

Psychological Predicates and Verbal Complementation in Arabic

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EOPVs

Stimulus subject psych verbs (EOPVs) exhibit unusual properties crosslinguistically. We investigate their properties in a number of Arabic vernaculars. We show that the Experiencer is usually the OBJ (if pronominal: a verbal affix), sometimes an OBL and in Maltese, sometimes a (dative) OBJ_θ. The stimulus can be animate (but not necessarily a volitional causer) or inanimate, and may be propositional (with 3SGM agreement).

- (1) el-welaad bi-yi-rʕib-u el-banaat
DEF-boys BI-3.IMPV-terrify-PL DEF-girls
Boys annoy girls. ECA (OBJ)
- (2) šār yu-saiṭir ʕala Muhammad
become.PV.3SGM 3.IMPV-overcome.SGM on Muhammad
al-nawm
DEF-sleepiness
Muhammad is overcome by sleepiness. HA (OBL)
- (3) ya-ʕḡib-ha ʔin Muhammad ya-ḡroḡ
3.IMPV-like.SGM-3SGF.ACC that Muhammad 3.IMPV-go.out.SGM
It pleases her that Muhammad goes out. HA

word order MT is predominantly SVO, but it is strongly preferred for the stimulus SUBJ to follow the verb, in a clause internal position

resumption Landau (2010: 5) experiencer patterns like OBL (not OBJ) in requiring RP in Hebrew RCs. Similar pattern in MT. It is an open question how to interpret this requirement for an RP.

Evidence for Objecthood

Landau (2010): psych OBJ experiencers are locative OBL with a null P. But we see OBJ morphology, and the experiencer can be the passive SUBJ.

- (4) al-film ya-fḡaʕ-ha
DEF-film 3.IMPV-frighten.SGM-3SGF.ACC
The film frightens her. HA (I)
- (5) n-faḡaʕ-at min al-film
PASS-frighten.PV-3SGF from DEF-film
She was frightened by the film. HA (VII)

Special Binding and Scope Properties?

wide scope over subject, anti-local binding, weak crossover cancellation, backward binding. This pattern of behaviour is not found in these Arabic dialects:

• anti-binding: like other verbs, an OBJ anaphor accepts local binder

- (6) Muhammad_i bi-yi-tʕib nafs-u_i
Muhammad BI-3.IMPV-tire.SGM self-3SGM.ACC
Muhammad tires himself. ECA

• wrt weak crossover violations - like other verbs (disjoint reading)

- (7) solūk-uh_i ya-zʕiḡ kul wāḡid_j
behaviour-3SGM.ACC 3.IMPV-annoy.SGM every one
His behaviour annoys everyone. HA

• Backward binding seems to be available with all verbs

- (8) ḡolma dwar-u nnifs-u_i qajjm-et
dream about-3SGM.ACC breath-3SGM.ACC CAUSE.woke.PV-3SGF
ʔl Pawlu_i bʕhasda
ACC Paul with.shock
A dream about himself woke Paul up all of a sudden. MT

Summary: There is good evidence that the Experiencer is a bona fide OBJ for verbs in this class. It lacks some special properties often ascribed to EOS.

Phasal Complement Taking Predicates

We show that aspectual/phasal verbs (begin, finish, become, etc) appear to have the properties of raising in Arabic.

• No infinitive: PV, IMPV (ECA: *bi-* prefixed: BI.IMPV) and IMPV.FUT forms. MSA: dependent forms IMPV.JUS, IMPV.SBJ.

ECA, JA: also have 'bare' IMPV form (dependent/modal)

• phasal verbs govern the 'bare' IMPV in ECA (exception *baʕa* 'remain'- all forms) and the IMPV in MT, HA (with some verbs allowing other forms in some circumstances)

• independent PRED (Negation and Modification)

- (9) Ma n-o-qḡhod-x in-kellm-ek
NEG 1-FRM.VWL-stay.1SG-NEG 1-speak.SG-2SG.ACC
I won't stay/endure speaking to you. MT
- (10) Qaḡhad ma j-kellim-ni-x
stayed.PV.3SGM NEG 3-speak.IMPV.SGM-1SG.ACC-NEG
ḡhall-ḡimḡha
for.DEF-week.SGF
He stayed not talking to me for a week. MT

• the downstairs subject cannot be independently expressed

• the passivisation test supports a raising analysis

- (11) el-walad badaʕ ya-kul el-ʕakl
DEF-boy start.PV.3SGM 3.IMPV-eat.SGM DEF-food
The boy started to eat the food. ECA
- (12) el-ʕakl ʕibtada yi-taakel
DEF-food start.PV.3SGM 3.IMPV-eat.PASS.SGM
The food started to be eaten. ECA

• lack of selectional restrictions: impersonal constructions as complement.

- (13) Kien beda j-koll-na
be.PV.3SGM start.PV.3SGM 3-have.PV.SGM-1SG.ACC
l-ḡid dak iż-żmien
DEF-prosperity DEM.SGM DEF-time
We had started to have prosperity at that time. MT

• non-raised variant, MT: *baqaʕ/fadal* 'remain', *sar* 'become', *lahaq* 'achieve'

- (14) Baqaʕ n-a-ḡhmel dan koll-u
remain.PV.3SGM 1-FRM.VWL-do.SG DEM.SGM all-3SGM.ACC
I still have to do all this. MT

• Not all languages make a simple binary distinction between finite and non-finite forms: English limits (verbal) raising/control to nonfinite, complementiserless clauses, but why should all languages be like English; Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian, Nguni, Shona, Kikuyu, Kirundi are all argued to have finite raising or control

badaʕ?: (↑ PRED) = 'BEGIN< XCOMP> SUBJ' (↑ XCOMP VFORM) = IMPV

- (15) el-welaad badaʕ-u yi-dayʕ-u Mona
DEF-boys start.PV-3PL 3.IMPV-annoy-PL Mona
The boys started to annoy Mona. ECA

A Puzzling Dataset

Found robustly with EOPVs in ECA and HA. Note obligatory OBJ affix.

- (16) badaʕ-et Mona yi-dayʕ-uu-ha el-welaad
start.PV-3SGF Mona 3.IMPV-annoy-PL-3SGF.ACC the-boys
Mona started to be annoyed by the boys ECA (VSVS)
 - (17) Mona bad-at al-ʕawlād ya-ḡayiq-ūna-ha
Mona started.PV-3SGF the-boys 3.IMPV-annoy-PL-3SGF.ACC
The boys started to annoy Mona. HA (SVSV)
- we also note the existence of similar examples in MSA and with PV EOPV complements in MT (where they are permitted).
- (18) Sehl-u qabad-hom n-nḡhas
happen.PV.3-PL catch.PV.3SGM-3PL.ACC DEF-sleepiness
They were overcome by sleepiness. MT
- ECA (but neither HA nor MT) extends under heavily constrained conditions to other embedded complement sentences
- (19) el-ʕarabeyya badaʕ-et yi-suʕ-ha ʕali
DEF-car(SGF) started.PV-3SGF 3.IMPV-drive.SGM-3SGF.ACC Ali
The car started to be driven by Ali. ECA
 - (20) badaʕ-et el-ʕarabeyya ʕali yi-suʕ-ha
started.PV-3SGF DEF-car(SGF) Ali 3.IMPV-drive.SGM-3SGF.ACC
The car started to be driven by Ali. ECA

Important Observation: It seems that this is only possible when the state of the car provides the source of perception.

Possible Copy Raising?

- (21) Chris seemed like he enjoyed the marathon.
John seems like the judges ruled that he defeated Mary.
John seems like Mary defeated him.

PRED	'SEEM/LOOK/SMELL'
	SUBJ [1][...]
XCOMP	PRED 'LIKE/AS'
	SUBJ [1][...]
	COMP [.....]
	PTYPE CL-COMPAR

• copy raising is known to be limited to perceptual sources (see Asudeh(2012), Asudeh and Toivonen (2013))

• Asudeh 2012 assimilates the phenomenon to resumption: the raised SUBJ composes instead of the copy pronoun

• involves open PP complement (with raised SUBJ) taking a clausal complement: leaves SSR intact

• anaphoric binding between copy raising subject and copy pronoun, not a raising relationship

However...

- absolutely no evidence of an additional *like/as* complement
- these are phasal verbs, not perception/appearance verbs