CREATING RESULTS IN NORTHERN GALILEE ARABIC[*]

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1.   Introduction

Secondary predication constructions contain a predicate in addition to the primary, verbal one. One type of secondary predicate construction that has been discussed in the literature is the resultative, illustrated in (1).[1]

(1) a.   Jane wiped the counter dry.
     b.   Jane hammered the metal flat.

In resultatives, the secondary predicate describes the state of a sentence participant that results from the action or process that is described by the verb.[2] Sentence (1a) is interpreted as the counter becoming dry as a result of Jane's wiping it.

Arabic dialects in general, unlike English, do not allow resultatives.[3] This is true of the dialect under discussion here, Northern Galilee Arabic (henceforth: NG Arabic):[4]

(2) a.   *taraq   aħmad   al-maʕdan   nāʕem
           hammer.PST.3M.SG   Ahmad   the-metal.M.SG   smooth.M.SG
           'Ahmad hammered the metal smooth.'

     b.   *mssaħ-at   ṭ-ṭawl-e   nd̲īf-e
           wipe.PST-3F.SG   the-table-F.SG clean-F.SG
           'She wiped the table clean.'

Such TRUE RESULTATIVES are not possible in NG Arabic. But we do find FALSE

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[1] See, for example, Simpson 1983; Hoekstra, 1992; Napoli 1992; and Rapoport 1993, 2019.

[2] Resultatives are often contrasted with depictive secondary predicate constructions (e.g. *Jane ate the corn raw*.), in which the predicate modifies its host throughout the event. We address these briefly in section 6.1 below.

[3] We do not account here for the lack of true resultatives in Arabic, or their absence from Semitic and Romance languages in general, but see Merlo 1988, Washio 1997, Mateu 2012, and Milway 2019 for different approaches to this issue.

[4] Northern Galilee Arabic is a southern dialect of Levantine Arabic (of the area of Syria, Lebanon, and Israel). Our informants are Druze of the northern Galilee region.

RESULTATIVES (Rapoport 1999, 2019; Zarka 2019), as shown in (3).[5]

(3) a. xayyat-at   sāra   al-blūz-āt   ḏeyq-a/ ḏeyq-āt
         sew.PST-3F.SG Sara   the-shirt-F.PL tight-F.SG/ tight-F.PL
         'Sara sewed the shirts tight.'

     b. bana   aħmad   ṭ-ṭawl-e   θābt-e
         build.PST.3M.SG Ahmad   the-table-F.SG stable-F.SG
         'Ahmad built the table stable/strong.'

     c. qaṭṭʕ-at   sāra al-jazar-āt   kbīr
         slice.PST-3F.SG Sara the-carrot-F.PL   big.M.SG
         'Sara sliced the carrots big [into big pieces].'

     d. jaddal-at   sāra šaʕr-ha   šadīd
         braid.PST-3F.SG Sara hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS tight.M.SG
         'Sara braided her hair tight.'

A true resultative, following Rapoport's (1999) distinction, is one in which the secondary predicate adds a result, and so an endpoint, to an activity description that otherwise includes none. For example, in (1a), *Jane wiped the counter dry*, the resultative predicate *dry* provides the endpoint to an atelic wiping activity, thus yielding an accomplishment.

In a false resultative, on the other hand, the resultative predicate (henceforth: RPred) modifies a result that is already present, since it is part of the meaning of the verb. The verb thus heads an accomplishment predicate whether or not the RPred is present. The RPred simply specifies the verb's lexical result.[6] In (3c), for example, the VP contains a 'sliced' result, part of the meaning of the verb *qaṭaʕ* 'slice'. The RPred *kbīr* 'big' simply modifies that sliced result, adding the specification that the slices resulting from the slicing event were big.

In this paper, we present the two agreement patterns exhibited by false resultatives in NG Arabic. We argue that these agreement patterns parallel the distinction between two types of creation verbs and propose distinct structures for the two types that account for both the interpretive and the grammatical facts.

1.1 An agreement distinction

NG Arabic false resultatives like those in (3) exhibit two agreement patterns. In (3a,b) the RPred agrees with the direct object, as illustrated in (4) (repeated from (3b) above).[7]

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[5] See Appendix Table 1 for details of the morphological marking of gender and number in NG Arabic.

[6] See also Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Mateu 2000.

[7] These examples have been chosen for clarity of presentation because the agreement in Arabic between adjective and noun is not always transparent. But the distinction between the two sets of false RPreds is clear.

(4) bana   aḥmad   ṭ-ṭawl-**e**   θābt-**e**
     build.PST.3M.SG   Ahmad   the-table-**F.SG** stable-**F.SG**
     'Ahmad built the table stable/strong.'

In (4), the RPred *θābte* 'strong' agrees with the direct object *ṭṭawle* 'the table'; both are marked feminine singular. We term this 'complete' agreement (taking into account the complexities of agreement in Arabic).

In contrast with such examples, we find the agreement pattern of (3c,d). In this case, the RPred does not agree with the direct object, as shown again in (5).[8]

(5) qaṭṭʕ-at   sāra   al-jazar-āt   kbīr/*kbīr-e/*kbār
     slice.PST-3F.SG   Sara   the-carrot-**F.PL** big.**M.SG**/big-F.SG/big.BP
     'Sara sliced the carrots big [into big pieces].'

The predicate *kbīr* 'big' in (5) is marked masculine singular and so does not agree with the feminine plural direct object *aljazarāt* 'the carrots'.

We have, then, two agreement patterns in false resultative constructions in NG Arabic: some RPreds show agreement with the direct object and some do not, being marked consistently with masculine singular. The question we explore here is: Why does the RPred agree with the direct object in some false resultatives but not in others?

We argue that the choice of agreement ultimately derives from the type of verb that forms the base of each resultative structure. The verbs that generally appear in false resultative constructions are creation verbs. In the next section, we discuss two types of these creation verbs.

2.   Creation verbs: explicit and implicit

Creation verbs denote the coming into existence of a new entity as a result of the activity that names the verb. Two main types of verbs that entail creation are EXPLICIT CREATION VERBS and IMPLICIT CREATION VERBS (see Geuder 2000, Levinson 2010).

2.1   Explicit creation verbs

Explicit creation verbs (Levin 1993, Erteschik-Shir and Rapoport 2000) are those whose created element is overtly realized:

And note that both F.SG and F.PL noun phrases can be modified by a F.SG adjective. The reasons for this have to do with the interpretation of the noun phrase. See Zarka (In preparation) for discussion.

[8] BP = Broken plural. This form is autosegmental, involving an internal change of the singular stem (see McCarthy and Prince 1990). The BP form is found in both adjectives and masculine and feminine nouns and is quite productive.
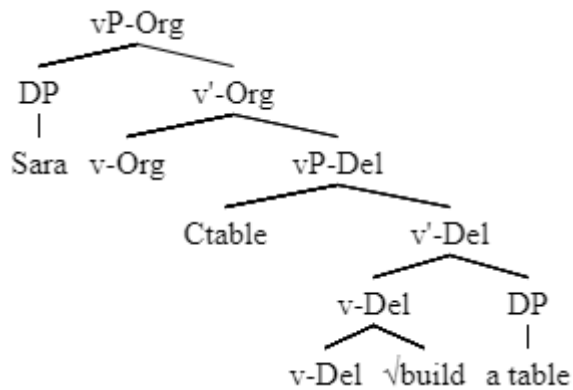
(6)   *Explicit creation verbs*
    a.   Sara built a table.
    b.   Sara wrote a book.
    c.   Sara sewed a skirt.
    d.   Sara composed a poem.

In the examples of (6), the entity that comes into existence (Geuder's EFFECTED OBJECT) is realized as the verb's direct object (e.g. *a table* in (6a), *a skirt* in (6c)).

The structure we propose for this creation verb type follows Zarka's (2019) adaptation of Piñón (2008), in which physically created objects can serve as 'anchors' for abstract templates via a relation of instantiation.

In our analysis, a mental concept is instantiated by the created object, as shown in (7):

(7)   Explicit creation verb structure for *Sara built a table.*

The representation of an explicit creation verb contains both the mental concept, here *Ctable*, and its realization by the effected entity created according to that concept, here the physical entity *a table*.

The interpretation of this explicit creation structure is thus 'Sara caused a concept of a table to be transformed into an actual (created) table.' The DP *a table* is the result of the creation process. (And whereas this created entity is phonetically realized; the concept is not.)

The structure above contains the verb's root and two functional elements: the light verbs v-originator and v-delimiter, vOrg and vDel (adapting Ritter and Rosen 1998).[9] We assume that roots have semantics, but no categorial specification, so merging with the light verbs, here vDel, has a categorizing function (as in Marantz 2001, for example).

In addition to their categorizing function, these light verbs take event arguments: the specifier of vOrg is the agent or causer of the event (the event originator) and the specifier of vDel is the delimiting theme (the event measurer/delimiter). In this way, event

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[9] These light verb phrases are equivalent to those proposed by others, such as Borer's (2005) EP, whose specifier is interpreted as an originator, and Asp_Q phrase; and the VPs interpreted as 'cause' and 'become' in Erteschik-Shir and Rapoport (e.g. 2004, 2010).

arguments are contributed by light verbs.[10] (The vDel head also requires a result. Here, that result, *a table*, is the complement of the verb, vDel-√root. With implicit creation verbs, that result is denoted by the root.)

In structure (7), the element in spec,vDel is *Ctable* and so it is what delimits the event. This reflects our claim that the Concept is the standard against which the actual physical entity is measured as the creation event progresses.[11] The Concept thus delimits the event when matched completely by the physically-created object.

2.2   Implicit creation verbs

Explicit creation verbs are distinguished from those of implicit creation. This latter term is employed by Levinson (2010) and Zarka (2019), following Geuder's (2000) analysis of implicit created objects in his discussion of resultant individuals.
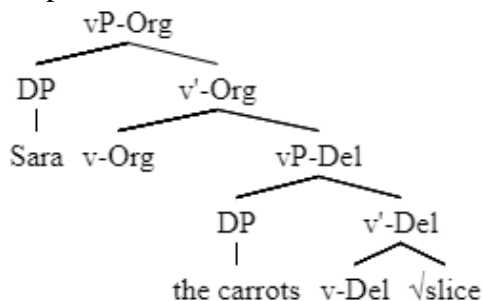
Implicit creation verbs are those in which the entity created is not expressed by an argument of the verb, but is left implicit. Consider the following:

(8)   *Implicit creation verbs*
    a.   Sara sliced the carrots.
    b.   Sara braided her hair.
    c.   Sara chopped the cucumber.
    d.   Sara tied her shoelaces.

In contrast with explicit creation, the created entity in (8) is not expressed as the direct object; it is not expressed overtly at all. Rather, it is denoted by the root of this type of implicit creation verb (following Levinson 2010). In (8a), for example, the created individual is the resulting slice (or slices).

In the implicit-creation verb structure below, this created result is structurally represented (adapting Rapoport 1999, Erteschik-Shir and Rapoport 2005, Levinson 2010):

(9)   Implicit creation verb structure for *Sara sliced the carrots.*

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[10] Roots do not have argument structure.

[11] This claim is similar to, and inspired by, that in Nehmad and Kempler 2018, for whom certain creation verbs involve both the creation of the mental concept and the representation of that concept in physical form.

In (9), the root √*slice* denotes the created slice/s, that are not phonetically realized. The overt syntactic object, *the carrots*, is the delimiter of the event, not the created result (in contrast with the explicit creation above, in which the overt object is the created entity). The interpretation of (9) is thus, roughly: 'Sara caused the carrots to become slices.'

The two creation verb structures, (7) and (9), form the basis of false resultatives in NG Arabic. We turn now to evidence that supports these distinct structural analyses.

3.   False resultatives in NG Arabic: Explicit vs. implicit creation verbs

The distinction between the two creation verb types corresponds to the distinction in agreement on the RPred noted above: In explicit-creation verb constructions, the false RPred exhibits complete agreement, as shown in (3a,b) above and in (10) below.[12] In implicit-creation verb constructions, as shown in (3c,d) above and in (11) below, the false RPred shows no agreement and is marked with masculine singular.

As evidence for this agreement pattern distinction, we offer the facts of the parallel nominal sentences in Appendix Table 3, illustrated here in (10a') and (11a'). The comparison with main predication structures, as in (10a'), or the contrast with main predication, as in (11a'), is thus evidence for complete agreement or the lack of agreement, respectively.

(10)   False resultatives with explicit creation verbs: complete agreement

    a.   bana   aħmad   ṭ-ṭawl-**e**   θābt-**e** /*θābet
          build.PST.3M.SG   Ahmad   the-table-**F.SG** stable-**F.SG**/*stable.M.SG
          'Ahmad built the table stable/strong.'

    a.'   Compare: ṭ-ṭawl-e   θābt-e
                  the-table-**F.SG** stable-**F.SG**
                  'The table is stable/strong.'

    b.   xayyaṭ-at   sāra   al-blūza-**āt**   ḏeyq-**āt**/ḏeyq-**a**/*ḏeyyeq
          sew.PST-3F.SG   Sara   the-shirt-**F.PL** tight-**F.PL** / tight-**F.SG** /*tight.M.SG
          'Sara sewed the shirts tight.'

    c.   xbaz   aħmad   al-xobez   ktīr māleħ
          bake.PST.3M.SG   Ahmad   the-bread.**M.MASS** too salty.**M.SG**
          'Ahmad baked the bread too salty.'

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[12] For details of noun-adjective number and gender agreement, see Appendix Table 2.

(11) False resultatives with implicit creation verbs: no agreement

    a.   qaṭṭʕ-at   sāra   al-jazar-**āt**   kbīr/*kbīr-e/*kbār
        slice.PST-3F.SG   Sara   the-carrot-**F.PL**   big.**M.SG** /*big-F.SG/*big.BP
        'Sara sliced the carrots big [into big pieces].'

    a.'   Contrast: al-jazar-**āt**   kbīr-**e**/kbār
                   the-carrots-**F.PL**   big-**F.SG**/big.**BP**
                   'The carrots are big.'

    b.   jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   šadīd
        braid.PST-3F.SG   Sara   hair.**M.SG**-F.SG.POSS   tight.**M.SG**
        'Sara braided her hair tight.'

    c.   farm-at   sāra   al-xyār-**a**   zġīr/*zġīr-e
        chop.PST-3F.SG   Sara   the-cucumber-**F.SG** small.**M.SG** /*small-F.SG
        'Sara chopped the cucumber small.'

In the explicit creation sentences (10), the RPred has features identical to those in nominal sentences; thus, evidence for the complete agreement between these false RPreds and their hosts. In the implicit creation sentences (11), the RPred is marked masculine singular throughout, a lack of agreement that contrasts with the complete agreement found in the main predication parallel.

We attribute the agreement contrast shown by (10) and (11) to the difference in the element that is modified by the false RPred with each verb type. In explicit creation structures, the RPred modifies the syntactic object. For example, in *Sara built the table stable*, the table resulting from the building is stable. In implicit creation verb structures, the RPred does not modify the syntactic object; there is no result of 'tight hair', or 'big carrots', for example. Rather, the RPred modifies an entity denoted by the lexical root of the verb (Rapoport 1999, Levinson 2010): In *Sara sliced the carrots thin*, the slices created by slicing are thin.

We have claimed that false RPreds in NG Arabic exhibit either complete agreement or no agreement. The lack of agreement is an issue addressed in the next section.

4.   The implicit creation resultative predicate is not an adverb

The lack of agreement on the implicit creation resultative predicate raises a question: Does the false RPred show no agreement simply because it is an adverb? The question is a good one, particularly in light of the fact that false resultative predicates have occasionally been described as adverbials (Washio 1997 and Mateu 2000, for example). In what follows, we argue against this claim for NG Arabic.

Zarka (2019) uses coordination of the RPred and a result adverb to test for the adverb status of the RPred. While each separate modification is fine, coordination of the two is not, as shown in (12).

(12) a. jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   šadīd
          braid.PST-3F.SG   Sara   hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   tight.M.SG
          'Sara braided her hair tight.'

    b. jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   ʕal-ʔaxer
          braid.PST-3F.SG   Sara   hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   on-end
          'Sara braided her hair completely.'

    c. *jaddal-at   sāra šaʕr-ha   šadīd   w   ʕal-ʔaxer /
          ʕal-ʔaxer w   šadīd
          braid.PST-3F.SG Sara hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   tight.M.SG   and   on-end /
          on-end   and   tight.M.SG
          *'Sara braided her hair tight and completely / completely and tight.'

The RPred cannot be coordinated with an adverb in either order. We take this as one piece of evidence against an adverbial analysis of the RPred.

For more evidence against an adverbial analysis of the RPred, we make use of Levinson's point that when English *good* is coordinated with a false RPred, it receives an intensifier reading.

NG Arabic also uses the modifier *mnīħ* 'good' as an adjectival intensifier. With an intensifier reading, *mnīħ* can, in general, be coordinated with an adjective, but not with an adverb, as shown in (13a) and (13b), respectively.

(13) a. ġassl-et   šaʕr-i   w   essa   ndīf   w   mnīħ
          wash.PST-1SG   hair-1SG.POSS and   now   clean.M.SG and   good.M.SG
          'I washed my hair and now it is good 'n' clean.'

    b. *jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   ʕal-ʔaxer   w   mnīħ
          braid.PST-3F.SG Sara   hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   on-end   and   good.M.SG
          *'Sara braided her hair good 'n' completely.'

Note that the adjectival intensifier use of *mnīħ* is possible only when this intensifier is the second of the two coordinated elements. This is the opposite of the English order, as shown in (14a) with the intensifier *good*. When the order is reversed, *good* is interpreted as an adverbial (equivalent to *well*). As (14b), shows, in this reverse order and with this interpretation, *good* can be successfully coordinated with another adverb:

(14) a. I washed my hair and now it is good 'n' clean/*clean 'n' good.
    b. I braided my hair tightly and good (=well)/*good and tightly.

We find the same in Arabic. When *mnīħ* is the first coordinated element, it receives an adverbial, non-intensifier reading. With this order and interpretation, *mnīħ* can be

coordinated with another adverb, in contrast with (13b):[13]

(15) jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   mnīħ   w   ʕal-ʔaxer
     braid.PST-3F.SG   Sara   hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   well   and   completely
     'Sara braided her hair completely and well.'

Thus, the order of coordination with *mnīħ* tells us whether this modifier is being used as an adjectival intensifier or as an adverb, each option allowing only one of the coordination possibilities.

Under our analysis of implicit creation RPreds as adjectives, we expect RPreds to be able to coordinate with *mnīħ* used as an adjectival intensifier; that is, in the order [RPred + *mnīħ*]. And this is what we find:

(16) jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   šadīd   w   mnīħ
     braid.PST-3F.SG Sara   hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   tight.M.SG and good.M.SG
     'Sara braided her hair good 'n' tight.'

When *mnīħ* is used as an adjectival intensifier, its coordination with the RPred is fine. Contrast this with the coordination when *mnīħ* is used adverbially, that is, in the order [*mnīħ* + RPred]:

(17) *jaddal-at   sāra   šaʕr-ha   mnīħ   w   šadīd
     braid.PST-3F.SG   Sara   hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS   well   and   tight.M.SG
     *'Sara braided her hair tight and well.'

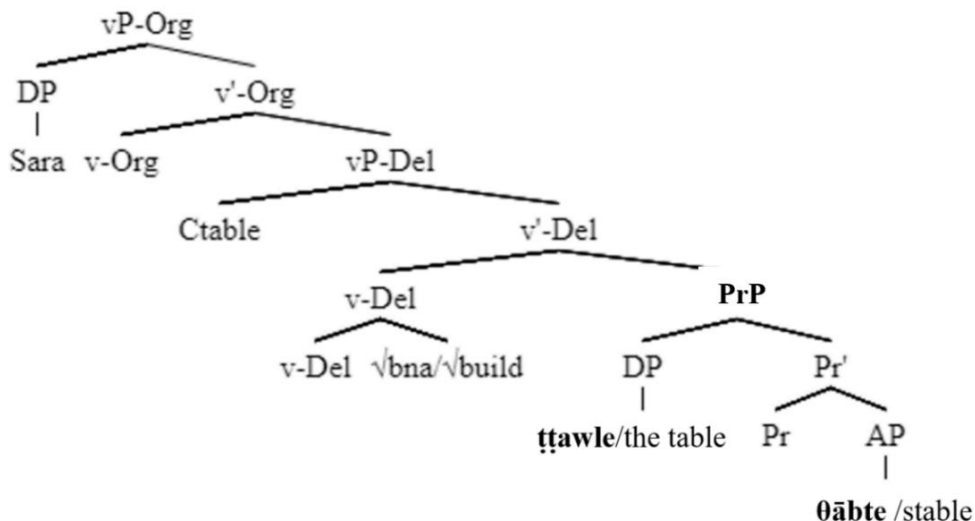When *mnīħ* is used as an adverb, its coordination with the adjectival RPred is impossible.

In this way, the facts of this adjectival intensifier also support our adjectival analysis of the RPred in implicit creation constructions. We conclude that the RPred is indeed an adjective in both types of creation verb constructions.

5.   Resultative structures with creation verbs

We propose the following structure for resultatives based on explicit creation verbs.

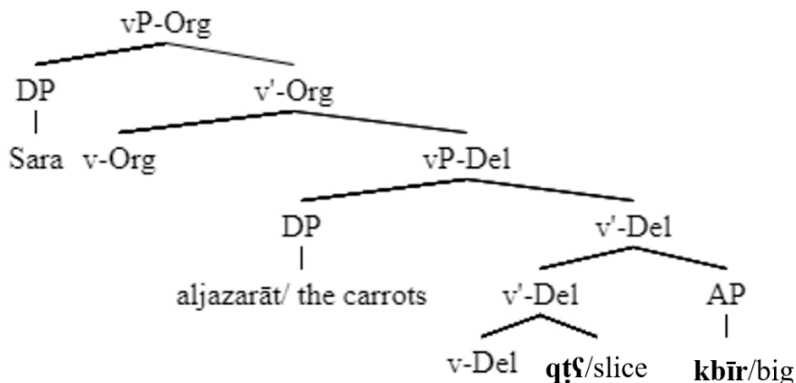[13] Arabic does not have many lexical adverbs. See Fassi Fehri 1998 for discussion of adverb types.

(18) ban-at   sāra   ṭ-ṭawl-e   θābt-e
build.PST-3F.SG Sara   the-table-**F.SG** stable-**F.SG**
'Sara built the table stable.'

In (18), the RPred *θābte* (F.SG) 'stable' modifies the surface direct object *ṭṭawle* (F.SG) 'the table'. The two elements form a small clause (PrP). This small clause complement of the verb represents the result of the event —a stable table. The predicate of this small clause is marked with complete agreement. This is the agreement pattern we predict when the RPred modifies an overt DP.

False resultatives based on implicit creation verbs have the following analysis:

(19) qaṭṭaʕ-at   sāra   al-jazar-āt   kbīr
slice.PST-3F.SG Sara   the-carrot-**F.PL**   big.**M.SG**
'Sara sliced the carrots big.'

The false RPred *kbīr* 'big' is an adjunct that modifies the created slices denoted by the verb root: the result of the slicing event is thus big slices. Since the RPred modifies a root rather than an overt syntactic object, we do not expect it to agree with that object.

And in fact, the false RPred exhibits no agreement at all. This is because roots have no syntactic properties (following Borer e.g. 2005, 2013) and so there are no features available with which the RPred can agree. We conclude that the pattern that results when the RPred modifies the root is one of default agreement.

In sum, it is the distinction between the two creation verb types – and the corresponding distinction in the structures that we have proposed —that accounts for the agreement difference shown in false resultative predicates in Northern Galilee Arabic. But the story is slightly more complicated.

6.   Secondary predicate agreement in other NG Arabic constructions

In fact, it is not simply the verb, but rather the combination of verb and direct object that yields the type of creation, and in turn, the choice of agreement pattern in NG Arabic.

We turn now to a short exploration of verbs of creation by separation, a subset of the implicit creation verbs discussed above. During events of separation, the element separated from the whole is created. In the description of the event, as shown in (20), either the whole (as in the examples above) or the separated part can be realized as the direct object:

(20) a.   Sara sliced the cake.
     b.   Sara sliced a piece (off the cake).

In (20a), the whole (from which the parts, the implicit slices, are created) is realized as the direct object *the cake*. In (20b), it is the created separated part that is explicitly realized as the direct object *a piece*.

We have seen the contrast in NG Arabic between the complete agreement with an explicit creation verb and the default agreement with an implicit creation verb. In (20b) we have an implicit creation verb used with an explicitly-created object. In this case, given the overtly-realized result object, we expect an RPred that modifies the object to agree with it, despite the usual lack of agreement with implicit creation verbs. And we do find complete agreement between the RPred and its host:
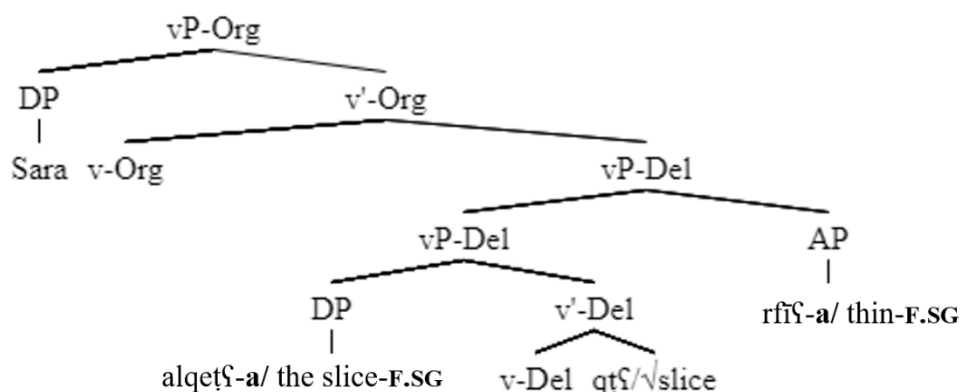
(21) qaṭṭʕ-at   sāra   hāy   al-qeṭʕ-**a**   **rfīʕ-a**/*rfīʕ
     slice.PST-3F.SG   Sara   this.F.SG the-slice-**F.SG** thin-**F.SG**/*thin.M.SG
     'Sara sliced the slice thin.'

Note the contrast with examples (11), in which the RPred that modifies the verb root exhibits default (masculine, singular) agreement.

We can thus conclude that it is not only the verb type, but also whether or not its result is overtly realized that determines agreement on the RPred in NG Arabic creation verb constructions. With resultatives with implicit creation verbs, the element modified by the RPred is always the result of the creation event. The structural representation of the RPred differs according to whether it is the whole or the separated part that is realized as direct object.

In contrast with (19), the structure for the former option, the structure for the latter option, exemplified by (21), is as in (22):[14]

(22) qaṭṭʕ-at   sāra   hāy   al-qeṭʕ-**a**   **rfīʕ-a**/*rfīʕ
      slice.PST-3F.SG   Sara   this.F.SG   the-slice-**F.SG** thin-**F.SG**/*thin.M.SG
      'Sara sliced the slice thin.'

In (22) we have the base structure of an implicit creation verb, but the position of the RPred differs from that of (19), given the difference in the element it modifies and its different position. The RPred *rfīʕa* 'thin' in (22) modifies the overtly-realized result and agrees with it. The interpretation of (22) is that a slice became separated (from a whole) by Sara's slicing activity—and that slice was thin. The syntactic object *alqeṭʕa* 'the slice' makes explicit the implicit slice that is also present in the semantics of the root.

This repetition of the result element allows us to view (21) as a type of cognate object construction, similar to those in Massam (1990) which have an explicitly-realized 'result-of-action object' or Sailer's (2010) 'resultant object'. Both analyses of cognate objects note that they usually occur in creation constructions—as here.

We conclude that while the verb is key to the modification and the agreement pattern of RPreds, the mode of realization of the RPred's host is also relevant to the choice of agreement. This brings us to the case of depictives, another secondary predication construction.

6.1 Depictives

In depictives, the secondary predicate does not describe the result state of its host. Rather, it describes the state that its host is in for the duration of the event. The following is an example of an object-hosted depictive in NG Arabic:

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[14] For discussion of the realization of part and whole as objects with verbs of creation by separation, see Rapoport and Zarka 2020a.

(23) a.   qaṭṭʕ-at   sāra   al-kaʕk-e   soxn-e
           slice.PST-3F.SG   Sara   the-cake-**F.SG** hot-**F.SG**
           'Sara sliced the cake hot.'

      b.   al-kaʕk-e   soxn-e
           the-cake-F.SG   hot-F.SG
           'The cake is hot.'

Sentence (23a) is interpreted as: 'Sara sliced the cake and during the event of cake-slicing by Sara, the cake was hot.' The element modified by the depictive predicate *soxne* 'hot' is not the result, but rather the theme, *alkaʕke* 'the cake', the overt direct object.

The structure of (23a) is identical to structure (22), as argued in Rapoport and Zarka (2020a). In both, the secondary predicate is adjoined to vP-Del, whose specifier it modifies. Since the depictive predicate modifies an overt element, it exhibits the expected complete agreement with it, the same agreement found in nominal sentences, as shown in (23b).

The similarity of the structures for the depictive and for the type of false resultative in (22) is no accident. As we argue elsewhere (see Rapoport 2019 and Zarka, in preparation), the line between depictive and resultative adjuncts is not a clear one—in Arabic as in English. This is particularly true of creation verb structures and the interaction of verb and secondary predicate types, as illuminated here by the Arabic agreement facts.

7. Conclusion

We have proposed two different structural analyses for two creation verb types, thus accounting for the fact that the adjectival resultative predicate in NG Arabic agrees with the direct object in some cases, but not in others.

We have shown that the presence or lack of agreement on the RPred depends on the type and position of the element modified, which in turn correlates with verb type and the structure it projects.

Appendices

Table 1. Number and gender marking in NG Arabic

	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
Human	unmarked[15]	*-a, -e*	*-īn*	*-āt*
Non-human	unmarked	*-a, -e*	*BP*	*-āt, BP*

Table 2. Noun-Adjective number and gender agreement in NG Arabic[16]

	Singular Noun	Adjectival Modifier	Plural Noun	Adjectival Modifier[17]
Human	Masculine	M.SG	Masculine plural	M.PL; BP[18]
	Feminine	F.SG	Feminine plural	F.SG; F.PL; BP
			Feminine broken plural	F.SG; F.PL; BP
Nonhuman	Masculine	M.SG	Masculine broken plural	F.SG; BP
	Feminine	F.SG	Feminine plural	F.SG; BP F, PL
			Feminine broken plural	F.SG; F.PL; BP

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[15] Masculine singular is the default form (Ryding 2005).

[16] The information in Tables 1 and 2 is from Rapoport and Zarka 2020b.

[17] The particular agreement on the adjective depends both on the interpretation of the subject and on the adjective itself.

[18] Not every adjective has a broken plural form.

Table 3. A comparison of RPred and main predicate agreement in NG Arabic

Agreement in resultative structures	Agreement in main predication structures
xayyaṭ-at sāra **al-blūza-āt ḏeyq-āt/ ḏeyq-a** 'Sara sewed the shirts (F.PL) tight (F.PL/ F.SG).'	al-blūza-āt ḏeyq-āt/ ḏeyq-a the-shirt-F.PL tight- F.PL/ tight- F.SG 'The shirts are tight.'
xbaz aħmad **al-xobez ktīr māleħ** 'Ahmad baked the bread (M.MASS) too salty (M.SG).'	al-xobez ktīr māleħ the-bread.M.MASS too salty.M.SG 'The bread is too salty.'
jaddal-at sāra **šaʕrha šadīd** 'Sara braided her hair (M.SG) tight (M.SG).'	šaʕr-ha šadīd hair.M.SG-F.SG.POSS tight.M.SG 'Her hair (hairstyle) is tight.'
farm-at sāra **al-xyār-a zġīr** 'Sara chopped the cucumber (F.SG) small (M.SG).'	al-xyār-a zġīr-e the-cucumber- F.SG small- F.SG 'The cucumber is small.'

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