *ba' wə-yašab taḥat suka....*

Lexical verb/macro-event

He **came back** and **sat** down under the last booth until it grew dark. And from when are his clothes unclean? (Mishnah, Yoma 7, 6)

(28) *...ha-‘edim ba’in u-me‘idin....*

The sages say: This is not so; but when the witnesses **testify**, if their testimony is consistent, one with the other, it stands; if not, it does not stand. (Sifrei Devarim 306)

Aspectual?

Modern Hebrew 20th c. CE

- (29) hayu štey baxurot še-pašut ba'u ve-ne'emdu leyadi...
were two girls that-just came.PL and-stood by.me
'There were two girls (**came up and**) **stood** beside me.' (www)

Macro-event?

- (30) ani xošev še-yuli edelštein acar et ha-kavana šel gruto latet lanu le.hitamen.
I think that-Yuli Edelstein stopped ACC the-intention of Gruto to.let us to.practice.
be-šum makom ba-olam lo acru et ha-sprot, hu **ba ve-asa** et ze...
in-any place in.the-world NEG stopped ACC the-sport, he came and did ACC this...
hem asu nezek xamur me'od la-sport

They did.PL damage severe very to.the-sport

'I think that Yuli Edelstein (Health Minister during part of the pandemic) stopped Gruto's (Consultant to the government on public health) intention to let us practice. Nowhere in the world, sports were stopped, (but) he **came and did it**... They caused severe damage to sports.' (Moshe Hogeg owner of a football team)

Mirative

Lexical semantic variability of COME

> **Lexical aspect:** achievement (change of location); accomplishment; activity (WALK)

(cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Trommer 1983, Tzuberi 2018)

> **Motion along a path:** yes / no; complex vs. simplex path

> **Points on a path:** SOURCE, GOAL, VIA

> **Deixis:** no / yes (Fillmore 1975, Oshima 2006, 2016, Barlew 2014, Sodu 2015);

Lexical aspect	Achievement	Accomplishment	Activity
Motion along a path	NO (simplex path)	YES (complex path)	
Points on a path	SOURCE, GOAL		VIA
Deixis	NO	NO?	
	YES: GOAL related? Finer properties of deictic center		



Biblical Hebrew COME

- > *qua* ENTER (Jeremiah 14, 18), ARRIVE (1Kings 10, 14; 1Chronicles 11, 21),
- > Alternating with GO (2Kings, 5, 5), (Isaiah 26, 20)
- > Non-deictic (Genesis, 19, 22) “...till thou be come thither..”
- > *qua* HAPPEN (Joshua 21, 43), ACHIEVEMENT

See Koller (2013), Polak (2009), Depuydt (1985)



Biblical Hebrew COME as ENTER, ARRIVE

(31) 'im *yāṣāṭī ha-śśāde*, wəhinnē ḥalālēy ḥereḇ, wə-'im *bā'ṭī hā-'īr*, wəhinnē taḥālū 'ēy rā'āḇ

If I go forth into the field, then behold the slain with the sword! and if I enter into the city, then behold them that are sick with famine! (Jeremiah, 14: 18)

(32) wayahī mišqal ha-zzāhāḇ 'āšer *bā' li-šalomo* bə-šānā 'eḥāṭ – šēš mē'ōṭ šiššim wā-šēš kikkar zāhāḇ.

Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred threescore and six talents of gold. (Kings 1, 10: 14)

(33) min-haššalōšā *bašānayim niḡabād*, wayahī lāhem lāsār; wə-'ad-ha-ššalōsā *lō-ḇā'*

Of the three, he was more honourable than the two; for he was their captain: howbeit he attained not to the first three. (1Chronicles, 11:21)



Biblical Hebrew COME alternating with GO

(34) *wayy'omer mēlek 'ārām **lēk-bo'**, wə-'ešlahā sēfer 'el-mēlek yiśarā'el*

And the king of Syria said, **Go to, go**, and I will send a letter unto the king of Israel. (2Kings, 5:5)

(35) ***lēk** 'ammī **bo'** baḥdārekā, ūsagor dalātakā ba'ădekā...*

Come, my people, **enter thou** into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: (Isaiah 26:20)



Biblical Hebrew COME as non-deictic

(36) *mahēr himmālēṭ šāmmā, kī lō 'ūkal la'āśōt dābār, 'ad bo'ākā šāmmā...*

Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do anything till **thou be come thither**... (Genesis, 19: 22)

(37) *wazāraḥ ha-ššemeš ū-**bā' ha-ššāmeš**; wə-'el maqōmō – šō'ēp zōrēaḥ hū' šām*

The sun also ariseth, and **the sun goeth down**, and hasteth to his place where he arose. (Ecclesiastes 1:5)



Biblical Hebrew COME and ignorance: non-deictic

On being agnostic with COME in BH :

(38) ...va-ʔani ʔana ʔani ba
... and-I whither I come

And he returned unto his brethren, and said: 'The child is not; and as for me, **whither shall I go?**' (Genesis 37, 30).

(cf. Rendsburg 1999, 2009)

Compare: #where did I come (to)?



Biblical Hebrew COME as HAPPEN

(39) *lō-nāpāl dābār mikol ha-ddābār ha-ṭṭōb 'ăšer-dibber yhwa 'el
beyt yisārā'el: ha-kkol bā'*

There failed not ought of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel; *all came to pass*. (Joshua 21:43)



Rabbinic Hebrew COME

- > *qua* ARRIVE (Mishnah, Pirkei Avot 2, 1), (Mishnah, Kiddushin 4, 14)
- > Non-deictic (Mishnah, Rosh Hashanah 2, 9)
- > *qua* GO/WALK (Mishnah, Berakhot 1, 3), (Mishnah, Orlah 2, 11)

See Koller (2013), Ben-David (1967-71)

English translations from *Sefariya* <https://www.sefaria.org/texts>



Rabbinic Hebrew COME as ARRIVE

(40) *we-histaqel bi-šloša deḇarim we-’i ’ata **ba liyedey ‘aḇera...***

Apply your mind to three things and you will not **come into the clutches of sin** (Mishnah, Pirkei Avot 2, 1)

(41) *keše-’adam **ba’ liyedey ḥoli ’o liyedey ziqna ’o liyedey yisurin...***

if a person **comes to be ill, or old, or undergoes suffering, ...** (Mishnah, Kiddushin 4, 14)



Rabbinic Hebrew COME as non-deictic

(42) *gozrani 'alexa še-tavo' 'ešli ...*

(42') *...ba' lo 'ešel rabbi dosa' ben harkinas, 'amar lo...*

Rabban Gamliel sent a message to him: I decree against you that **you must appear before me** with your staff and with your money on the day on which Yom Kippur occurs according to your calculation; according to my calculation, that day is the eleventh of Tishrei, the day after Yom Kippur. ... This verse indicates that whether you have proclaimed them at their proper time or whether you have declared them not at their proper time, I have only these Festivals as established by the representatives of the Jewish people. Rabbi Yehoshua then **came to Rabbi Dosa ben Horkinas**, who said to him: (Mishnah, Rosh Hashanah 2, 9)



Rabbinic Hebrew COME as GO/WALK

(43) *u-be-lekteka ba-derek.... 'ani hayiti ba ba-derek....*

And when **you (GO) walk on the road.**” If so, why does it say “and when you lie down and when you arise”? —[It means:] at the time when people are lying down, and at the time when people are arising. Said Rabbi Tarfon: “I was once **traveling on the road**, and I reclined to recite [*Shema*] in accordance with the view of the school of Shammai,



Modern Hebrew: deictic COME

The speaker cannot be ignorant about her location:

- (44) a. #Do you know where Natasha is **coming** this summer?
b. Do you know where Natasha is **going** this summer? (Sudo 2015: exx. 20-21)

(45) To the bus driver:

le'an 'ata **magi'a** / #**ba** ?
where you arrive.MS / come.MS
'What is the destination of the bus's route?'

(46) le'an **higa'-ti** / #**ba'-ti** ?

where arrived-1SG / came-1SG
'Where did I arrive / #come to?' [*come* ok if the question is rhetorical]

Infelicity with epistemic adverbs:

- (47) Dany **betax** **higi'a** / #**ba** la-pgiša
Dany **surely** arrived / #came to.the meeting



Summary

	<u>BH</u>	<u>RH</u>	<u>MH</u>
Achievement	+ / (-)	+ / -	+
Direction of location	GOAL, (VIA), SOURCE	GOAL, VIA	GOAL only
Deictic component:			
PP	-	-	+
Ignorance Context	-	?	+

> There is a **clear correlation** between the lexical semantic profile of COME and its availability as a semi-auxiliary verb



Summary

	<u>BH</u>	<u>RH</u>	<u>MH</u>
Achievement	+ / (-)	+ / (-)	+
Direction of location	GOAL, (VIA), SOURCE	GOAL, VIA	GOAL only
Deictic component:			
PP	-	-	+
Ignorance Context	-	?	+
Multiverb V1-V2	-	Avertive	Avertive, Mirative PCo



Summary

BH COME was like ENTRE, ARRIVE, HAPPEN, that are not immediate candidates for semi-auxiliaries

RH COME, more similar to ARRIVE, GO

MH COME: plainly a deictic verb, distinct from ARRIVE (and ENTRE)

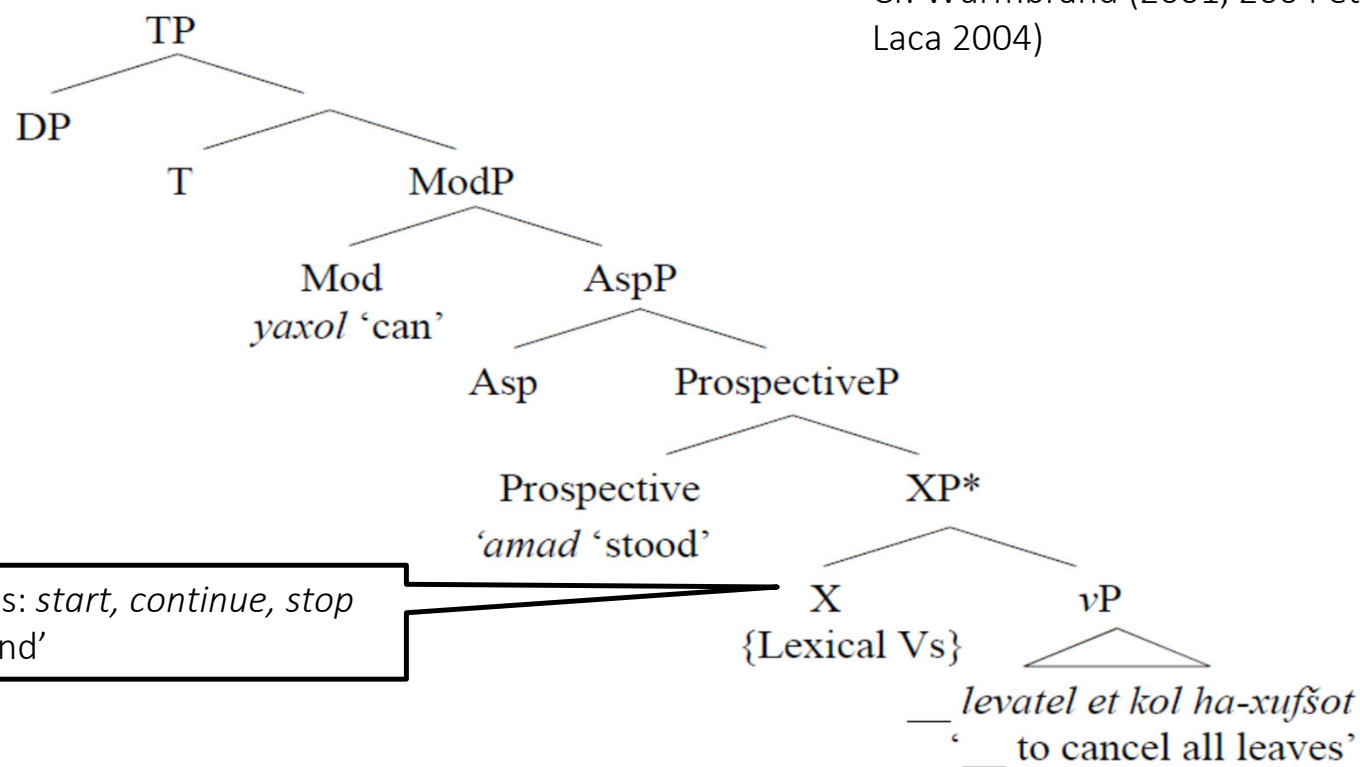
> Suggestion: these seem like testable lexical conditions for semi-auxiliary use.



COME (and GO) as Lexical Restructuring verbs: semi-auxiliaries (see Abarbanel & Boneh 2019 et seq.)

(48)

Cf. Wurmbrand (2001, 2004 et seq. Cinque 1999, Laca 2004)



Stacking with aspectual semi-auxiliaries

- (49) a. hu halax ve-hitxil licxok al xešbon kulam
He went and-continued to.laugh on expense everyone
'He unacceptably started to laugh at everyone's expense.'
- b. hu hitxil lalexet ve-licxok al xešbon kulam
He continued to.go and-to.laugh on expense everyone
'He started to unacceptably laugh at everyone's expense.'

> The mirative/counter to expectation inference is present both embedding and embedded under the aspectual verb.



Stacking with aspectual semi-auxiliaries:

- (50) a. hu ba ve-himšix licxok al xešbon kulam
He came and-continued to.laugh on expense everyone
'He unacceptably continued to laugh at everyone's expense.'
- b. hu himšix lavo ve-licxok al xešbon kulam
He continued to.come and-to.laugh on expense everyone
'He continued to unacceptably laugh at everyone's expense.'

> The mirative/counter to expectation inference is present both embedding and embedded under the aspectual verb.



Strict order under the prospective

- (51) a. ha-rasar **amad** ?lalex/lavo ve-levatel et kol ha-xufšot
The-FS **stood** to.go/to.come and-to.cancel ACC all the-leaves
i. 'The First Sergeant was about to unacceptably cancel all the leaves.'
ii. #'The First Sergeant unacceptably was about to cancel all the leaves

- b. #ha-rasar ba/halax ve-**amad** levatel et kol ha-xufšot
The-FS came/went and-**stood** to.cancel ACC all the-leaves
Intended: The First Sergeant unacceptably was about to cancel all the leaves

> The mirative/counter to expectation inference is present only below the prospective.



Strict order under modals

- (52) a. hu **yaxol** lalexet/lavo ve-licxok al xešbon kulam
he **can** to.go/to.come and-to.laugh on expense everyone
i. 'It is possible for him to unacceptably laugh at everyone's expense'.
ii. #'He unacceptably can laugh at everyone's expense.'
- b. #hu halax/ ba ve-**yaxol** licxok al xešbon kulam
He go/come.PST and **can** to.laugh on expense everyone
Intended: 'He unacceptably can laugh at everyone's expense.'

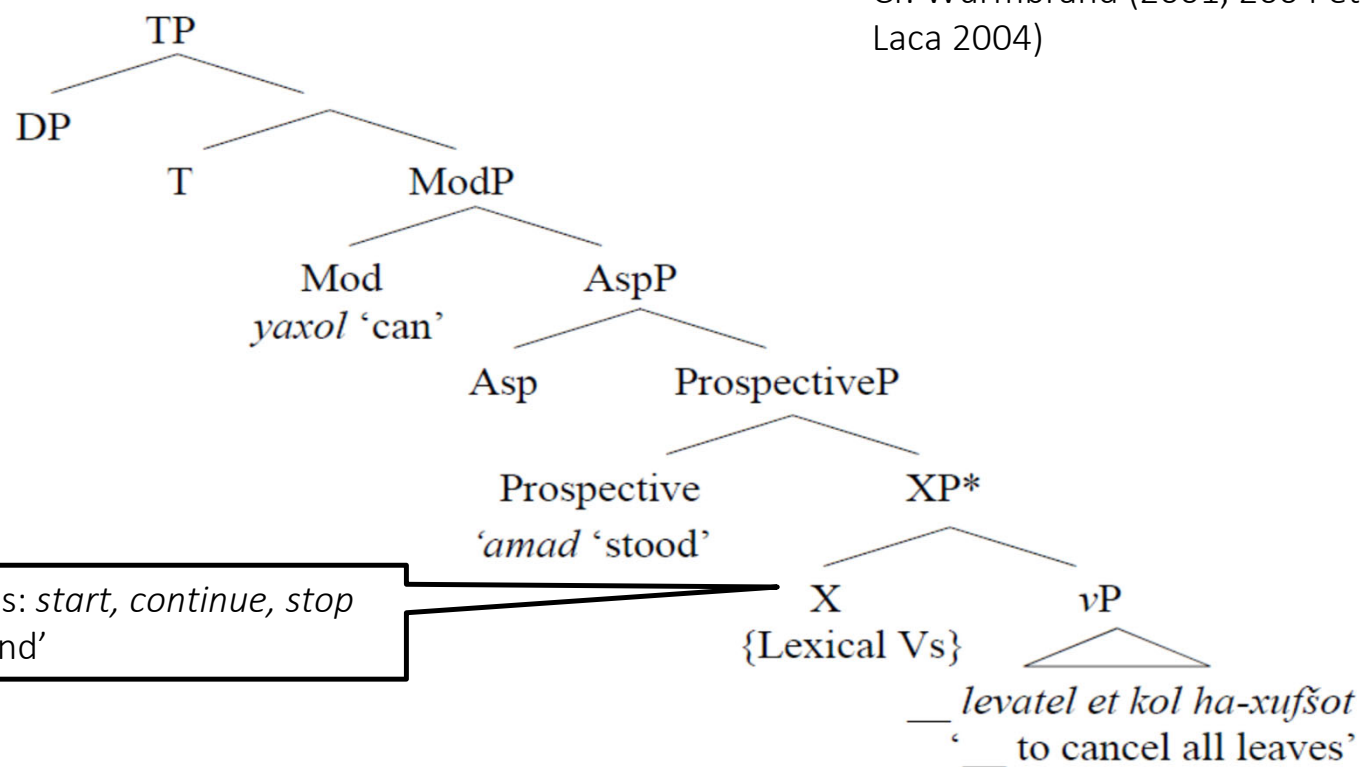
> The mirative/counter to expectation inference is present only below the modal



COME (and GO) as Lexical Restructuring verbs: semi-auxiliaries (see Abarbanel & Boneh 2019 et seq.)

(48)

Cf. Wurmbrand (2001, 2004 et seq. Cinque 1999, Laca 2004)



Interim summary: Modern Hebrew

- > COME (and GO) as lexical restructuring verbs, not as full-fledged functional verbs (auxiliaries)
- > Suggestion to seek the modal component responsible for the counter to expectation interpretation at the lexical level: deixis

Indications that there are contrasts related to beliefs of the speaker (COME construction) vs. beliefs not necessarily of the speaker (GO construction).

(see Abarbanel 2019, Abarbanel & Boneh 2019, Boneh 2022)



Difference between COME and GO in the mirative construction

- (53) ve-yom exad, bli le.hazhir o le.hasbir, hu halax ve-asa et ze,
and-day one, without to.warn or to.explain, he went and-did ACC this
et ha-davar ha-axaron še-anašim smexim osim bederex-klal.
ACC the-thing the-last that-people happy.PL do.PL usually
'And one day, without any warning or explanation, he **went and did it**. The last thing that happy people usually do.'
- (54) ani xošev še-yuli edelštein acar et ha-kavana šel gruto latet lanu le.hitamen.
I think that-Yuli Edelstein stopped ACC the-intention of Gruto to.let us to.practice.
be-šum makom ba-olam lo acru et ha-sprot, hu ba ve-asa et ze...
in-any place in.the-world NEG stopped ACC the-sport, he came and did ACC this...
hem asu nezek xamur me'od la-sport
They did.PL damage severe very to.the-sport
'I think that Yuli Edelstein (Health Minister during part of the pandemic) stopped Gruto's (Consultant to the government on public health) intention to let us practice. Nowhere in the world, sports were stopped, (but) he **came and did it**... They caused severe damage to sports.' (Moshe Hogeg owner of a football team, www)



1st person subjects in mirative constructions

- (55) ani xoševet še-pašut raciti (...), le.hacliax be-ze, az lo xašavti yoter miday.
I think.FS that-simply wanted.1SG ...to.succeed in-this, so NEG thought.1SG too much
ani xoševet še-yeš mašehu be-xoser muda'ut šel yeled, pašut **bati ve-asiti et ze**
I think.FS that-there.is something in-lack consciousness of child, simply came.1SG and-did.1SG ACC this
'I think that I just wanted people to know me so much, to succeed in it, so I didn't over think it. I think that there is something to a child's carelessness, I **just (came and) did it.**' (Singer Noa Kirel, www)
- (56) hayiti yalda me'od mardanit. kol pa'am še-raciti mašehu,
was.1SG child.FS very rebellious. every time that-wanted.1SG something,
gam im ze neged ha-muskamot šel ha-eda, **halaxti ve-asiti et ze.**
also if this against the-norms of the-congregation, went.1SG and-did.1SG ACC it
'I was a very rebellious child. Whenever I wanted something, even if against the norms of the congregation, I **went and did it.**'



Conclusion

- Macro-event -> adjunction construction (captures multi-eventivity under mono-clausality; modification to V1, which is phrasal.
- Semi-auxiliaries are (lexical) restructuring verbs; head status of V1
- Given the data surveyed, it is not possible to establish that there was a structural change, given the stability of the mutli-verb construction, and the coarseness of the data.
- The study of COME suggest that change is in essence lexical; syntax follows, but not clear according which principles (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003, also van Gelderen 2011).
- The main question seems to be **the timing of the change in lexical c-selection and s-selection.**
- **Separate issue: the optionality of 'and':** Is there a correlation with SVO (SOV) (include & vs. VSO order (without &). Imperatives are w/o &.
 - > Syntactic reasons for breaking up a sequence of similar categories (i.e. Richard's 2010 *Distinctness Condition*; see work by Keine & Bhatt 2016)



Lexical change, s-selection and c-selection

COME akin to *start* or *see* with two different subcategorization frames?

- (57) a. She **started** the lesson. / the lesson started.
b. She **started** learning here.

- (58) a. She **saw** the ball.
b. She **saw** that the ball fell.



Thank you!

