

Pseudo-grammaticalization: The anatomy of *come* in Modern Hebrew pseudo-coordination constructions

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Abstract. The paper examines the pseudo-coordination construction featuring the verb *come* preceding a lexical verb in Modern Hebrew, and shows that this is a mono-clausal mono-eventive construction, which did *not* emerge via a process of grammaticalization. That is, there is no tightening of internal dependencies between parts of the construction (Haspelmath 2004), nor evidence of a lexical unit starting to assume grammatical functions (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991). I go on to argue that, in this particular construction, the verb *come* is a “lexical restructuring verb” (Wurmbrand 2004, 2014), whose lexical properties do not differ from those of ‘simple’ change-of-location uses of *come* in that both feature a deictic meaning component. Particular attention will be paid to what looks like the absence of a motion component, suggesting that even if simple *come* selects for a prepositional complement, it does not necessarily encode a motion component, and therefore the absence of the PP, in a complex verb construction is not tied to loss of motion, but merely to a change in the type of complement. The current account provides substance to claims stressing a metaphorical relation between the two occurrences of *come*, since it points to the close similarities in the lexical-pragmatic properties of this lexeme in its two environments of use, and locates the difference between them in the choice of complement that produces the effect of transfer from the location realm to a more abstract one characteristic of metaphoric meanings.

Keywords. grammaticalization; lexical change; metaphor; pseudo-coordination constructions; lexical restructuring; deixis; *come*; Modern Hebrew

1. Introduction. Within the investigation of the phenomenon of grammaticalization (Meillet 1912, Givón 1979, Lehmann 1982, Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Haspelmath 2004, a.o.), complex verb constructions featuring motion or positional verbs have a central place, as one of the most emblematic cases. The received understanding is that when such verbs combine with another verbal form, often non-finite, these verbs are on the road to auxiliatation, gradually losing their lexical content and becoming, most often, Tense-Aspect-Mood markers (Bolinger 1980, Heine 1993, Bybee et al. 1994, Kuteva 2004). Cross-linguistically, strikingly similar patterns have been documented: for instance, the verb *go* serving as a basis for the formation of future forms (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, among many others; for a recent paper, see also Petré & Van de Velde 2018); also notable are *come* and *go* involved in the expression of bouletic modality (Rivero & Arregui 2012, Rubinstein & Tzuberi

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2018, Rubinstein 2019, a.o.). Alongside these well-cited and recurring cases of grammaticalization, Devos & Van der Wal (2014) turn the attention to less studied ones, where the verbs *come* and *go* give rise to categories not directly related to TAM, such as passive forms and discourse markers, and where, at times, the construction resulting from grammaticalization seems less prevalent cross-linguistically.

However, not all complex verb sequences presenting mono-clausality and mono-eventivity are cases of grammaticalization. Butt and colleagues, in work on Indo-Aryan languages (Butt 2003, Butt & Geuder 2001, Butt & Lahiri 2002, Butt & Ramchand 2005) discuss constructions, in which the motion verb is a Light Verb, not on the way of becoming an auxiliary. Light Verbs are shown to be a category in their own right, presenting distinct properties compared both to lexical verbs and auxiliaries (cf. Snider 2018 on Light Verbs in Biblical Hebrew). Butt (2003) and Butt & Lahiri (2002) provide diachronic data to show the stability of the Light Verb construction over centuries of documented text, forcefully indicating the absence of a grammaticalization process, such as defined in Traugott & Hopper's (1993, p. 108) grammaticalization cline.

The aim of the current paper is to pursue this line of research, claiming that not every mono-eventive complex verb construction involving a motion or position verb combined with a lexical verb is an immediate candidate for grammaticalization. Concretely, I examine pseudo-coordination constructions featuring the verb *come* in Modern Hebrew, and show that, while this is a mono-clausal mono-eventive construction, the distributional and semantic properties of *come* in this particular setting do not point to there being a tightening of internal dependencies between parts of the construction (Haspelmath 2004), nor a lexical unit starting to assume grammatical functions (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991). I go on to argue that the verb *come* is not a Light Verb, but a fully lexical verb (*pace* Bjorkman 2009, Bruening 2015 on V-V and V-N light verb construction in English). This is shown to be so on the basis of distributional properties, and the availability of meaning components characteristic of 'simple' change of location – centrally a deictic meaning component. As for the motion meaning component, I suggest that it is not absent, since it is not entirely clear that it is there to begin with. The picture that emerges from this discussion is that the subcategorization frame of the lexical verb *come* is such that it does not only select for locational complements, but also clausal ones, and that these selectional patterns are a stable property of *come* throughout the centuries. This way of viewing the relation between 'simple' *come* and pseudo-coordinative *come* clarify the structural and lexical semantic basis for a metaphorical interpretation: namely a transfer from the location realm to a more abstract one.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 provides background on pseudo-coordination constructions, situating the Modern Hebrew (MH) ones among those discussed in the literature. The next three sections are each dedicated to showing that main features of grammaticalization cannot be identified in the MH pseudo-coordination construction. Section 3 lays out the distributional properties of the verb *come* in the discussed construction showing that it is a lexical restructuring verb in the sense of Wurmbrand (2004, 2014), to be detailed below, and that therefore there is no change from a lexical into a functional category in this case. Section 4 shows that, contrary to a more general view in the literature on pseudo-coordination constructions, there is no TAM-related grammatical category encoded by the structure, nor is *come* a means to encode mirativity. Section 5 closes with a discussion of the lexical properties of MH *ba* 'come' pointing to a deictic and a doxastic modal component, crucially available in both the change-of-

location construction and the pseudo-coordination one. This section also takes issue with the motion meaning component, which seems to be lacking in the pseudo-coordination construction, arguing that in fact *come* as an achievement does not encode a complex path, but a simple change of location.

2. Pseudo-coordination constructions. Pseudo-coordination constructions are attested in numerous languages, unrelated genealogically or geographically (cf. Cruschina 2017, Ross 2016, Biberauer & Vikner 2017, Wiklund 2008, 2009, de Vos 2004, Stefanowitsch 1999 *et seq.* among many others).¹ One of their most salient properties is the inferences of surprise, suddenness, unexpectedness that they give rise to. Here are some examples from English, Swedish, Malayalam and Palestinian Arabic:

- (1) a. English (from Stefanowitsch 2014, 6a)
Yeah, and I've **gone and put** the needle through my thumb several times.
- b. Swedish (Wiklund 2009:181)
Peter **gick och läste** en bok.
Peter **went** and read a book
'Peter went and read a book.'
- c. Malayalam (Ophira Gamliel, *p.c.*)
nava-jāta śiśu.kkaḷ **mār.i-ppōy.i**.
new-born baby.PL change.NFIN-**go**.PST
'The babies were switched by mistake.'
- d. Palestinian Arabic (Gamliel & Mar'i 2015:57)
ʔaḡā wa-ʔāl-li ʔīr min hūn.
came and-told-1SG fly from here
'He dared telling me to piss off!'

Distributionally speaking, pseudo-coordination is not like regular coordination. De Vos (2004) shows that the first verb of the pseudo-coordination construction does not pattern like a lexical verb nor a modal; most tellingly, extraction from a conjoined VP is possible in the case of pseudo-coordination, contrary to regular VP coordination (see Ross 1967).

- (2) a. What has John gone and done __ now?
b. *What has John painted a house and eaten __? (De Vos 2004: ex. 4)

Many of the above cited authors analyze these constructions as aspectual (de Vos 2004, Wiklund 2008, 2009, Gamliel & Mar'i 2015), mentioning ingressiveness or inception as the main meaning contribution of *come/go* and accounting for the 'special' inferences of suddenness and surprise as being a side effect produced because of the specific aspectual setting available in the construction. Others place the special inferences at the center and attribute a modal source to them, relying on metaphorical parallelisms between change of location *come* and its instantiation in the pseudo-coordination construction (Kuzar 2006, Bourdin 2014, Ross 2016).

¹ The terms pseudo-coordination is used by de Vos (2004); Wiklund (2008, 2009); Stefanowitsch (1999); Ross (2016), but these and closely related constructions received various titles in the literature: 'double-verb' construction (Carden & Pesetsky 1977), the 'quasi-serial verb construction' (Pullum 1990), 'aspectual *come* and *go*' (Jaeggli & Hyams 1993), Light Verb constructions (Butt 2003 and related papers), *go get* construction Nicolle (2007).

Colloquial Modern Hebrew has pseudo-coordination constructions featuring the verbs *come* and *go* (see Kuzar 2006, Gamliel & Mra'i 2015). These are exemplified in (3) and (4), respectively.

- (3) a. Modern Hebrew (Stefanowitsch 1999: p. 127)
 kulam paxadu liftoax et ha-kufsa,
 everyone was.afraid to.open ACC the-box
 aval dan **halax ve-asa** et ze.
 but Dan **went** and-did ACC it.
 ‘Everyone was afraid to open the box, but Dan just did it.’
- b. bikfu mimenu lo lehit'arev ba-'inyanim ha-'ele ba-forum,
 asked from.him NEG to.meddle in.the-issues the-these in.the-forum
 az hu **holex ve-kotev** al ze ba-'iton
 so he **goes** and-write about it in.the-newspaper.
 ‘He was asked not to meddle in these issues in the internet forum, so he goes and writes about it in the newspaper.’ (attested on the web)
- (4) a. Modern Hebrew (Gamliel & Mra'i 2015: ex. 19)
 hu **ba ve-tsoxek** 'al xejbon kulam
 he **comes** and-laughs on expense everyone
 ‘He laughs at everyone’s expense. [This is unacceptable from the perspective of the speaker]’
- b. ha-rasar **ba ve-bitel** et kol ha-xuffot.
 the First Sargent **came** and-cancelled ACC all the-leaves
 ‘The first Sergeant cancelled all leaves. [This is unacceptable from the perspective of the speaker]’

As the translations to these examples suggest, all convey an inference of unexpectedness or unacceptability in their context of use. Example (3a) says that Dan’s opening of the box is unexpected given the reticence to do so on the part of the others in the context; (3b) indicates that the unaccepted/unexpected behaviour of the referent of the subject DP is counter to what he was asked to do. Next, (4a-b) differ from the cases in (3), since the underlying proposition is counter to some received norm held by the speaker, namely, that it is not acceptable to laugh at people’s expense, but the referent of the subject DP does so nevertheless, or that it is not acceptable/expected to cancel leaves, and therefore the particular occurrence with the First Sergeant is counter to the speaker’s expectation.

In other words, the examples with *come* and *go* seem to differ with respect to the type of unexpectedness concerned. Whereas the ones with the verb *ba ve-* ‘come and’ convey that the underlying proposition is unexpected or unacceptable according to some contextual social norm relevant to the speaker, and possibly also to the addressee (Abarbanel & Boneh 2019, Boneh & Abarbanel, Abarbanel 2019), in the ones featuring *go*, the unexpectedness is circumstantial, namely dependent on a particular contingent contextual setting. Thus, even though the two constructions seem very close in their meaning, *ba ve-* ‘come and’ cannot replace *halax ve-* ‘go and’

in the particular contexts provided in (3a-b), since this context does not readily allow the accommodation of an appropriate norm relevant from the speaker's point of view.²

That only unacceptability/unexpectedness vis-à-vis some social norm is at stake can be observed when considering examples such as (5), where unexpectedness related to physical processes or natural occurrences cannot be conveyed using *ba ve-* 'come and':

- (5) # ha-famayim **ba'u ve-hitkadru.**
 the-skies **came** and-darkened
Intended: 'The skies unacceptably/unexpectedly darkened.'

Note that the same sentence with *halax ve-* 'go and' is infelicitous as well,³ and this might lead one to think that there is a ban on inanimate subject DPs.

- (6) # ha-famayim **halxu** **ve-hitkadru.**
 the-skies **went** and-darkened
Intended: 'The skies unacceptably/unexpectedly darkened'

However, whereas inanimate subjects are strictly excluded in the case of *halax ve-* 'go and' constructions, they are indeed attested with *ba ve-* 'come and' constructions if the proposition includes an unaccusative/passive verb (7), or the DP subject refers to abstract notions such as the law, codex, and related ones (8). In these cases, the underlying proposition is understood as uttered against a normative background relevant from the speaker's point of view.

- (7) kol ma je-'ata bone be-hamon haʃka'a
 all what that-you build in-a.lot application
 {**ba/*holex**} **ve-neheras** lexa yom exad.
 comes/goes and-destroys to.you day one
 'Everything that you build with great application gets destroyed on you one day.
 [This is unacceptable from the perspective of the speaker]'

² A similar contrast seems to hold in Palestinian Arabic (Abu-Gosh dialect, near Jerusalem; Nadine Abdel-Rahman, p.c.), where the presence of the verb *come* (i) conveys that the speaker conveys that the company's conduct is unacceptable, since, presumably, companies should not act this way, and in (ii) with the verb *go* the speaker focuses on the circumstances related to the subject DP, sympathizing with the singer.

- (i) šarekat rotana mashat kol arʃif Elissa ʃala Youtube w-tatʔbik anyami
 Company Rotana delete.3SGF all archive Elissa onYoutube and-Application Anghami
 meʃ maʃkul elli ʃemlu, be-laħð'a **biydʒu** **bedʔayʃu** taʃab snin
 NEG reasonable what do.3PL, in-moment **come.3PL** waste.3PL effort years
 'Rotana (a famous company for recording) has deleted all the songs archive of Elissa (A famous Lebanese singer) on Youtube and Anghami. In just one moment all her efforts (career) are unacceptably down the drain.'
- (ii) ħaram! **rahu** **dʔayʃu** taʃab-ha
 pity **go.3PL** waste.3PL effort-3SGF
 'What a pity! All her efforts (career) are down the drain'

³ The example is fully acceptable in a somewhat archaic, high register of Hebrew, where the complex verb construction yields a continuous or in-progress reading, where the skies grew dark gradually. In this case, the verb *halax* is truly an aspectual auxiliary combining with a subset of atelic verbs. The form is attested already in Biblical Hebrew.

- (8) CONTEXT: The criminal law seeks to forbid the marriage but...
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
| ha-mifpat | ha-ezraxi | {ba/*holex} | ve-makir | bi-zxuyot mamoniyot |
| the-law | the-civil | comes/goes | and-acknowledges | in-rights financial |
| je-tsomxot | me-ha-kefer | | ha-feni. | |
| that-stem.PL | from-the-relationship | | the-other | |
- ‘The civil law (unexpectedly) acknowledges the pecuniary rights that stem from the other relationship.’

Thus, example (7) is uttered against a normative background whereby things which are built with a lot of application should not be destroyed in one day, and therefore that it is unacceptable for such a thing to happen; similarly, example (8) indicates that the civil law contrasts with the criminal law in acknowledging pecuniary rights that stem from a certain type of relationship, possibly to the approval of the speaker. Crucially, in both (7) and (8) *halax ve-* ‘go and’ is excluded.

For the sake of the current discussion, I set aside constructions featuring *halax ve-* ‘go and’, and focus mainly on the ones with *come*. The basis for the analysis of these constructions set in Abarbanel & Boneh (2019), Boneh & Abarbanel, and Abarbanel (2019), to be further developed in section 5, is sketched here stating that in the case of examples in (4) the unexpectedness/unacceptability inference arises from adding the proffered content (namely *he laughs at everyone’s expense* (4a); *the First Sergeant cancelled all leaves* (4b)) to the discursive background norm held by the speaker, and possibly also the addressee (respectively for (4a) and (4b) *one should not laugh at others’ expense; leaves should not be cancelled*). This way of capturing the meaning of pseudo-coordination constructions featuring *ba ve-* ‘come and’ takes inspiration from the discourse update literature, where the asserted proposition is added to a discursively available set (for different ways of going about defining the relevant discursive sets, see also Portner 2004, 2007; Farkas & Bruce 2009; Murray 2014; Bar-Asher Siegal & Boneh 2016). The claim is that *ba* ‘come’ can bring this about because of its particular lexical semantic properties, namely its status as a deictic verb with a doxastic meaning component (see Barlew 2015 and in section 5).

The next section shows that distributionally *ba* ‘come’ in the pseudo-coordination construction is a lexical restructuring verb. The subsequent section takes issue with analyses of particular interpretative properties of *ba* ‘come’, which set it as the source of the particular inference described above, excluding an analysis of this verb as an aspectual or a modal/mirative semi-auxiliary.

3. *come* as a lexical restructuring verb. Issues of clause boundedness and the architecture of functional projections in the clausal spine are a main theme in the investigation of complex or periphrastic verb constructions. Within generative literature, many insights in this respect have been gleaned from Romance and Germanic languages (Cinque 1999, 2006, Wurmbrand 2001 *et seq.*, Laca 2004, a.o.), providing tools to classify the distributional and interpretative properties of the first verbs in these verb sequences (henceforth V1s). While Cinque (1999: 106, 2006) with this extended clausal spine, takes all of them to be functional heads instantiating one of the multiple possible projections, Wurmbrand (2004, 2014), as well as Laca (2004), identify two groups of V1s: lexical and functional. Wurmbrand distinguishes this way between lexical and functional restructuring verbs, whereas Laca, who focuses on various types of aspectual periphrases, delineates two tiers of auxiliaries – inflectional-like vs. derivational-like V1s.

Both Wurmbrand and Laca show that functional/inflectional-like V1s present rigid ordering and co-occurrence restrictions with respect to other types of V1s, whereas lexical/derivational-

like V1s do not. Here are examples from German, showing that lexical verbs can stack, and that once they are stacked there are no ordering restrictions:

- (9) German (Haider, 1993: 245, cited from Wurmbrand 2004: 17)
- a. dass er zu **rauchen** **aufzuhören** **begonnen** hat
 that he to smoke stop begun has
 ‘That he began to stop smoking.’
- b. dass er zu **rauchen** **begonnen** **aufzuhören** hat
 t hat he to smoke begun stop has
 ‘That he stopped beginning to smoke.’

A similar picture is reported also for aspectual phase verbs (e.g. *begin, continue, cease, stop*) in the Romance languages (see Laca 2004: exx. (5)-(6)). However, when aspectual verbs are combined with another V1 that gives rise to recent past or the prospective, order restrictions become apparent, indicating that the two types of V1s belong to different categories.

- (10) French (Laca 2004: 7d)
- a. Il vient de continuer de sortir.
 He come of continue of go.out
 ‘He has just/recently continued to go out.’
- b. *Il continue de venir de sortir.
 He continues of come of go.out
Intended: ‘He continues having just/recently gone out.’

In turn, the retrospective and the prospective V1s cannot stack, and whichever one appears first, is the V1 of the periphrastic cluster, whereas the second verb can only be interpreted lexically. The examples are taken from Laca (2004: exx. 10a-b), and show that neither of the retrospective and the prospective can outscope the other, namely, they are in complementary distribution.

- (11) a. # Il vient d’ aller parler avec Pierre
 He come of go talk with Pierre
Intended: ‘He has just was going to talk with Pierre.’
- b. # Il va venir de parler avec Pierre
 He goes to.come of talk with Pierre
Intended: ‘He is going to have just talked with Pierre.’

These patterns are predicted if the functional/inflectional-like V1s are derivationally higher in the clausal spine, and the lexical/derivational-like V1s are closer to the VP. Furthermore, the functional/inflectional-like V1 occupies a specific slot in the clausal spine (cf. Cinque 1991, 2006) and therefore cannot be permuted, contrasting in this way from lexical V1s, which can freely combine, if their lexical selection restrictions are satisfied. There are no architectural constraints imposed in this case, only lexical ones.

This picture is strengthened by two additional independent properties that set these two groups of V1s apart. Wurmbrand (2004) shows that the lexical V1 theta-marks its subject and presents lexical selection properties (see also Laca 2004 for the latter point), unlike functional ones. Laca (2004) shows that the inflectional-like V1s, contrary to the lexical/derivation-like ones (e.g. the retrospective and the prospective), cannot freely inflect for tense, allowing in the

Romance languages only the present and the imperfective inflection, not the perfective/preterit (Laca 2004: ex. 16), further attesting their inflectional nature.

In what follows, I will apply the tools of stacking and order restrictions to probe the status of *ba ve-* ‘come and’ as a V1. Therefore, the following sets of data present combination of *ba ve-* ‘come and’ with three types of V1s: the phasal aspectual *continue* (12), the prospective/avertive *be about to* (13), and the modal *can* (14).

First, then, combining *ba ve-* ‘come and’ with an aspectual verb is possible in either order. Importantly, as the translations to (12a-b) indicate, the inference of unacceptability/unexpectedness is available, and different orderings indicate *which* proposition the inference applies to – namely whether it includes *himfix* ‘continue’ (12a) or not (12b).

- (12) a. hu **ba** **ve-himfix** **litsxok** ‘al xeʃbon kulam.
 he **came** and-continued to.laugh on expense everyone
 ‘He unacceptably continued to laugh at everyone’s expense.’
- b. hu **himfix** **lavo ve-litsxok** ‘al xeʃbon kulam.
 he continued **to.come** and-to.laugh on expense everyone
 ‘He continued to unacceptably laugh at everyone’s expense.’

Next, the prospective *‘amad* ‘stand/be about to’ differs from the aspectual verb exemplified above, it can only select *ba ve-* ‘come and’ (13a), but not be selected by it. Normally, what is unacceptable is the actual cancelation of leave by the First Sargent, not the prospect of being about to do so. Reversing the order of the verbs, as in (13b) does not give rise to this intended meaning. (13b) cannot receive a pseudocoordinative interpretation, only a bi-eventive one (roughly ‘the First Sargent arrived and then was about to cancel all leaves.’)

- (13) a. ha-rasar **‘amad** **lavo** **ve-levatel** et kol ha-xuffot.
 the-FS stood **to.come** and-to.cancel ACC all the-leaves
 ‘The First Sargent was about to unacceptably cancel all the leaves.’
- b. #ha-rasar **ba** **ve-’amad** **levatel** et kol ha-xuffot.
 the-FS **came** and-stood to.cancel ACC all the-leaves
Intended: The First Sargent unacceptably was about to cancel all the leaves

Finally, under the assumption that modal auxiliaries are projected higher in the clausal spine (Cinque 1999, 2006), the pair of examples in (14), similarly to the ones in (13), indicates that *ba ve-* ‘come and’ can only scope below the modal (14a), mirroring the word order. Again, in (14b) only a (somewhat implausible) bi-eventive interpretation is available.

- (14) a. hu **yaxol** **lavo** **ve-litsxok** ‘al xeʃbon kulam
 he can **to.come** and-to.laugh on expense everyone
 i. ‘It is possible that he unacceptably laughs at everyone’s expense.’
 ii. #‘It is unacceptable that he can laugh at everyone’s expense.’
- b. #hu **ba** **ve-yaxol** **litsxok** ‘al xeʃbon kulam.
 He **comes** and can to.laugh on expense everyone
Intended: ‘He unacceptably can laugh at everyone’s expense.’

The following representation (15) summarizes the data presented above, where both the prospective *amad* ‘stand/be about to’ and the modal *yaxol* ‘can’ scope above *ba ve-* ‘come and’; but not

‘A man that fight for his country (unrightfully) feels that he is a hero and be enthusiastic about it.’

(17) Modern Hebrew (Abarbanel 2019: ex. 21, p. 72)

CONTEXT: I didn’t harm anyone, and I will not, with God’s help. So...

ani lo metsape je-mifehu axer yavo ve-yisna oti
 I NEG expect that-someone else FUT.come and-FUT.hate me
 ‘I don’t expect that someone else would (**come and**) **hate** me.’

At the same time, this cannot be a central trait. Consider again examples (7-8) featuring inanimate subjects. Clearly, in (8), the civil law didn’t start anything, compared to the criminal law, and what is at stake is the contrast between the two in terms of what each allows. Similarly, in (7), there is no clear sense in which ingression/inception are relevant since the verb *neheras* ‘get ruined’ is an achievement predicate.

However, there is no need to resort to an explanation of these data in terms of a semantic weakening or bleaching in the meaning of *ba* ‘come’ that renders it more auxiliary-like. Rather, I propose that the source of this reading is due to a combination of the lexical aspect of *ba* ‘come’, which is an achievement (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1992), together with a perfective viewpoint aspect.⁴ Importantly, this combination of lexical and viewpoint aspect produces such effects also in regular verbal constructions, and explains why statives are interpreted dynamically (cf. Smith 1991, Homer 2010). Given this explanation in terms of aspectual effect, there is no solid ground for claiming that *ba ve-* ‘come and’ here differs from its simple use.

Now, de Vos (2004), Wiklund (2008, 2009) and Gamliel & Mra’i (2015) draw a link between the aspectual properties of the construction and the special inference of suddenness and surprise stemming from it. Ruling out that the verb is an aspectual one raises the possibility that it is/was on a grammaticalization path to becoming a grammatical category related to the expression of mirativity, bringing about the unexpectedness/unacceptability inference.

A clear indication that this is not the case comes from embedding pseudo-coordination under affirmative or negative surprise predicates, as well as other predicates expressing stance/speaker attitude. In these environments, the contrast between the prejacent and the background set of norms is maintained and is orthogonal to the speaker’s stance, and to whether the prejacent is perceived as a surprise. Thus, whereas adding a surprise interjection in (18) seems to strengthen or confirm the effect produced by the pseudo-coordination construction, the same inference is available under the negated predicate *mafit’a* ‘surprise’ (19):

(18) **eize keta!** ha-rasar **ba ve-bitel** et kol ha-xuffot
 which piece! the-FirstSargent **came** and-cancelled ACC all the-leaves
 ‘Oh boy/jeez, the First Sargent cancelled all leaves. This is unexpected/unacceptable.’

(19) ze **lo mafit’a** (oti) je-hu **ba ve-tsoxek** ‘al xefbon kulam
 It NEG surprise (me) that-he **comes** and-laughs on expense everyone
 ‘It does not surprise (me) that he unacceptably laughs at everyone’s expense.’

⁴ In Modern Hebrew there is no designated viewpoint aspect morphology, but achievements in the past tense are interpreted perfectly (Boneh 2013, 2016). Irrespective of the particular morphological properties of Modern Hebrew, perfectivity may also be due to the serialization of two verbs such as the ones in the construction (cf. Smith 1991 on the narrative properties of the perfective).

Similarly, embedding under the negated verb *metsape* ‘expect’ in example (17) above shows that one can isolate the meaning effect arising in the pseudo-coordination construction related to the relevance of social norms from speaker stance. Here, what the speaker conveys is that, given his behavior/disposition, he does not expect that someone would hate him, since normally (or normatively) people do not hate others for no apparent reason.

To summarize, dismissing claims that *ba* ‘come’ is recruited to express aspect or mirativity helps to argue against its transformation into a grammatical category (see Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991), and to further establish the claim that grammaticalization was not involved in bringing about this construction, with the inferences it produces. In the last section of the paper, I turn to consider the relevant meaning components that *ba* ‘come’ and *ba ve-* ‘come and’ share, and argue that they are indistinct, including the availability/absence of a motion meaning component. They differ only in the type of complement they allow – prepositional or propositional.

5. Accounting for the unacceptability/unexpectedness inference. Here I briefly consider crucial meaning components of spatial *ba* ‘come’, which I take to be relevant for the unacceptability/unexpectedness inference arising in pseudo-coordination constructions (see Abarbanel & Boneh 2019, Boneh & Abarbanel 2019, Abarbanel 2019 for more detailed discussion). I stress the importance of deixis, which is an anchoring not-at-issue implicature indicating the linguistic presence of a contextually given individual (Fillmore 1997, Oshima 2006, 2016, Barlew 2015, Sudo 2015), and the availability of a related doxastic modal meaning component, whereby the beliefs of the contextually given individual are relevant (Barlew 2015).

Applied to English spatial, change-of-location *come*, this means that the contextually given individual – the ANCHOR – is located at the destination denoted by the PP at either the utterance time or at a reference time (Fillmore 1997, Oshima 2006, 2016, Barlew 2015, Sudo 2015). The following example adapted from Barlew (2015: 12) indicates the presuppositional nature of the ANCHOR, since it can be accommodated:

- (20) pagaf-ti mifehu ba-internet etmol.
 met-1SG someone in.the-internet yesterday.
 hu amar li je-tramp **ba** le-pariz
 they told to.me that-Trump **comes** to-Paris
 ‘I met someone on the internet yesterday. They told me that Trump is coming to Paris.’
 ACCOMMODATED INFORMATION: the person the speaker met on the internet yesterday is from Paris (or Paris is their Home Location).

Additionally, as pointed out by Barlew (2015), the anchor is a doxastic agent whose beliefs are relevant in the discourse (cf. Ross 2016); consider the following example, where the location of the ANCHOR is self-conceived, and not an actual one:

- (21) **Context:** Mark and Jeremy are in San Diego. Mark mistakenly believes that he is Louis XIV and that they have just arrived in Berlin after visiting Prague. He says:
 a. i. Mary is coming to Berlin shortly.
 ii. #Mary is coming to San Diego shortly.
 b. i. Isn’t it wonderful that Mary came to Prague last week?
 ii. #Isn’t it wonderful that Mary came to San Diego last week? (Barlew 2014: ex. 6)

Given this brief background, I propose the following parallelism between spatial *come* and pseudo-coordination *ba ve-* ‘come and’, where the crucial meaning difference is attributed to the type of complement, *not* the lexical-pragmatic properties of the verbal head itself.

(22) COME + PP, *ba* ‘come’:

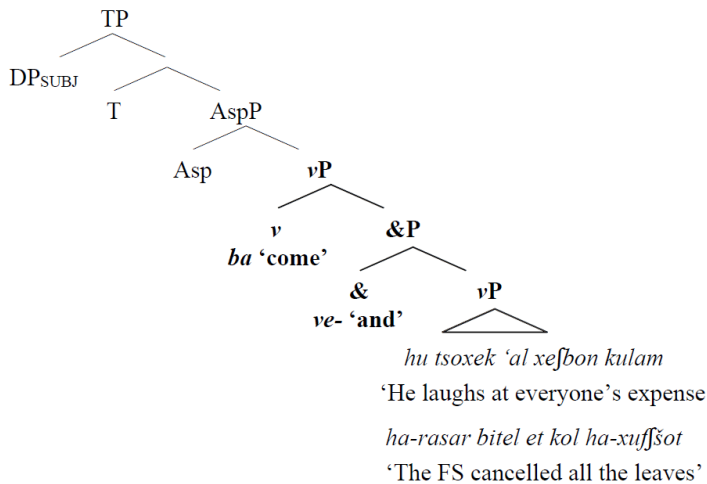
The anchor *believes* she is located at the goal, and the individual denoted by the subject DP ends up at that location, presupposing that they weren’t previously at that location.

(23) COME + vP, *ba ve-* ‘come and’:

The propositional content of the selected vP is added to a set of propositions constituting the *beliefs* of the anchor regarding norms; previously not being part of this contextual set. The contrast between the proffered content and the belief context of the anchor gives rise to the unacceptability inference, and speaker stance is exclusively due to pragmatics.

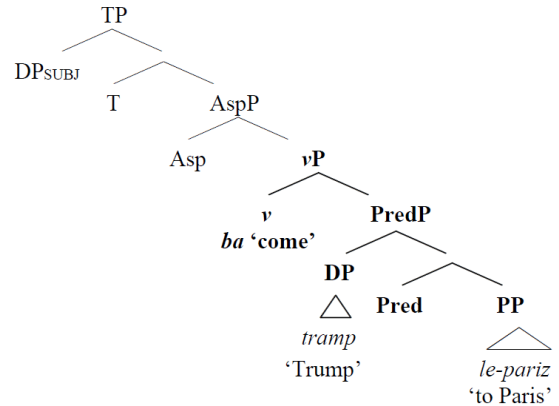
(24) a.

Pseudo-coordination *ba ve-* ‘come and’



b.

Spatial *ba* ‘come’



One crucial indication for the viability of this analysis comes from ignorance contexts. *ba* ‘come’ in either environment – spatial or pseudo-coordination – cannot appear in these contexts. Compare:

(25) 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)

(26) a. ani yoda’at je-ha-rasar **ba ve-bitel** et kol ha-xuffot.
I know.F that-the FS **came** and-cancelled ACC all the-leaves
‘I know that the First Sargent unacceptably cancelled all leaves.’

b. #ani lo yoda’at im ha-rasar **ba ve-bitel** et kol ha-xuffot.
I NEG know.F if the FS **came** and-cancelled ACC all the-leaves
‘I don’t know whether the first Sargent unacceptably cancelled all leaves.’

c. #ani xojevot je-ha-rasar **ba ve-bitel** et kol ha-xuffot.
I think.F that-the FS **came** and-cancelled ACC all the-leaves
‘I think that the first Sargent unacceptably cancelled all leaves.’

Note that with *halax* ‘go’, no such restriction is observed, for both spatial (Sudo 2015) and for pseudo-coordination uses. Due to lack of space, these examples are not produced here.

As for the motion component, there are some reasons to think that *come* does not directly encode motion, even in its spatial, change of location use. Namely, it does not contain a path meaning component. It has been noted that *ba* ‘come’ behaves overall like an achievement verb (Trommer 1983, Tzuberi 2018, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1992, see also van Gelderen 2018); that is, it encodes a change-of-state: stating that *x* was not initially at *y* but comes to be at *y*. Therefore, if the lexical entry encodes a path or a motion scale, it should be a simplex path/scale and not a complex one, comprising the final endpoint (cf. Beavers 2011). The following examples illustrate this. First, the final destination PP can be overtly expressed, but even if it is not, and only a source PP is there, still one understands what the final destination is, according to the coordinates of the salient discourse participant (e.g. the speaker). Complex paths are encoded by means of a PP with the relevant semantic properties. Example (27b) clearly indicates a prolonged path with the PP *ba-dereẖ ha-‘aruka* ‘the long way’, contrary to examples (27a), and in the same way that a manner component is externally added, as in (27c).

- (27) a. axi **ba** la-sorbon. / axi **ba** me-Tel Aviv.
 brother.my **came** to.the-Sorbonne / brother.my **came** from-Tel Aviv
 ‘My brother came to the Sorbonne / came from Tel Aviv.’
- b. axi **ba** ba-dereẖ ha-aruka.
 brother.my **came** in.the-road the-long
 ‘My brother came via the long way.’
- c. axi **ba** ba-regel.
 brother.my **came** in.the-foot
 ‘My brother came on foot.’

Thus, the motion component is not due to the core lexical semantics of the verb, but may be contributed by prepositions, and world knowledge stemming from the types of themes available.

Additionally, unlike *higi’a* ‘arrive’, in the case of *ba* ‘come’, the theme argument has to be ‘intrinsically’ capable of motion. Thus, other than animates, in the following examples, a vehicle can *ba* (28a), time periods, or seasons can *ba* (28b) but not inanimate objects incapable of independent motion (28c).

- (28) Modern Hebrew (Tzuberi 2018: p. 8-9)
- a. ha-otobus **ba** ba-zman.
 The-bus **came** in.the-time
 ‘The bus came on time.’
- b. boker / ‘erev **ba**.
 Morning / evening **came**
 ‘Morning came, evening came.’
- c. ha-ma`atafa #**ba'-a** / higi’a.
 the-envelope **came-FS** / arrived
 ‘The envelope arrived.’

Lastly, to complete the picture laid out here, complex verb constructions resembling pseudo-coordination have been available for centuries in Semitic languages (cf. Kraus 1987 for Akkadian):

they are attested also in Biblical Hebrew (from 10th century BCE till 200 CE approximately), and Mishnaic Hebrew (200CE).⁵ But pseudo-coordination with the unacceptability/unexpectedness inference are witnessed in the 20th century in Modern Hebrew (Kuzar 2006, Boneh 2019).

I conjecture that this is so because *ba* ‘come’ was not necessarily deictic in previous centuries and was used exclusively as a change of location verb meaning *enter*, *arrive* or *go* (*qua walk*) in previous stages of the language (Polak 2009, Koller 2013, Tzuberi 2018, Rubinstein 2019, Boneh 2019), and in pseudo-coordination constructions, which were probably mono-eventive did not give rise to the meaning available in Modern Hebrew.

The centrality of the deictic-modal meaning component, and its absence in earlier stages of the language, points to meaning *gain*, not loss, and further substantiate the claim that pseudo-coordination constructions with their special inferences are not emerging constructions, but arise due to a lexical change in V1, in an already available syntactic frame.

To conclude, assuming a stable lexical meaning for *ba* ‘come’ constitutes a competing analysis to suggestions of a cross-linguistically attested grammaticalization process from lexical motion verb to a semi-auxiliary, often suggested in the literature. This paper therefore nuances the array and analysis of complex verb constructions by suggesting that their diversity can be accounted for by a “mere” lexical semantic change in the verb *come* (possibly also *go*), not always involving changes pertaining to a full-fledged grammaticalization process. Moreover, an analysis such as the one proposed here helps elucidate the fine machinery of what has elsewhere been labelled as metaphoric meaning (cf. Bourdin 2014, Ross 2016). In other words, the current account provides substance to claims for a metaphorical relation between the two occurrences of *ba* ‘come’ (and possibly also *halax* ‘go’) since it reveals the similarity in the lexical-pragmatic properties of this lexeme in the simple and complex verb construction environments: the difference between a concrete location and an abstract concept being located in the choice of complement.

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⁵ See also Butt 2003 and related work for similar patterns in Indo-Aryan.

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